

THE C. 1907 OTTOMAN CENSUS AND THE
DEMOGRAPHY OF ARMENIANS IN SOUTHERN ISTANBUL

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“The c. 1907 Ottoman Census and the
Demography of Armenians in Southern Istanbul”

*1907 Dolaylarında Yapılmış Osmanlı Nüfus Sayımı ve
Güney İstanbul'daki Ermenilerin Demografisi*

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Abstract of the Thesis of Daniel Ohanian
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Title: The c. 1907 Ottoman Census and the Demography of Armenians in Southern Istanbul

This interdisciplinary thesis draws from a variety of fields to introduce a new source and new methods to Ottoman, Armenian, and Middle Eastern studies. It has at its core a copy of a population register developed by the Armenian Apostolic (i.e., Gregorian) Patriarchate of Constantinople and stored at the Krikor and Clara Zohrab Information Center in New York City, USA. The thesis uses that register to investigate the c. 1907 census conducted by the Ottoman General Directorate of Statistics (Nüfus-u Umumi İdaresi), upon which it was based. It uses cross-tabulation analysis, digital cartography, and research in English, French, Turkish, and Armenian to answer three guiding questions: How was this census conducted in the imperial capital, and what are its strengths and weaknesses? How can it be used to interrogate the relationship between an Armenian religious institution and the Ottoman state? And what does it reveal about Armenians living in southern Istanbul (i.e., the districts of Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı)? Its research outcomes include criticism concerning the use of districts and sub-districts as units of scholarly analysis and a detailed comparison of household formation and structure between Istanbul's Armenian and Muslim populations.

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü'nde
Tarih Yüksek Lisans derecesi için
Daniel Ohanian tarafından
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Başlık: 1907 Dolaylarında Yapılmış Osmanlı Nüfus Sayımı ve Güney İstanbul'daki Ermenilerin Demografisi

Çeşitli alanlardan yararlanan bu disiplinlerarası tez Osmanlı, Ermeni, ve Orta Doğu araştırmalarına yeni bir kaynak ve yeni yöntemler sağlar. Merkezinde Ermeni Resuli (i.e., Gregoryan) Kilisesi'nin İstanbul Patrikhanesi'nin tarafından yapılmış ve New York'daki (ABD) Krikor ve Clara Zohrab Bilgi Merkezi'nde bulunan bir nüfus defterinin kopyası vardır. O nüfus defterini kullanarak, bu tez Osmanlı Nüfus-u Umumi İdaresi'nin tarafından idare edilmiş ve defterin esası olan 1907 dolaylarında yapılmış nüfus sayımını inceler. Çapraz tablo analizi (*cross-tabulation analysis*), sayısal haritacılık, ve İngilizce, Fransızca, Ermenice, ve Türkçe araştırmalardan faydalanarak, üç esas soru sorar; Bu nüfus sayımı nasıl idare edilmiştir, ve güçlü ve zayıf noktaları nelerdir? Bir Ermeni dini kurumun ve Osmanlı devletinin ilişkisini incelemek için nasıl kullanılabilir? Ve güney İstanbul'daki (i.e., Gedikpaşa ve Kumkapı bölgelerindeki) Ermenilere dair ne gösterir? Bu araştırmanın sonuçları bölge ve altbölgelerin bilimsel analiz için kullanılmasının eleştirisini ve İstanbul'daki Ermeni ve Müslüman nüfusların hane düşümü ve hane yapısının detaylı karşılaştırmasını içerir.

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NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION, PLACE NAMES, AND DATES

Where commonly-used versions in Latin script do not exist, individuals' Armenian names have been transliterated using the Turkish alphabet.

Where modern place-names in English or Turkish resemble closely those found in the sources, the preferably English but otherwise Turkish versions have been used (thus, Istanbul rather than İstanbul, Constantinople, or Bolis, Ankara rather than Engüri or Angora, and so on). Where they do not resemble, both the modern and the historical name have been indicated, giving preference to that used at the time (thus, Eğin is accompanied by Agın and Kemaliye and Kale-i Sultaniye is followed by Çimenlik Kalesi).

Dates have been converted from the Hijri and Rumi systems to the Gregorian system using the Turkish Historical Society's calendar translation tool.ⁱ Conversions from Julian to Gregorian have been made using the United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration's software.ⁱⁱ

ⁱ "Tarih Çevirme Kılavuzu," Türk Tarih Kurumu, <http://www.ttk.gov.tr/index.php?Page=Sayfa&No=385>.

ⁱⁱ "JavaScript Calendar Converter," National Aeronautics and Space Administration, <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEhelp/julian.html>.

INTRODUCTION

The thesis that follows draws from a variety of fields to introduce a new source and new methods to Ottoman, Armenian, and Middle Eastern studies. It has at its core a population register¹ developed by the Armenian Apostolic (i.e., Gregorian) Patriarchate of Constantinople² based on an early-twentieth-century census conducted by the Ottoman General Directorate of Statistics (General Population Administration, Nüfus-u Umumi İdaresi). Relying primarily on this register, this thesis uses cross-tabulation analysis, digital cartography, and research in English, French, Turkish, and Armenian to answer three guiding questions: How was this census conducted, and what are its strengths and weaknesses? How can it be used to interrogate the relationship between an Armenian religious institution and the Ottoman state? And what does it reveal about Armenians living in southern Istanbul?

By drawing on the material that it does, this thesis aims to help bridge two sets of historiographic gaps, the first being linguistic. Given the multi-linguistic nature of the Ottoman Empire and its eventual dissolution into nation-states, historiographies on the Ottoman past have often been divided among language-based

¹ In this thesis, following the common distinction made by sociologists and demographers, I use the term *census* to refer to a *synchronic process* wherein all denizens or subjects of a state are counted and their individual characteristics are recorded in a systematic and, in intent, universal manner. Censuses—which, then, are not material records (e.g., notebooks, which are *census records*) but the processes that produce them—are different from population registers. *Population registers* are *material records*; they also aspire to systematicity and universality, but, unlike censuses and census records, they are *continuously updated* and are, therefore, living documents. Mark Mather, “Demographic Data: Censuses, Registers, Surveys,” in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. George Ritzer (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 1011–1014, 1011. Thus, around 1907, a census took place in Istanbul, and out of that process came a number of population registers.

² Often forgotten is that there were two Armenian patriarchates in the city. While the better-known, Apostolic one had been there since the fifteenth century, its Catholic counterpart was moved from Lebanon to the imperial capital and merged with the “community leadership” (*milletbaşılık*, *uqquyūlunnūḥi*) there in 1866. H. Dj. Sirouni (Յ. Ճ. Սիրունի), *Պոլիս և իր դերը* [Bolis and its role], vol. 3 (Antelias, Lebanon: Տպարան Կաթողիկոսութեան Հայոց Մեծի Տանն Կիլիկիոյ, 1987), 420–421. For a biography of Sirouni, whose work is drawn on often in this thesis and who lived in Istanbul from 1901 to 1922, see “Կենսագրութիւն Յ. Ճ. Սիրունիի” [Biography of H. C. Siruni], Siruni, *Bolis*, III:Է–Ը. Bolis, referred to in the title of his book, is an Armenian name for Istanbul derived from the Greek Κωνσταντινούπολις/Konstantinópolis.

silos; a majority of studies are published in only one language (e.g., Arabic, Bulgarian, Greek, etc.) and draw mostly from literature in their own tongues. The limited fields of vision this creates—when coupled with the politics involved in writing for and against specific national narratives—has given rise to separate historiographic silos that do not speak to one another. This thesis helps bridge such gaps by drawing from scholarship in four languages and from a population register written first in Ottoman Turkish and then Armenian and Armeno-Turkish (i.e., Turkish in Armenian script).

The second gap this thesis helps bridge is that between Ottoman studies on the one side and Armenian and genocide studies on the other. For decades, the elision of the Armenian Genocide from Ottomanist research has created the false impression that genocide scholars have nothing to offer those not researching mass violence.³ But genocide studies has much to offer Ottomanists by way of data, arguments, and synthesis; given their focus on the destruction of Armenian collective existence in Anatolia, those in this field have discussed population and population recording often, and they have not shied away from literature in Armenian.

This thesis should be seen as part of a trend that took off in 2000, catalyzed by the establishment of the Workshop for Armenian/Turkish Scholarship (WATS) at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,⁴ and it follows along the lines of Taner

³ Howard Eissenstat, “Children of Özal: The New Face of Turkish Studies,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 1, no. 1–2 (2014): 23–35, 24–28; Ayda Erbal, “The Armenian Genocide, AKA the Elephant in the Room,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47, no. 4 (2015): 783–790; David Gutman, “Ottoman Historiography and the End of the Genocide Taboo: Writing the Armenian Genocide into Late Ottoman History,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 2, no. 1 (2015): 167–183.

⁴ “The Workshop for Armenian/Turkish Scholarship (WATS),” University of Michigan, last accessed 5 September 2015, http://www.i1.umich.edu/asp/academics/specialprojects/theworkshopforarmenianturkishscholarshipwats_ci; Ronald Grigor Suny, “Truth in Telling: Reconciling Realities in the Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 4 (2009): 930–46, 937–946; Ronald Grigor Suny and Fatma Müge Göçek, “Introduction: Leaving It to the Historians,” in *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Ronald Grigor

Akçam's 2004 call for the development of a "common body of shared knowledge" that can be trusted and used by all scholars working on Armenian, Ottoman, and Turkish history.⁵

My work also sits between social and quantitative history, and it remains conscious of a tension between these two approaches: whereas quantitative research is often seen as dehumanizing and positivistic, qualitative research is often considered ungrounded and imprecise. To balance these, this thesis asks questions about institutions, migration, patterns of settlement, and household formation by drawing from both demographic data and narrative texts. In its quantitative aspect, it is part of a popular tradition of numbers-backed economic research common among Ottomanists as well as Soviet-era Armenologists. In my commitment to connecting the numeric with the narrative, I have been inspired particularly by Ping-ti Ho, whose classic *Studies on the Population of China* exemplifies well the importance of putting

Suny, Fatma Müge Göçek, and Norman A. Naimark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3–11; Eissenstat, "Children of Özal," 27–28.

⁵ Taner Akçam, "The Creation of a Common Body of Shared Knowledge for Armenian-Turkish History," c. 2004, University of Minnesota, last accessed 5 September 2015, <http://chgs.umn.edu/histories/turkisharmenian/atrpcommonknowledge.pdf>.

The works of Tolga Cora and Murat Cankara, for example, stand at the cutting edge of this move to bring together Armenological and Ottomanist work. See, for instance, Yaşar Tolga Cora, "Why Was Pastırmacı Khatchatur Efendi Killed? The Life of an Ottoman-Armenian Elite in Mid-19th-Century Erzurum/Karin," in *Ottoman Armenians: Life, Culture, Society*, ed. Vahe Tachjian (Berlin: Houshamadyan, 2014), 65–87; and Murat Cankara, "Rethinking Ottoman Cross-Cultural Encounters: Turks and the Armenian Alphabet," *Middle Eastern Studies* 51, no. 1 (2015): 1–16.

Hagop Levon Barsoumian's "The Armenian *Amira* Class of Istanbul" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1980) and Stephan Astourian's "Testing World-System Theory: Cilicia, 1830s–1890s; Armenian-Turkish Polarization and the Ideology of Modern Ottoman Historiography" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1996) are important milestones predating the creation of WATS. Barsoumian's dissertation was published only recently, as Hagop Levon Barsoumian, *The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul* (Yerevan: American University of Armenia, 2007); and Hagop L. Barsoumian, *İstanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı*, trans. Solina Silahlı (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013).

For a longer discussion on this topic, see Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, "Osmanlı ve Türkiye Kadın Hareketi Hakkındaki Tarihyazımında Türk ve/veya Müslüman Olmayan Kadınlar: Bir Yokluğun Anatomisi," in *Bir Adalet Feryadı: Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye Beş Ermeni Feminist Yazar, 1862–1933*, ed. Melissa Bilal and Lerna Ekmekçioğlu (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2006), 327–340.

demographic data into their historical contexts—that is, uncovering how and why such data find their way into archives and understanding what local and institutional conditions were like when they were compiled.⁶

This thesis is also a digital humanities project, which means that it “us[es] digital technologies to study the humanities in ways not possible otherwise.”⁷ As a method, it represents something new in Ottoman, Armenian, and Middle Eastern studies. At its back stands a one-year (December 2015–December 2016) research project run by M. Erdem Kabadayı and me at Istanbul Bilgi University, which is called Recovering Armenians in Late-Ottoman Istanbul and Making Ottoman-Era Population Data Available for All and is funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. The project is based on two sets of records, of which the second is the core source of this thesis: Turkish-language, mid- to late nineteenth century registers of Armenian men living in southern Istanbul and stored now at the Ottoman Archives of the Office of the Prime Minister (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri), in Istanbul,⁸ and a copy of the patriarchate’s population register for Apostolics living in Greater Istanbul during c. 1907, which is stored at the Krikor and Clara Zohrab Information Center of New York City, USA.⁹

The method by which the patriarchal register was transcribed and analyzed is as follows. These records were microfilmed some 35 years ago and copies were

⁶ Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368–1953* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1959), esp. 3–97.

⁷ Michael Polczyński, “Digital Humanities, Mapping, and GIS,” 42–45, 42, in Chris Gratien, Michael Polczyński, and Nir Shafir, “Digital Frontiers of Ottoman Studies,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 1, no. 1–2 (2014): 37–51. For more on such methods, see Anne Burdick et al., ed., *Digital_Humanities* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2012).

⁸ Various items from populations register series Nüfus Defterleri (NFS.d) 200, 300, and 500, TC Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, Turkey.

⁹ Items 1213461, 1213462, and 1213463, microfilm collection, Krikor and Clara Zohrab Information Center, New York City, USA.

given to various parties, including the Diocese of the Armenian Church (Eastern) in New York,¹⁰ which now houses the Zohrab Center. We were alerted to their existence by George Aghjayan of Boston, who, along with me, scanned them. Our research project assistant Sayat Tekir and I then transcribed the information in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish and transliterated it into Latin script, arranging it in a table, or cross-tabulation. This transcription was edited and the occupational information was categorized by Kabadayı and me according to a version of the Primary, Secondary, Tertiary System, an international system devised for comparative economic history.¹¹ One tier of my analysis is tied to the tables developed through this process and involves classical methods of data manipulation such as sorting, filtering, and arithmetic.

The second tier of my analysis adds a spatial aspect to the work. Because the census recorded the residential addresses of Istanbul's denizens, and because we have sufficiently detailed, contemporaneous maps for southern Istanbul, our project cartographer, Mehmet Başkurt, was able to map our transcriptions by geo-referencing cadastral maps created by Jacques Pervititch in the 1920s and by layering them on top of a modern, digital base. After ensuring that the warp and angling of the two lined up, he created a hybrid: a new layer representing the layout of streets and buildings as they were one century ago but using as its reference the same satellite

¹⁰ Armenian Genealogical Research Society Foundation co-founder Audrey Megerian, conversation with Daniel Ohanian, 19 April 2015.

¹¹ This system is managed by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (Campop) and was first adapted to the Ottoman Empire for Kabadayı's project *An Introduction to the Occupational History of Turkey via New Methods and New Approaches, 1840–1940* (Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey project 112K271). It was then adjusted to our collaborative project, *Recovering Armenians*. For more on it, see "Occupational Coding—the PST System," Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, <http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/britain19c/pst.html> (last accessed 10 May 2016).

cartography trusted by Google Maps and similar services.¹² The geographic information systems (GIS) software with which this was done has allowed me to use cartography as an investigative tool and not only as an illustrative one. By allowing the “reconstruction of historical spaces and social relationships,” explains Michael Polczyński, GIS “enabl[es] the visualization of patterns ... that [are] not otherwise ... apparent.”¹³

This thesis’s reliance upon Armenian church demographic records is also part of an older trend, though the depth of its analysis is unprecedented. Over the past 25 years, Haroutune Armenian and his colleagues have used population, baptism, marriage, and death registers for epidemiological work;¹⁴ Anne Kazazian has surveyed such records to write a social-historical article on nineteenth-century Egypt;¹⁵ Hayg Jamgoçyan has drawn on them for biographical information;¹⁶

¹² For more on Pervititch, see Müsemma Sabancıoğlu, “One Woman’s Quest to Trace the Legacy of an Istanbul Cartographer,” *Levantine Heritage: The Story of a Community*, last accessed 27 March 2015, <http://levantineheritage.com/testi48.htm>; Müsemma Sabancıoğlu, “Jacques Pervititch and His Insurance Maps of Istanbul,” *Dubrovnik Annals* 7 (2003): 89–98; and Jacques Pervititch, *Istanbul in the Insurance Maps of Jacques Pervititch*, ed. Seden Ersoy and Çağatay Anadol (Istanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, [2001]).

¹³ Polczyński, “Digital Humanities,” 43. For overviews of historical GIS, see Anne Kelly Knowles, “GIS and History,” in Anne Kelly Knowles and Amy Hillier, eds., *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship* (Redlands: ESRI Press, 2008), 1–26; David J. Bodenhamer, “History and GIS: Implications for the Discipline,” in Knowles and Hillier, *Placing History*, 219–234; Anne Kelly Knowles, Amy Hillier, and Roberta Balstad, “Conclusion: An Agenda for Historical GIS,” in Knowles and Hillier, *Placing History*, 267–274; and Ian N. Gregory and Richard G. Healey, “Historical GIS: Structuring, Mapping and Analysing Geographies of the Past,” *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no. 5 (2007): 638–653. For a wide variety of examples of its application, see Knowles and Hillier, *Placing History*; and “Statistical Atlas,” *A Vision of Britain through Time*, <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/atlas/>.

¹⁴ Haroutune K. Armenian, James F. McCarthy, and Sevan G. O. Balabanian, “Patterns of Mortality in Armenian Parish Records from Eleven Countries,” *American Journal of Epidemiology* 130, no. 6 (1989): 1227–35; Haroutune K. Armenian, James F. McCarthy, and Sevan G. O. Balabanian, “Patterns of Infant Mortality from Armenian Parish Records: A Study from 10 Countries of the Diaspora, 1737–1982,” *International Journal of Epidemiology* 22, no. 3 (1993): 457–62.

¹⁵ Anne Kazazian, “Les Arméniens en Égypte au XIX^e siècle, identité et enregistrement,” *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 127 (2010), <http://remmm.revues.org/6617>.

¹⁶ Հայկ Ա. Ժամկոչեան [Hayg A. Jamgoçyan], *Յիշատակարան 125 ամեայ յորդեանի ծնունդի Ս. Աստուածածին Եկեղեցւոյ եւ Տառնեան Վարժարանի Պաթրիզիոյի. 1844–1969* [Memorial volume for the 125th anniversary of the foundation of Surp Asdvadzadzin Church and the Dadyan Academy, 1844–1969] (Istanbul: OYA Matbaası, 1969).

Raymond Kévorkian, Paul Paboudjian, and many others have analyzed patriarchal population surveys from 1878 to 1914;¹⁷ and George Aghjayan has proposed comparing the c. 1907 register at the core of this thesis with a patriarchal count from 1913–1914, and he has published part of a 1914–1915 baptism register from a church in Kayseri.¹⁸ These studies are different from the present thesis in fundamental ways: Haroutune Armenian’s group drew on small samples for research on disease; Kazazian provided only an overview of her observations; Jamgoçyan was interested in the birth dates and residential addresses of certain individuals; Kévorkian and Paboudjian—whose study is the largest in scale and the most ground-breaking of the set—did not have access to microdata (i.e., detailed information on individuals rather than group aggregates); and Aghjayan, in regard to this source, has only proposed an avenue of research. What is unprecedented, therefore, is the level of demographic detail—made possible by the availability of an immense, essentially untapped wealth of microdata—that is drawn on in this text.

Without a doubt, this thesis’s closest parallel is Alan Duben and Cem Behar’s unsurpassed 1991 study, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940*. That monograph drew on part of the c. 1907 population records as well as other sources to conduct a demographic study of the city’s local Muslim population over the course of some sixty years. Chapter 5 of this thesis is inspired by Duben and Behar’s interdisciplinary work, though it differs from theirs in its scale and parameters. Duben and Behar, having been given limited access to only some of

¹⁷ Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l’Empire ottoman à la veille du génocide* (Paris: Les Editions d’art de d’histoire, 1992). Also available as *1915 Öncesinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Ermeniler*, trans. Mayda Saris (Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013).

¹⁸ George Aghjayan, “A Glimpse into the Armenian Patriarchate Censuses of 1906–1907 and 1913–1914,” special issue, “Commemorating Genocide: Images, Perspectives, Research,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 2008, 14–16; George Aghjayan, “Weekly Publishes Baptism Records from Gesaria, 1914–15,” *Armenian Weekly*, 16 January 2014, <http://armenianweekly.com/2014/01/16/baptism-records/>.

these registers, had drawn from them a sample of 4,932 Muslims living permanently in certain parts of Istanbul. This represented a 5% sample of about 100,000 Muslims, of whom only 1,634 were in the area dealt with in this thesis.¹⁹ In contrast to their work, I focus on 6,265 Armenians—most of them Apostolics but also including some Catholics and Protestants—registered in one part of the city: what were then the districts of Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı, now Binbirdirek, Emin Sinan, Küçük Ayasofya, Mimar Hayrettin, Mimar Kemalettin, Muhsine Hatun, Saraçışak, and Şehsuvar Bey (i.e., the southern regions of today’s municipality of Fatih) (see Figure 1).²⁰ Also, while Duben and Behar, by layering their sample from c. 1907 with other sources that covered c. 1880 – c. 1940, had been able to add a diachronic aspect to their work, this study is mostly a synchronic one wherein the information recorded by census enumerators represents a much shorter snapshot of time.

Because of how the c. 1907 census was organized and due to subsequent historical developments, some of these census records are now held by certain post-Ottoman states. These have been used to write the histories of Palestine, a region of Greece, and two Western Anatolian villages.²¹ But many other records have been lost

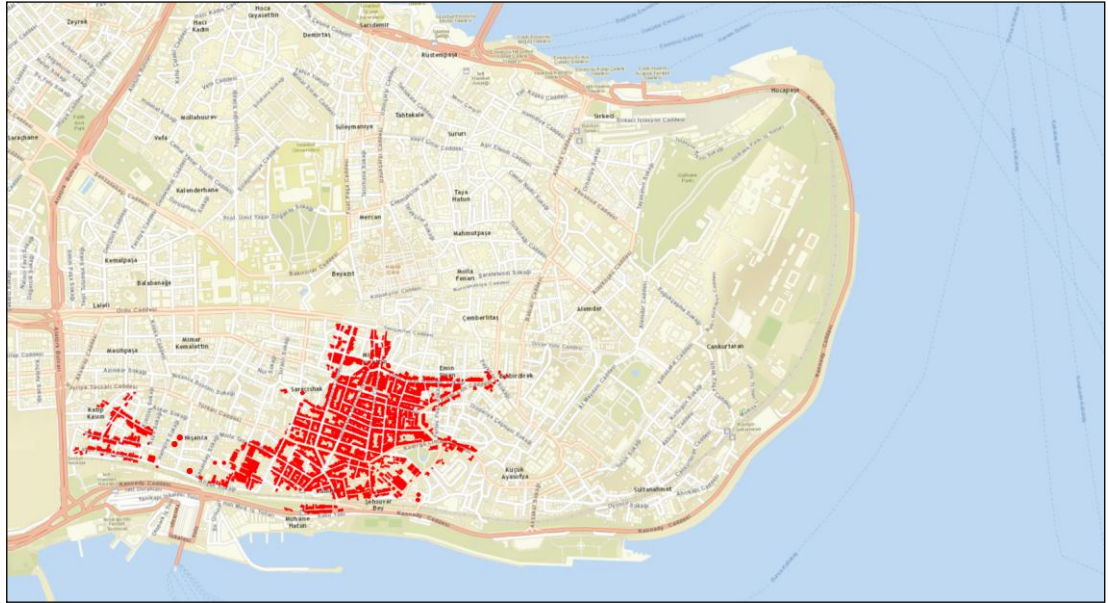
¹⁹ “Istanbul Households,” SALT Research, last accessed 15 May 2015, https://www.archives.saltresearch.org/R/NL99MCX92VM1ALXIIIVKGMVDKDPJJSQLETS5F91MESVEQF9DCR-04529?func=collections&collection_id=3241&pds_handle=GUEST; Alan Duben, “1907 Census of Istanbul,” version 1.0, Mosaic historical microdata file, Mosaic Project, 2013, <http://censusmosaic.org/web/data/mosaic-data-files>; Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 15–20. The latter is also available as *İstanbul Haneleri: Evlilik, Aile ve Doğurganlık, 1880–1940*, trans. Nuray Mert (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996; Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2013). For the districts and sub-districts in which these 100,000 lived, see Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 252.

²⁰ “Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemi,” version 4.0, TC Fatih Belediyesi, <https://gis.fatih.bel.tr/webgis/default.aspx>, last accessed 18 June 2016.

²¹ See, for example, U. O. Schemlitz, “Population Characteristics of Jerusalem and Hebron Regions according to Ottoman Census of 1905,” in *Ottoman Palestine, 1800–1914: Studies in Economic and Social History*, ed. Gad G. Gilbar (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 15–68; Johann Büssow, *Hamidian Palestine: Politics and Society in the District of Jerusalem, 1872–1908* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Roxane Caftanzoglou, “Shepherds, Innkeepers, and Census-Takers: The 1905 Census in Two Villages in Epirus,” *Continuity and Change* 12, no. 3 (1997): 403–424; Necat Çetin, “Ödemiş İlkursun (Hacı İlyas-Burhaniye) Köyü’nde 1320 (M. 1904) Yılı Nüfus Sayımı,” *Atatürk Dergisi* 1 (2012): 405–424;

or destroyed. While the registers Duben and Behar had consulted have survived, they are no longer being made available to researchers.²² Thus, the patriarchate's copy has been, for some time, the only version of the c. 1907 census results available to scholars of Istanbul. According to Oktay Özel, this block by the Archives of the General Directorate of Civil Registration and Citizenship (Nüfus ve Vatandaşlık İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi) has stunted the development of Ottoman historical demography—a situation that this thesis stands in a position to help correct.²³

Figure 1. Istanbul today and the area covered in this thesis



The text that follows unfolds in the following way. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to population registration in the Ottoman Empire, the politics involved in it, and the historiographic discussions regarding the reliability of “Ottoman” vs.

and Necat Çetin, “Tiryanda Nahiyesi Çengele Karyesinde (Torbalı-Ormanköy) 1321 (Miladi 1905) Yılı Osmanlı Nüfus Sayımı,” *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 12, no. 24 (2012): 47–85. See also İpek K. Yosmaoğlu, “Counting Bodies, Shaping Souls: The 1903 Census and National Identity in Ottoman Macedonia,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38 (2006): 55–77, which discusses not the contents of population records but the socio-political dynamics involved in their production.

²² Cem Behar, “Sources pour la démographie historique de l’Empire ottoman. Les *tahrirs* (denombrements) de 1885 et 1907,” *Population* 1–2 (1998): 161–178, 167.

²³ Oktay Özel, “Osmanlı Demografi Tarihi ve Osmanlı Arşivleri,” in *Uluslararası Türk Arşivleri Sempozyumu: 17–19 Kasım 2005, İstanbul; Tebliğler-Tartışmalar*, ed. Nuran Koltuk (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2006), 52–63, 61, 63.

“Armenian” data. It posits that this population register gives us a good opportunity to complicate this dichotomy and to remember that the patriarchate (i.e., “Armenians”) was very much involved in producing “Ottoman” data. In chapter 2, the c. 1907 census’s regulations are summarized, and, in chapter 3, the involvement of the patriarchate is taken up, as are the process by which it created its own copy of those records, the strengths and weaknesses of its copy, and the strengths and weaknesses of the census itself. Chapter 4 then deals with migration and settlement patterns and chapter 5 provides a comparison between Armenian and Muslim household structures. My hope is that, by its end, readers will come away from this text with new ideas on how the digital humanities might be brought into Ottoman, Armenian, and Middle Eastern studies and with new data and arguments to work with in their own endeavours.

CHAPTER 1. POPULATION REGISTRATION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

As had been the case with polities around the world since ancient times, in the pre-c. 1830 Ottoman Empire, counts of the imperial population had been conducted systematically and frequently. These pre-c. 1830 counts are best described as pre-modern in that they revealed pre-modern administrations' narrower interests in their populace. Concerned mainly with resources they could exploit, administrators, when looking to their human resources, focused on the individuals who could provide the state with manpower and material wealth. Because these resources were extracted through levies of cash and products (i.e., taxes) or bodies and services (e.g., conscription, *corvée*), pre-modern Ottoman censuses focused on young and adult males.²⁴

Over the course of the nineteenth century, states around the world sought increasingly to usurp the roles of the parallel, non-state institutions in their domains; to collect and analyze quantitative information about previously uninteresting topics; and to fashion more direct and powerful bonds with—and, thereby, strengthen their control over—their denizens.²⁵ Thus, over the course of the nineteenth century, the scope of censuses in the Ottoman Empire changed in tandem with global trends.²⁶ Although scholars differ on what they consider to have been the first *modern*

²⁴ Gilles Veinstein, "Les registres de recensement ottomans. Une source pour la démographie à l'époque moderne," *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1 (1990): 365–378; Halil İnalçık and Şevket Pamuk, eds., *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik* (Ankara: TC Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000); Özel, "Osmanlı Demografi Tarihi."

²⁵ The literature on pre-modern vs. modern states and what characteristics are typical of each is immense. Among the best places to start is Michael Mann's provocative and quantitatively-backed *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. 2, *The Rise of Classes and Nation States, 1760–1914* (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

²⁶ Kemal H. Karpat, "The Ottoman Adoption of Statistics from the West in the 19th Century," in *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 132–145 (first published in *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World ...*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu [Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture, 1991], 283–295).

Ottoman census, most agree that it appeared at some point between c. 1830 and c. 1885.

For Servet Mutlu, Enver Ziya Karal, and Kemal Karpat, this designation belongs to an enumeration in the Balkans and Anatolia conducted beginning in 1830 or 1831. It was never completed, however, and the data that was collected was not recorded systematically.²⁷ Other censuses followed, including several surveys of Istanbul and empire-wide counts in the 1870s and c. 1885.²⁸ These two later imperial censuses were not completed either, but they did demonstrate the state's growing appetite for information as well as its increasing skill at standardizing and regulating the collection of demographic data.

This growing appetite for information and regulation was demonstrated in the new questions asked by enumerators and the new templates they used. For instance, in c. 1885, the state shifted from writing out demographic information in paragraphs to using likely Belgian-style cross-tabulations.²⁹ Infant males—a group previously excluded because they were much too young to have their wealth or service levied and because a significant proportion would die before reaching adulthood—came to be recorded in the middle of the nineteenth century, and only in c. 1885 did females—a group whose wealth or service was never levied by the Ottoman state, as

²⁷ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı, 1831* (Ankara: TC Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1943); Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831–1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9 (1978): 325–338, 325–327; Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 8, 18–23; Servet Mutlu, "Late Ottoman Population and Its Ethnic Distribution," *Nüfusbilim Dergisi* 25 (2003): 3–38, 4; Cem Behar, "Osmanlı Nüfus İstatistikleri ve 1831 Sonrası Modernleşmesi," in İnalcık and Pamuk, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik*, 61–72, 63, 68–69. For Behar, this was the first "early modern" census and a "precursor" to the modern ones.

²⁸ Regulations for an 1880s attempt were promulgated in 1881 and the census was conducted in the years that followed. Scholars have referred to it as the 1300, 1301, 1881, 1881/1882, 1881/1882–1893, 1881–1893, and 1885 attempt. I use "c. 1885" to remind us that the process took several years, and that its start and end points are not known. On the uncertainty regarding dates, see Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, 33, 103–104.

²⁹ Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 14.

with most other states—draw the attention of census takers.³⁰ Similarly, it was only in the 1880s that administrators began to collect information on vital events (i.e., births, marriages, divorces, and deaths) in a systematic manner.³¹

As the scope of censuses and the format of census records changed, so, too, did the organization of enumerating bodies. A centralized body responsible for collecting demographic information from across the empire first appeared in 1874; it was established within the Ministry of the Interior and was tasked with conducting censuses from that date onward, including in c. 1907.³²

In the clarity of its regulations, its adoption of uniform tabulation sheets, its inclusion of females, its level of individual precision, and in that it was “undertaken for purposes other than ... taxation or military conscription,” the c. 1885 census represented a milestone in the development of Ottoman statistics.³³ While much progress was made, it was not completed either, however, and, for this and other reasons, in 1900, administrators decided to make a renewed attempt at conducting a count along similar lines but with an improved system of implementation—what became the c. 1907 census.³⁴

After c. 1907 came a final attempt at imperial recording: a “secret census” carried out in 1915.³⁵ Finally, a 1919 report called *Memalik-i Osmaniye'nin 1330*

³⁰ Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 15–16.

³¹ Behar, “Osmanlı Nüfus İstatistikleri,” 65.

³² Behar, “Osmanlı Nüfus İstatistikleri,” 70. The introduction of this style of enumeration, which represented an increasingly intrusive state and an increasingly professionalized civil service, was in line with the development of modernization that had expanded out from the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany over the course of the nineteenth century. C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 274–283.

³³ Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 15–16.

³⁴ Karpas, *Ottoman Population*, 35.

³⁵ Fuat Dündar, *Crime of Numbers: The Role of Statistics in the Armenian Question, 1878–1918* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2010), 3.

Senesi Nüfus İstatistiği represented the final involvement of the Ottoman administration in this domain. An “updated” version of the c. 1907 census, it was an aggregate report of the sizes of various religious and linguistic groups living in the dissolving empire’s provinces and sub-provinces.³⁶

* * *

Ever since the politicization of Ottoman population statistics in 1878, there has been disagreement over the reliability of numbers computed by the state. Such political and historiographic discussions have been active especially among those wishing to comment on whether or not the Ottoman administration targeted Armenians with mass violence between the 1890s and 1920s.³⁷ The disagreement is by now firmly polarized and calcified: those arguing against mass violence have expressed great confidence in state sources and lack of confidence in numbers published by Armenian institutions, and those arguing for state complicity have said the opposite. The population register at the heart of this thesis invites us to complicate this dichotomy, as it can be used as a case study of how both the Ottoman central administration and the Armenian Apostolic Patriarchate of Constantinople were involved in the development of population data. Thus, and in order to understand the strengths and weaknesses of that data, a discussion of this historiographic debate is in order.

³⁶ Mutlu, “Late Ottoman Population,” 8.

³⁷ Dündar, *Crime of Numbers*; Ռոբերտ Թաթոյան [Robert Tatoyan], *Արևմտահայության թվաքանակի հարցը 1878–1914 թվականներին* [The question of the number of Western Armenians during 1878–1914] (Yerevan: Հայոց ցեղասպանության թանգարան-ինստիտուտ, 2015), esp. 71–164. There was also a parallel debate between Ottomanists and Hellenists. See, for example, Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Alexis Alexandris, “Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration: The Historical Demography of the Greek Community of Asia Minor at the Close of the Ottoman Era,” *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* (Bulletin of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies) 5 (1985): 9–44, 9–10, 21–30.

As the majority of Ottoman Armenians lived in the empire's eastern provinces, these discussions have focused upon population figures for those regions, and researchers have used those case studies to comment on the collection and use of data for the empire overall.

One broad critique has come from Sarkis Karayan, who, in referring to Vital Cuinet's large and oft-cited demographic and geographic work, has stated the following: "Cuinet's figures, based presumably on Ottoman data, are often so off the mark that they cast heavy doubt on the degree of accuracy of the published Ottoman data."³⁸ Based on a case study of the province of Van, Karayan has concluded that "basing one's numbers on official Ottoman statistics is a guarantee of nothing."³⁹ Similar arguments have been made by Fuat Dündar and Vahakn Dadrian.⁴⁰

Daniel Panzac, Justin McCarthy, and Karpas have argued for the reliability of state data. Their arguments have been premised on the conviction that Ottoman administrators would not have manipulated their own information because they would have needed reliable figures to conduct their fiscal and military programs.⁴¹ While intuitive, this argument has only really been a postulate, for administrators could conceivably have been willing to have lost tax revenue and conscripted fewer people if they had had a compelling reason to do so. Dündar has responded to this

³⁸ Sarkis Y. Karayan, "Vital Cuinet's *La Turquie d'Asie*: A Critical Evaluation of Cuinet's Information about Armenians," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 11 (2000): 53–63, 53.

³⁹ Karayan, "Vital Cuinet," 54.

⁴⁰ Dündar, *Crime of Numbers*, 3; Vahakn N. Dadrian, "Ottoman Archives and Denial of the Armenian Genocide," in *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics and Ethics*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1992), 280–309, 294–296. Dündar's argument is more tempered than that of Dadrian.

⁴¹ Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 3, 57–63; Karpas, *Ottoman Population*, ix, 6–11; Daniel Panzac, "L'enjeu du nombre. La population de la Turquie de 1914 à 1927," special issue, "Turquie, la croisée des chemins," *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 50 (1988): 45–67. McCarthy's book is also available as *Müslümanlar ve Azınlıklar: Osmanlı Anadolu'su'nda Nüfus ve İmparatorluğunun Sonu* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1998).

line of reasoning, “The population census was not carried out simply for military or taxation purposes. ... They were also carried out to determine the ratio according to which non-Muslims would participate in state administrative mechanisms through local and central *meclises*, or councils.” Given the politicization of statistics, “Ottoman authorities tended to control [i.e., manipulate?] population data where non-Muslims formed a local majority.”⁴²

Servet Mutlu, like Karpat and McCarthy, has expressed distrust in non-state sources. But he has neither identified the non-state sources he is referring to nor has he explained the difference between these two categories. McCarthy, on the other hand, has been aware of such sources but has systematically mischaracterized or ignored them.⁴³ For Mutlu, while “the Ottomans produced figures based on censuses,” others—“protagonists of various political causes”—only “advanced ... numbers.” “Population figures were produced to justify [the] separatist and irredentist demands” of the “principal ethnic minorities,” including Armenians.⁴⁴

Raymond Kévorkian, Paul Paboudjian, and Robert Tatoyan have done the most with demographic material on Armenians produced by Armenians themselves.⁴⁵ In his account of the underpinnings of the Armenian Genocide, Kévorkian has been in agreement with Dündar and Tatoyan that the collection of

⁴² Dündar, *Crime of Numbers*, 3. On how appointments to these councils had been set up to seem democratic and proportional but were not really so, see Édouard Driault, *La question d'Orient depuis ses origines jusqu'à la paix de Sèvres (1920)*, rev. 8th ed. (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1921), 187. On how provincial and municipal government were supposed to be run in the late nineteenth century, see Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey*, vol. 2, *Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 83–95.

⁴³ Levon Marashlian, *Politics and Demography: Armenians, Turks, and Kurds in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Zoryan Institute, 1991), 13–28.

⁴⁴ Mutlu, “Late Ottoman Population,” 3. The best account of what sorts of information were collected by ecclesiastical bodies and how that was done is Tatoyan, *Question of the Number*, 71–120.

⁴⁵ See especially Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Arméniens*; and Tatoyan, *Question of the Number*, 71–120.

demographic data on Armenians was, after 1878, a political act. He has argued that Ottoman central administrators systematically falsified their records and artificially minimized the number of Armenians especially in the eastern provinces in order to undermine the bases upon which they could call for greater political rights.⁴⁶ While he states, without going into any detail, that the numbers for the western half of the empire, including Istanbul, seem not to have been doctored in this way, his arguments seem to draw those data into question, too.

Regarding the aggregate population counts produced by the patriarchate during 1878–1914, Kévorkian has argued for their accuracy based on the logic that it was the patriarchate’s intention to secure European oversight over the eastern provinces. If the patriarchate had grossly doctored its reports, these overseers would have uncovered this manipulation upon their arrival. Such manipulation would therefore have been a self-defeating enterprise.⁴⁷ Tatoyan, in his recent and much-needed intervention, has differed from others by shedding light on the aspects of these projects that enumerators and observers had found to be problematic or insufficient.⁴⁸

What is often missing from this well-worn historiographic debate is recognition that the patriarchate was not an isolated and solely religious institution. It was a complex one fulfilling a number of conflicting roles (and not always able to balance them).

⁴⁶ For the details of his argument, see Raymond H. Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2006), 332–343. Also available as *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (New York: IB Tauris, 2011); and *Ermeni Soykırımı* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2015).

⁴⁷ Kévorkian, *Génocide*, 332–343. For a parallel argument, see Astourian, “Testing World-System Theory,” 109–122.

⁴⁸ In his study of the eastern and eastern Mediterranean provinces, he outlines how the patriarchate’s lack of experience, local factors to do with safety and the strength of patriarchal institutions, and interference by the central administration resulted in incomplete results. Tatoyan, *Question of the Number*, 71–120.

Part of this complexity came out of its affinity with the Ottoman administration, an institution with which it was interconnected and interdependent. This affinity had been a feature of the patriarchate since its founding. It had been created by an Ottoman ruler in the fifteenth century and, as the empire's borders and the administration's power had expanded, so, too, had the jurisdiction and authority of the patriarchate. This had been true to such an extent that, from the fifteenth until the eighteenth centuries, the patriarchate, by virtue of its special relationship, had been able to annex property and populations under the purview of its parallel and superior bodies across the Ottoman realms (i.e., the patriarchate in Jerusalem, the catholicosate in Sis [Kozan], and the catholicosate on Aktamar Island).⁴⁹ During the 1760s, when the catholicos at Echmiadzin had tried to impose its authority over the patriarchate, it had been by sultanic decree that Echmiadzin's representative in Istanbul had been expelled.⁵⁰ This cooperation had continued into the nineteenth century, during the early part of which the patriarchate and the central administration had worked together to oppose the common threat of Roman Catholicism; during 1827–1828, a coordinated campaign had led to the expulsion from the capital of 12,000 Catholic Armenians.⁵¹ When, during 1852–1855, the state was working to usurp and redistribute the unprecedented wealth of Mkrdich Cezayirliyan, it was at

⁴⁹ Sebouh Aslanian, *Dispersion History and the Polycentric Nation: The Role of Simeon Yerevantsi's Girk' or koçi partavčar in the 18th Century National Revival* (Venice: Saint Lazarus, 2004), 21–23, 38; Վարուժան Բէօւէեան [Varujan Köseyan], *Պատրիարքական Աթոռի պատմությունը* [History of the Patriarchate] (Istanbul: Ժամանակ, 1999), 103–104.

⁵⁰ Aslanian, *Dispersion History*, 43–44.

⁵¹ Վարուժան Բէօւէեան [Varujan Köseyan], *250 յոբելինական յուշամատեն Մայր Եկեղեցւոյ դարասց դասուն, 1719–1924* [250th anniversary memorial volume of the choir of the Mother Church of Kumkapı] (Istanbul: Մարմարա, 1971), 24–25; Վ. Ա. Պարսամյան and Շ. Ռ. Հարությունյան [V. A. Parsamyan and Sh. R. Harutyunyan], *Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն. 1801–1978 թթ.* [History of the Armenian people, 1801–1978]. (Yerevan: «Լույս» հրատարակչություն, 1979), 118.

the patriarchate that this banker was imprisoned for one and a half years.⁵² This relationship seems to have become more strained after 1878, but it did not break. During the 1890s, the two worked together to monitor the emigration of Armenian peasants from the eastern provinces, which, according to David Gutman, had become a shared threat.⁵³ After the Hamidian Massacres, it was under pressure from the administration that Madteos İzmirlyan was replaced by Malachia Ormanian as patriarch (r. November 1896 – July 1908). From then until now, the verdict on Ormanian's tenure has remained divided: while some have seen him as having done the best he could have under unforgiving circumstances, others have seen him a collaborator—so much so that, in 1903, he was the target of an unsuccessful assassination attempt and, in 1908, the subject of a scathing book titled *The Lair of Corruption; or, Ormanian's Patriarchate*.⁵⁴

The affinity between these institutions is not new knowledge. It was known to many Ottoman Armenian intellectuals and, thus, has been an underlying assumption in much—though not all—scholarship that has used Armenian sources. But, as with the scholarship on Orthodox Christians (i.e., “Greeks,” Rum), it has been entirely absent from the work of most Ottomanists.⁵⁵ As we will see in the next chapter, the

⁵² Mustafa Erdem Kabadayı, “Mkrdich Cezayirliyan; or, The Sharp Rise and Sudden Fall of an Ottoman Entrepreneur,” in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Peeters, 2008), 281–299.

⁵³ David Edward Gutman, “Sojourners, Smugglers, and the State: Transhemispheric Migration Flows and the Politics of Mobility in Eastern Anatolia, 1888–1908” (PhD diss., Binghamton University, 2012), 60–61.

⁵⁴ Ա. Գրիգորեան [A. Krikorian], *Փոստթեան օճախը կամ Օրմանեանի պատրիարքութիւնը* [The lair of corruption; or, Ormanian's patriarchate] (Boston: «Ազգ», 1908).

⁵⁵ The revisionist, amalgamative historiography on Orthodox Christians has been increasing over the past 30 years. For an account of its rise, see Evangelia Balta, “Turkish Archival Material in Greek Historiography,” in Koltuk, *Uluslararası*, 355–285. For but four diverse examples of this genre that can serve as sources of inspiration for researchers of Armenian history, see Ayşe Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Christine M. Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Anastasios G. Papademetriou, “Ottoman Tax Farming and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate: An Examination of State and Church in Ottoman

patriarchate and its clergymen were not segregated from but intimately involved in the c. 1907 census and the updating of its resultant population registers.

Society, 15–16th Century” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2001); and Elif Bayraktar Tellan, “The Patriarch and the Sultan: The Struggle for Authority and the Quest for Order in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire” (PhD diss., İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2011).

CHAPTER 2. THE SCOPE AND REGULATIONS OF THE C. 1907 CENSUS

In 1902, the publishing house Manzume, likely owned by Hovhannes Ferit Kayserian,⁵⁶ published a 60-page booklet called *The Latest Regulation Concerning Population Enumeration*.⁵⁷ It was an Armenian translation of a 12 June 1902 (i.e., 5 Reb-ül-evvel 1320, 30 May 1318) regulation (Sicill-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi) and was marketed as “necessary for every individual.”⁵⁸

This booklet was meant to give clear and detailed instructions to counters and counted about how the census should take place across the empire. It outlined who should be involved in the process and what penalties would apply to those who did not conform. It succeeded a regulation of 28 June 1900 (i.e., 29 Safer 1318, 14/15 June 1316)⁵⁹ and applied the lessons learned from preceding attempts.⁶⁰ In order to understand how the c. 1907 census was conducted, an overview and discussion are in order.

To understand the census regulations, it is first necessary to emphasize that administrators’ main intention was to produce population registers for all denizens of the empire—a feat of unmatched scale. Those who had created the 1902 regulations

⁵⁶ Ամալյա Գեղամի Կիրակոսյան [Amalya Geghami Kirakosyan], comp., *Հայ պարբերական մամուլի մատենագրություն. 1794–1967* [Bibliography of the Armenian periodical press, 1794–1967] (Yerevan: ՀՍՍՀ Ալ. Մյասնիկյանի անվան հանրապետական գրադարանի կոմպլեկտավորման բաժին, 1970), 115, 294, 614; Թեոդիկ [Teotig], *Ամենուն տարեցոյցը. Ձրօսալի ու պիտանի. 1907* [Everyone’s almanac: Entertaining and useful, 1907] (Constantinople: տպ. Վ. և Հ. Տէր-Ներսէսեան, [1906]), 237.

⁵⁷ *Մարդահամարի վերջին կանոնագիրը* [The latest regulation concerning population enumeration] (Constantinople: Մանգումէ, 1902).

⁵⁸ For Ottoman Turkish versions, see Karakoç Sarkis, *Külliyyât-ı Kavânîn*, ed. M. Akif Aydın et al. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006), 934.

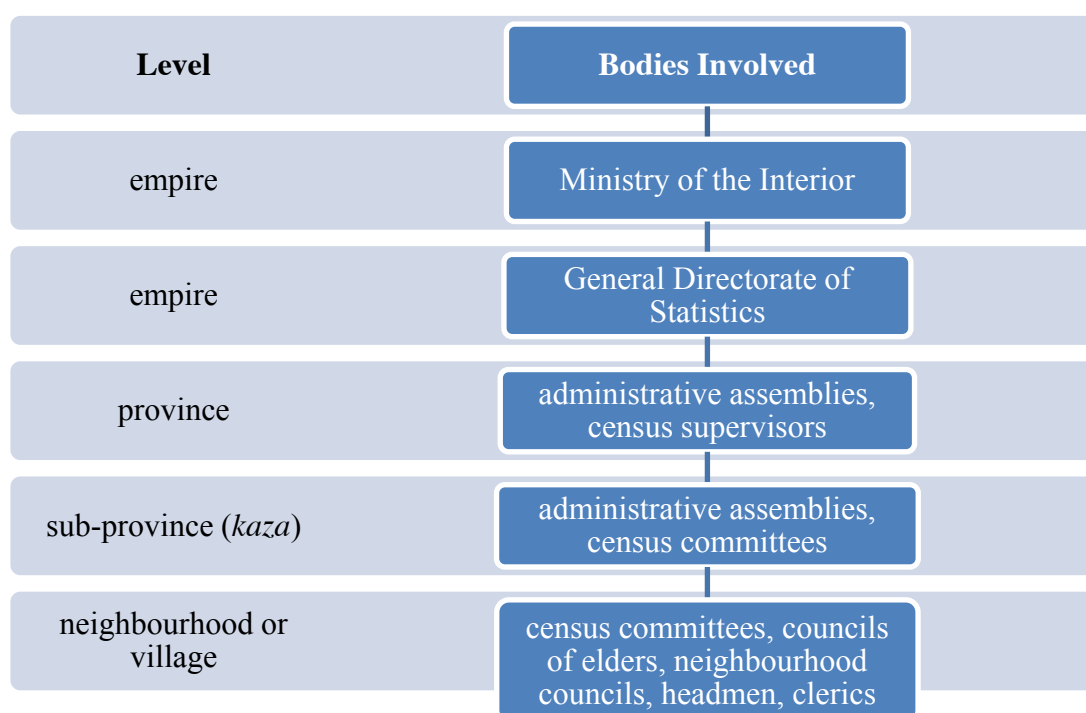
⁵⁹ For Ottoman Turkish versions, see Sarkis, *Külliyyât-ı Kavânîn*, 915.

⁶⁰ *Latest Regulation*, 75. Manzume had also published the regulations for the c. 1885 census, which, being much less detailed, were encapsulated in a mere 15 pages. *Մասնաւոր հրահանգ վերանորոգման մարդահամարին Կ. Պոլսոյ* [Special orders concerning the renewal of the population enumeration of Constantinople] (Constantinople: Մանգումէ, 1884). For a comparison between the 1874, 1881, 1900, and 1902 regulations that reveals the strong continuities between them as well as what was new in each, see Shaw, “Ottoman Census System,” 329–335. Great care should be taken with this text, which conflates what was stipulated in regulations with what was actually done.

had therefore gone to great pains to explain clearly which officials should be involved in creating the population rosters, which should be responsible for keeping them up to date, how the enumerated should be categorized, and in what media the resulting data should be organized.

The first theme that comes across from reading the regulation is that the census was envisioned as unfolding within a relatively new, strict hierarchy that was linked with older and more established systems. Figure 2 illustrates these links between the General Directorate of Statistics and other bodies.⁶¹

Figure 2. Census hierarchy



To produce the initial rosters, a specially trained⁶² census enumeration committee would begin its work by setting up an office in a sub-province's (*kaza*'s) most central village or neighbourhood.⁶³ As the census would be a de facto rather

⁶¹ *Latest Regulation*.

⁶² *Latest Regulation*, art. 14–21.

⁶³ *Latest Regulation*, art. 63.

than a *de jure* count—that is, it would record people where they actually were, rather than in other places that might be considered their official places of residence⁶⁴—it would record information on all those physically present in that sub-province.⁶⁵ Present at the time of enumeration was supposed to have been quite a large assembly, made up of the neighbourhood’s or village’s headman (*muhtar*), council of elders (*ծերերու ժողով, ihtiyar meclisi*), and clerics (an imam, secular priest,⁶⁶ or rabbi, as applicable) in addition to the census committee members.⁶⁷ The old census registers were to be present, too, to allow enumerators to inquire into any inconsistencies.⁶⁸

During and after the census, at least five types of records were expected to be produced, with one set for each ethno-religious “community” (*հասարակութիւն*): preliminary notebooks (*նախնական ձեռաստեղծեր*), main registers for locals (*հիմնական տոմարներ, մայր տոմարներ, esas defterleri*, basic registers), non-locals’ registers (*օտարականներու տոմարներ, ecnebi defterleri, yabancı defterleri*), vital events registers (*պատահական դէպքերու տոմարներ, vukuat defterleri*), and summary registers (*icmal*).⁶⁹ The preliminary notebooks were to be produced at the moment of census taking.⁷⁰ When a neighbourhood’s or village’s enumeration was completed, these preliminary notebooks were to be signed by the headman, clerics,

⁶⁴ Mather, “Demographic Data,” 1012.

⁶⁵ Behar interprets this in the opposite fashion, identifying the c. 1885 and c. 1907 censuses as *de jure* counts. Cem Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun ve Türkiye’nin Nüfusu, 1500–1927* (Ankara: TC Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1996), 42n6, 53n2, 57–58n1.

⁶⁶ That is, married priests (*քահանայներ, kahanas*), ranked below celibate ones (*վարդապետներ, vartabeds*).

⁶⁷ *Latest Regulation*, art. 66.

⁶⁸ *Latest Regulation*, art. 66.

⁶⁹ *Latest Regulation*, art. 63, 71.

⁷⁰ *Latest Regulation*, art. 63.

council of elders, and neighbourhood council as well as each enumerator.⁷¹ The ratified preliminary notebooks would be stored with the neighbourhood's or village's headman and clergymen, as these people would be responsible for keeping track of vital events (i.e., births, marriages, divorces, and deaths) thereafter.⁷² Within one month of their enumeration being completed, officials were responsible for forwarding the aggregate data for their sub-province to the Ministry of the Interior in tidier summary registers.⁷³ The ministry would make an announcement each time it considered the enumeration of a specific sub-province complete.⁷⁴ Annually, sub-province-level census officials would prepare lists of men who had reached military age and would deliver them, through the proper channels, to the military.⁷⁵

As with earlier censuses and in order to facilitate the maintenance of accurate population registers, locals (*inṯṉuq̱ẖḻṉ, yerliler*) and non-locals (*oṉuq̱uḻu̱ṉḻṉ, yabancılar*) were to be recorded in separate volumes: a main register and a non-locals' register.⁷⁶ The regulation went into great detail in differentiating between these two categories, the gist of which was that locals were those who had established permanent residence in their place of enumeration while non-locals were those who had not.⁷⁷

Presumably, in the minds of those who had drawn up the regulations, the issuance of mandatory (*u̱ḻ̱u̱ṉı̱ṉı̱ẖ, mecburi*) identity papers (*Osmaniye tezkereleri*,

⁷¹ *Latest Regulation*, art. 68.

⁷² *Latest Regulation*, art. 68.

⁷³ *Latest Regulation*, art. 63, 71.

⁷⁴ *Latest Regulation*, art. 72.

⁷⁵ *Latest Regulation*, art. 25.

⁷⁶ *Latest Regulation*, art. 63.

⁷⁷ The latter category therefore included temporary labour migrants, merchants, sailors, visitors, and so on. *Latest Regulation*, art. 9, 27–30, 63–67.

nüfus tezkereleri) was a mechanism that would ensure that the maximum number of people presented themselves for registration. Tying a census committee's funding to the income it generated through the issuance of these papers seems to have had the same goal in mind but from the opposite point of view; committee members had it in their interest to ensure that no one was missed.⁷⁸ People paid a sum unspecified in the regulations to receive these documents,⁷⁹ which reflected the same information they had presented to enumerators.⁸⁰ For the counted, identity papers would be necessary for buying and selling immovable assets, being appointed to official positions, registering for school, receiving pensions, being issued other official documents, interacting with police, going to court, and getting married.⁸¹

Fines were also outlined with the same goal in mind. Parents who did not have their newborns recorded on time would be fined 1 lira (i.e., 1 gold coin); headmen and clergymen who delayed on relaying birth information to their superiors would be fined 0.5 liras.⁸² Fines were to be given to people who did not report their moving to new areas as well.⁸³ Those who avoided being enumerated in order to escape conscription would also be fined 1 lira and would be imprisoned for up to 3 months.⁸⁴ Those who avoided the census or provided false information for disruptive

⁷⁸ *Latest Regulation*, art. 61.

⁷⁹ *Latest Regulation*, art. 69.

⁸⁰ *Latest Regulation*, art. 3.

⁸¹ *Latest Regulation*, art. 5.

⁸² *Latest Regulation*, art. 26.

⁸³ *Latest Regulation*, art. 41.

⁸⁴ *Latest Regulation*, art. 70.

unsuccessfully to outline how married labour migrants, travellers, and those in privileged (*unwūāḏwzūnhkūw*) and autonomous (*hūpūortū*) provinces would be recorded. These rules were especially cumbersome, and they must have led to inconsistent decision-making on the part of enumerators.⁸⁹

Having thus summarized the census regulations, the chapter that follows first explains the process by which the patriarchate created its own population register and then uses that register to critique the actual enumeration of the census.

⁸⁹ *Latest Regulation*, art. 9, 27–30, 63–67.

CHAPTER 3. A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE C. 1907 CENSUS AND THE PATRIARCHAL REGISTER

In addition to being present at the moment of enumeration and keeping track of vital events, Apostolic clerics were also involved in creating their own population register—a phenomenon not mentioned in the regulations. In what follows, I use this register to investigate the census as it actually happened, identifying clear patterns of error as well as deviations from the written rules.

In the format that it has reached me, the patriarchate's population register is made up of 4 volumes of numbered pages and about 50 unnumbered sheets at the end, including approximately 65,000–70,000 individuals.⁹⁰ It has no cover and no accompanying documentation. Figure 3 and Table 1 show its approximate geographic coverage: much of Greater Istanbul and its outlying settlements. According to today's administrative divisions, its extremes are the Istanbulite municipalities of Bakırköy to the west, Sarıyer to the north, and Kartal to the east. Since Figure 3 and Table 1 use the district and sub-district names given in the register, it is important to keep in mind that the boundaries from one century ago do not match with those from today.

⁹⁰ The areas covered in these 50 pages have been represented by dotted lines in Figure 3 and have been listed under “volume [4]” in Table 1.

Figure 3. Approximate geographic coverage of the population register

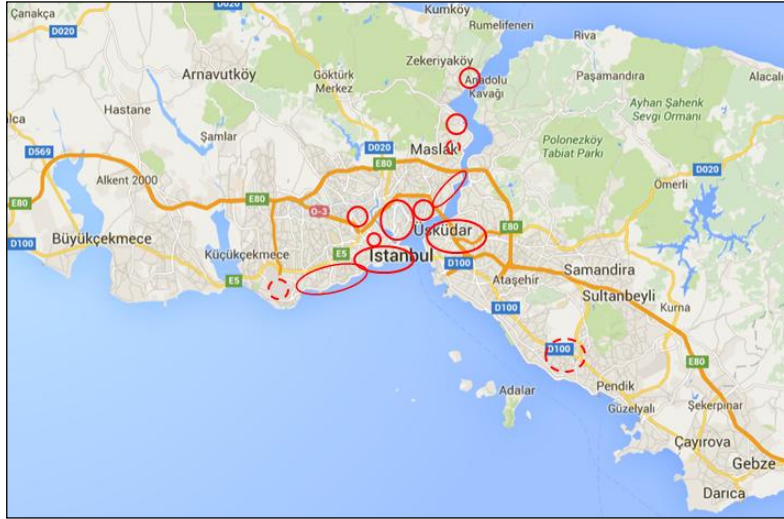


Table 1. Geographic coverage of the population register

Volume No.	Districts or Sub-Districts
1	Makriköy
	Yenimahalle
	Altunizade İsmail Paşa
	Pazarbaşı
	Üsküdar Selamsız
	İcadiye
	Kuzguncuk
	Kandilli
2	Yenikapı
	Samatya
	Narlıkapı
	Gedikpaşa
	Samatya Yenimahalle
	Mother Church [i.e., Kumkapı]
3	Balat
	Eyüp
	Hasköy
	Galata
	Beşiktaş, Köyiçi, Yenimahalle, Sinan Paşa-i Atık, Abbasağa, Şenlik Dede, Cihannüma, Kaptan İbrahim Ağa
	Ortaköy
	Kuruçeşme
	Arnavutköy
	Bebek
	Rumelihisarı
	Boyacıköy
	Büyükdere, Mezarburnu, Sarıyer Yenimahalle, Tarabya, Kireç Burnu
	Pera
4	Pera

	<i>Kamer Hatun</i>
	<i>Asmalı Mescit</i>
	<i>Tomtom</i>
	<i>Yenişehir</i>
	<i>Kazancı</i>
	<i>Firuzaga</i>
	<i>Kuloğlu</i>
	<i>Katip Mustafa Çelebi</i>
	<i>Hüseyin Ağa</i>
	<i>Pangaltı</i>
	Feriköy
[4]	Aya Stefanos
	Yeniköy
	İstinye
	Yeni Mahalle
	Kartal

Figures 4 and 5 are fairly representative pages, listing 24 and 17 individuals each. We see there the standard template for this document. The column headings read “sub-district,” “street,” “number,” “name,” “surname,” “occupation,” “father,” “mother,” “birth place,” “birth date,” and “notes.”⁹¹ As shown in Figure 6, districts are identified on cover pages. Ditto marks are often used to signal data repeated from the line immediately above. Observations are clustered into households, though neither that term nor any like it is used in the document: the first entry is often a husband living with his wife and blood relatives, and while the first individual is never given an affiliation, those following usually are given one in relation to him or her (e.g., wife, child, relative, mother-in-law, etc.). In instances where such identifiers are not used, inferences can usually be made using the surrounding data. Occupations are given in either Armenian or Armeno-Turkish. Dates of birth are always only Rumi years (i.e., months and days are not mentioned). The “notes” field is usually blank. Most pages are numbered by hand.

⁹¹ These topics are the same basic ones that continue to be asked about around the world today. Mather, “Demographic Data,” 1012.

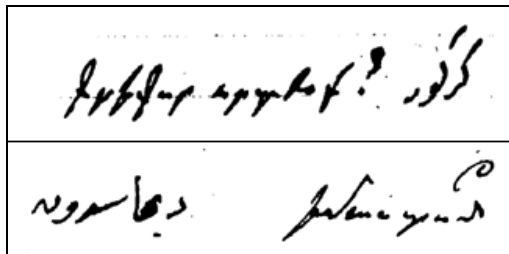
[illegible][illegible]

[illegible]

32

Though there is no accompanying documentation, we can deduce from the internal evidence that the patriarchate’s register was copied from Ottoman Turkish originals after the census committee’s preliminary notebooks had been ratified. This is attested to best by certain notes left behind by scribes indicating an inability to decipher a name or word written in Turkish. Figure 7 represents two examples of such notes, where a scribe, unable to decipher the Turkish rendering, has written in Armenian “perhaps Krikor?” and “İmasdun?” and in Turkish “Kralur/Krkor” and “Dimasrun/Dimasruk.”⁹² Other notes say “unclear” and “unknown” (*անծանոթ*, *անհայտ*/*namalum*, *մեհուլ*/*mechul*).

Figure 7. Two scribal notes



Based on the considerations that follow, I have concluded that this register was intended to include only Apostolics. Armenian Catholics, Syriac Catholics, Chaldeans, Armenian Protestants, Syrian Protestants, and the Syriac Orthodox had all broken away from the patriarchate during the 1830s to 1880s, leaving only Apostolics within the patriarchate’s jurisdiction.⁹³ Across the entire document,

⁹² PERSON_IDs 20229231 and 20231322. The PERSON_IDs used in this paper are unique identifiers generated by our research project. Eventually, the full dataset created by our project will be published online. For now, the people and households referred to with IDs have been saved in a special dataset downloadable with this thesis. The syntax of these identifiers is as follows: 1-digit volume number, 2-digit part number, 3-digit page number, 2-digit representation of the person’s place on the page. Thus, 20229231 is the 31st person on page 292 of part 2 of volume 2 of the patriarchal register.

⁹³ Hagop Barsoumian, “The Eastern Question and the Tanzimat Era,” in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 2, *Foreign Domination to Statehood: The Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1997), 175–201, 186–188; David Gaunt, *Massacres, Resistance, Protectors: Muslim-Christian Relations in Eastern Anatolia during World War I* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 13; Aryo Makko, “Historical Roots of Contemporary Controversies: National Revival and the Assyrian ‘Concept of Unity,’” *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 24, no. 1 (2010): 1–29, 3.

roughly 120 people are identified by denomination or ethnicity: there are some 60 Catholics, 30 Protestants, 5 “Rum” Catholics, 5 Syriac Orthodox, 2 Armenian Catholics, and 1 “Greek.” There are also records of some who held foreign citizenship: mentioned are about 60 Iranian nationals, 10 Russians, 5 Austrians, 1 American, and, strangely, 1 Ottoman. One Armenian woman is mentioned as having a “Greek” husband, and his name is not recorded.⁹⁴ Similarly, an Armenian man is mentioned as having a “Greek” wife and son, and their names are not recorded.⁹⁵ One woman whose entry seems to have been a later addition is mentioned as having “converted from Protestantism on 26 October 1907.”⁹⁶ A member of one household is recorded as having “changed their religion on 22 March 1907” and their name is not given.⁹⁷ Given that only a handful of people are identified as non-Apostolic, I propose that the inclusion of these observations—seeming to total not more than 200 out of some 65,000–70,000—is an anomaly. It is possible that certain enumerators, having come across these individuals, decided to record them together with Apostolics for whatever reason and that the scribes did not sift them (all) out while compiling the copy in my possession.

It can also be surmised that the register was intended to include locals only, to the exclusion of non-locals. As previously mentioned, enumerators were instructed to record these two groups in separate volumes, and we know this to have been done in the case of the city’s Muslim population. It is often mentioned in the historical and contemporary literature that labour migrants—who would have represented by far the largest proportion of non-locals—usually lived in bachelors’ houses (*bekarodaları*)

⁹⁴ PERSON_ID 40200210.

⁹⁵ PERSON_ID 30201913.

⁹⁶ PERSON_ID 20248107.

⁹⁷ PERSON_ID 20265213.

and workers' inns (*hanlar*, *խաններ*), and no such buildings appear in the patriarchal register; there are no dwellings housing together significant numbers of unrelated or unmarried men. Given these observations, and considering that the patriarchate was likely most interested in having a population register of its local flock rather than transients who would come and go, we can deduce that the register was devoted to locals solely.

It is not clear how comprehensive the register was in recording the city's local Apostolics. We do know that it includes some 65,000–70,000 people and that contemporaneous observers (e.g., officials of the central administration and of the police, a patriarch, Ottoman intellectuals, non-Ottoman diplomats, etc.) put the population of Armenians in the city at between 150,000 and 255,000 during 1897–1914.⁹⁸ We do not know, however, which areas were included in the “Istanbul” in the minds of those who quoted these figures (e.g., whether outlying settlements were taken into consideration), whom they considered to be “Armenians” (e.g., whether labour migrants were included), on what bases their numbers were generated, or

⁹⁸ John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople, Brûsa, and the Troad* (London: J. Murray, 1900); “Constantinople,” in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*, 11th ed., vol. 7 (New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1910), 3–9, 8; Մաղաքիա Օրմանեան (Malachia Ormanian), *Հայոց եկեղեցին եւ իր պատմութիւնը, վարդապետութիւնը, վարչութիւնը, բարեկարգութիւնը, արարողութիւնը, գրականութիւնը, ու ներկայ կացութիւնը* [The Armenian Church and its history, doctrine, leadership, discipline, liturgy, literature, and present condition] (Constantinople: հրատարակիչ Վ. Է. Հ. Տէր Ներսէսեան, 1911), 259; German ambassador in Istanbul Paul Wolff Metternich, telegram to German chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, 7 December 1915, “1915-12-07-DE-001,” Armenocide: The Armenian Genocide during the First World War; Documents from State Archives, [http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/\\$\\$AllDocs/1915-12-07-DE-001](http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/$$AllDocs/1915-12-07-DE-001); London Committee of Unredeemed Greeks, *The Liberation of the Greek People in Turkey* (Manchester and London: Norbury, Natzio & Co., 1919), 11; Թէոդիկ [Teotig], “Բաղդատական վիճակագրութիւն հայ բնակչութեան Օսմ. կայսրութեան մէջ տեղահանութենէ առաջ եւ վերջ. պատրաստուած 1 Ապրիլ 1921ին” [Comparative report on the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire before and after the deportation—prepared on 1 April 1921], *Ամէնուն տարեցոյցը. ԺԶ տարի, 1922* [Everyone's almanac: 17th year, 1922] (Constantinople: տպ. Մ. Յովակիմեան, [1921]), 261–265, 262; Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453–1924* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997; first published 1995), 437. Ormanian book's is also available as *L'église arménienne, son histoire, sa doctrine, son régime, sa discipline, sa liturgie, sa littérature, son présent* (Antelias: Catholicossat arménien de Cilicie, 1954; first published by E. Leroux in 1910); and *The Church of Armenia—Her History, Doctrine, Rule, Discipline, Liturgy, Literature and Existing Condition*, trans. G. Marcar Gregory (London: Mowbray, 1955; first published in 1912).

whether the census was even completed.⁹⁹ At this stage, therefore, we can only be certain that the patriarchal register presents us with a wealth of information unprecedented in both its depth and breadth; but we cannot be certain what proportion of the local Apostolic population it represents or which parts of the city are missing from the total.

That there might be a spatial component this issue is hinted at when we consider the post-enumerative recording of vital events, which happened inconsistently across the city. Notes on deaths (roughly 450 overall, sometimes with specific dates and sometimes with the country of death) and moves (roughly 375, usually indicating a date and giving the name of the settlement or Istanbul district to which they moved, sometimes with a full street address) are completely absent from certain districts but common in others. That differences in handwriting and especially style of data entry seem to correlate with different districts points to heterogeneity in how these volumes were used in the few years they served as living documents.¹⁰⁰ It is possible, for instance, that all the volumes were not kept at the patriarchate but at the larger churches around Istanbul. Or it might be that clerics around the city were themselves collecting and relaying different types of data to the patriarchate for updating centrally.

Differences in handwriting make it clear that the register was compiled and updated by some 5–7 scribes, and one of their noteworthy mistakes allows us to see

⁹⁹ A figure that Karpat has cited is similarly inconclusive. Drawing from an aggregate report that he has identified as a summary of the c. 1907 census, he has given 61,699 as the number of Apostolic Armenians, 9,332 as that of Armenian Catholics, 1,370 for Protestants of all ethnicities, and 129,249 for “foreigners.” “Memalik-i Osmaniye’de Dahil-i Tahrir Olan Nüfusun İcmali,” no. 947, Turkish manuscripts section, Istanbul University Library, cited at Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, 162–163. While his 61,699 is quite close to my 65,000–70,000, a more careful comparison will have to be done to reach a solid conclusion. It is not clear which outlying settlements were considered part of Istanbul in the report he cites, and it is not clear whether by *foreigners* was meant non-local Ottoman subjects (e.g., labour migrants), non-Ottoman subjects (i.e., subjects of other states), or both.

¹⁰⁰ There seem to have been no updates after 30 November 1909.

how the process of transcription took place. Between the register's sections on the districts of Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı are some 60 buildings recorded twice, housing some 580 people divided into around 130 households.¹⁰¹ By comparing these duplicates, we come to see that each district's scribes made the following editorial decisions: The Gedikpaşa scribes often simplified people's birthplaces (e.g., by writing "İstanbul" rather than "Kınalıada" and "Aleppo" instead of "Kilis"); they more often applied the surnames of household heads to their non-male and non-adult household members; and they copied people's honorifics only if they were *hacı* or *der*.¹⁰² They never indicated whether a person was a student or if their parent was dead. The Kumkapı scribes, in contrast, did the opposite of these things in addition to often translating occupations into Armenian (e.g., *սնտապոյժ/adamnapuyj* rather than *dişçi* for *dentist*); often using the surname suffix *-yan* rather than *-oğlu*; and retaining the honorifics *ağa*, *efendi*, and *mahdesi*.¹⁰³ Mismatches also happened when one or the other misread a Turkish scribe's handwriting (e.g., by reading the numerals ۲ and ۳ interchangeably as 2 or 3); when different versions of the same name were used (e.g., *Hovhannes/Յովհաննէս* and *Ohannes/Օհաննէս*); and when, for unclear reasons, an entire household's years of birth were offset by one or two years (e.g., in the case of the members of shoemaker Hagop's household, whose years of birth are listed once as the Rumi years 1262, 1272, 1293, and 1299 and then as 1263, 1273, 1294, and 1300¹⁰⁴).

¹⁰¹ These duplicates were merged in order to compile the 6,265-person database at the core of this thesis.

¹⁰² *Der* (*մէր*), literally *lord*, was a designation applied to clerics.

¹⁰³ *Mahdesi* (*մահմէտի*), like *hacı* when applied to Christians, designated one who had completed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

¹⁰⁴ HOUSEHOLD_IDs 20230304 and 20251905. HOUSEHOLD_IDs follow the same format as PERSON_IDs. Thus, 20230304 is the 4th household listed on page 303 of part 2 of volume 2 of the register.

Overall, such mismatches are in the minority, however, and a comparison of these 580 or so duplicated entries reveals the high level of accuracy with which these scribes were working; most often, their work matched perfectly. This leads me to conclude that the patriarchal register represents an essentially true copy of the Ottoman Turkish originals it was based on.

While it is not perfectly clear when the census began and ended, it is possible to guess at a range. In Manzume's translation of the census regulation, it was stated that preparations had already begun as of 12 June 1902, and, in southern Istanbul, the registration of newborns seems to have petered off after 1907.¹⁰⁵ In two Aegean villages, enumeration took place during 1904–1905 and, in Ottoman Macedonia, during 1905–1906.¹⁰⁶ Regarding the census empire-wide, Behar has stated that it “was begun in 1907 and was completed about two years later. However, the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 prevented the authorities from completing it in the capital.”¹⁰⁷ And for Istanbul in particular, Duben and Behar have written that “1907 (1322) [is] the modal [i.e., most common] [year] for registration in the ... rosters. The census itself took several years to be completed.”¹⁰⁸ For these reasons, and given that the regulations did not specify a census day, we may conclude provisionally that the patriarchal registers reflect a snapshot of time focusing mostly on 1907. It is for this reason that this thesis refers to a “c. 1907 census.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ As seen in Figure 8, 110 individuals were registered with a Rumi birth year of 1321 (1905/1906), 84 with 1322 (1906/1907), and 9 with 1323 (1907/1908).

¹⁰⁶ Çetin, “Ödemis,” 413; Çetin, “Tiryanda,” 48; Yosmaoğlu, “Counting Bodies,” 56.

¹⁰⁷ Behar's statement is contradictory; he does not make clear whether he believes the census to have been completed or stopped prematurely, and he does not provide a source for his information. Behar, “Sources,” 166.

¹⁰⁸ Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 15n29.

¹⁰⁹ For these same reasons, it has also been called the 1320, 1321, 1322, 1903, 1904, 1905–1906, 1906, 1907, and 1903–1907 census.

Closely scrutinizing the contents of the register and mapping them sheds light on the question of where enumerators and the enumerated met—that is, whether the enumerators were waiting for the population to come to them, as was indicated in the regulations, or whether they were going door to door, according, one might speculate, to special instructions prepared for the largest settlements of the empire. On the one hand, it seems that itinerant census-taking would have been appropriate in a city, for enumerators could ensure that every building and apartment was visited and could confirm firsthand the household and living arrangements of the population. This view is borne out by the order in which most of the register is written: most often, first all of a street's buildings with odd or even street numbers are recorded, then the opposite—that is, it is as though enumerators had walked down one side of the street first and then up the other. Similarly, neighbouring streets are normally recorded one after the other. That the register was organized in this way suggests strongly in favour of itinerant enumeration considering the alternative of enumerators recording data in a mixed fashion then arranging the results in a way that made spatial sense by using detailed street maps. Whether maps detailed enough to allow for this existed is unclear, and even if they did, they certainly did not cover all the regions included in the register; nor can it be assumed safely that these maps, which would have been developed by fire insurance companies, would have been made available to census-takers.¹¹⁰ All the same, there is some contrary evidence to consider. These are the haziness of some sub-districts' boundaries, as discussed in chapter 4; the impracticality of a committee of 5 or more persons—including clerics and others carrying with them writing instruments and old population records—roaming the city's streets; and the existence of impossibly dense dwellings, an

¹¹⁰ Murat Güvenç, "The Pervititch Maps: An *Unfinished* Research Project for Istanbul," in Pervititch, *Istanbul*, 11–19.

explanation for which I have not been able to find. Table 2 provides the addresses of those located in southern Istanbul, as well as the numbers of people and households recorded in them. Ultimately, the question of how census committees operated in Istanbul and what they saw firsthand versus what they did not must remain unanswered.

Table 2. Extraordinarily dense dwellings in southern Istanbul

Address	No. of people	No. of households
23 Fırın	126	21
16 Tiyatro Caddesi	80	18
30 Kilise Caddesi	47	14
15 Hamam Caddesi	45	8

On the topic of accuracy, observations should also be made in regard to occupational data and ages.

First, when analyzing historical occupational data, it is prudent to keep in mind that self-identified occupations are not synonymous with active employment; there is no guarantee that someone who identifies himself as an umbrella-maker was active in that trade at the time of enumeration.

Overall, save for a number of minor exceptions, there is no great indication that the occupational data recorded for men is problematic. In the case for women, it is not useful. For men, the exceptions have to do with illegality and change over time. It is worth remembering that the census was one taken by the government and, for that reason as well as, perhaps, for reasons of respectability, no one is identified as a burglar, beggar, prostitute, and so on. Literature on these occupations does exist, but these individuals are not visible in the census register.¹¹¹ Also, we must keep in

¹¹¹ Nadir Özbek, “‘Beggars’ and ‘Vagrants’ in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876–1914,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 5 (2009): 783–801; Noémi Lévy-Aksu, *Ordre et désordres dans l’Istanbul ottomane, 1879–1909* (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2012). On Armenian prostitutes in particular, see Rıfat N. Bali, *The Jews and Prostitution in Constantinople, 1854–1922* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2008), *passim*.

mind that this register is a snapshot taken over a certain period of time and, therefore, people who may have had many occupations during their lifetimes are only visible with one. The Kasbar recorded as a carpenter and [illegible], the Vartan Ağa listed as a linen manufacturer (*լոսւսագործ*) and woollen manufacturer (*շոշհաւճի/շուհաւ*), and the Hovhannes listed as a linen manufacturer and smelter are exceptions; nearly always, only one occupation is recorded per person.¹¹²

It seems that the occupations of women were ignored by enumerators, except, perhaps, in the case of servants. In southern Istanbul, only 1% of females aged 15 and over (i.e., of potentially working age) were recorded with occupations (24 out of 2,350 women), more than half of whom were servants. This is in comparison to 85% of males aged 15 and over who were recorded that way (1,956 out of 2,312). Research on Ottoman women's occupations would lead us to expect to see greater numbers involved in needlework, embroidery (*սիլիկ/dival işi, սիլիկ/սյուզենի*), kerchief printing (*կապիկ/yaşma*), and lace making, especially through putting-out, or subcontracting, systems.¹¹³

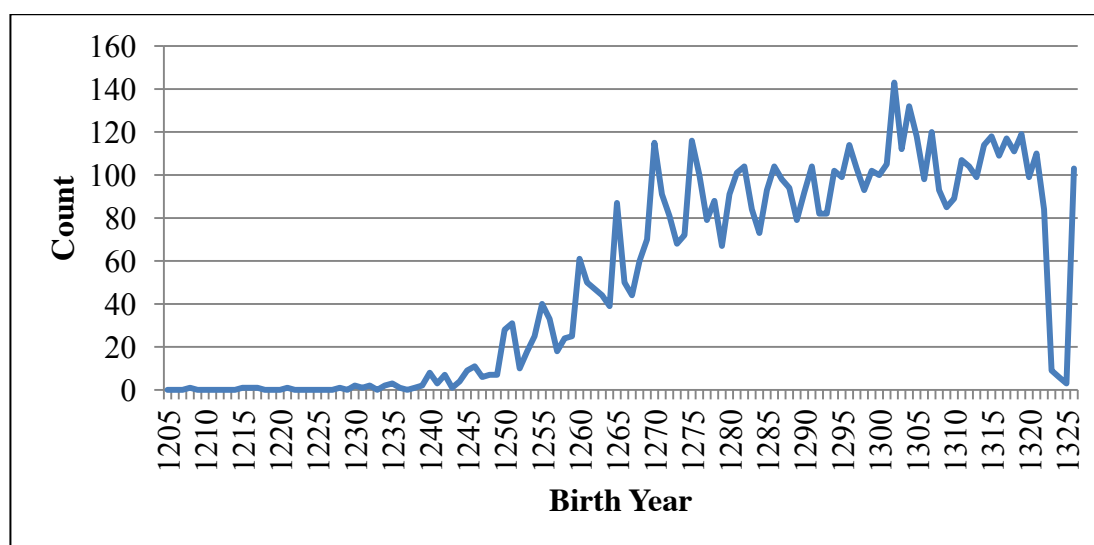
A final note should be made on the reliability of birth year data. As Figure 8 demonstrates, birth-year clustering (i.e., age heaping) is evident in the register.

¹¹² PERSON_IDs 20247813, 20256122, and 20257701.

¹¹³ Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou, "Historiography of Late Ottoman Women," in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*, ed. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1–27, 13, 15; Donald Quataert, "Ottoman Women, Households and Textile Manufacturing, 1800–1914," in *Shifting Boundaries: Women and Gender in Middle Eastern History*, ed. Nikki Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 161–176; Gülhan Balsoy, "Gendering Ottoman Labor History: The Cibali Régie Factory in the Early Twentieth Century," *International Review of Social History* 54, supplement (2009): 45–68; M. Erdem Kabadayı, "Working from Home: Division of Labor among Female Workers of Feshane in Late Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," in Köksal and Falierou, *A Social History*, 65–81; Michelle Tusan, "The Business of Relief Work: A Victorian Quaker in Constantinople and Her Circle," *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 4 (2009): 633–661; Սարգիս Գ. Փափուցեան [Sarkis K. Paçacyan], *Յուշափայտներ և Դոկումենտներ հայկական, 1606–1922* [Memorial volume of the Armenians of Rodosto, 1606–1922] (Beirut: Տօնիկեան, 1971), 204; Sirouni, *Bolis*, IV: 222–223. For a very useful discussion from a more developed field, see Xuesheng You, "Women's Employment in England and Wales, 1851–1911" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2014), esp. 2–58.

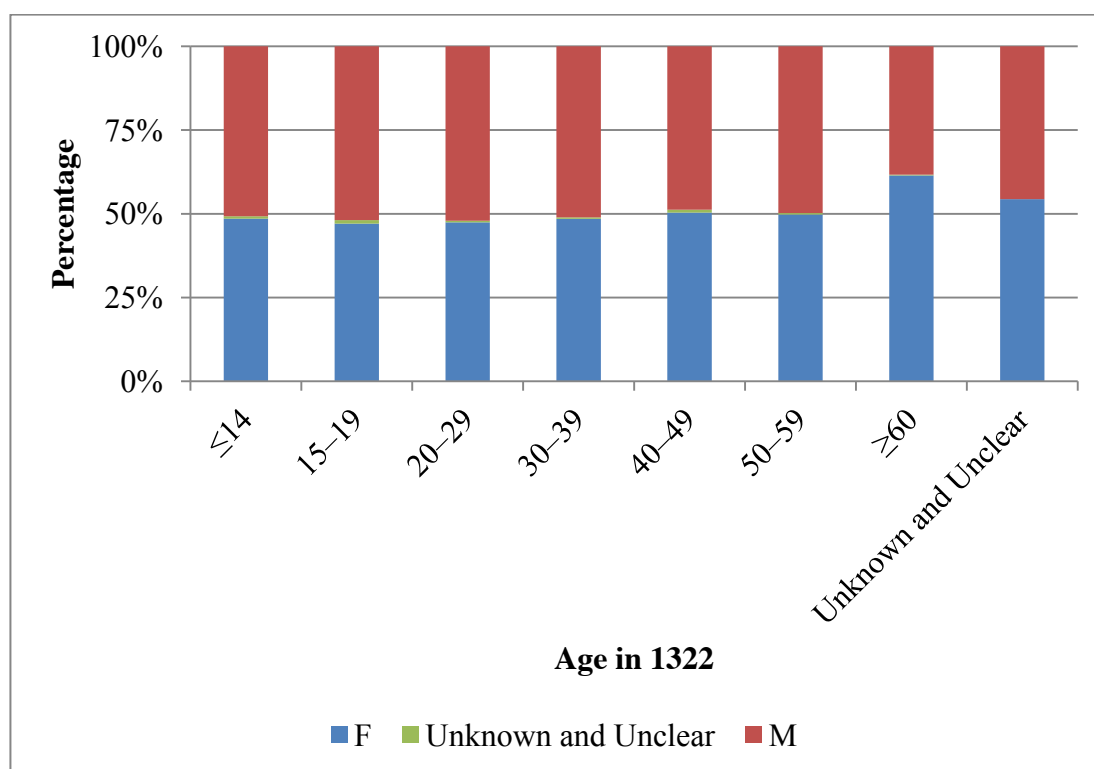
Between the Rumi years 1250 and 1302, there are peaks every five years or so: 1251, 1255, 1260, 1265, 1270, 1275, 1282, 1286, 1291, 1296, and 1302. This is to be expected, given that, in the absence of a system of timely birth registration, most people would not have known their exact birthdays. The data on ages given throughout this thesis—mostly in chapter 5—should therefore be regarded as approximations.

Figure 8. Count of people by birth year



Overall, throughout the process of analyzing, cross-analyzing, and mapping the information in this register, large anomalies that cast suspicion across the entire source have not come up. Indeed, a gender- and age-based look at its contents helps shore up our confidence in enumerators; as Figure 9 shows, males and females other than the elderly were recorded in equal proportions across southern Istanbul.

Figure 9. Age/sex correlations



Having thus established that we can, in general, be confident about the contents of this population register, and having sensitized ourselves to its areas of weakness and outlying, anomalous phenomena, a deeper analysis of its contents can follow. Such analyses are taken up on chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 4. SOUTHERN ISTANBUL AND ITS SOCIAL MAKEUP

In order to contextualize the details recorded in the patriarchal register, it is necessary to understand the importance of Istanbul to Ottoman Armenian society and to consider the defining characteristics of the districts of Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı as well as why it is more meaningful to discuss them together, as part of a larger “southern Istanbul.”

In addition to being the capital of an empire, Istanbul was also the capital of Ottoman Armenian collective life. It was there that the Apostolic patriarchate, which dominated ecclesiastic networks and which represented most Ottoman Armenians before the state, had its seat. It was also there that the Armenian National Representative Assembly (Ազգային Երեսփոխանական Ժողով) met and made decisions for and on behalf of all Armenians. After the 1878 Treaty of San Stefano, Istanbul became the international diplomatic centre of the Eastern Question and of its derivative, the Armenian Question. For these reasons, Istanbul drew people to itself. To participate in the representative assembly, it was there that delegates from the provinces had to convene. Similarly, it was only by coming to the capital that provincials could argue for petitions they had submitted and seek aid.¹¹⁴ Education and other novelties (e.g., Western-style theatre, foreign literature, new technologies) often spread from Istanbul outward and drew seekers of modernity to the capital.

Since at least the late seventeenth century, Istanbul’s southern parts—in those days, the districts of Kumkapı, Langa, and Yenikapı—had been the most Armenian populated,¹¹⁵ and, by c. 1907, Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı had developed certain defining characteristics.

¹¹⁴ Sirouni, *Bolis*, III:461.

¹¹⁵ Երեմիա Չելեպի Զեմհրանեան [Yeremia Çelebi Kömürcyan], *Երեմիա Չելեպիի Զեմհրանեան Մասնագոյն պատմութիւն* [The history of Sdambol by Yeremia Çelebi Kömürcyan], ed. Vahram H.

Gedikpaşa was known principally for two reasons: theatre and Protestant community. Western-style theatre became incredibly popular in the Ottoman Empire starting in the 1840s, and, around 1868, this district became one of its important centres. It was then that Hagop Vartovyan (Güllü Agop, Mehmet Yakup) established there the Tiyatro-i Osmani (Osmanlı Tiyatrosu, Théâtre ottoman, Gedikpaşa Theatre). He and his colleagues turned it into an imperial centre for the exhibition of a new art form in French, Italian, and Turkish, and, when it was shut down by sultanic decree in 1882, the dispersion of acting companies across Istanbul and Anatolia helped this district retain its renown.¹¹⁶ Gedikpaşa had also been (and remains) a centre of Protestant community since 1850, given the presence of an Armenian Evangelical church and of an American school attended by Armenian students and staff. This community had some 1,100–1,500 members around 1907, an unknown number of whom would have actually lived in the area.¹¹⁷

As the seat of the patriarchate, Kumkapı's reputation was stronger and more international than that of Gedikpaşa. Surp Asdvadzadzin Mother Church was a

Torkomyan (Վահրամ Յ. Թորգոմյան) (Vienna: Մխիթարեան տպարան, 1913; based on a late-seventeenth-century manuscript). Also available as Eremya Çelebi Kômürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan, ed. Kevork Pamukciyan, rev. 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Eren, 1988).

¹¹⁶ Mansel, *Constantinople*, 291–292; Sirouni, *Bolis*, IV:157–169; Suraiya Faroqhi, “Introduction 2: Research on Ottoman Festivities and Performances,” in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theater in the Ottoman World*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Arzu Öztürkmen (New York: Seagull Books, 2014), 50; Nalan Turna, “The Ottoman Stage: Politicization and Commercialization of Theatres, 1876–1922,” in Faroqhi and Öztürkmen, *Celebration*, 319–342, 322–333; Mehmet Fatih Uslu, *Çatışma ve Müzakere: Osmanlı’da Türkçe ve Ermenice Dramatik Edebiyat* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2014).

¹¹⁷ Հոգաբարձություն [Board of Trustees], “Կէտիքփաշայի Հայ Աւետ. Եկեղեցւոյ կազմութիւնը եւ պաշտամունքի վայրերը” [The formation and places of worship of the Gedikpaşa Armenian Evangelical Church], in *Յուշամատենան հարիւրամեակի Հայց. Աւետարանական Եկեղեցւոյ. Կէտիկ-Փաշայ (նախկին Լանկա), 1850-1950. Իշխանարույն* [Memorial volume for the centennial of the Armenian Evangelical Church—Gedikpaşa (previously Langa), 1850–1950, Istanbul] (Istanbul: AKIN Basimevi, [1950]), 26–47; Բիւզանդ Ռուպեան [Püzant Rubyan], afterword to *Memorial Volume for the Centennial*, 120–126; Miss Jones, “Report of Gedik Pasha,” [c. 1901], item ABA001501223, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Collection, SALT Research, https://www.archives.saltresearch.org/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=3839255; Miss Jones, “Report of Gedik Pasha for 1902,” item ABA001100902, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Collection, SALT Research, https://www.archives.saltresearch.org/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=3836634.

global centre of Armenian liturgical music, and through the patriarchate moved officials of the Apostolic Church conducting their duties and receiving promotions. Before being moved to Galata, the Armenian National Assembly (Ազգային Ժողով) had initially held its meetings in the Mother Church. It was in Kumkapı that Istanbul's first Armenian neighbourhood school—important as a vanguard of popular education—had been opened, on Fıçıncı Street, in 1790.¹¹⁸

Though it is not often remembered as such, the area around the patriarchate was also a focal point of collective action and political violence. In 1820, an anti-patriarchal riot had taken place there, attended by artisans and labour migrants increasingly upset with their elites; it was eventually dispersed by janissaries.¹¹⁹ 28 years later came another demonstration, this time in support of the reigning patriarch and against the elites who were pushing for his resignation.¹²⁰ In 1862, a demonstration was organized against the locum tenens (i.e., acting patriarch) and his allies, who, in the protestors' minds, had not been sufficiently active in pursuing sultanic ratification of the draft Armenian National Constitution submitted in 1860; 2,000 protestors had rushed the building and pulled out its occupants, and it was through the intercession of one Selim Pasha that the crowd had agreed to disperse.¹²¹ 11 years later, another demonstration took place, this time by a crowd armed with cudgels; it continued in locations across the city for 2–3 months.¹²² The 1890 Kumkapı Demonstration was a transformative event organized by the Hınçag Revolutionary Party that began in the Mother Church and ended near the sultanic

¹¹⁸ Köseyan, *250th Anniversary*, 20, 29, 36.

¹¹⁹ Parsamyan and Harutyunyan, *History of the Armenian People*, 120–121.

¹²⁰ Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 45.

¹²¹ Sirouni, *Bolis*, III: 68–71; Parsamyan and Harutyunyan, *History of the Armenian People*, 172–173.

¹²² Sirouni, *Bolis*, III: 470–472.

Yıldız Palace.¹²³ A similar protest march in 1895—again led by the Hınçag party—led 2,000 people from Kumkapı to the Sublime Porte.¹²⁴ And in 1894 and 1903, Istanbul was shaken by unsuccessful assassination attempts against the sitting patriarchs.¹²⁵

While it is convenient to see Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı as distinct regions, it is important to recognize that the border between these areas did not remain constant over time and that, indeed, such borders were never officially demarcated in Ottoman Istanbul. It is in recognition of this fluidity that this thesis refers to a more general “southern Istanbul.”

The patriarchal registers list 14 sub-districts in Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı: Bostan-ı Ali, Divan-ı Ali, and Emin Sinan in the first; Behram Çavuş, Katip Kasım, Kazgani Sadi, Kürkçübaşı Süleyman Ağa, Muhsine Hatun, Saraç İshak, Şehsuvar Bey, Tavalı Süleyman Ağa, and Tülbentçi Hüsamettin in the second; and Çadırcı Ahmet Çelebi and Esir Kemal shared between the two. Most of these sub-districts took their names from nearby mosques, a pattern that many scholars have identified and that, no doubt, Istanbulites would have been well aware of.¹²⁶ Figures 10, 11, and 12, however, reveal that such labelling does not always indicate proximity to such landmarks. Figure 10 shows, in green, Süleyman Ağa Mosque and, in red, the buildings listed in its sub-district. At least 6 other sub-districts (50%) follow similar patterns of high cohesiveness. Figures 11 and 12, on the other hand, illustrate the

¹²³ Nalbandian, *Armenian Revolutionary Movement*, 118–119.

¹²⁴ Nalbandian, *Armenian Revolutionary Movement*, 123–125.

¹²⁵ Köseyan, *250th Anniversary*, 30.

¹²⁶ For examples of the use of such structures as landmarks in other parts of the city, see Cem Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003), 3–5, 11–3, 16, 32–49. See also Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 29.

opposite, where buildings are either quite far from their reference points or are dispersed across the region. In addition to Bostan-ı Ali and Esir Kemal, at least 3 other sub-districts followed this pattern (36%). The case is unclear for the remaining 2. Finally, Figure 13 draws our attention to those buildings recorded under more than one sub-district and Figures 14 and 15 under both districts.

Overall, this investigative use of digital cartography leads us to conclude that, despite the absence of municipal boundaries, districts and sub-districts were often geographically quite cohesive—but not always so, and usually not perfectly. Also, at least for the two districts at issue here, there was a considerable area within which one merged into the other. Such a finding cautions us against drawing too-stark distinctions between districts and sub-districts and puts the use of districts and sub-district as scholarly units of analysis on shaky ground.¹²⁷

Figure 10. Organization of the Tavala Süleyman Ağa sub-district



¹²⁷ While it is outside the purview of this thesis to dive more deeply into the social and cultural characters of districts and sub-districts, research in that direction might temper the call for caution advocated here.

Figure 11. Organization of the Bostan-ı Ali sub-district



Figure 12. Organization of the Esir Kemal sub-district



Figure 13. Buildings recorded under more than one sub-district

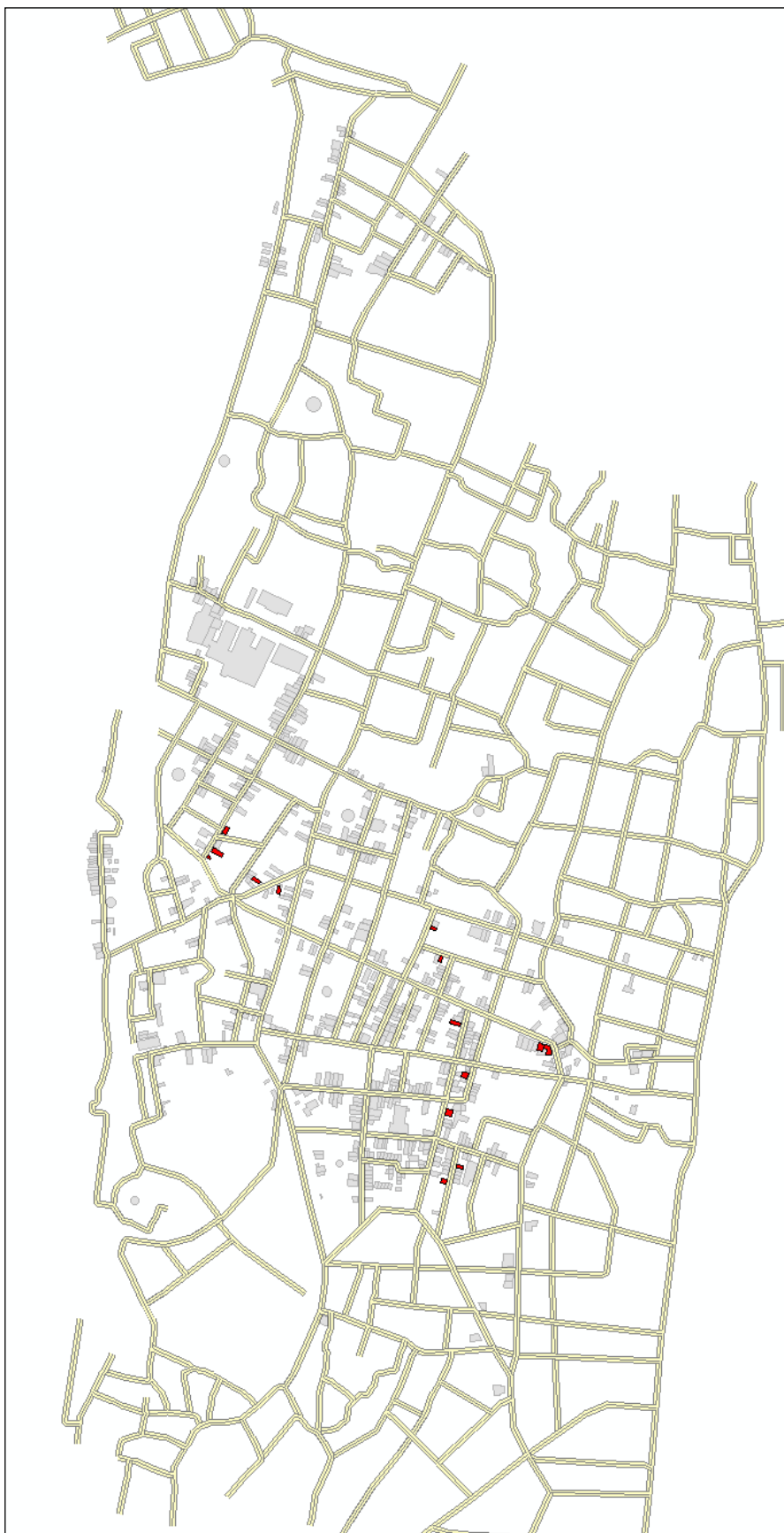
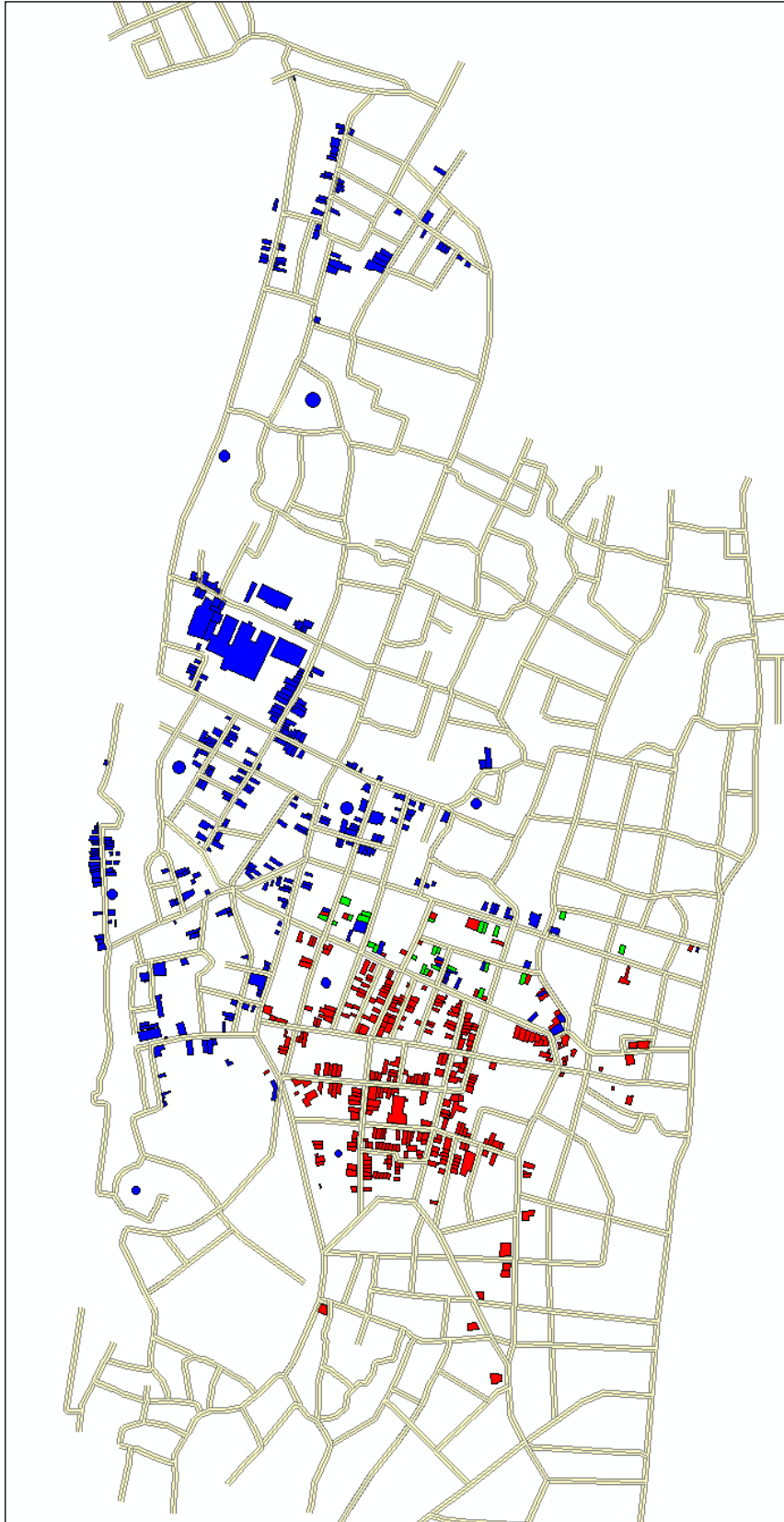
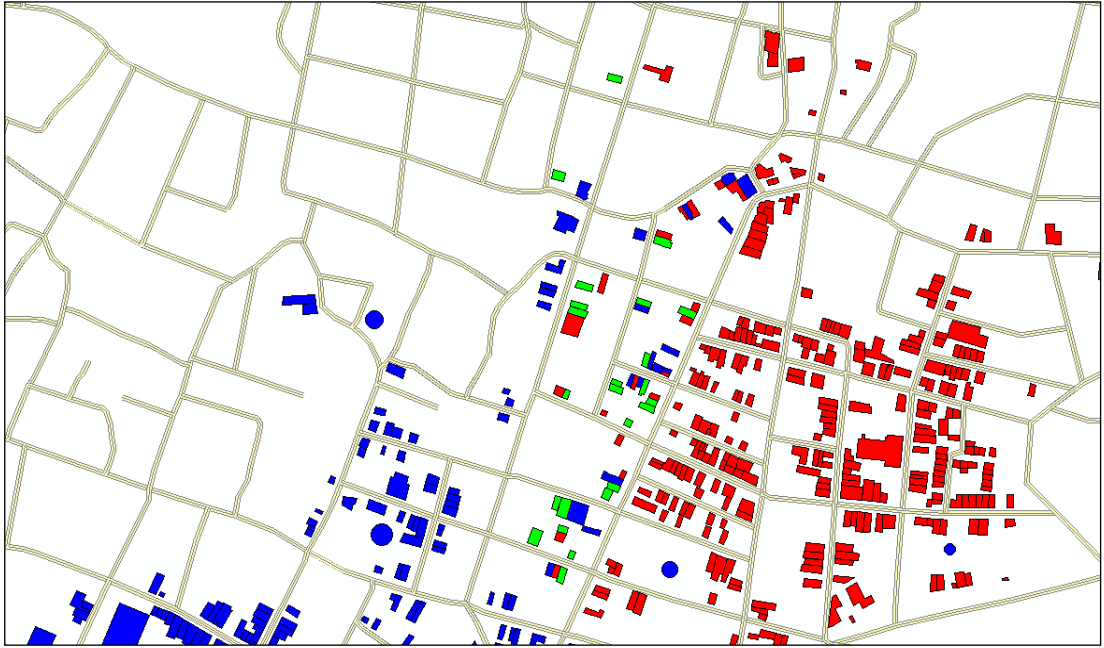


Figure 14. The Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı districts, with overlap highlighted¹²⁸



¹²⁸ Buildings registered under Kumkapı are highlighted in blue, those under Gedikpaşa in red, and those under both in green.

Figure 15. Detail of the Gedikpaşa-Kumkapı overlap¹²⁹



Southern Istanbul stood out from the rest of the city as a magnet for old and recent migrants: 33% (2,058) of those in the region were born outside the city, mostly in Thrace or Anatolia, but with outliers from as far afield as Austria, Romania, New Nakhichevan (Rostov-on-Don), and Damascus.

Armenian migration to the Ottoman capital began in strength in the early seventeenth century, when tens of thousands fled the violence and starvation caused by the Celali revolts in Eastern Anatolia.¹³⁰ Thereafter, pushed and pulled by various factors, new groups of permanent and temporary migrants arrived in the city; some came as sojourners, staying for shorter or longer periods before returning to their places of birth; others arrived with the intention to stay or found that their sojourns filled a lifetime.

¹²⁹ Buildings registered under Kumkapı are highlighted in blue, those under Gedikpaşa in red, and those under both in green.

¹³⁰ Sebouh David Aslanian, “The Celali Uprisings, the Shah ‘Abbas I Deportations, and the Making of Armenian Early Modernity,” in “Early Modernity and Mobility: Port Cities and Printers Across the Armenian Diaspora, 1512–1800” (forthcoming book).

There were three large-scale phenomena that led Armenians to migrate to Istanbul during the late Ottoman period: the loss of free access to land, issues of personal security, and heavy taxation as well as the need to pay taxes in cash.¹³¹ From the 1860s onward, moving to the capital had been made easier by the exponential expansion of rail lines, which, by 1896, connected Istanbul to Paris in the west and Konya in the southeast.¹³²

In the aftermath of the 1895 and 1896 Istanbul pogroms, some thousands of Armenians had been deported from the capital or had chosen to emigrate of their own volition. The majority would have been non-local labour migrants who returned to their places of origin. A significant minority, however, were local Istanbulites, some of whom would have returned to the capital by c. 1907. In considering the migration patterns of those recorded in the patriarchal register, it is therefore prudent to keep in mind that “birthplace” as recorded by the census flattens multi-step migration; the migration of the Istanbul-born who had lived abroad for a time and had returned by c. 1907 would remain invisible to us.¹³³

Among those who were considered locals by census enumerators, two-thirds were born in Greater Istanbul; almost 10% were born in Central Anatolia, the same

¹³¹ The contemporaneous and recent literature on this is vast. For some of the new takes on them, see Stephan H. Astourian, “The Silence of the Land: Agrarian Relations, Ethnicity, and Power,” in *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny, Fatma Müge Göçek, and Norman A. Naimark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55–81; Christopher Clay, “Labour Migration and Economic Conditions in Nineteenth-Century Anatolia,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 4 (1998): 1–32; and Florian Riedler, “Armenian Labour Migration to Istanbul and the Migration Crisis of the 1890s,” in *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*, ed. Ulrike Freitag et al. (New York: Routledge, 2011), 160–176.

¹³² Sedef Akgüngör et al., “The Effect of Railway Expansion on Population in Turkey, 1856–2000,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 48 (2011): 135–157.

¹³³ Yervant Sırmakeshanlyan [Yerukhan] (Երուանդ Սրմաքէշխանլեան [Երուխան]), *Փոքր Ասիոյ մէջէն* [From Inside Asia Minor], ed. Սեւան Տէյիքմէնճեան (Istanbul: «Ժամանակ», 2015; first published 1909), 93–106; Mansel, *Constantinople*, 330–333; Sinan Dinçer, “The Armenian Massacre in Istanbul, 1896,” *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* [Low Countries journal of social and economic history] 10, no. 4 (2013): 20–45; Reidler, “Armenian Labour Migration,” 169–171.

in the Northern Marmara or Eastern Thrace, and 5% in Northeastern Anatolia (see Figures 16, 17, and 18).

Figure 16. Most significant regions of birth

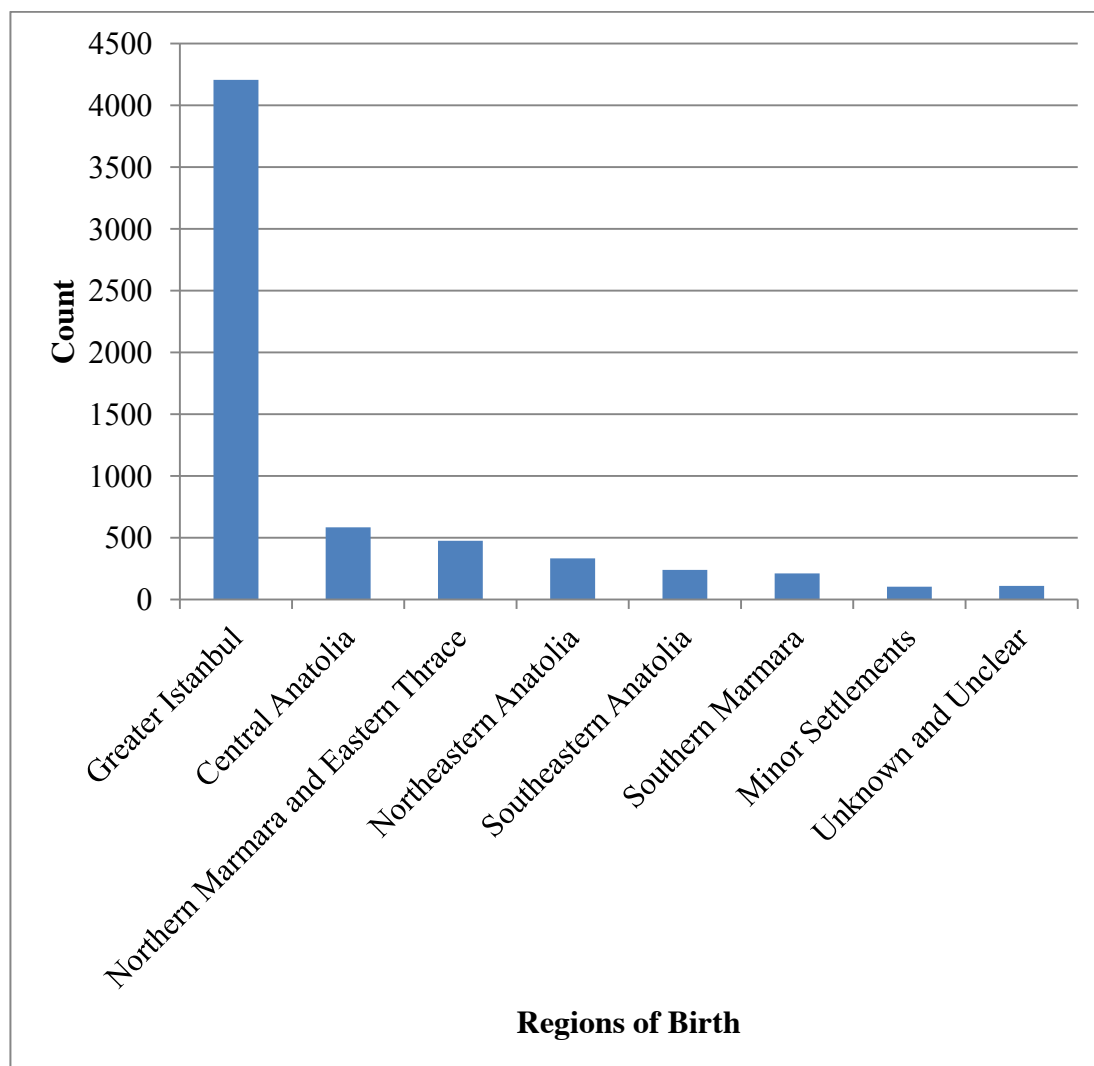


Figure 17. Most significant regions and settlements of birth other than Istanbul

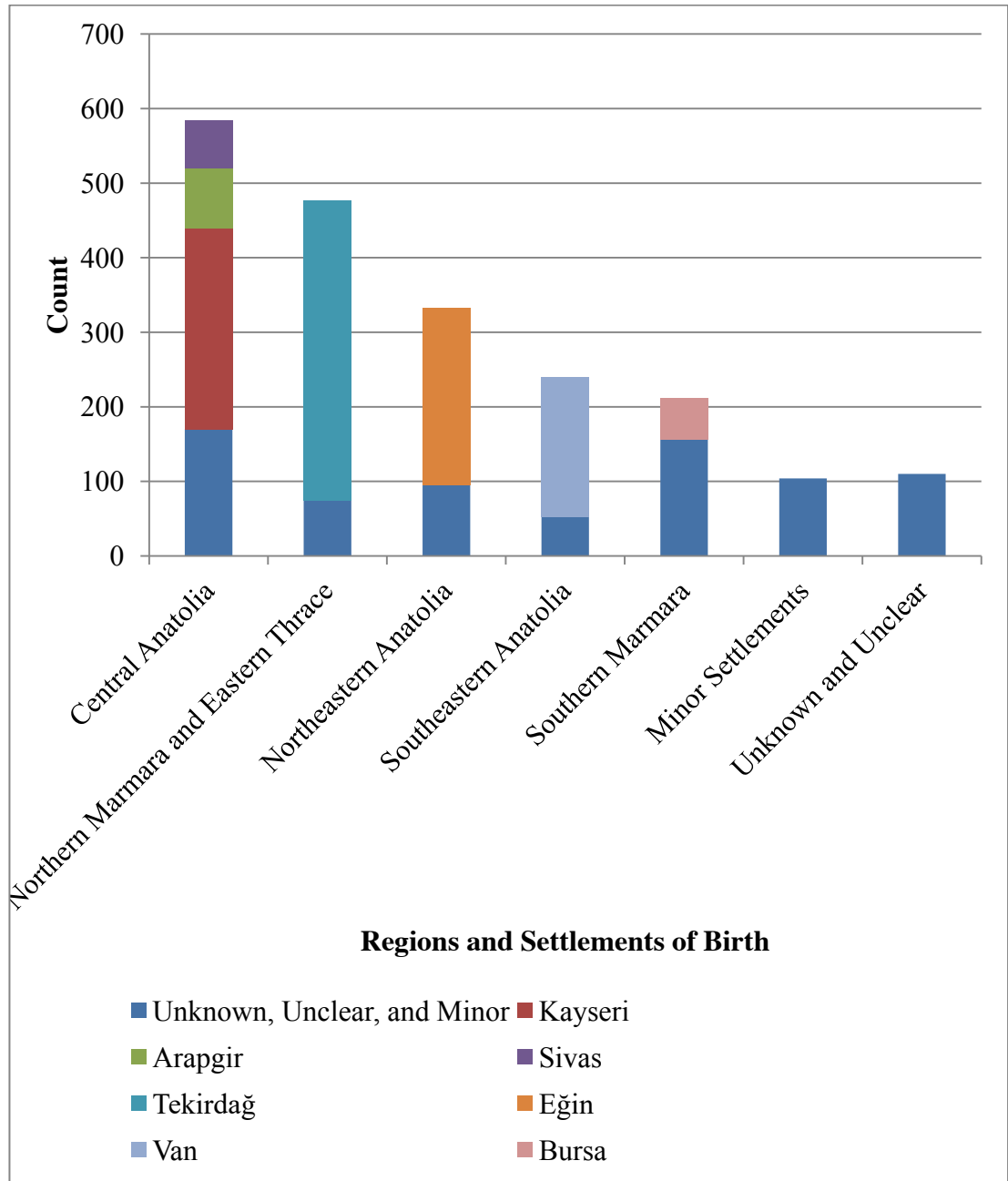


Figure 18. Map of birthplaces in Ottoman territory



Overall, it is not surprising to find Central and Eastern Anatolia so highly represented; these are regions where Armenians lived in very large numbers, and, in the literature, Eastern Anatolia is mentioned frequently as a key source of migrants to the capital. Similarly, the names of Kayseri, Arapgir, Sivas, Eğin (Ağın, today's Kemaliye), and Van are not surprising to see, though the absence of Muş is noteworthy. Muş is mentioned often as being, alongside Van, the key source of Armenian porters in Istanbul throughout the nineteenth century, and their absence might indicate that those who were still in the city in c. 1907 had settled permanently (i.e., become locals) only in very small numbers or that they settled in other parts of the capital.

More unexpected is the high proportion of people with origins relatively close to Istanbul; those born in Thrace and around the Marmara Sea made up 11% (687) of the area's local population. The city of Tekirdağ (Rodosto, Tekfurdağı) and its outlying settlements—Malkara, Çorlu, and Silivri¹³⁴—comprised the most significant migrant-sending area not only in these regions but among all the non-Istanbul born

¹³⁴ According to one author, these had Armenian populations of roughly 3,500, 1,500, and 650. Paçacyan, *Memorial Volume*, 199–201. This is a revised edition of Sarkis K. Paçacyan [Սարգիս Գ. Փաշաճեան], *Ռոստոսեանի Հայերը. 1606–1922* [The Armenians of Rodosto, 1606–1922] (Sofia: տպ. «Հանգ», 1929).

overall (402 people, 6% of the total population). This high representation exposes a significant gap in our knowledge about Ottoman Armenian history, which, when discussing migration and places of origin, has focused only upon Istanbul and, to a far lesser extent, Smyrna in the empire's western parts.

It seems that occupation had been the most important vector of migration for those from Tekirdağ, for they represented 42% of all those involved in the manufacture of footwear (see Table 3).¹³⁵ Given that Gedikpaşa was (and still is today) the city's most important centre of footwear manufacturing, two possibilities exist: that these occupations were popular in Tekirdağ and that, when men from there migrated to Istanbul, they gravitated to a part of the city where they could continue their craft; or, second, that footwear manufacturers recruited as-yet-untrained workers from Tekirdağ and taught them the craft after their settlement close to their shops.¹³⁶

Table 3. Birthplaces of those manufacturing footwear

Birthplace	Count	Proportion
Tekirdağ	70	42%
Istanbul	49	30%
Develu	9	5%
unclear	3	2%
elsewhere	35	21%
<i>Total</i>	<i>166</i>	<i>100%</i>

Throughout southern Istanbul, similar correlations between birthplaces and occupations can be identified in only three other instances: fishing, a domain controlled by the Istanbul-born (144 out of 153 men; 94%); the production of

¹³⁵ The occupations clustered under footwear manufacturing are those involving the production of shoes, slippers, boots, and so on (e.g., *həzəlqulqunıs, terlikçis, ayakkabıcıs*). Throughout this text, such clustering has been done using customized a version of the PST System. This system is useful because it allows one to identify individuals doing similar work but who are recorded with different occupational titles and to pursue comparative research.

¹³⁶ Shoemaking did provide an opportunity for migration to at least one such person in 1919. Apraham Kasapyan, *Kaç Kişisiniz Boğos Efendi? Bir Ermeni'nin Hatura Defteri, 1902–1969*, trans. Öjeni Höllüksever (Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2015).

precious metals and jewellery, similarly dominated by the Istanbul-born (96 out of 107 men; 90%); and the serving of food and drink and the providing of accommodations, an area in which men from Van were especially active (33 out of 109, 30%). For all other occupations, the sample sizes are either too small to draw rigorous conclusions or the proportions do not reveal statistically significant results (see Figures 19 and 20).

Figure 19. Correlations between birth region and major secondary-sector occupational groups

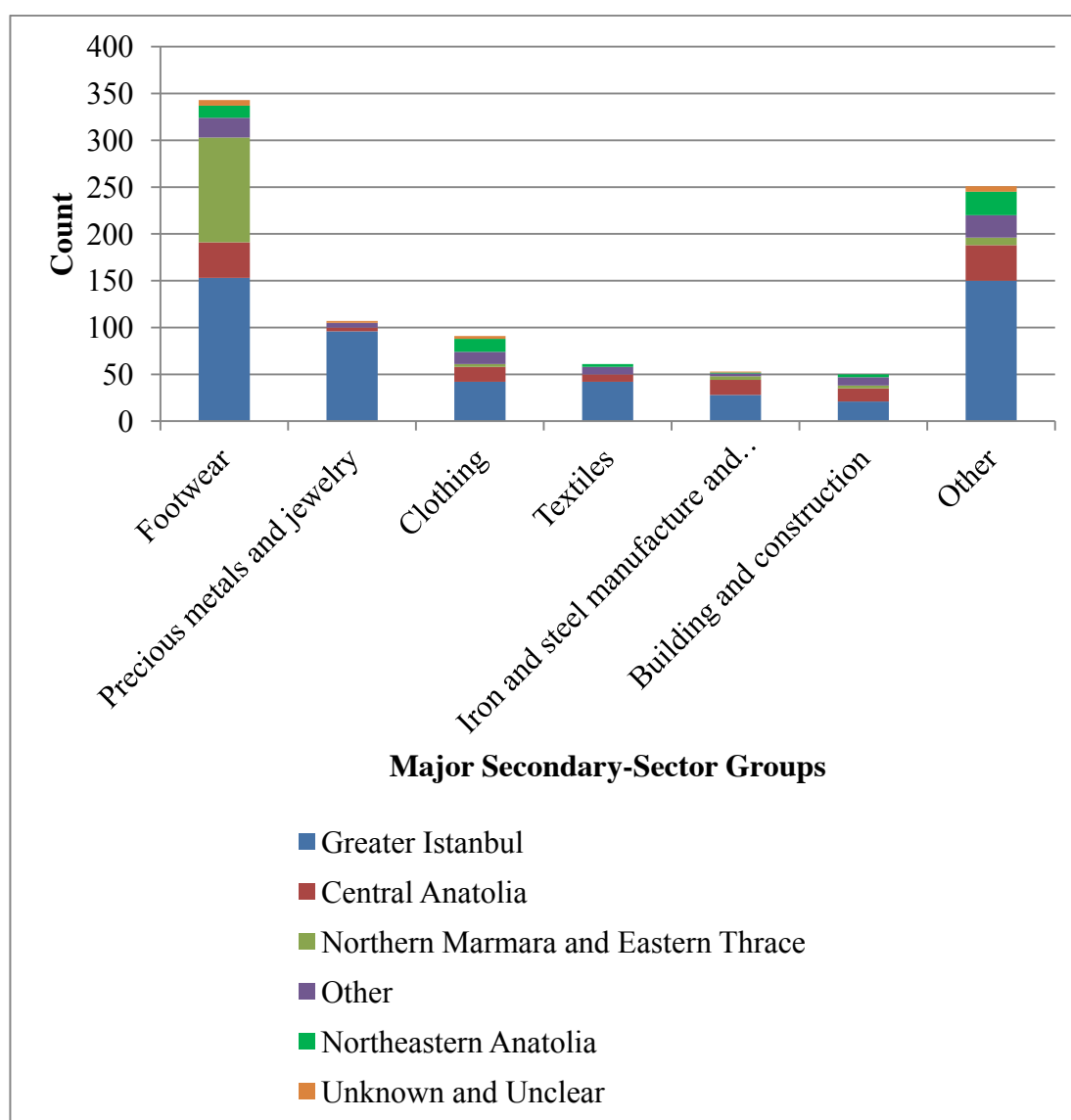
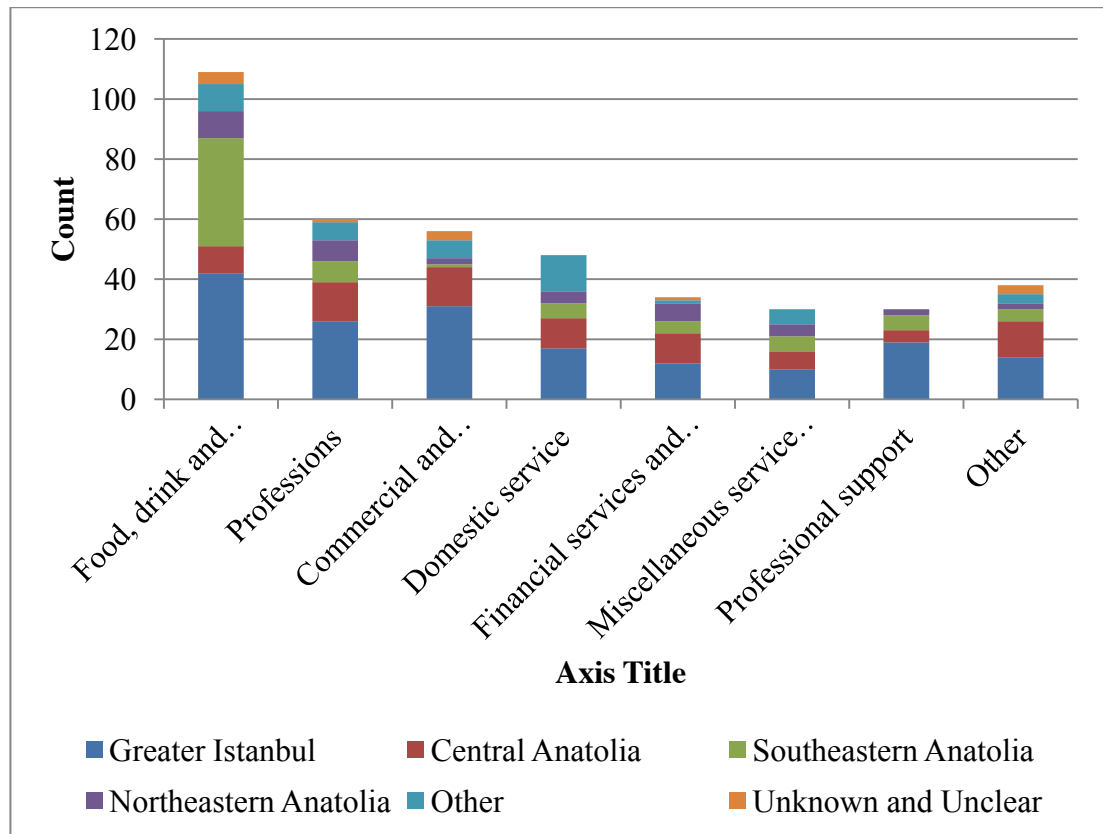
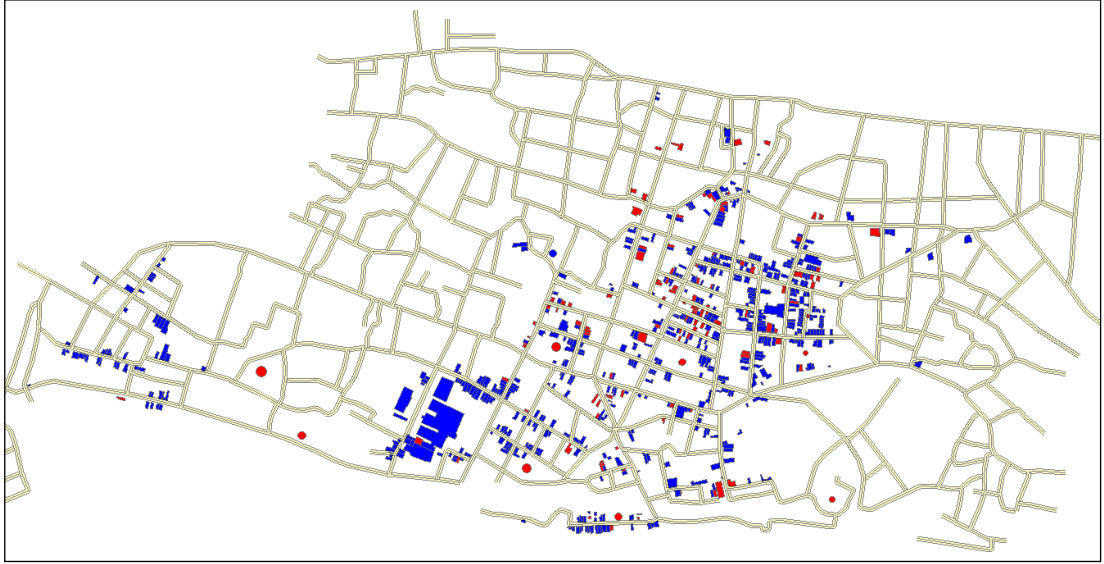


Figure 20. Correlations between birth region and major tertiary-sector occupational groups



Nor are there correlations between southern Istanbulites' places of birth and their patterns of residence; people born in the same places were not especially likely to be next-door neighbours. Figure 21 demonstrates this for those from Tekirdağ (highlighted in red), and the situation is the same for all the other major settlements mentioned in Figure 17.

Figure 21. Places of residence for those born in Tekirdağ¹³⁷



People from the same settlements did not often choose to live together in the same dwellings either. The residents of 14 Bali Paşa Yokuşu and 8 Müsellim Sokak or Caddesi serve as examples of this. As seen in Figure 22, 14 Bali Paşa Yokuşu was a 2-story building with brick or concrete walls and a stone roof covered in Marseille tiles. It was quite small, with ceilings of 2–3 m and an area of 13 m² per floor. Its 8 residents were divided into 5 households: two solitary elderly women from Akhisar and Van; a shoemaker and his wife, from Istanbul and Çorlu; a shoemaker and his mother, both from Kale-i Sultaniye (today's Çimenlik Kalesi); and a coffeemaker and his wife, both from Van.¹³⁸ The coffeemaker might have been working at a coffee shop two doors down from his home. 8 Müsellim Sokak or Caddesi, shown in Figure 23, also had walls of brick or concrete and a stone roof covered in Marseille tiles. But it was a medium-sized building, having 3 stories in the front and 4 in the back, floor space of 48 m² per story, a small backyard, and a terrace on the third floor. In it lived 15 people in 5 households: a 3-generation, 7-person family with

¹³⁷ Buildings with at least one resident from Tekirdağ are highlighted in red. Buildings without are in blue.

¹³⁸ HOUSEHOLD_IDs 20223801, 20223802, 20223803, 20223804, and 20223805.

roots in Karahisar, Yalova, and Istanbul; a shoemaker, his wife, and another woman, all from Kayseri; an elderly woman with her middle-aged daughters, all from Trabzon; an elderly woman from Van; and a young man born in Istanbul.¹³⁹

Figure 22. 14 Bali Paşa Yokuşu

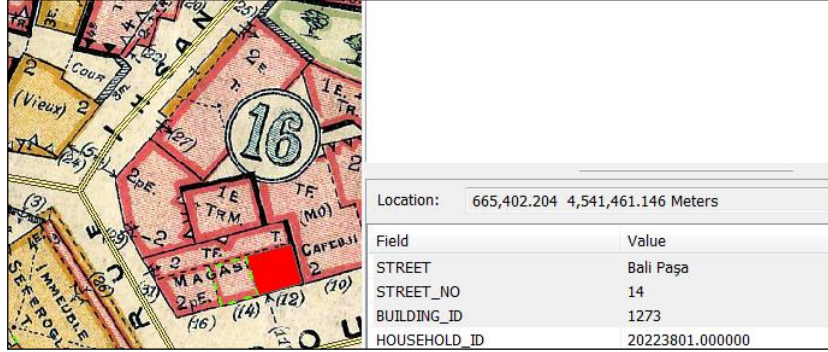
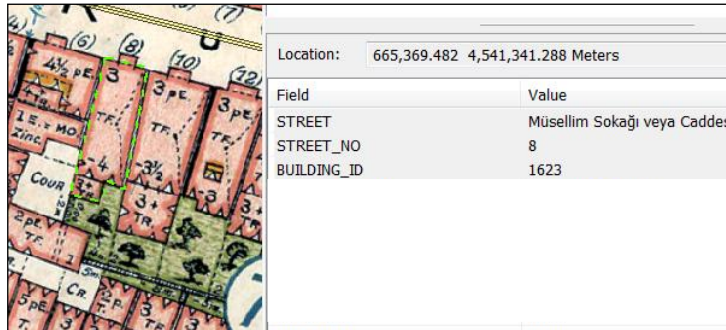


Figure 23. 8 Müsellim Sokak or Caddesi



In this chapter, after outlining some of the oft-mentioned characteristics of Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı, I have argued that thinking in terms of a more general “southern Istanbul” is a more prudent approach than breaking this region down into seemingly distinct districts and sub-districts. It has been shown that, while such categories were often geographically quite cohesive, this was not always so. Indeed, when considering the makeup of the population based on their places of birth, the trends are more general: a large number of foreign-born existed, and they lived all throughout the area. While a minority chose to or found themselves working in the same occupations as their compatriots, they did not, at least, usually choose to share

¹³⁹ HOUSEHOLD_IDs 20227205, 20227206, 20231401, 20231402, and 20231403.

their neighbourhoods with them. In what follows, I continue in this line of social-demographic inquiry by considering patterns of household formation for southern Istanbulites, this time by bringing their characteristics in comparison with the city's local Muslim population.

CHAPTER 5. ARMENIAN AND MUSLIM HOUSEHOLDS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

In their 1991 study, Duben and Behar had drawn heavily from the c. 1907 census to analyze household structure and various demographic aspects of late Ottoman Istanbul's local Muslim population. In this section, I use their model to analyze the part of the local Armenian population residing in southern Istanbul with a view to giving us a more complete idea of the city's population overall. This chapter likely represents the first time that such a detailed demographic study of a modern Armenian population is being conducted. It also gives us an opportunity to identify similarities and differences between these two foundational elements of Ottoman society. It should be kept in mind when reading this chapter that Duben and Behar had based their analysis on a 5% sample, as outlined in my introduction, and a much wider area, whereas my analysis is based on a 100% sample of a small part.

Duben and Behar's "two overriding purposes" in *Istanbul Households* had been "to document the changes in marriage patterns, family and household structures and household formation and fertility that characterized Istanbul between the years 1880 and 1940, and to attempt to explain them."¹⁴⁰ While I will not be looking at change over time or matters of fertility in this study, I will nevertheless follow closely the approach used by them for other matters.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 11.

¹⁴¹ Though beyond the scope of this thesis, there is the possibility of linking this information with other demographic and genealogical sources in order to see change over time. The key to these operations is the unit of the household, which makes it possible to link families rather than otherwise anonymous individuals. Such linking could be done with, for example, the Turkish-language, nineteenth-century population records being transcribed in the Recovering Armenians project discussed in my preface; Armenian National Assembly taxpayer lists; rosters of teachers and students, such as those provided in the many memorial volumes devoted to specific schools; Surp Pirgiç hospital's yearbooks; and family trees and name lists published in ethnographies such as those listed in Mihran Minassian, "Tracking Down the Past: The Memory Book ('Houshamadyan') Genre; A Preliminary Bibliography," trans. Hrant Gadargian and Shogher Margossian, last updated 20 January 2014, Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life, <http://www.houshamadyan.org/en/themes/bibliography.html>. Linking households may require the

In what follows, as with Duben and Behar, I use the Laslett classification system¹⁴² to categorize the 1,591 local Armenian households recorded in southern Istanbul. Before going into that analysis, however, it is necessary to make some explanatory remarks about households as a unit of organization and about the classification system that will be used to study them.

Household (*hane*, *umû*) is not necessarily synonymous with *family* (*aile*, *perîv*). Rather, in its ideal form, a household is defined as a group of people (1) related by blood or marriage whose members (2) live together (i.e., cohabitate) and who (3) cooperate in carrying out certain important activities (e.g., eating, sleeping, growing up, procreating, caring for one another, and so on). E. A. Hammel and Peter Laslett have referred to these three factors as criteria of (1) kinship, (2) location, and (3) function.¹⁴³ For centuries and perhaps millennia, households have been among the fundamental organizational units that humans have clustered themselves into and with which they have participated in important collective enterprises such as procreation, child rearing, the preparation and consumption of nourishment, participating in economically productive work, and storing resources. Thus, among the most common ways in which states have conceptually organized their subjects

standardization of last names, a task for which the standardization tables prepared by Mark Arslan's Armenian Immigration Project (<http://arslanmb.org/ArmenianImmigrants/shiplists.html>) would prove helpful. On the potential and challenges of tracing households across sources—including those created at different times and with different methods—see Zhichun Fu et al., “Automatic Record Linkage of Individuals and Households in Historical Census Data,” *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 8, no. 2 (2014): 204–225; and Albert Meroño-Peñuela et al., “Linked Humanities Data: The Next Frontier? A Case-study in Historical Census Data,” in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Workshop on Linked Science 2012 (LISC2012)* (Boston, 2012), http://www.albertmeronyo.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/lisc2012_submission_7.pdf.

¹⁴² This is sometimes called the Hammel-Laslett or the Cambridge system, the latter because Peter Laslett was a co-founder of Campop, the group that also refined the PST System used in the previous chapter.

¹⁴³ E. A. Hammel and Peter Laslett, “Comparing Household Structure Over Time and Between Cultures,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16, no. 1 (1974): 73–109, 75–79.

has been that of the household. Such was the case with the Ottoman state throughout its history, including during the c. 1907 census.

Given their ubiquity as a form of collective organization and the activities tied up with them, households are also entities that, by studying them, we can understand the unfolding of power dynamics, the exercise or non-exercise of personal independence, and the agency of regular people.

In order to facilitate the identification and interpretation of patterns concerning households in their various forms, following Laslett, Duben, and Behar, I have divided up the 1,591 households in southern Istanbul between the following six types.

Table 4. Explanation of household types¹⁴⁴

Type	Definition	Common Examples
solitary	people living alone, regardless of their ties to people elsewhere	a bachelor; a widow
no family	several cohabitating individuals who do not share a conjugal (i.e., spousal or filial) relationship	a group of unrelated men; two siblings; a man and his granddaughter
simple family	nuclear families and their variants; also called <i>elementary</i> , <i>conjugal</i> , or <i>biological</i> families	a married couple; a married couple with children; a widow and her child
extended family	simple-family households with one or more relatives who do not constitute a simple-family household of their own	a married couple and an in-law; a widower, his daughter, and his sister
multiple family	two or more cohabitating simple-family households or their variants; tenants are considered members of separate households	a married couple with two sons and one son's wife; a man, his wife, his sister, and his sister's children; a man, his son, and a tenant
unknown and unclear	those about which sufficient information is	n/a

¹⁴⁴ For more on this system, including an explanation of its rationale, see Hammel and Laslett, "Comparing Household Structure."

	not available for categorization	
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According to Laslett's system, the presence of a servant does not alter a household's structure. Thus, a married couple with a servant is still a simple-family household; a man, his wife, and his mother-in-law living with a servant still constitute an extended-family household, and so on.

Overall, we find that local Muslims across Istanbul and Armenians in the city's southern parts lived in households that, in their general outlines, matched up with one another. (See Tables 5 and 6 and Figures 24, 25, and 26.) They did not differ fundamentally: Solitary and extended-family households were only marginally more common among Armenians, and multiple-family households insignificantly so among Muslims. Among Muslims, no-family households were one-and-a-half times more common, and simple-family households one-and-one-eighth more so among Armenians. These differences, though statistically important, do not point to the presence of systemic differences.

Table 5. Types and proportions of Armenian households

Type	Number of Type	Proportion of Type	Number of Residents	Proportion of Residents	Average Size
solitary	232	15%	232	4%	1.0
no family	75	5%	216	3%	2.9
simple family	755	47%	2925	47%	3.9
extended family	274	17%	1381	22%	5.0
multiple family	167	10%	1181	19%	7.1
unknown and unclear	88	6%	330	5%	3.8
<i>total</i>	<i>1591</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>6265</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>3.9</i>

Table 6. Types and proportions of Muslim households¹⁴⁵

Type	Number of Type	Proportion of Type	Number of Residents	Proportion of Residents	Average Size
solitary	152	13%	168	3%	1.0
no family	95	8%	288	6%	3.0
simple family	470	40%	1671	34%	3.6
extended family	188	16%	984	20%	5.2
multiple family	141	12%	1082	22%	7.7
unknown and unclear	130	11%	739	15%	5.7
<i>total</i>	<i>1176</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>4932</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>4.2</i>

¹⁴⁵ Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 48.

Figure 24. Proportions of household types among Armenians vs. Muslims

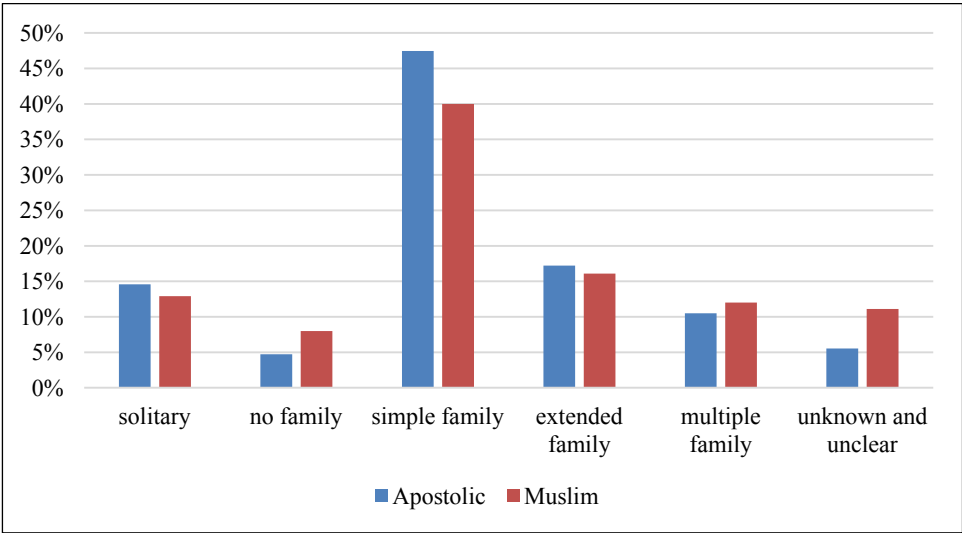


Figure 25. Proportions of residents living in Armenian vs. Muslim households

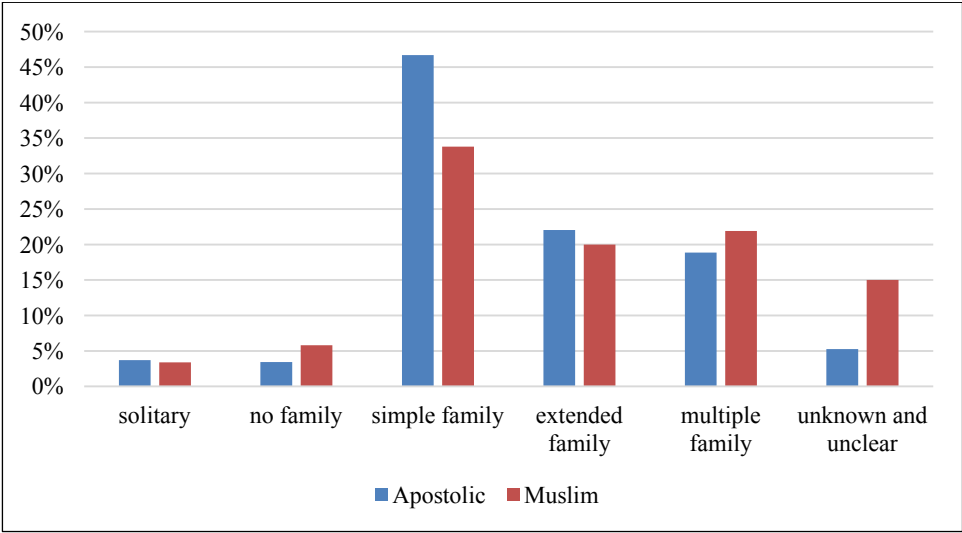
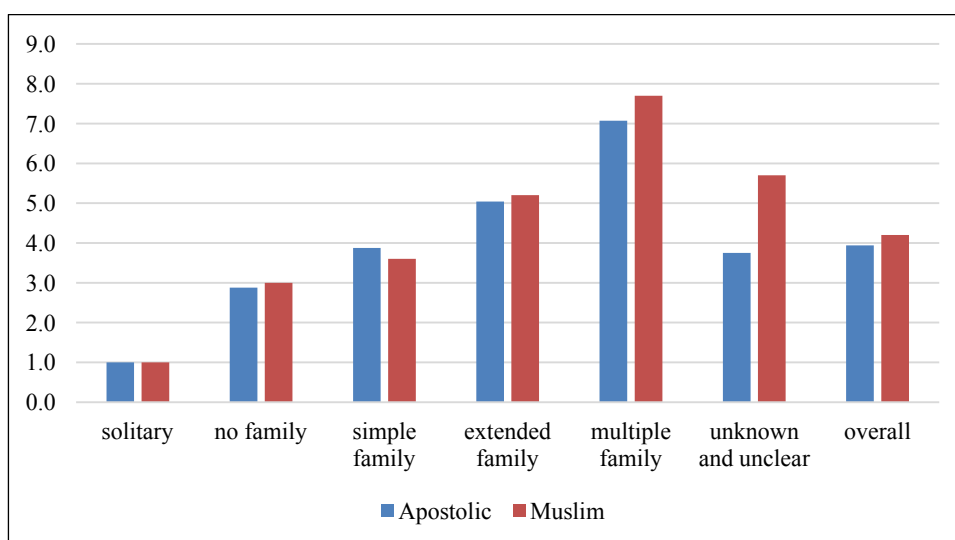


Figure 26. Average sizes of Armenian vs. Muslim households



Because these household types were not of equal size, the figures change when we consider the proportions with which people belonged to them. The general trends, however, remain the same (see Figures 25). It was just as common for a local Muslim to live alone or in an extended-family household as it was for an Armenian. But two times more Muslims lived with people outside their nuclear families exclusively (i.e., in no-family households) than did Armenians, and almost one-and-a-half times more Armenians lived in simple-family households.

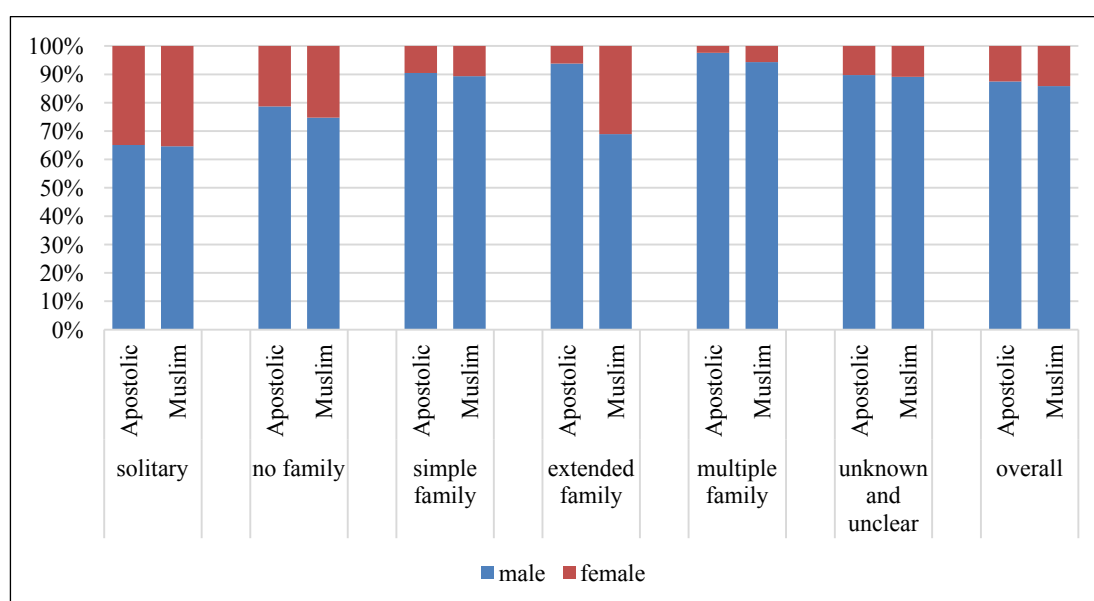
Average (i.e., mean) household size differed by an important margin between these populations (see Figure 26), with Muslim households averaging 1.1 members to every Armenian's 1, but this did not represent a fundamental difference in how members of these groups organized themselves or lived their lives.

Just over half of Armenians lived in simple domestic arrangements: in solitary, no-family, and simply-family households of, on average, 3.9 or fewer persons.

Table 7. Numbers of households headed by Armenian vs. Muslim males vs. females¹⁴⁶

Type	Armenians				Muslims			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	M	F	M	F
solitary	146	81	65%	35%	97	53	65%	35%
no family	59	16	79%	21%	71	24	75%	25%
simple family	683	72	90%	10%	420	50	89%	11%
extended family	257	17	94%	6%	171	77	69%	31%
multiple family	163	4	98%	2%	133	8	94%	6%
unknown and unclear	77	9	90%	10%	115	14	89%	11%
<i>overall</i>	<i>1385</i>	<i>199</i>	<i>87%</i>	<i>13%</i>	<i>1007</i>	<i>166</i>	<i>86%</i>	<i>14%</i>

Figure 27. Proportions of households headed by males vs. females—Armenians vs. Muslims



47% of these were simple-family households, the compositions of which differed based on the sexes of their heads. The 10% of those headed by women (see Table 7 and Figure 27) were much simpler in their composition than those headed by males. Whereas, for women, those in their households were always only their children, males could head households made up of their parents (almost always

¹⁴⁶ Data on Muslims from Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 59. To conserve space, the “unknown and unclear sex” columns have been omitted. Among Armenians, there were only 7 of this type: 5 heading solitary households, 2 heading those of unknown and unclear type. Duben and Behar did not provide parallel figures.

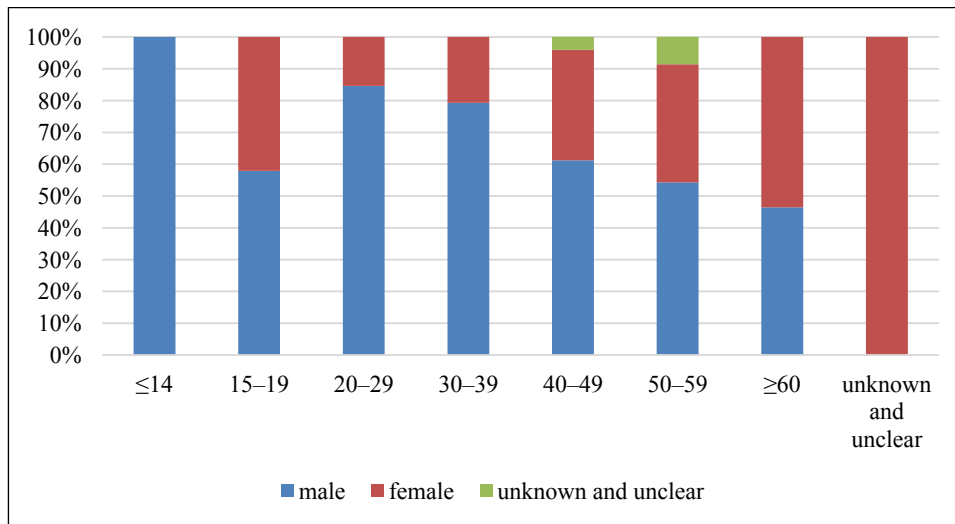
mothers), siblings, wives, and children. The average size of simple-family households run by women was therefore 3.0, whereas that for males was a much higher 4.0. Similarly, while women were at least 25 years old when they became the heads of their own simple-family households, boys as young as 7, 8, and 9 could be recoded thus by the census.

The next most common type of household, the solitary, was also a gender-imbalanced institution, wherein, as with Muslims, two-thirds of heads were men and one-third women. Given that late-Ottoman Istanbulites lived in a patriarchal society, it is not surprising to find that the majority of those living alone were men. Thus, 69% of solitaires aged 20–59 were male (see Table 8 and Figure 28). Assuming a longer life expectancy for women than for men, it is also not surprising that a slight majority (54%) of those aged 60 and over were women. And, while it is surprising to see that 42% of solitaires aged 15–19 were female, that this 42% represents only 8 individuals prevents us from considering it a rigorous statistic. Therefore, here, too, we can conclude that household formation was a privilege of males rather than females.

Table 8. Sexes and ages of Armenians living in solitary households

Sex	≤14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	≥60	Unknown and Unclear	Total
males	4	11	33	23	30	19	26	0	146
females	0	8	6	6	17	13	30	1	81
unknowns and unclears	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	5
<i>totals</i>	4	19	39	29	49	35	56	1	232

Figure 28. Sexes and ages of Armenians living in solitary households



As with the Muslim households' 16%, 17% of Armenian households were formed by the joining of a relative with a nuclear family other than their own (i.e., in extended-family households). As with the simple-family households, women headed these when they were simpler in structure, being made up of a head and her children along with either their mothers, sisters, or grandchildren; the average size of these households was 3.6 persons. The 94% of extended-family households headed by males were even larger on the average and had in them a much more diverse array of supplementary relatives: mothers, mothers-, sisters- and brothers-in-law, siblings, nieces, nephews, and so on. Differently from woman-headed ones, these male-headed households contained grandchildren only rarely. Overall, the average size of an extended-family household was 5.1 persons, and more than one-fifth (22%) of southern Istanbul's local Armenian population lived in conditions such as these.

The appeal of the extended-family household lay in its ability to shelter young and elderly widows, children without parents (e.g., orphans, but not exclusively so), and unmarried siblings. When the non-conjugal relative was not particularly vulnerable, joining an established household would still be beneficial to them for economic reasons (e.g., they would not have to buy a house or apartment of

their own), and, regardless of their level of need, they could contribute to the domestic tasks involved in everyday life, such as caring for children.

It was similarly convenient for multiple families to live together as one household: 10% of Armenian households were of this type, and they sheltered 19% of the regions' population. Averaging 7.1 persons in size, they were most often made up of a simple family and either the head's mother and brother or sister; or his daughter and son-in-law. Less common were the presence of a head's sister and nieces or nephews; mother- and brother-in-law; or son and daughter-in-law. Only 2% of multiple-family households were led by women, aged in their 40s and 50s.

Discussing cooperation among non-conjugal relatives invites us to consider that such cooperation was certainly not only possible within extended- and multiple-family households; distinct households could also cooperate.¹⁴⁷ The cases of the Aliksanyan and Erzurumlu Oğlu / Erzurumlyan / Erzurumyan families provide plausible examples of this.

The multiple-family household of Margos Aliksanyan and the solitary household of Margos's brother Karekin were both located at 8 Kadirga Hamamı Caddesi, a medium-sized stone building with a backyard overlooking the Kadirga Bathhouse (Kadirga Hamamı). Though we cannot know when Margos and his wife, Ağavni, married, we do see that they had recently had two children: 1-year-old Mihran and his newborn sister, Arşaluys. This couple may have chosen to form a multiple-family household with Ağavni's brother Atam and mother, Nekdar—and to live in the same building as Margos's solitary brother—in order to keep their costs as

¹⁴⁷ Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 55–56.

a new family low and to have easier access to helpers around the home and caretakers for their children.¹⁴⁸

With single-family households, too, such strategizing and making of important decisions could have happened in tandem. This may have been the case with the Erzurumlu Oğlu / Erzurumlyan / Erzurumyan clan, whose members were connected through Eğin-born brothers Kevork, Khaçadur, and Hovhannes. These men lived in separate buildings and each was accompanied by his Eğin-born wife and, in total, 9 Eğin- and Istanbul-born children, aged 3–25. It is not difficult to imagine that families such as these, despite being organized into separate households and living in separate buildings, made decisions together—such as relocating more than 1,000 km to the imperial capital—considering that their homes were only 0.5–1.5 km apart (i.e., a walk of some 5–15 min).¹⁴⁹

Overall, what is most striking about the contents of this chapter is the high degree of similarity in how local Armenians in southern Istanbul and Muslims across the city organized themselves into households: Members of these groups were more or less just as like to choose the same living arrangements, tying themselves to their parents, children, and more distant relatives in the same proportions. The sizes of their families were not drastically different, either, nor were Armenian and Muslim women significantly more or less likely to live alone or to be the leaders of their own households. These findings shore up arguments that place more emphasis on the wider structural economic and gender dynamics in the city than on each group's socio-cultural ones rooted in religious traditions or canonical ideals. For those living in Istanbul, it seems that the demands and opportunities provided by life in an urban

¹⁴⁸ HOUSEHOLD_IDs 20228701 and 20233513.

¹⁴⁹ HOUSEHOLD_IDs 20229004, 20233108, and 20237202.

imperial capital made them more similar than different in many critically important ways.

CONCLUSION

Over the course of this thesis, I have tried to use a previously untapped population record reflecting Istanbulite Armenians to conduct—perhaps for the first time—a demographic analysis of a modern Armenian population. I have done this by drawing from scholarship in four languages and a method new to the fields of Ottoman, Armenian, and Middle Eastern studies: historical GIS.

Before launching into this quantitative study, I found it necessary to investigate in detail the strengths and weaknesses of my primary source material. Doing so required commenting on a now stale historiographic debate and on common assumptions concerning an important Ottoman Armenian institution, as well as uncovering the provenance of my source material. Thus, chapter 1 provided an overview of population registration practices in the Ottoman Empire with a focus on the novelty of censuses conducted by modern states. It was in this chapter that I took up the historiographic debate over the reliability of “Ottoman” versus “Armenian” data, and I posited that the c. 1907 census and the patriarchal population register that had come out of it provide an opportunity for complicating this eliding categorization.

Chapter 2 summarized the regulations pertaining to the census, and chapter 3 focused on the part of it that reflected Istanbul’s local (i.e., permanent) Armenian Apostolic population. By scrutinizing the patriarchate’s register, I was able to deduce that it and the Ottoman Turkish original upon which it had been based raised questions about how closely the practice of enumeration had conformed to the ideals laid out in regulations. Save for certain specific matters, it appears that the census overall was conducted consistently and systematically, resulting in registers of high

quality. The most important of these matters was the systematic underreporting of female occupations, an important issue to consider for occupational historians.

Chapter 4 summarized the defining characteristics of the districts of Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı and highlighted the challenges of using districts and sub-districts as units of scholarly analysis. This was done by using digital cartography investigatively—a method that revealed the imprecision of certain sub-district boundaries. Continuing along these lines of interest in the social and spatial, the chapter then discussed issues of migration and settlement based on place of origin.

The final chapter was the most quantitative and had an important comparative dynamic. It put in comparison all of the patriarchal register's information about Armenians in southern Istanbul with Alan Duben and Cem Behar's 5% sample of Muslims living in certain parts of the city. Concerned primarily with the formation and structure of households, it demonstrated that there were no fundamental differences in how Istanbulite Armenians and Muslims organized themselves into households and how issues of gender were implicated in these processes.

With this study I hope to have contributed to the merging of historiographies that make more sense together than apart by pulling from the work of Armenologists and Ottomanists as well as from spatial, digital, and demographic techniques. What has emerged is an interdisciplinary investigation that has also spoken to larger themes: census-taking by a modernizing state, the role of an ecclesiastic institution in the practice of governance, and the structural underpinnings of everyday life.

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