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**TRANSFORMATION OF PERA INTO THE CULTURAL DISTRICT OF
ISTANBUL IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY**

MASTER'S THESIS

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

M. Sami Bayram

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ABSTRACT

The second half of the 19th Century was a remarkable period in the history of the transformation of Istanbul's Pera district, which can also be detected in the history of its western type theatre buildings, passages, cultural activities, district regulations, planning and establishment of other public and private spaces. The scope of the study will focus on the period between the announcement of the Edict of Gulhane (1839) till Second Constitutional Era (1908).

I have chosen the Pera district, also known as Beyoğlu/Taksim for this case study, because it had quite specific functions in the city. It had hosted various ethnical groups throughout its long history, which was also the case in the middle of the 19th century, and the cultural harmony influenced the district's social life. I intend to test this hypothesis by applying Charles Landry's creativity city concept with Pera's cultural district at the end of the thesis. I will apply the aforementioned concepts and examine the remarkable modern type constructions of the district and their history. I will show that gradual growth of the amount and intensity of interactions between the West and the Ottoman Society created a cultural infrastructure, which in turn created a cosmopolitan area in Pera. Social and daily life started to change with the appearance of occidental style institutions, entertainment, and theatre buildings. While examining this process I will show some characteristics of 19th century Pera and its cultural elements in the context of interaction with Western culture.

Key words : 19th Century, Ottoman Theatre, Pera, Leisure Time

ABSTRAKT

Druhá polovina 19. století byla pozoruhodným obdobím v historii transformace istanbulské čtvrti Pera, která může být také sledována nejen v historii jeho divadelních budov vystavěných ve stylu západoevropské architektury, ale i pasáží, rozmanitých kulturních aktivit, v dikci úředních předpisů, navrhování a vytváření veřejných a soukromých prostor. Rozsah této studie se zaměří na období mezi vyhlášením ediktu Gulhane (1839) až do druhé ústavní éry (1908).

Vybral jsem si čtvrt Pera, také známou jako Beyoglu / Taksim pro tuto případovou studii, protože měla poměrně specifické funkce ve městě. V této části města žily různé etnické skupiny a to v průběhu jeho dlouhé historie. V druhé polovině 19. století multietnicita Pery vytvářela její specifickou kulturní harmonii, která ovlivnila společenský život čtvrti. Mám v úmyslu testovat tuto hypotézu použitím konceptu kreativity Charles Landryho a zjistit v závěru práce, zda je možné definovat Peru jako kulturní čtvrt. Budu uplatňovat výše uvedené koncepty, zkoumat historii Pery jako pozoruhodný moderní typ utváření moderní čtvrti. Ukáži, že postupný růst množství a intenzity interakcí mezi Západem a Osmanskou společností vytvořil kulturní infrastruktury, které na oplátku vytvořily kosmopolitní charakter Pery. Sociální a každodenní život se začal měnit s výskytem západního stylu institucí, zábavy, ale i divadelních budov. Prostřednictvím analýzy tohoto procesu objevíme některé charakteristiky Pery v 19. století a interakce kulturních jevů mezi evropským Západem a osmanskou společností v této části Istanbulu.

Klíčová slova: 19. století, osmanské divadlo, Pera, volný čas

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1. INTRODUCTION

During the 19th century the Istanbul elites began to introduce important changes to their cultural life through the cultivation of new forms of social life; modern type buildings, institutions, theatres and public or private spaces. In this context, the 19th century has a specific meaning within the aspect of the transformation of cultural and social life in Pera. In this wider social context, we can try to explain how these European buildings came to be built in Pera during the century and how these institutions affected Istanbul's society. Pera, known also as Beyoglu, is the most important historical quarter of Istanbul. In the 19th century Pera achieved the highest ethnic diversity, which resulted in highly populated multilingual enclaves. Ottoman elites, in addition to their native Ottoman Turkish, were able to speak Greek, English and French. Their cultural diversity, economic concessions and especially distinguished positions in the district created transparent sharing space within this core. These features made this district appear as an intercultural environment.

For example, theatres, arcades, cafes and new meeting places are important symbols in representing the life and times of societies and cultures. This feature creates a sophisticated communication space between inhabitants and artists. In this aspect, Istanbul is the central city according to its cultural past and geographical location. The 19th century was the turning point in the style of buildings in general and cultural transformation with this process.

The interactions between Western and Ottoman cultures in Istanbul began to appear since the Renaissance. Especially in the early 18th century one can detect an intense Ottoman interest in Western culture and organisation of the society. Intensive Ottoman impressions about Occidental Europe were presented to the Ottoman society by famous Turkish travellers. Some of the travellers' observations led to the introduction of innovative cultural changes within Ottoman society. In this context, this process was selective and longitudinal mainly due to the political and cultural system of the Ottoman Empire based on caliphate for 400 years.

In such environment, Istanbul's intellectual elites started to modernise more in line with Western tendencies. Westernization in the Ottoman Empire resulted in, amongst other things, the transformation of the capital city. For example, theatre buildings can be predominantly seen as symbols of Western modernization. These tendencies inspired the construction of the cultural buildings such as theatres, operas and institutions in Pera.

For example, the Naum Theatre represented these concrete changes in Pera. It was built as the first example of representational public architecture. It was located in modern Taksim, separated from the old city by the Golden Horn.

Before the construction of the Naum, some public spaces and stages for people to attend a different type of performance, theatre or entertainment already existed. However, the site for these traditional forms differed profoundly from the modern-type theatre buildings in which professional artists present their shows. Subsequently, we will see that the appearance of the Western-type theatre building had great potential to change social habits. Beside other social and cultural buildings, the transformation of Pera related closely to the emergence of the theatre is a concrete example. The Naum opened its doors in 1844 and survived until 1870. The announcement of its construction was published in four languages, a common but important occurrence, as it shows the multilingualism that existed within Pera's community.

After this initial theatrical experience, the Concordia Theatre was established in Pera on İstiklal Avenue in 1871. This was welcomed by Pera's inhabitants who needed to replace their lost leisure time at the Naum Theatre after it burnt down in 1870. Its construction may have been a response to this demand. In the case of Concordia, an entertainment place was converted to a theatre. The transformation was planned by two Italian architects, Ricci and Parmegiani. Here the functional transformation of the building is more important than the architectural transformation. Therefore, Concordia theatre experienced contextual and qualitative transformation rather than architectural. The Concordia could successfully function only until 1905-1906. Until then it also received some support from Greek entrepreneurs, and as a result was known locally as the "Stage of the Greek."

Inhabitants of Pera also willingly attended innovative cafeteria presentations and the garden of Concordia. People used the garden for leisure time. Inhabitants of Pera started to use these theatre cafeterias like in Paris.

The third important theatre is Tepebası Dram Theatre which was located on the hill of the Tepebası and opened its doors in 1880. Its site is located near the Haliç (known generally as The Golden Horn) and it is the one of Istanbul's most important hills. Tepebası was a Muslim cemetery from the conquest of Istanbul until the end of the 19th century. During the Ottoman times, diplomats, merchants and many foreigners, the majority of which came from Christian Europe, lived there and called it ' Petit-Champs des Mort ' (Small Cemetery or Little Turkish Cemetery). This place was known most commonly by its French rather than Turkish name.

After a while inhabitants changed their habits and leisure time activities have been transformed and this promenade area was a suitable place to build an institution for a new activity place. Tepebası Dram Theatre was another example of a multicultural venue. The attempts of Sultan Abdulaziz accelerated the process of its construction in Pera. Many sources accept that Sultan Abdulaziz was the first Ottoman Sultan who visited Europe as a tourist. In 1867 Sultan Abdulaziz received an invitation from Napoleon III, the emperor of the Second French Empire, to visit Europe. He attended several exhibitions during the trip. Subsequently, he went to London at the invitation of Queen Victoria. Abdulaziz also visited Vienna and Budapest before returning to Ottoman lands. So the Sultan observed and experienced Western cultural innovations and cultural activities closely. This journey motivated him to take radical decisions after coming back to Istanbul. Thus, the story of Tepebası Dram Theatre had begun.

The Beyoglu Ses Theatre *Variété Théâtre* was also constructed in Pera in 1885. A Greek architect, Petrokli Campanaki, was its designer. The previous building on the site served to entertain under the name Cirque de Pera.¹ In a short time, this building was re-designed to function as a theatre and opera. The name of the theatre changed several times because of poor economic conditions and the decisions of its different owners.

¹ *Direnen Sanat Alanı Ses Tiyatrosu.*
<http://www.tiyatroportal.com/direnen-sanat-alani-ses-tiyatrosu/>.

For this reason, Beyoglu Ses Theatre is the only theatre of the four mentioned still standing. In this context, Beyoglu Ses Theatre is known as an indomitable theatre because it is quite adherent to inhabitants.

These four theatres have some distinguished features making them different and these common points are related to a definite era and a multicultural zone, namely Pera. Their architects were not Turks, but at the same time, they were supported by Ottoman Sultans. Initial multicultural interactions started by Ottoman travellers before the 19th century and Sultans closely followed them. Prominent inhabitants and elites also got encouragement from this movement. They prompted some changes within the city.

“ Sultan Mahmoud est amoureux de la musique italienne, et l'a introduite dans sa garde; c'est une de ses réformes; le frère de Donizetti est directeur de sa musique; on joue même une marche qu'on appelle la marche du sultan et qu'on dit composée par lui , bien qu'il ne sache pas la musique. Il aime surtout le piano , et il en a fait venir plusieurs de Vienne pour ses femmes , qui apprennent je ne sais comment, puisque personne ne peut pénétrer chez elles. La musique militaire ancienne qui subsiste encore dans quelques régimes, se compose de tambours, et d'une quantité de fifres qui percent les oreilles.” ²

The announcement of the *Le Menestrel* presents the entry of Western music to the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Murad II stands here also as a spearhead importing occidental culture to this movement in the early 19th century. Music also gave inspiration to the improvement of the understanding of drama, opera and theatre in Pera. All these art forms used Western elements for the first time. These first experiences with Western music also inspired theatrical performances.

In order to explain all these phenomena in Pera zone, I will present daily life in Pera. I will touch upon following questions: What were the main elements and subjects of the district? How did Pera start to change and what triggered the acceleration of its cultural transformation? How were the Western-type theatres and other institution establishments understood? How deep did their performances penetrate into Ottoman society? Who were the first mediators to Western culture and its new art? How did district regulations start and who supported them? Why did public places start to appear and who frequented them? How did district administration change and how did it affect Pera's society and its daily life? These questions yield other questions,

² *Le Ménestrel*, 18 Décembre, 1836.

especially given this topic requires focusing on a specific century when Pera's history stretches over several with many periods overlapping two or more centuries.

I will also present the history of other modern-type meeting places - shopping and cultural places such as passages, cafes, department stores, which were the other main elements of the district development. Additionally I will present the history of the modern district municipality and their transportation reforms, street regulations and attempts on the process of district lighting. The relationship between the development of district institutions and the role of the inhabitants in this process is another vital point. In this context, I must delve into the population of the district and how this population circulated within and around the district. Thus, it will be more explicit if we start with the roots of these changes.

1.1 Pera and Pera Daily Life in Early 19th Century

Pera's name has Greek origins; 'the other side' *l'autre côté*. Today it is generally known as Beyoğlu, however I will refer it by its historical name. It is generally accepted that the name of Pera was commonly used by its inhabitants and also external observers from the 15th until the 19th century. This is important because it shows that Pera is a historically old district. On the other hand, the word Pera was used in the sense of 'the other' in order to specify those who gathered in the 'other part' of the city in the 19th century. Habits and daily life practices of the Pera inhabitants were quite different from those who settled in other parts of the city. Hence, Istanbul was considered as a city that includes West and East. From the beginning of the 19th century, the Pera zone started to take attention of neighboring towns. In the same century, two different lifestyles appeared in the district and these life styles affected the meaning of Pera's name.

“ Pera' yı tanımak, İstanbul' u tanımaktır. Burayı bilmek Batı' yı bilmektir. Uzak/yakın 'öteki' dir bu yüzden Pera.. Doğu' nun can evinde yaşayan Batı' dır. ”

Knowing Pera is knowing the Istanbul. At the same time, Pera includes something far and something close its inside. Pera is 'the other' all the time, and it is the West that lives in the heart of the East.³

Sultan Mahmud II governed the Ottoman Empire for almost the first half the 19th century (1808-1839). During his Sultanate he introduced and inspired many innovations and changes. On the 15th June 1826, he firstly removed Janissaries military groups *Yeniçeriler* from Ottoman military system because of their corrupt practices. This event was called an auspicious incident '*Vaka-yi Hayriye*'. The Sultan decided that the army had to wear European-style uniforms thereafter.

“ European foreign experts were giving lessons to the army of Sultan Mahmud II. Western arts were held under the leadership of Sultan in Empire Palace. Sultan's curiosity in opera had begun to attract the attention of foreign media. The journal of Times was mentioning on these innovations in the topic of 'Everything is changing here and organizing in the style of Europea.'⁴ Mahmud, it appears, also did not hesitate to attempt to cultivate a taste for opera and Italian singing, since at an evening's entertainment given by the French Ambassador, at which, to the

³ Öztürk, Kemal. 2010: *Pera Palas Beyoglu'nun Batililasma Hikayesi* Istanbul: IBB Yayınları, p. 5.

⁴ Aracı, Emre. 2010: *Naum Tiyatrosu* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, p. 44.

great astonishment of the whole capital, he came and was seen rapturously applauding the vocal performers; ‘although he knew nothing of their language’, The Times did not hesitate to add with a cutting remark.”⁵

As we have seen from the excerpt, the beginning of the 19th century signalled changes. Inhabitants of Istanbul observed the changes, but they were not readily accepted. Inhabitants were not ready yet to change their lifestyle. However the increase of foreign domestic servants and the invitation of Western artists, architects and composers were changing the Pera and its daily life.

Emre Aracı, who wrote about the history of the Naum Theatre, viewed this period as a turning point in the context of the development of cultural life. Changing the behavior of elite groups in public spaces, interest in Western style musical performances started with the opening of the theatres and other cultural places in Pera. Later on, many opera composers settled in Pera. Pera was getting closer to obtaining the position of the most important district in the city.

Pera, Beyoğlu, İstiklal Avenue, ‘Grande Rue de Péra’

The above names refer to the same place. İstiklal Avenue is generally known by international people. It is the name ‘Grande Rue de Péra’ was especially used by the 19th century’s inhabitants because of the increasing social activities and French cultural impact. The name of ‘Grande Rue de Péra’ continued to be in use until 1925 and afterwards it changed to *İstiklal Caddesi*. Although the social life in Pera was quite active and there were many cultural facilities, there were not enough modern-type activity buildings such as opera houses and theatres. Theatre stages were for a short period temporary and wooden. Keeping in mind Pera was predominately an economical area rather than place of entertainment, it saw a constant flow of people. For this reason, we can suppose that people visited the circus presentations due to a lack of other options.

⁵ Aracı, Emre. 2011: Naum TheatreThe Lost Opera House of Istanbul.
http://emrearaci.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/8/7/13873024/emre_araci_-_naum_theatre_-_tas_review_-_spring_2011.pdf.

Bertrand Bareilles, a traveler who visited Istanbul in the beginning of the 20th century, observed the society and took some remarkable notes which give us valuable insight into this area. He also took some notes relating to Pera's inhabitants;

“ Pera'da aynı milletten, hatta değişik milletlerden olanlar bile birbirini tanır. Her adımda sizi selamlamak için o kadar çok şapka kalkar ki havaya, insan kendini evinde zannedebilir.” 19. yüzyıl Pera'sı, sınırları özel yaşamları aşan sosyal ilişkilerin oluşturduğu bir kamusal alan oluşturuyordu.”⁶

Everyone who lives in Pera knows each other and even foreign people know each other. During each of your step, you can see that many hats of inhabitants rise up to greet you and you can feel that you are at home in Pera.

“ Pera is inhabited by people from nearly all the nations of the earth ; and as many different languages are spoken, as there are different nations. It is a modern Babel without stateliness and splendor. Those from Europe call themselves *Franks* ; the rest are called *Royahs* in general ; although the Greeks, Armenians and Jews have each a distinctive title which indicates their relationship to the Ottoman Portre, as conquered, invited, or visiting people. This modern Babylon, which has as many different interests as there are nations in it; this singular want of union, of principle and good faith ; this self-love which prevails; this desire of rising eminence and to fortune. ”⁷

⁶ http://www.obarsiv.com/pdf/arusyumul_nihal.pdf.

⁷ Porter, David. 1835: *Constantinople and its environs* New York: Harvard College Library, pp. 106-107.

1.2 Short Background of the Changes Which took place in the 19th Century ;

In this chapter I will focus on the 18th century, showing that the precursor for modernization and Westernization comes from changes that were introduced earlier. Although many travelers went to the West, the initial observations were written by Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi. He was an Ottoman Statesman and was sent to France as an ambassador by Sultan Ahmed III in 1720. In that time Louis XV was ruling the country and he appointed some bureaucrats in order to accompany Mehmed Çelebi on some visits and various ceremonies. All these experiences were noted by him under the name of Sefâretnâme '*the book of embassy or the book of travels*'. Regarding the interactions with the West, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet has a distinguished place in this process.

Until the beginning of the 18th century, the Ottoman empire extended into three continents' territories, including some parts of eastern Europe. During these centuries, the Ottomans were largely ignoring the West. The empire had not been following the European cultural revolution. Ottoman Sultans generally sent lower ranking ambassadors to Europe. Sultans gave no thoughts to the possibility that the ambassadors may import new ideas or technology. In this context Sultans of the 18th Century were different - they were starting to pay more attention what was going on in Occidental Europe.

Lale Devri '*Tulip Era*' started in Ottoman society in 1718. This year was also the year of the Treaty of Passarowitz. This treaty is sometimes pinpointed by historians as a signal of declining Ottoman power. In this context, we can say that during this period the West's military superiority was accepted. In line with this observation, the process of the contact with the West began within Ottoman society. Sultan Ahmed III had launched valuable connections with France by sending ambassadors there - for example Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed went to France in October 1720. This voyage was meant for focus on cultural but also military and economical aspects, but Mehmed's attention focused mainly on the theatre, opera, cultural life, people's habits, district design and city organization. These were his first impressions of France.

“ Dans toutes les villes et forteresses où je passais, on envoyait toujours une troupe de soldats une lieue au-devant de moi. Lorsque j'étais arrivé à la ville, ils me conduisaient en pompe à mon logis, où les grands du pays, de même que les consuls, venaient me féliciter sur mon heureuse arrivée et me portaient des fruits et des confitures. Il y avait toujours sur mon chemin une si grande foule

d'hommes et de femmes qu'il semblerait que dans la ville où j'arrivais il n'y avait de monde que par les endroits où je passais. (...) Il y avait toujours quelques personnes qui, presque étouffées par la presse, se mettaient à faire de hauts cris et je voyais même venir devant moi des femmes évanouies ”⁸

Some scholars accept that the main goal of Mehmed Çelebi's journey was to observe cultural life; theatre, opera and other cultural innovations. For example, Beynun Akyavaş argued that Çelebi was sent to France in order to observe the art and science and improve the political relationship between the two states.⁹ Although Çelebi brought some military knowledge from the West to Ottoman empire, his remarks on culture contributed to the development of Pera's cultural district. In this context, this was a stagnation period in Ottoman empire. “ Science and technology, another field of difference, were important factors in Mehmed Efendi's voyage as he was sent to France to visit fortresses and factories, and to thoroughly study means of civilization and education and to report on those capable of application in the Ottoman empire. Mehmed Efendi described the French military manoeuvres and scientific developments, especially the Royal Observatory and mirror factory.”¹⁰ However after his return to Istanbul, he reported more on opera, theatre, music rather than on military systems.

1.3 The Population of Istanbul

The first census of the Ottoman Empire was made in 1829-1831 by Sultan Mahmud II. The main purpose of the census was for military recruitment to the new army system and arranging tax issues. For this reason, female population was not taken into account by the Imperial authorities. We have also some census results from 1844 and 1856. These population statistics can help us better understand the composition of Pera's population.

⁸ Haleva, Beki. 2012: *La relation de voyage de Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi et son impact*. <http://gerflint.fr/Base/Turquie5/haleva.pdf>.

⁹ Ahmed, Asuman & Çay, Emre. 2013: *Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* Volume 8/10 Fall, p, 3 quoted in (Beynun Akyavaş,1993).

¹⁰ Göçek, Fatma Müge. *Encountering the West: French Embassy of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi 1720,1721*. <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~gocek/Work/bc/Gocek.Muge.bc.encountering.west.pdf>.

TABLE I *Population of Istanbul by Religion*

Year	Total			Muslim				Greek Orthodox				Armenian Gregorian			
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Percent	Male	Female	Total	Percent	Male	Female	Total	Percent
1844	213,992	—	213,992	102,532	—	102,532	47.91	45,780	—	45,780	21.39	47,999	—	47,999	22.43
1856	236,096	—	236,096	112,162	—	112,162	47.51	58,516	—	58,516	24.78	45,040	—	45,040	19.08
1882	219,945	162,431	382,376	118,535	96,218	214,753	56.16	43,752	24,254	68,006	17.78	36,867	24,748	61,615	16.11
1885	508,814	364,761	873,575	201,339	183,571	384,910	44.06	91,804	60,937	152,741	17.48	83,870	65,730	149,600	17.12
1896	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1906	514,421	350,155	864,576	245,753	185,910	431,663	49.93	102,055	74,387	176,442	20.41	31,638	30,061	61,699	7.14
1914	—	—	909,978	—	—	560,434	61.59	—	—	205,375	22.57	—	—	72,962	8.02

Year	Catholic				Jew				Protestant				Bulgar			
	Male	Female	Total	Percent	Male	Female	Total	Percent	Male	Female	Total	Percent	Male	Female	Total	Percent
1844	5,126	—	5,126	2.40	12,555	—	12,555	5.87	—	—	—	0.14	—	—	—	—
1856	5,410	—	5,410	2.29	13,222	—	13,222	5.60	329	—	329	0.14	—	—	—	—
1882	3,323	2,986	6,309	1.65	13,212	13,373	26,585	6.95	180	133	313	0.08	3,247	48	3,295	0.86
1885	3,209	3,233	6,442	1.74	22,394	21,967	44,361	5.08	488	331	819	0.09	3,977	400	4,377	0.50
1896	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1906	4,938	4,711	9,273	1.07	23,756	24,033	47,789	5.53	800	580	1,380	0.16	2,290	579	2,869	0.33
1914	—	—	10,305	1.13	—	—	52,126	5.73	—	—	1,213	0.13	—	—	3,339	0.37

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This census shows that, according to statistics of 1844, Pera was a place where Muslims could consider themselves a minority. According to the census, 237,293 people lived in Pera. Among them; 111,545 foreigners, 28,559 Armenians, 22,862 Jews, 17,589 Greek Orthodox and 51,748 Muslims. Other minorities were Protestants, Bulgarians, and Latins.¹² Based on the findings of Rinaldo Marmara¹³ it can be argued that all non-Muslims and foreigners lived in Pera and spent their time there. Marmara specified that, ‘Pera was a kind of specific state and union in the Ottoman state, and he theorized his own way it pioneered the idea of today’s European Union in the 19th Century ‘¹⁴ In another interview he arguments, “ *l’Empire ottoman était le précurseur de l’Union européenne. Il a donné l’exemple d’une coexistence de plusieurs communautés sous le même toit, sur un même territoire.* ”¹⁵ For sure, this argument is quite general field of discourse and seems to be evidence required. For this reason, this subjective approach only needs to be

¹¹ Stanford, J. Shaw. 1979: Cambridge University Press, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 265-277.

¹² Koçak, Dilek Özhan. 2011: *19. Yüzyıl İstanbulunda Kültürel Dönüşümün Sahnesi Osmanlı Tiyatrosu* İstanbul: Parşömen Yayıncılık p. 141.

¹³ Rinaldo Marmara is an Istanbul born Italian comes from Levantine family. Recently he is Vatican press spokesman and working in Vatican Consulate of Istanbul. His main researches focus on Istanbul’s background and Levantine Families.

¹⁴ Rinaldo Marmara Interview.

¹⁵ Les Derniers Levantins de Turquie, “Je ne me sens ni tout à fait européen, ni tout à fait oriental”.

<http://www.lepetitjournal.com/istanbul/accueil/actualite/205791-les-derniers-levantins-de-turquie-je-ne-me-sens-pas-tout-a-fait-europeen-ni-tout-a-fait-oriental-3>.

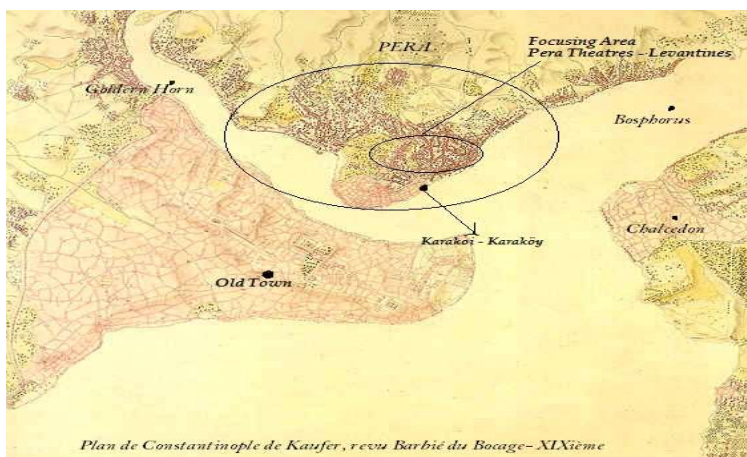
taken into the consideration from the comparison aspect. Istanbul was separated in two parts. Pera symbolized the West according to inhabitants of the other part. Even residents of neighborhood towns of Pera thought that Pera was culturally quite far away from them. Pera's Turkish name *Beyoğlu*, meaning 'the son of Prince', refers to the wealth of Pera at the time.

If we look at the composition of Istanbul's population by religion, there were 45,780 Greek Orthodox, 47,999 Armenian Gregorian, 5,126 Catholics, 12,555 Jews, 329 Protestants and 3,247 Bulgarian Orthodox. If we consider that many foreigners lived in Pera, we can imagine how cosmopolitan the area was. This data justifies the moniker of 'the non-Muslim district' given to Pera in the 19th century. According to the 1844 census, 51.79% of the population was non-Muslim.

1.4 Housing Design

A good quality of housing area can be highlighted as an important issue in creating a sustainable living environment.¹⁶ Innovative designs, provision of the latest conveniences and facilities, variety of choice, quality of finish and attractiveness of the layout, shall become a priority concern especially in landscape design.¹⁷ In this context, highlighting the importance and effect of Westernization on Pera, it is necessary to focus also Housing design. In the first half of the century the housing design in Pera district followed archaic patterns, while in the second half

people adopted occidental technologies and aesthetic inspirations with stone and brick materials. In the first half of the century, wooden houses were commonplace within Pera. The traditional Ottoman understanding of a house offers interior comfort.



Map¹⁸

¹⁶ Shahli, Hussain, Zaidin *The Importance Aspect of Landscape Design on Housing Development in Urban Areas, International Islamic University Malaysia Kuala Lumpur, ICESD 2014, 2*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁷ Shahli, Hussain, Zaidin, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸ Constantinople Cosmopolite Map.

Plane façades with covered balconies facing the street were also typical for Pera. The terraced housing proved dangerous owing to fires. There were several reasons for the outbreak of fires, predominantly the weakness of security organization and infrastructure.

The second reason for fires was that the eaves and fringes of wooden houses extended onto other houses. Technological advancements which saw the use of bricks and other safer materials to build apartment houses came to use in the second half of the 19th century.

For example, the Naum Theatre was built in 1844 and burned down after two years owing to this. It was quickly replaced with a brick building and reopened in 1847.

The Naum was constructed for larger audiences and its distinguished architecture used ornaments of occidental style for its interior. At the same time, the architect used Western-type engraving on the facade of the theatre. The Naum was already rising as a modern-type of theatre building in Pera considering its function, architectural design and European appearance. Another significant factor for these architectural and cultural transition processes were the activities of the Levantine community. The Levantines were the descendants of Latin Christians who settled in Ottoman Empire centuries ago. Especially from the second quarter of the 19th century, various people of foreign descent began to invest in constructing the buildings and trade offices featuring occidental appearance in Pera.

As shown in the attached map, in the 19th century Pera began with urban and structural planning. If we compare it with other parts of the city, we can also conclude that the first modern type buildings also appeared here on this peninsula.

2. THE BIRTH OF CULTURAL DISTRICT

2.1 Multicultural Inhabitants of Pera District

Firstly, to define Pluralism for the purposes of this essay - although pluralism holds several definitions, I will use it to indicate cultural diversity, religious differences and ethnic mixtures. I attempt to show that this pluralist diversity created the cultural infrastructure of Pera. In this context, it is possible to say that inhabitants of Pera were living together in a multicultural platform. The district in the 19th century can be considered a pleasant space. Even so we should question why various people came to live here. What was its meaning for the Turkish inhabitants? How was it significant for the case of district's development? What was the meaning of Pera's habitat and culture? The creation of new modern apartments, cafeterias, departments, institutions and use of these places with active participation show us this combination, and this combination resulted in the inhabitants changing each other's values. Inhabitants living in the district in harmony, and becoming potentially key figures of the habitat and contributing values to the district with their creativeness, participation and architectural desire. These elements are a kind of triangle. Another essential point in this issue is that the triangle creates a sense of belonging to place, which transcends ethnicity, religion, and nationality. The sense of belonging comes from a kind of strong bond between place and inhabitants.

In another approach, identifying with a place involves the interactive processes of social labelling and identification. People classify themselves and others as belonging to different counties, countries, cities, towns and villages. Initial interaction between strangers is often a process of cognitive mapping, giving and receiving clues that enable participants to gather information which helps them categorise the stranger and consider them less strange.¹⁹ In this context the process behind a sense of belonging is intertwined with a conscious adaptation towards a place. A sense of belonging develops out of one's sense of relationship to a collective. Belonging is strengthened when the individual engages in an activity that builds reciprocal relationships. Kindness, sharing, and selfless labor strengthen family and community ties that bind the group together.²⁰

¹⁹ Inglis, Tom. *Local Belonging*. 2011: *Identities and Sense of Place in Contemporary Ireland*, Dublin: Institute for British-Irish Studies, p. 8.

²⁰ MacKay, Gail. 2005: *The City as Home*, p. 20.

Although most of the people in Europe considered that a Turkish majority lived in the Ottoman Istanbul, the ethnic diversity was important symbol in Pera. As mentioned, Pera was an almost culturally autonomous district with its inhabitants of different nationalities and cultures, which became a community.

Similarly, as J. Painter stated, the vitality of the public realm is a key determinant of the vibrancy of citizenship practice. Accessing high-quality public spaces, striking the right balance between civility and social friction, developing resources for creativity and social innovation, promoting play as a key attribute of urban life and supporting the establishment of civic associations makes the place ready for urban citizenship.²¹ Hence, the cities which carry all these features and free access toward their inside they can access the potential for creating pluralist urban commonwealth. This diversity of inhabitants and their easy accessibility to facilities meant that there were more opportunities to construct high-quality public spaces. Painter was generally using the word ‘citizenship’ while examining the urban quality. Although the inhabitants of the Pera district did not have citizenship of the Ottoman Empire, they were living as citizens and at the same time as economically distinguished groups in the district.

According to Painter, these elements generate the possibility of living in a specific place and formulating the vitality of the city. On the other hand, the term ‘multiple citizenship’ suits Pera. Its inhabitants established loyalty and an identity with the place which transcended their ethnicities and national identities. In the same way, this multiculturalism created potential for cross-cultural theatre experiences within Pera.

Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert argued that cross-cultural theatre encompasses public performance practices characterized by the conjunction of specific cultural resources at the level of narrative content, performance aesthetic, production processes and/or reception by an interpretive community.²² In the case of Pera, inhabitants of different cultures were also connecting to each other within social and cultural spheres and they were also creating some visual public practices. In the following chapters, we will see the unification of the diversity of inhabitants and promotional cultural activities in the area. In the case of theatre structures, it is

<http://www.bridgesandfoundations.usask.ca/reports/McKayTheCity.pdf>.

²¹ Painter, Joe. 2005: *Urban Citizenship and Right to The City* Durham University, p. 2.

²² Lo, Jacqueline & Helen, Gilbert. 2002: *Toward a Topography of Cross-Cultural Theatre Praxis* The MITT Press, Vol 46, p. 31.

possible to use the definition of multicultural theatre given by Lo and Gilbert. Multiculturalism carries a site-specific meaning and multicultural theatre is generally a counterdiscursive practice that aims to promote cultural diversity, access to cultural expression and participation with the symbolic space of the national narrative.²³ Multiculturalism can be more productive and participatory with encouragement and the support of states. In doing so, multiculturalism not only appears as community-generated consciousness - it can also manifest itself as a state-subsidized cultural consciousness.

Additionally the foreign population in Pera sometimes received more rights than locals, and they had an opportunity to fill some roles working for the Ottoman Empire. Giuseppe Donizetti²⁴ Pasha, for example. The right to the city is not merely a right of access to what exists, but a right to change it after our heart's desire.²⁵

We need to be sure we can live with our own creation. However, the right to remake ourselves by creating a qualitatively different kind of urban sociality is one of the most precious of all human rights. ²⁶ Based on this, I believe Pera created space for all these elements. Thus, although it was not a commonly used term within the city, I will use the term of *Peralı* (people who used to live in Pera) time to time in order to indicate inhabitants of Pera.

Istanbul's landscape is geographically, historically and culturally a representation of Turkish-European interaction. Considering the urban spaces of everyday life, and the cultural representations of the city, Istanbul is a boundary space. ²⁷ It can be illustrated by a photo below belonging to the early 20th century. We can see the façades of the buildings and the pediments were fairly elusive. We have also postcards to point out the general pictures from the middle of the 19th century. The photo below taken beginning of the 20th century presents us other details of the street. There are young boys on the street and one carries one hamper on his back and they were called '*hamal*'. In English they would say 'porter' or 'carrier'.

Economic and socio-cultural differences between the rich and poor became visible with the rise of Levantines and other elites in Pera just like another biggest districts in Europe. The

²³ Lo & Gilbert, 2002, p. 33.

²⁴ Giuseppe Donizetti was known also "Istruttore Generale delle Musiche Imperiali Ottomane".

²⁵ Vassoler, Ivani. 2007: *Urban Brazil Visions, Afflictions and Governance Lessons* New York: Cambria Press, p. 31.

²⁶ Painter, Joe, 2005. p, 2 quoted in Harvey, 2004.

²⁷ Mills, Amy, 2005: *City and Landscape Istanbul* American Geographical Society, pp. 441-466.

behavior of inhabitants and their activities in public space started to form the environment of the district itself. Carriers were helping the inhabitants to transfer their staff home. Herewith Mills argues that the landscape's materiality of Istanbul is related to the process of gentrification, which reflects an increasing polarization of wealth in the city and growth of a cultural economic elite.²⁸ Thus, the gap between the elites and lower classes was growing.

²⁸ Mills, Amy, 2005, pp. 441-466.



Grand Rue de Pera, Constantinople Creator(s): Underwood & Underwood. Created/ Published: *c1912 July 26.* / Collection of Maggie Land Blanck, 2012, modern copy of old stereo view²⁹

On the other hand, modern-type clothes appeared in the area according to the transformation of the district, for example men with caps and modernly-dressed women with umbrellas. Besides,

²⁹ <http://www.maggielblank.com/Azarian/Photos.html>

these mobile subjects became part of city and architecture. As mentioned above, these modern constructions were creating a different image and a new type of inhabitant. In this case, structuring and identifying the environment was key among these new members of the district. Department stores, markets and cafeterias led to the creation of a district defined so; it is possible to say that a multifunctional city was bringing an architectural city view and its subjects together.



Maggie Blanc Postcard Collection. Galata Port, 19th Century. ³⁰

³⁰ <http://www.maggieblanck.com/Azarian/Photos.html>



A photo from the second half of the 19th century in Pera. People walking in front of the Au Bon Marche. ³¹

2.2 The Birth of a Cosmopolitan District with Levantines

Considering the previous chapter and the following postcards, we can say that Pera also started to function as a trade center. The district achieved its social status after the arrival of the foreign investors to Pera. Leading investors were French and Italian who came after the Edict of Gülhane (Tanzimat Fermanı)³² Au Bon Marche was one of the trade centers financed by them.

As we can see from previous photo, Au Bon Marche was located in the middle of the street and the pedestrians started to appear differently. On the other hand, other ethnic groups began to settle in the quarter. Now we must ask who the Levantines were. Where did they come from, and what effect did they have on Pera?

Rinaldo Marmara highlights that the roots of the Levantines are found in previous centuries. The word 'Levantine' derives from Levant, which symbolizes the Orient. The adjective 'Levantine' was used

³¹ <http://levantineheritage.com/pdf/Baltazzi-Old-Houses-Yalis-Hans-and-Farms.pdf> p.2.

³² This regulation gave more opportunity and rights to foreigners and non-Muslims. It is also referred to as Tanzimat-ı Hayriye, meaning "Edict of Auspicious". It was announced on 3rd November 1839. The Edict of Gulhane was the regulation of related insurance to the security of every subject and to the rights of other ethnic groups.

for the first time by Venetians in order to define people who were chosen to work in the Orient. This adjective came to be used as an insult because they were seen as earning an easy wage for little effort. On one side, there were traders who were living and staying in Venice and on the other side there were traders who were living and working in Istanbul. Those in Istanbul were called Levantine. However, Levantine groups did not only belong to the Venetians. Traders came also from the South of France (Provence), Pisa and Genoa. After the conquest of Istanbul, half of the community left the city. However, Fatih Sultan Mehmed (Mehmed II) gave a declaration for the establishment of the Latin Community of Ottoman in Istanbul. Charles Frazee noted that Mehmed II additionally made the church part of his administration after the conquest in order to control hostility.³³ Then some economic privileges followed the process.

Later on, Levantines started to settle again in Pera.³⁴ Levantines had also their own pier and trade centers. After the 18th century and more effectively in the 19th century, they became efficient also on daily life usage in the district with their dress style. In the same way, Rinaldo Marmara defines himself a Levantine and says, ‘ My father was wearing the suit in every time, I even remember that in our house he was sitting at the dinner table in suit, I never saw him at the dinner table with inattentive daily life clothes.’ .

“ In 19th century, the social structure of Levantines changed considerably, because their population increased quickly. Since the middle of the 19th century, there had been considerable social differentiation within the former small of Catholic merchants and dragomans: The Levantines had formed a mercantile bourgeoisie following the European models and imitating the material culture and way of life of the French bourgeoisie, before the Greeks and the Armenians. The growth of trade gave the chance for social ascension to many poor families of artisans and merchants. At the same time, the families of old dragomans passed to the background, as they were displaced in the diplomatic field by the European careerists of diplomacy, with oriental education, such as Hammer-Purgstall. Moreover, their noble origin kept them off trade. Just as in the case of European aristocracy, some families were connected with the socially rising merchants and bankers.

Before the penetration of the big European banks, which took place after the Crimean war and mainly after the big crisis in the Eastern Question (1878), so-called Bankers of Galata constituted

³³ Frazee, Charles. 1983: *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923* New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 1.

³⁴ Rinaldo Marmara Interview.

the nucleus of the Ottoman economic elite. In this context, the Levantines' economic elite took care of keeping in close contact with the Greek, Armenian and Jewish bankers of the Empire. ”³⁵

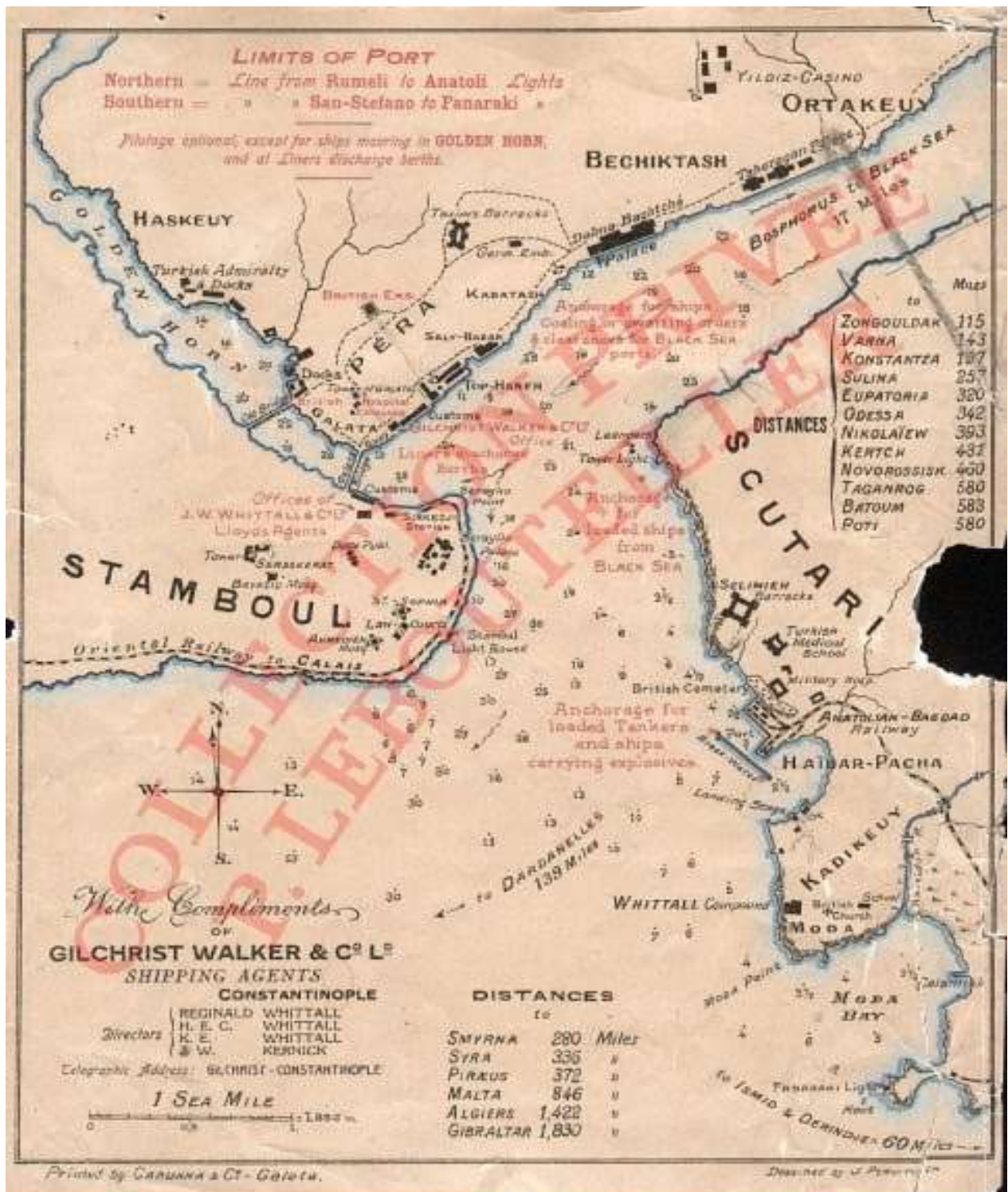


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³⁵ Levantines in Constantinople.

<http://constantinople.ehw.gr/Forms/fLemmaBodyExtended.aspx?lemmaID=11842>.

³⁶ Barailles, B. 1918: *Constantinople ses cités franques et levantines Pera Galata Banlieu* Paris: Editions Bossard, p. 9.



The Levant Herald Journal. Wednesday April 13, 1910.

2.3 Supporting Foreign Traders and the Birth of Pera Bourgeoisie

Development of the Pera District and its process of civilization are linked with economic and technological development in occidental Europe. In the declared edict of Tanzimat in 1839, the state gave foreign entrepreneurs more opportunities to stay in Pera and continue with their trades, arts and works. The reform reflects the government's worries about the impact of the French Revolution on the Ottoman Society. At the same time, the Ottoman empire did not want to lose its foreign population and multinationalism. The decree gave foreigners equality with the Turkish people. Thereafter European investment started to increase in the district. Thus their distinguished place in the district became more visible.³⁷ One of the other reasons for the decrease of Turkish trade power and increase of foreign capital in the district was communication. Western traders, compared to the Turks, were able to better communicate with minorities in the area.³⁸

In the case of internal trade, the Turks and foreign population shared the economic wealth of trade. However in the case of external trade, Turkish traders' economical relationships with the West were strained because they considered their goods to be going to their enemies or nonessential places. This limited their ability to compete within the European economy.³⁹ Despite this foreign investments in Pera increased. This situation led to the minorities and other foreign populations taking up prominent roles in the district. The effects of the Industrial Revolution in Europe resulted in a diversity of products arriving in Pera and at its port, Galata. Around this time numerous Armenian and Greek entrepreneurs started to settle in Pera and they preferred to live near consulates in order to gain their favour. The design of their homes and way of how they ornamented the shape of their habitats were symbolized their life pleasures and wealth.⁴⁰ Thus a new cultural and physical appearance of urban dwellings was developed by foreign ethnic groups in Pera. Armenians, Greeks, Levantines and Anglo-German groups were economically reinforcing the whole district with their trade and close relationships, with diplomats increasingly gaining importance. For example, Jean Henri Ubcini noted his observations about Turkish society from the perspective of the city;

³⁷ Koçak, Dilek Özhan, 2011, p. 146.

³⁸ Koçak, Dilek Özhan, 2011, p. 146.

³⁹ Koçak, Dilek Özhan, 2011, p. 146.

⁴⁰ Akın, Nur. 2002: *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, p. 34.

“ *il faut bien de dire nulle part en Europe il n'existe pas un empire composé d'elements aussi divers aussi heterogones que l'empire turc. Ce n'est pas une nation, c'est compose de nations.* ”⁴¹

Political relationships with managers of official departments oversaw the growth of the elite class in Pera. As a result, the district, during such a social and cultural transformation, revealed a different side compared to the other districts of Istanbul. In other words, Pera became a kind of ‘liberated territory’.⁴²

It was especially Armenians and Greeks carrying out commercial activities due to augmented Capitalism and this resulted in Galata becoming a financial center. These groups invested their money in European ventures and this resulted in them gaining stronger positions than Ottoman state in Pera. These rich people formed the basis of the mercantile bourgeoisie in the Ottoman Empire.⁴³ Moreover, the rich inhabitants and traders of Pera almost reached the status of owing debt to the state.⁴⁴

The money exchangers and bankers were also becoming rich. Traders generally worked in the Galata and they used to live in Pera. The first official stock market *Istanbul Exchange Bond* was also established in *Havyar Han* in 1866⁴⁵ and during this time first exchange hall also started to function. According to Akin’s quote, the Ottoman Bank archives show that the majority of company owners and workers in Pera were Greeks.⁴⁶ This document lists the recorded owners and ethnic majority in Pera. This shows that the other half of the properties belonged to the other ethnic groups and, as previously stated, the lack of Muslim economic power resulted in the Turks

⁴¹ Ubucini, A. 1853 : *La Turquie Actuelle*, p. 12.

⁴² Akin, Nur. 2002, p. 33.

⁴³ Koçak, Dilek Özhan. 2011, p. 147.

⁴⁴ Akin, Nur. 2002, p. 34.

As an example, for the marriage ceremony of Fatma Sultan (the daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid) 2.000.000 Ottoman Golden has spent by the Empire and most of the part of this expenses borrowed by the Pera and Galata traders with high interest.

⁴⁵ Cottrell, Philip L. 2008: *East Meets West: Banking, Commerce and Investment in the Ottoman Empire* Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p. 151.

⁴⁶ Akin, Nur. 2002, p. 34.

becoming a minority in Pera while foreign groups became rich and a majority. Moreover these foreign entrepreneurs obtained the right of having land by issued formal law in 1867.⁴⁷

This poses another question - while foreign entrepreneurs were so active, creating a strong communication network within their district's community, how did they interact with Ottoman bureaucracy? And how did the state authorities control them?

These questions are important in order to understand these entrepreneurs, who, after acquiring their economic power, also wished to have influence in the administration process. Subsequently they would demand rights to help shape the fate of the district. Paul Dumont observed how the foreign business bourgeoisie started to demand official positions in the administration of the district.⁴⁸ However the potential trade and will of the Ottoman state to give opportunities to foreigners did not comprise their intentions of letting them enter into the administrative process. The final decisions were always taken by the state authorities. On one hand the Ottoman bureaucracy supported foreign entrepreneurs, but on the other hand did not permit them to become a majority in the administration. By doing so, the state bureaucracy kept balance between the foreign population and local district administration. For occidental bankers and traders, Istanbul bridged the trade between East and West.

Whereas the Ottoman bureaucracy was not against Occidentalization in the district, they were careful not to allow non-Muslims into administrative roles. According to Koçak, this step was taken to protect the empire from becoming an Occidental 'colony'.⁴⁹

This shows that the Ottoman empire's bureaucratic decisions were made from a religious point of view, although this had no impact on social life in Pera. To enter Pera's administrative division, Turkish nationality was not important but being Muslim was a priority. Nevertheless honorary titles were occasionally awarded to foreigners, giving them the title of *Pasha*. For instance, Giuseppe Donizetti⁵⁰ obtained the title of *Pasha* from Sultan Mahmud II, as he was

⁴⁷ Koçak, Dilek Özhan, 2011, p. 148.

⁴⁸ Koçak, Dilek Özhan, 2011, p. 148.

⁴⁹ Koçak, Dilek Özhan, 2011, p. 149.

⁵⁰ Giuseppe Donizetti arrived to Istanbul in 1928. He was the brother of famous Italian musician Geatano Donizetti.

hired to educate the Sultan's marching bands in music. Moreover, Donizetti Pasha composed the march called *Mahmudiye* for the official sultanate.⁵¹

This was no exception. There were a number of Greeks and Jews who got positions in the administration and held important titles during the 19th century. Their views, opinions and criticisms were generally taken into consideration. After examining the efficiency of Ottoman bureaucracy, I will explain the strategies and tactics of remarkable rich individuals and entrepreneurs in Pera. Among them the Greeks held important economic positions in the district. One of the famous names at the end of the 19th century was Georgios Zariphis. His riches and reputation meant he was even known by Istanbul inhabitants outside of Pera. Nur Akın argued that he was the one of the holders of the Ottoman Bank and from time to time contributed to the state's economy and even provided loans. Zariphis was presented to the public in such a way by *La Turquie*, an important journal, established in 1880.⁵² He also joined the commission of the VI. District⁵³ in order to help to establish the district's economic regulations.⁵⁴ He was not unique as there were other wealthy men from various ethnic groups in Pera using identical tactics.

For instance, Armenians engaged with banks during the second half of the 19th century, as did A. Allahverdi, Garabet Bey, Pişmişoğlu Nişan, Apik Tinghir.⁵⁵ According to Faruk Bölükbaşı, Armenians contributed to the development of places in which they lived with trading, art, and architecture. Their main professions were in the finance and jewellery sectors and were sometimes appointed to the directorate of the *darphane* (mint). Pera was the most appropriate place for this. Restrictions within Islamic law relating to finance forbade charging or receiving interest on loans and this blocked Turkish involvement in finance. By doing so, it allowed Armenians getting involved in these sectors. Their success in these sectors, and the Ottoman privileges that came with their roles, gave them further opportunities especially in Pera. After this involvement, Armenians obtained good positions in this field.⁵⁶ Besides, they were also contributed to architectural design of Pera and their positions became much more visible.

⁵¹ Aracı, Emre, 2010, p. 45.

⁵² Akın, Nur, 2002, p. 35.

⁵³ First name of the administrative hall of the Beyoğlu which is today include Pera District in its borders.

⁵⁴ Akın, Nur, 2002, p. 36.

⁵⁵ Akın, Nur p, 36 quoted from *Journal Constantinople* and *Journal a Turquie*.

⁵⁶ Faruk Bölükbaşı, Ömerül. *Türkler ve Ermeniler: Darbhâne-i Âmire'de Ermeniler*.
<http://turksandarmenians.marmara.edu.tr/tr/darbhane-i-amirede-ermeniler/>.

The Jewish community was also vital in the district's economic activities, the most famous of whom was Abraham Solomon Camondo. His family roots can be found in the Sephardi Jews. Born in Istanbul, he and his brother were the co-founders of the famous 'Isaac Camondo and Partners' bank. The bank supported the state on several occasions and Camondo was nicknamed Rothschild⁵⁷ of the Orient owing to his position. ⁵⁸ He was also a philanthropist and often took positions in district regulation consortiums.

“ C'est un homme moderne qui contribue à la construction de la partie européenne de Constantinople. Une rue, des immeubles, des escaliers, des bains vont porter son nom. Philanthrope actif, ouvert et généreux, il se préoccupe de l'intégration de sa communauté au sein de l'Empire Ottoman, et s'attache à la mettre sur la voie de la modernité notamment par le biais de l'éducation. ”

Nora Şeni specified that during this period philanthropy was an elitist status symbol.⁵⁹ She also explained that philanthropy was not seen as charity. Camondo's philanthropic endeavours were on humanitarian rather than religious grounds.

There were other patrons or benefactors. Their close relationships with the diplomats and embassy workers resulted in a larger amount of social activities such as balls. They also founded charitable organizations, especially in the second half of the 19th century. Social activities took place in halls with various purposes.

“ Genellikle balolar, hayır amacıyla düzenlenmekteydiler. Katılımın fazla olması, oldukça büyük gelir toplanmasına ve dolayısıyla da söz konusu yardımın önemli ölçülere varabilmesine olanak sağlıyordu. Örneğin 19 Şubat 1852' de İngiliz elçinin girişimiyle Hotel d'Angleterre' in büyük salonunda verilen maskeli kıyafet balosu, Pera' daki protestan fakirler yararınaydı. ” ⁶⁰

Generally, balls were held on charitable grounds. Higher attendance at the balls resulted in larger donations. For example, the masked ball, held in February 19th 1852 by the initiatory step

⁵⁷ Rothschild family was the famous rich family and especially their reputation was highly up in the 18th and 19th century in the Occident. Mayer Amschel Rothschild was the founder Rothschild banking dynasty and the usage of his name while indicating the Camondo also shows as the richness of the Camondo in the Orient.

⁵⁸ N.Bali, Rifat. Galata Bankerlerinden Bir Aile: Komando' lar.

http://www.rifatbali.com/images/stories/dokumanlar/galata_bankerlerinden_bir_aile.pdf.

⁵⁹ N. Bali, Rifat. Komandolar ve Istanbul.

http://www.obarsiv.com/docs/kamondo_paneli_nora.pdf.

⁶⁰ Akın, Nur 2002, p. 49.

of the British ambassador organized in the Hotel d'anglettere, benefitted the poorer Protestant inhabitants of Pera.

The French Embassy also opened its large reception hall for the Pera elites in 1848 for the first time. The guests admired the hall and more than 500 people participated. According to the Journal de Constantinople the guests danced until 4am. ⁶¹

Charitable organizations and balls were holding increasingly larger numbers of events in Pera and this resulted in augmented interculturalism and higher participation at such events. According to Akin, concerts also took place in Pera social life. A group named the 'Progressisters' was established in 1851 and many young people from different ethnic groups joined and took part in its entertainment. ⁶² Young groups were interested in the newly established entertainments and they spent time together. This shows that it was not just the wealthy and elite who socialized within Pera and its organizations. For this reason R. Marmara specified in his interview that Pera was the a quasi state within a state, quasi autonomous autonomy and resembles the changes in modern day Europe. ⁶³

Another example is Russian embassy hall organizations. According to Journal de Constantinople, in January 1853 managers of the embassy organized the dancing evenings. The Journal specifically mentioned that Madam Ozeroff was looking glamorous and many guests were bedazzled by her cocktail dresses. ⁶⁴ In this context, we can see the Russians elites also wanting to belong to the Pera elites. They gave importance to appearance and their image in the public eye, general society and media outlets. We know that during this period French journals and magazines were important news outlets in Istanbul between East and West. Everything that they did in Pera was published in the Journal and they were aware of it. Considering this it is possible that their ball organizations, elegant clothes, behavior and invitations were personal competitions. Consequently many stores which sold elegant clothes opened in the district.

⁶¹ Akin, Nur, 2002, p. 48.

⁶² Akin, Nur, 2002, p. 42.

⁶³ Rinaldo Marmara Interview, 2015.

⁶⁴ Akin, Nur, 2002, p. 51.

A.Ubicini observed that Galata merchants would walk through the narrow district which connected Galata and Pera after work, and would look at Petit Champs des Morts and Genoese structures on the way. After having dinner at home they would take part in the evening's entertainment.⁶⁵ This active participation in Pera's nightlife in the district developed society, and this gained the attention of Pera's inhabitants.

⁶⁵ Akin, Nur, p, 42.

SAISON DE PARIS
Samedi 18 mars 1865, à 10 heures du soir.

MI-GARÈME

A LA DEMANDE GÉNÉRALE

GRAND BAL

PARÉ, MASQUÉ ET TRAVESTI

AU PROFIT

DES VICTIMES DE L'INCENDIE

Du 20 Février.

SOUS LE CONTROLE DU COMITÉ.

M. BOUIN a l'honneur d'annoncer à ses nombreux habitués que cette soirée sera, sans contredit, la plus brillante de la Saison, un Répertoire de quatuor-vingt ballets tout-à-fait nouveaux, qui ont été exécutés cet hiver aux bals de l'Opéra de Paris, est dans ce moment à l'étude pour être aussi exécuté par un orchestre nombreux et choisi pendant cette Soirée Extraordinaire.

GRANDE ILLUMINATION

Prix du Billet: 10 franc par Cavalier.

Les Dames pourront se masquer dans l'établissement.

On trouvera des Billets à l'Hôtel Municipal, à l'Imprimerie Centrale et au bureau de l'Hôtel.

Une mise décente est de toute rigueur.

R-04

The ball announcement, 18 March, 1865⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Akin, Nur, p. 50.

The grand fire in 1870 caused immense harm to Pera. Furthermore, social life, activities, places and daily life were heavily affected and almost came to a standstill for a while.

“ In 1870, a fire in Pera took only six hours to destroy two-thirds of the quarters, killing thousands and destroying countless housings. Homes, nightclubs, hotels, theaters, and embassies all went up in flames, including the British embassy, which had already burnt down once before in the devastating fire of 1831 and whose loss so annoyed the English. The fire spread very rapidly, with sheets of flame extending sometimes a mile in length, and being carried along by a strong wind with inconceivable rapidity. ”⁶⁷

For two to three years after the fire journals made no mention of nightlife in Pera. However after the revitalization of Pera, in 1874 journals again started to report on balls and daily life. In January 1874 *La Turquie* wrote that Pera was something like back to how it was four years earlier.⁶⁸ Akin specified that Pera’s city hall, *Altıncı Daire*, from time to time also organized balls. For example, the journals of the period noted that Pera organized a sumptuous ball for young Hungarian delegates. The city hall also organized balls for the benefit of some Jewish communities, one of them being the masked dress ball which took place in the saloon of the Eldorado in March 1, 1879.⁶⁹ Especially in the 1870s and 80s many masonry groups started up in Pera and their task was uniting the people around different cultural elements. The quotation below shows how masonry groups played an important role.

“... Masonry will here help to unite the various nations, races and sects on a common basis of divine worship, charity, virtue and above all brotherly love carrying out here a great work as it does in India. We must not, as masons, be under the suspicion of having any connections with politics or be offensive to any man’s religious convictions, nay, we must be careful of offending the social prejudices of those whom we live among. “We offer no man a new religion, nor do we interfere with his own. The only progress we are concerned in is the progress not of our own brothers only but of all mankind in true religion, in virtue and in learning. Masonry discountenances anarchy, atheism, irreligion and ignorance. Masonry strengthens family ties,

⁶⁷ Boyar, Ebru & Fleet, Kate. 2010: *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*. Cambridge University Press, p. 78.

⁶⁸ Akin, Nur, 2002, p. 56.

⁶⁹ Akin, Nur, 2002, p. 57.

improves social relations, promotes patriotism at home and the fraternity of nations, peace, charity and goodwill.”⁷⁰

Another reason for this rapid revitalization and vividness was Sultan Abdulaziz I and his admiration of Europe. As previously mentioned, Abdulaziz I continued the reformist processes started by Sultan Mahmud II and continued by Tanzimat *Edict of Gülhane*. He was also the first Ottoman Sultan who visited Western Europe and observed the initiatives closely.

⁷⁰ Paul Dumont used the same quotation in his article named “ Freemasonry in Turkey: a by-product of Western penetration ” from Reşat Atabek, “1861-1880 Yılları Arasında İstanbul ve İzmir Vadisinde Masonik Faaliyet”, op. cit.

2.4 Department Stores

First modern industrial design clothing stores of the Pera District

Department stores were the main sources of Western products, furniture and dresses to consumers, as well as new faces of the public spaces in the cities. These places became much more visible and they instantly attracted crowds of people on a daily basis in the second half of the 19th century. Along the Grand Rue, trade flourished in the shops and department stores stocked up on luxury goods from across Europe. These items were consumed not only by the foreign inhabitants but also by the Ottoman upper classes.⁷¹ Especially in the second half of the century, Pera inhabitants slowly witnessed the changing face of the district with the theatres, passages, cafes, shops and other cultural public and private places. With the establishment of department stores, they could find also direct shopping amenities and had the possibility to see products up close. After a while, clothing stores started to dominate Grand Rue. According to Zeynep Çelik, toward its southern end, an Englishman named Hayden sold fabrics imported from his native country; Madame de Milleville's *Grande Maison de Couture* dressed the 'mondaines' of the city. Not far from Madam de Milleville's shop was Madame Vapillon's boutique, which specialized in Parisian accessories for women; the first ladies' gloves were sold here.⁷²

Thus simultaneously department stores opened and began to influence fashion within Pera. They aroused dissent among Western and Ottoman society alike; department stores were not only innovative in their marketing, but they became public places where men and women could stroll through the world of goods and consumerism. One might even argue that, with them, the clear distinction between private and public began to disintegrate.⁷³ It could also be said that the female customers from Pera were mostly foreign.

In the case of Muslim women, it was not easy to go and try on some clothes. To alleviate these difficulties, some investors and store owners tried to arrange for cabinets to make it easier for them. However female Muslims were not often seen in such shopping centres.

⁷¹ Çelik, Zeynep. 1993: *The Remaking of Istanbul*, University of California Press, p. 133.

⁷² Çelik, Zeynep. 1993, p. 133.

⁷³ Köse, Yavuz *Vertical Bazaars of Modernity*. 2009: *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, p. 3. <https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/23181/1/23181.pdf> quoted in *Haupt, Konsum und Handel*, pp. 65–90.

Maison Baker

Maison Baker was established in Pera by the British garden architect George Baker in the second half of the 19th century.⁷⁴ Baker was appointed to Istanbul to designing the garden at the British embassy and in the following months he decided to settle in Pera. In the middle of the century, there were no merchants who provided custom goods in central Pera. At the time there were two traders with the Baker surname; firstly, the Baker Family owned department stores near Galata and, secondly, George Baker opened a store called Maison Baker in Pera and that is the one upon which I will focus.

Maison Baker offered a wider and more comprehensive service to the district's inhabitants; modern furniture, sports clothing, equipment for all walks of life, shoes, juvenile clothes, modern dresses and accessories were all

readily available. The diversity of goods and promotions triggered huge popularity within both the foreign and Ottoman societies and they became long-term users of Maison Baker. In the following decades, Baker's place gained noteriety as one of the most popular stores stocking imported products. As we can see from the photo, which was published in the famous magazine of the early 20th century's Pera⁷⁵, they brought a new kind of fashion to the district.



Figure 1: The commercial of the Baker in the early 20th century

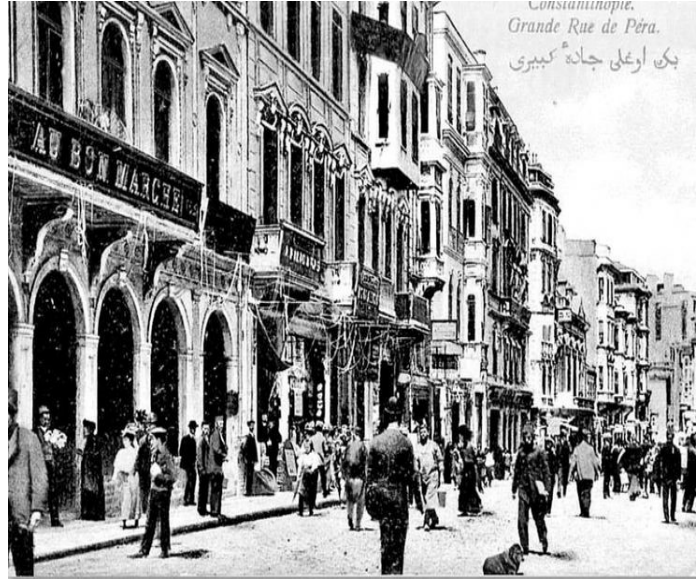
⁷⁴ Akşam Gazetesi. 2012. *Türk İşi Tasarımın 150 Yılı*.

<http://www.aksam.com.tr/cumartesi/turk-isi-tasarimin-150-yili--125764h/haber-125764>.

⁷⁵ Archive of the Istanbul Sehir University. *Maison Baker-Pera*.
file:///C:/Users/x-pc/Downloads/001503720006.pdf.

Au Bon Marché

Bon Marche opened its doors in the 1850s and its new neo-classical building was erected in 1870.⁷⁶ *Bon Marche* specialized in household articles, leather goods, stationery, hunting equipment, cosmetics, jewellery, bronze art objects, toys, optical instruments, eyeglasses, photographic equipment, drugs, gloves, hosiery, women's lingerie, umbrellas, clothing, china, crystal, wines and liquors.⁷⁷ It was the a large and significant department store which was gaining popularity.



Çelik indicated that their names with the cafe, entertainment places, and department stores demonstrated what Pera wanted to be. *Bon Marche* brought a new experience to shopping, in which goods were sold not only for their purpose but also to cater for the aesthetic needs of the customer, starting with shop-window presentations, and consequently window shopping became a pastime.⁷⁸ At the same time, this department store was creating new consumption habits while they promoted a wide range of products.

This resulted in pedestrian onlookers becoming a kind of accessory for the district. It is possible to argue that *Au Bon Marche* was the first biggest and modern department store in the Istanbul. It pioneered an increase in the number of department stores in Pera. Considering the growth of the customer base and higher demands, the number of *Au Bon Marche*'s employees rose to over 2000 at the end of the 19th century.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *Architectural And Historic Preservation Of Old Houses Baltazzi's Old Properties In Istanbul .*

<http://levantineheritage.com/pdf/Baltazzi-Old-Houses-Yalis-Hans-and-Farms.pdf>.

⁷⁷ Çelik, Zeynep, 1993, pp. 134

⁷⁸ Kandiyoti, Deniz. 2006: *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey* London, I.B Tauris, p. 76.

⁷⁹ Köse, Yavuz *Vertical Bazaars of Modernity*, p. 8.

<https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/23181/1/23181.pdf>.

One of the main aims of department stores was to attract as many customers as possible and to offer them cheap goods in a highly appealing manner.⁸⁰ This strategy has had a deep influence on the “traditional” retail store. With their abundance and variety of goods, department stores squeezed many retail traders out of the market.⁸¹ After the turn of the century, in 1912, Bon Marche’s had over 4,500 employees.⁸² In this context, the existence of *Au Bon Marche* was a crucial transformation element for the people in the district. It brought a new atmosphere to the district as a public space. People were free to walk inside, browse the branded products and stroll amongst internationally-branded stores. By doing so, *Au Bon Marche* was becoming to Istanbul what *Le Bon Marché* is to Paris.

⁸⁰ Köse, Yavuz *Vertical Bazaars of Modernity*, p. 93.

⁸¹ Köse, Yavuz *Vertical Bazaars of Modernity*, p. 93 Quoted in Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (eds), *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London [etc.], 1984); Uwe Spiekermann, *Basis der Konsumgesellschaft. Entstehung und Entwicklung des modernen Kleinhandels in Deutschland 1850–1914* (Munich, 1999).

⁸² Köse, Yavuz. *Vertical Bazaars of Modernity* Quoted in Homburg, “Warenhausunternehmen und ihre Gründer” p. 98.

Other Stores

Magasin de France was another store in Pera. This store opened at the corner of *Asmalı Mescid* and opposite the Hotel d'Angleterre in 1845. In 1860 all goods were reduced as the two-storey store was shortly to be decorated. Furthermore there was a counter for gold and one for silver.⁸³ Another store was the *Gracie Stores*. This store also opened in 1845 and its name was later changed to Grand Bazaar Parisienne. The two-story store was located next to the Russian embassy. The jewellery counter was on the upper floor. There was another department on the upper floor called '*Le Bon Ton*'. In this section, there was a separate counter for jewellery.⁸⁴ Jean Psalty started making Western-style furniture in Istanbul under the pseudonym *Maison Psalty* in 1867.⁸⁵ These stores were making the city more attractive and they were becoming symbols of the new social order in the district.

2.5 Emergence of the Modern District,

Meeting Places, Coffee Shops

Where were Pera's inhabitants spending their time and in what kind of places? The *Cafe de Saint Petersburg* was often mentioned in journals. It was established in *Passage d'Oriental* by Charles Bourdon in 1858 in the very heart of Pera. After a while, he bought the *Confiserie et Patisserie Lebon* from Mr. Lebon and united the coffee shops with the name of *Patisserie de Saint Petersburg, C. Lebon et Bourdon* in 1862. During these years the cafe and pastry shops grabbed the inhabitant's attention and Bourdon was awarded various honors by the Sultan. *Mecidiye Nişanı* (Order of the Medjidie) was given by Sultan Abdülmecid I



⁸³ Üskiden, Behzat. 2000: *The bank, the money lenders, the money changers, the usurers and the jewellers of Pera and Beyoğlu* Kentbank <http://www.levantineheritage.com/book18.htm>.

⁸⁴ Üskiden, Behzat <http://www.levantineheritage.com/book18.htm>. p. 261.

⁸⁵ Jean Psalty Constantinople. <http://www.antiques.com/classified/1128116/Antique-Jean-Psalty-Constantinople--Nostalgic-Istanbul-buffet--liqueur-cabinet>.

to the founder and manager of the patisserie.⁸⁶ In the first half of the 20th century *Patisserie de Saint Petersburg* and *C. Lebon et Bourdon* became the *Markiz Pastry Shop* and recently became known as *Yemek Kulübü*. However until the 1940s it was known as a *Lebon Patisserie*. Specific customers of the patisserie were described the place with the phrase, "*Chez Lebon, tout est bon*". The modern interior design and Art Nouveau style walls, made by J.A. Arnoux, still exist today. The cafe was presented Western lifestyle and elites, writers and some intellectuals chose this place for intellectual meetings. Pera's 20th century's writers and intellectuals adopted these practices.

Another important coffee place was the *Eptalofos Cafe*, located at the entrance of the Grand Rude de Pera. Originally opened in 1870 as *Cafe d'Europe*, in the early 20th century it was renamed *Ulus Kahvesi*. Recently the site became occupied by Burger King.⁸⁷ The cafe hosted many famous Turkish intellectuals during the 20th century; Behçet Necatigil, Attila İlhan and Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca, to name three according to Enis Batur.

Grand Cafe-Chantant Peres was established in 1867 and it was located opposite the British Palace in Pera. On Saturdays and Thursdays, the masked balls were held there. Moreover, every evening some concerts were held in there.⁸⁸

One of the oldest and most remarkable ones was *Cafe De La Marine* from the early 19th century. Bateau A. Vapeur, who travelled from Paris to Constantinople in the first half of the 19th century, recorded his memories of the cafe:

“ Avant de monter a bord nous primes d'excellentes glaces au Cafe de la Marine, et nous nous renseignames des nouvelles de jour. Un seul journal, ecrit en français, s'imprime a Smyrne ”

The Casino de Pera was established in 1849 as the first private club. It was opened in the old British consulate building and adorned with modern types of furniture, bourgeois elegant ornaments, billiards tables and mirrors.⁸⁹ It was becoming a different activity point for inhabitants and it was taking the high attention of the elites.

⁸⁶ 19. Yüzyılda Beyoğlu'nda Yeme ve İçme Mekânları.

<http://www.sosyalbilim.com/2013/08/19-yuzyilda-beyoglu-ve-yeme-icme-mekanlari/>.

⁸⁷ Batur, Enis. 2005: 1970 *Beyoğlu 2000/ Bir Beyoğlu Fotoromanı İstanbul* İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, p. 24.

⁸⁸ <http://www.sosyalbilim.com/2013/08/19-yuzyilda-beyoglu-ve-yeme-icme-mekanlari/>.

⁸⁹ Koçak, Dilek Özhan. 2011, p. 156.

Hotel Restaurant des Palais de Fleurs was the other significant public place and socializing point. On February 5th 1855 a glamorous ball organization took place in the Palais de Fleurs, whose interior design was remarkable. Akın stated that the ball started at 11pm and continued till 4am, just like other balls in Pera.⁹⁰

2.6 Lighting and Professional Management of Pera and *Pera Municipality*

İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu (the city discipline commission) was the first municipal organization in Istanbul inspired by French community administration and it was established on 16th August 1854.⁹¹ The commission contributed to general city development, its regulation and to the modernization process until the establishment of the local administration bodies. Moreover, the financial sources of the commission were Pera's foreigners, bankers, and entrepreneurs. These commission members came together in order to take decisions about the city development and regulations. However after a couple of years, the commission realized that they were not able to manage the city from one location, thus they proposed dividing Istanbul into fourteen municipalities.⁹² Thereafter Pera was renamed *Altıncı Daire*, meaning 'Sixth District'. It was the first European-style Ottoman municipality organization, which also introduced important changes, professional district regulations and lighting efforts soon after it was established.

Although it was the first established municipality in the Istanbul, in the case of the name, Ottoman authorities gained inspiration from the *6e arrondissement de Paris* and used the name for Pera. The purposes for the creation of *Altıncı Daire* were to better organize trade and bring in European-style services.⁹³

“ The Municipality of the Sixth District chaired by a *müdür* (director), was comprised of a *meclis* (municipal council) of seven members appointed by the government. The members of the council were required to be property owners within the municipal borders of the district and to have resided in the city for more than ten years. These were Antoine Alleon and Avram Camondo, who were also amongst the members of the previous *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu*, Septime Franchini,

⁹⁰ Akın, Nur. 2002, p. 225.

⁹¹ Koçak, Dilek Özhan, 2011, p. 164.

⁹² Koçak, Dilek Özhan, 2011, p. 153.

⁹³ Beyoğlu Belediyesi Tarihçesi.

<http://www.beyoglu.bel.tr/beyoglu-belediyesi/detay/Belediye-Tarihcesi/10/2/0>.

an Italian, and Charles Hanson, a member of the British merchant community of Istanbul Kamil Bey, the chief of protocol in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was the first director. During his service in the Foreign Office, Kamil Bey had visited many European cities and headed the commission that organised the Ottoman pavilion at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1856. This experience, as well as his previous administrative positions was recognised by the award of the French *Légion d'Honneur*.”⁹⁴

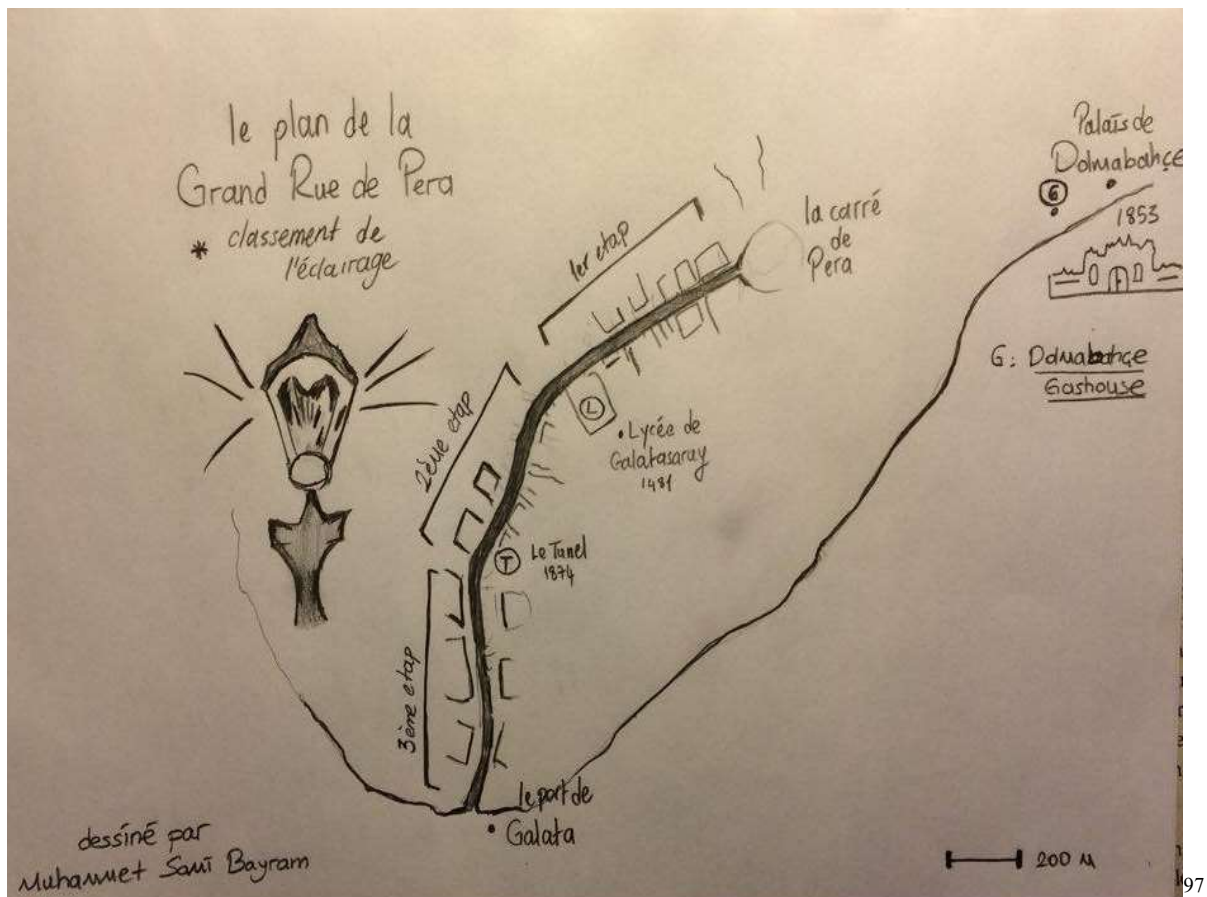
At the end of the 1840's and the beginning of the 1850's, the district was being lit by the local initiatives and store owners by candles and oil lamps. It was not professional, complex or safe. The second issue was the cleaning, which was also not sufficient. The municipality decided to organize lighting professionally. Firstly the streets of Pera divided into three groups according to their significance. Subsequently daily cleaning of the first class streets was introduced and twice daily during the summer.⁹⁵

The history of the public street lighting began earlier as a result of wealthy city commission members bringing gas lighting to Pera before even establishing the professional municipality. Mehmet Mazak states that Istanbul was starting to introduce gas-powered street lighting in 1856, the first district of which was the *Grand Rue de Pera* during the reign of Sultan Abdülmeçid.⁹⁶ Sultan closely followed the initiatives introducing innovations and supported them. In this manner, he gave a directive to build the first gashouse in the *Dolmabahçe*. By doing so Sultan planned also to solve the illumination of the Palace. Thus, the Dolmabahçe Gashouse was established in 1853, and it was in this year also that the construction of the Sultan's Palace was completed.

⁹⁴ Gül, Murat. 2009: *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*, London, Tauris Academic Studies, p. 45.

⁹⁵ Beyoğlu Belediyesi Tariçesi. <http://www.beyoglu.bel.tr/beyoglu-belediyesi/detay/Belediye-Tarihcesi/10/2/0>.

⁹⁶ Mazak, Mehmet. *Türkiye'de Modern Aydınlatmanın Başlangıcı ve Aydınlatma Tarihimize Genel Bir Bakış (1853-1930)* http://www.emo.org.tr/ekler/94a988102edcd4b_ek.pdf. p. 5.



As we can see from the map, the *Dolmabahçe Gashouse* was close to Pera. According to Mazak, Pera was illuminated in three steps. Firstly, a gas lighting system was implemented from the entrance to Pera (*today called as Taksim Meydanı*) to the Galatasaray High School (*Galatasaray Lisesi*). Secondly from the High School to the entrance of *Yüksekkaldırım* (the linking street located in between Pera and its port Galata, and it was also the place where a tunnel project was established afterwards). And thirdly a lighting system was implemented from this point to Galata Port.⁹⁸ The aforementioned map represents these steps and depicts the procedure. It can be seen from the map that the close distance between the gashouse and Pera facilitated the distribution of gas along the district. It is important to note that the district's attraction started to be more visible after this change. By doing so, illuminated Pera was also entering into the nightlife industry and simultaneously making the streets safer.

⁹⁷ The map was drawn by M.Sami Bayram.

⁹⁸ Mazak, Mehmet, http://www.emo.org.tr/ekler/94a988102edcd4b_ek.pdf. p. 5.

The use of gas was ushered in the radical changes in the city from the beginning of the 19th century. European cities had seen the benefits of using gas, largely with the growth of the nightlife industry through lighting. Pera could now compete with such cities on level footing. The illumination contributed to the creation of more vibrant, secure district coupled with more opportunities for economic growth.

“ Movement, access and urban intelligence places and spaces for improved night-time mobility and social behaviour; how can light act as an enabler to make spaces more accessible and usable at night? Rhythms and qualities of light socially and environmentally sustainable places; how can light help in creating environments that promote wellbeing and respond to current and future social needs? ”⁹⁹

The illumination of Pera gave the district opportunity to develop the public use of city spaces, and forms of social life within the city. New habits were adopted and social needs increased in the second half of the 19th century. Thereafter the popularity of nightlife rose in Pera.

According to Koçak, wealthy upper-class Muslims who lived on the edges of Pera and near the Golden Horn started to move to Pera and wanted to profit from these changes.¹⁰⁰ Naturally these phenomena connected with each other. Pera was the first Europeanized district with its social and cultural places and for this reason the first municipality was established there. Then, subsequently it became the first illuminated district and because of this it became more socially attractive. Consequently new forms of night life – balls, for example - obtained a higher reputation and the women of Pera started to become more visible in social life.

⁹⁹ *Arup Lighting Electronic Report, Rethinking the Shades of the Night.*
file:///C:/Users/x-pc/Downloads/Cities_Alive_Lighting_booklet%20(2).pdf. p. 17.

¹⁰⁰ Koçak, Dilek Özhan. 2011, p. 157.

2.7 Street Repairs in Pera

From Insecure Appearance to Modern Form

Many sources and observations confirm that pre-1860s in Pera nightlife and street convenience did not really exist. Pera streets were quite narrow and unplanned house construction made it complicated for foreigners. A lack of signs made it complicated even for citizens of Pera. This argument is supported by evidence from the observations of Herman Merveille, the famous American novelist. He visited Istanbul in 1856 and diarized 10 days of his experience related to the appearance of environment of Pera. He wrote on the evening of 12th December, after dinner in the Hotel Globe, that he wanted to go out in Pera yet no one was there and some streets did not seem safe. He gave up and returned to the hotel. Merveile also visited Pera during the day and wrote how he got lost in its streets and complained about the lack of directions and narrowness of the streets.¹⁰¹

Although some efforts to make the streets more organized and systematic started to be introduced in Istanbul with the Tanzimat Edict (1839), more visible changes did not take place until the 1860s and 1870s. Tanzimat was the turning point in the history of the urbanization of Istanbul and the Ottoman authorities began with Pera. Koçak indicated that Hausmannin's priority was widening the districts and removing dead-end streets just as in Paris, but this was an Istanbul-wide problem not limited to Pera.¹⁰² Easy access to the street nodes and public areas was the most important issue during urbanization.

The administrative division of the Pera municipality took inspiration from the regulations of the *La Place de l'étoile* of Paris while organizing a new district under the usage of 'model street'.¹⁰³ District regulation, streets planning, cleaning and recovery of the infrastructure system became more and more important.

¹⁰¹ Batur, Enis. 2004, p. 8.

¹⁰² Koçak, Dilek Özhan. 2011, p. 131.

¹⁰³ Koçak, Dilek Özhan. 2011, p. 153.

“ This repacking of Pera/Beyoğlu, as a cosmopolitan locale, the area stands as a symbol of urbanity and sophistication, rooted in a history that is European, modern, and ‘ civilized ’ Equally, this picture accords with a determinedly secularist vision of the city as a whole. ”¹⁰⁴

2.8 Urban Designs, Transportation and their usage by the Pera Population

In the portrait of Urban fabric, Zeynep Çelik presented that after the declaration of the Tanzimat Charter, Mustafa Reşit Pasha planned to invite foreign experts and this was implemented by government. A German engineer, Helmut Von Moltke¹⁰⁵, was hired in 1839 to improve İstanbul’s street network. Thus the first regulations governing urban planning and construction activities were introduced in 1848. According to the regulations, streets must be separated into three categories; main avenues, ordinary avenues and other streets.¹⁰⁶ This separation ensured a well-designed plan and to see how it would change the district’s design and shape. The government intensively implemented these changes in the district and made some declarations in order to give Pera a more modern feel. In the 1840s timber constructions still existed in the district and authorities accepted that masonry (*kargir*) was stronger than timber, and in 1848 the government decreed that henceforth all construction in the capital was to be made of stone and brick.¹⁰⁷

After the Tanzimat Charter trade centers, passages, *hans* and other masonry structures started to be seen in Pera. Development was not only architectural; functions of the structures obtained cultural diversity and this also applied to street design. Transportation networks were being increasingly developed in Pera and its port Galata. These all required detailed plans.

The growing plans and radical decisions extended by post-Tanzimat regulations and these resulted in uniformly wide street defining rectangular or square blocks composed of stone or brick building. The 1863 law which resulted in these changes determined that all new developments should consist of a square or rectangular blocks.¹⁰⁸ This plan proposed widening

¹⁰⁴ Rediscovering Istanbul's Cosmopolitan Past.

https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/17259/ISIM_22_Rediscovering_Istanbul-s_Cosmopolitan_Past.pdf?sequence=1.

¹⁰⁵ *Helmuth Karl Bernhard Graf von Moltke (1800-1889)* was German field marshall. He served in the process of modernization of Ottoman army and street network.

¹⁰⁶ Çelik, Zeynep. 1993, p. 51.

¹⁰⁷ Çelik, Zeynep. 1993, p. 52.

¹⁰⁸ Çelik, Zeynep. 1993, p. 51.

districts and making comfort walkable and meeting squares, however the topography was not suitable. Authorities started to revise it with new plans.

Pera was also a trade center with its growing economy and it was uniting people around the district. In order to keep Pera's status as a trade center, it needed advanced transportation between local neighborhoods and inside of the district. Istanbul's population was 389,545 compared to the Pera's 237,293, roughly 60%.¹⁰⁹ This population was sizable compared with other international districts during the 19th century. In 1871 even Rome had a population of only 250,000¹¹⁰, showing how Pera's population was excessive for a district. Within this context a systematic transportation network was needed in order to maintain relaxed circulation along the district. Its port, Galata (*Karaköy*)¹¹¹, was a hub for trade.

When trade potential started to rise and the district needed more labour to move goods between Galata and Pera, related transportation plans and projects were drawn up. The most suitable project was presented to the Sultan by Eugene Henri Gavand.¹¹² He was a French engineer who visited İstanbul in 1867 for touristic purposes and spent most of his time in Pera and Karaköy. Whilst there he witnessed difficulties transferring goods in the *yüksek kaldırım*, the only direct street between Pera and its port.

Although 40,000 pedestrians walked between Pera and its port on a daily basis, *yüksek kaldırım* was only 6 metres wide.¹¹³ Furthermore it had a 24% incline and therefore provided difficulties when transporting goods by horse and cart. He submitted a subway project based on his observations and presented it to Bab-ı Ali.¹¹⁴ The project was accepted and it took three years to construct. The opening ceremony for the Tunnel project was held on January 17th 1875, at which

¹⁰⁹ Çelik, Zeynep. 1993, p. 93.

¹¹⁰ Clark, Martin. 2008: *Modern Italy: 1871 to the Present*, Edinburgh, Pearson Education Limited, p. 197. Clark indicates that from 1871 till World War I, Rome doubled its population and obtain 500.000 population. In this proportion it is possible to say that second half of the 19th century Roma had around 250.000 population.

¹¹¹ Today known much more as a Karaköy, this port connected the old town with *Galata Bridge*, which was constructed in 1845. This bridge served to many facilities between old town and new town in Pera. The order of the bridge was given by Bezmialem, mother of Sultan Mahmud II.

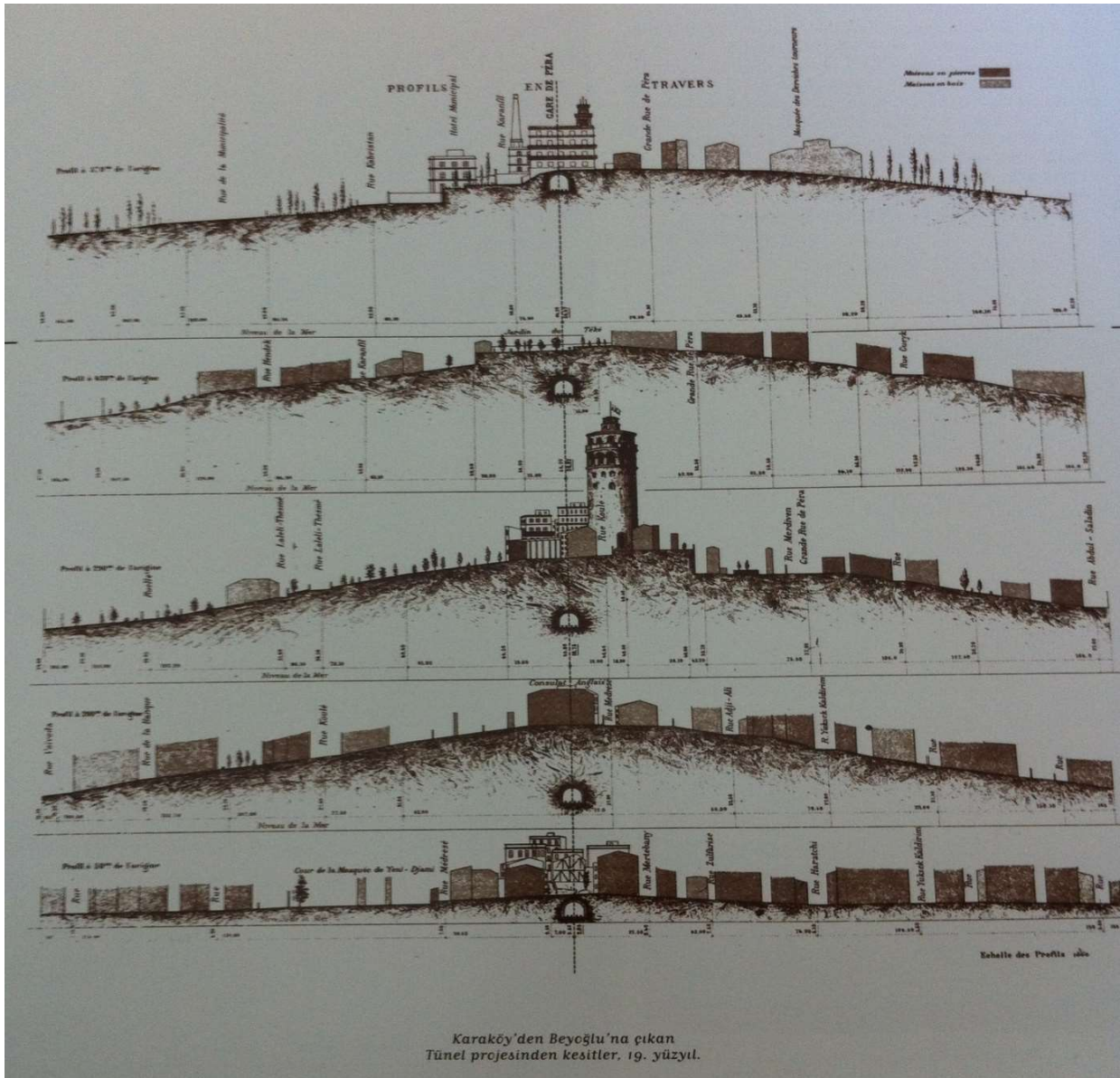
¹¹³ Engin, Vahdettin & Acar, Filiz. 2010: *İstanbul Tüneli*, İstanbul, Yeditepe Yayınları, p. 13.

¹¹⁴ Engin, Vahdettin & Acar, Filiz, 2010, p. 13.

Besides, Bab-ı Ali was Sublime Port or High Port in Ottoman Empire. It served as a principal state department and was the second authority place after Sultanate.

a large number of statesman and ambassadors were in attendance.¹¹⁵ It brought numerous facilities in the district, partly because Pera and the main district started to function more efficiently as a result of the more secure transportation of goods. The new width of the *yüksek kaldırım* also resulted in less intense footfall. These changes sped up daily life in Pera.

¹¹⁵ Engin, Vahdettin & Acar, Filiz. 2010, p. 15.



Tunnel Project ¹¹⁶

After this movement the duality between the old city and Pera became more pronounced, also observed by international travelers, thus Pera became the 'new city'. One of them was Eduardo De Amicis ¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Batur, Enis, 2004, p. 43.

¹¹⁷ *Edmondo de Amicis* (1846- 1908) was a known Italian writer, short-story writer, and journalist. He visited İstanbul in the second half of the 19th century and observed society. He collected the observations and experiences in the book of *Costantinopoli* (1878).

“ In another street, entirely Turkish and silent, you are suddenly startled by the sound of a horn and the stamping of horses feet ; turning the see what it means, you find it difficult to believe your eyes when a large cars rolls gayly into sight over some track which up to that moment you had not noticed, filled with Turks and Europeans, with its offical in uniforms and its printed tariff of fares, for all the world like a tramway in Vienna or Paris. The effect of such an apparition, seen in one of these streets is not to be described; it is like a burlesque or a huge joke and you laugh aloud as you watch it disappear, as though you have never seen anything of the kind before. With the omnibus the life and the movement of Europe seem to vanish, and you find yourself back in Asia. ” 118

The quote shows the dualism between the Old Town and Pera was also recognized by its inhabitants. Differences between these two living areas started to be more distinctive and visible as the author depicted above. Undoubtedly the Pera Tunnel Project contributed to the general shape of the district and gave it a Westernized look. It was a further contribution to the urban network in the district which was growing and becoming much more important to its inhabitants. Urban life even started to undermine palace life after being in its shadow for so long, and was even taking over its functions and charisma from the society.¹¹⁹ At the beginning of the 19th century the life of Sultans and increased standards of Palace environs were much more attractive to the inhabitants and they were trying to gain access to these environments. However the increasing number of innovations and fast changes in cultural, physical and social aspects were making the district much more attractive for its inhabitants.

With the other developments in the Pera, it became almost autonomous. Predictably the tunnel also contributed to the modernization of the district and by doing so trade development with the international market from Galata to Pera was developing at the same time.

2.9 Modern Photography Houses

Importance of the Photography Houses on Cultural Commercial and Reputation

A brief explanation on photographic history is needed before I move on to the history of the photographic houses in Pera in order to provide anachronistic clarity. The invention of the first modern photograph using heliography and other developed formats started to penetrate our lives

¹¹⁸ Çelik, Zeynep, 1993. quoted in Eduardo De Amicis, p. 94.

¹¹⁹ Koçak, Dilek Özhan, 2011, p. 83.

in the first half of the 19th century. The invention of photography and its effects extended globally and also people witnessed the power of images in historical documentation and evidence. People even used photography to document things for the next generation. For instance ‘*Boulevard du Temple*’ was taken by Louis Daguerre in 1838, and it was the first-ever photograph in which a person appeared instead of a landscape. The photo proves the district order, shape and style of the buildings and street regulations of this period. We also see the establishment of photography houses in Paris in the late 1840s and 1850s.

Almost simultaneously photography houses were established in Pera. *Sébah & Joailler* Photography Studio was one of the most famous of Istanbul’s earliest photography studios. It was originally founded in 1857 by Pascal Sébah. He was Constantinople-born and came from an Armenian-Catholic Syrian family. Sébah was a close friend of Osman Hamdi, the founder and first art director of the Academy of Fine Arts and Archeological Museums.¹²⁰ He became famous in the Grand Rue de Pera and he employed Frenchman in his studio. Most of Sebah's customers in both cities were tourists, but he also participated regularly in exhibitions in Paris, winning a



number of medals and becoming a member of the *Société Française de Photographie*, an organization devoted to furthering the art and science of photography.¹²¹ This somehow promoted Pera’s cultural developments to the West. The photographic works of Sébah and his studio also contributed to the reputation of the district in a positive way. During this period, we can find also photos which present an overview of the Grand Rue de Pera. Moreover many photos taken at the beginning of the 1860s in Constantinople belonged to the Studio of Sébah.

The Abdullah Brothers’ Photography Studio was the first major photography studio in the Grand Rue de Pera and also in the Ottoman empire. The Abdullah Brothers operated out of seven photography studios between 1860–1890 in Pera.¹²² They were

¹²⁰ Batur, Enis. 2004, p. 159.

¹²¹ Michelle L. Woodward, *Between Orientalist Cliches and Images of Modernization*. http://www.mwoodward.com/HistoryPhotography_Woodward.pdf p. 364.

¹²² Batur, Enis. 2014, p. 171.

three Ottoman-Armenian brothers; Vichen, Hovsep and Kevork,¹²³ and they played important roles also in improving and developing the district's reputation. Their photographs were also exhibited in Paris and took people's interest.

Guillaume Berggren opened a studio with the same name and obtained wide reputation within Istanbul. He was a Swiss carpenter and traveler. He visited Istanbul after his ship ported there and could not be repaired - an extraordinary way in which to begin a career.

Looking at his photographs we can see Istanbul landscapes, cityscapes and especially people.¹²⁴ Prior to his monetary problems Berggren worked intensely until 1900 and documented the recent developments of the modernization of the Ottoman empire, the Bosphorus' shores, the city's streets and its people through captivating compositions revealing his technical skills. After he joined the photography studio market in Pera market competition increased.



Figure 2,2 – Basile Kargopoulo

The Apollon photography studio also garnered a good reputation and were honored by the Sultan's Imperial Palace. It was established by Gülmez Brothers in 1870 in Grand Rue de Pera. Basile Kargopoulo was a Greek-Ottoman photographer and he opened his studio on Grand Rue de Pera in the Ottoman capital of Istanbul in 1850. He was also appointed as the royal photographer of the Sultan Abdulmecid. Kargopaulo was renowned for his panoramas of Istanbul, scenes of the city and the Bosphorus and photographs of royal palaces. He kept a large wardrobe of costumes in his studio for young men who wanted to dress up for their photographs.¹²⁵

We therefore see that the photography popularism also started in the district and young people were very interested in this new phenomenon. Kargopaulo's photos also provided general view of Istanbul during this period and they became an important source of how Grand Rue

¹²³ Lusadran Armenian Photography Foundation.

<http://lusadaran.org/artists/abdullah-freres/>.

¹²⁴ Batur, Enis. 2004, p. 167.

¹²⁵ Hannavy, John. 2008: *Encyclopedia of nineteenth-century photography*, New York, Routledge, p. 789.

*Figure 1,2 : <http://maviboncuk.blogspot.cz/2013/03/vassilaki-efendi-kargopoulo-redux.html>

looked in the second half of the 19th century. If we consider the years following the invention of photography and the corresponding wave of photography studios in the cultural quarters of Europe, it shows that Pera followed the trend. At the same time this new change altered and developed the inhabitants' fashion and cultural perspective. There were other photography studios and photographers, the existence of which shows high consumer demand. Showing them the places in which they lived and local landscapes, architecture and the environment became more and more interesting and appealing to them.

3. MODERN ARCADES OF PERA

Arcades were also an important element of Pera. They were an import from occidental Europe, provided a number of fancy shops for consumers. The presence of passages became an important contribution to this process. Pera was made more attractive by this modern concept of a large roofed shopping area. Described as the most important architectural form of the 19th century by Walter Benjamin (1927), arcades provide important clues about modern urban public life. Like public spaces, arcades offer different spatial and social possibilities and are the areas for interaction and economic activities which create their own rituals.¹²⁶ This new architectural style brought a different breath to Pera in the same manner as did city centers to western Europe because of their multifunctional use at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. This also shows how Pera instantly adopted new Western initiatives and cultural trends.

3.1 Hazzopulo Arcade

The Journal *La Turquie* announced the establishment of the Hazzopulo Arcade on April 15th 1871.¹²⁷ This Arcade was established for the first time that year by Haco Pulo, one of the richest members of the Orthodox community in Pera. Interior design and



¹²⁶ A Comparative Analysis of Urban Arcades In "Istiklal Street" Istanbul and an Evaluation of Their Potentials of Use. http://www.sss9.or.kr/paperpdf/ussecp/SSS9_2013_REF099_P.pdf. p. 4.

¹²⁷ Akın, Nur. 2002, p. 228.

architectural novelties were the biggest attractions for the rich inhabitants of Pera who started to rent all of the stores with great enthusiasm. An opera theatre and some pieces of art were also established there in the last quarter of the 19th century.¹²⁸ Hazzoplulo used both Westernized and Ottoman architectural styles. Hacco Pulo was a unique building showing both the characteristics of the arcade and khans. One part was a long passageway with small shops on both sides and the other part resembled the classical period of Ottoman Khans with a courtyard surrounded by shops.¹²⁹ This new meeting point gave people a more attractive platform for socializing, entertainment and promoting Western fashion in clothing. *La Turquie* also announced a concert in the arcade on 31st March 1877.¹³⁰

3.2 Passage d'Europe

Passage d'Europe (*Avrupa Pasajı*) was completed on 9th March 1874 according to the announcement in *La Turquie* on the same date.¹³¹ The arcade was located in a place partially used for theatrical entertainment and took place before the Great Pera Fire in 1870. It was also connected to the *Mesrutiyet* street with the *Sahne* Street on the *Grand Rue de Pera*. In this arcade we can clearly see the new style of architectural usage with the marble and wall design. The arcade has two stories and is covered with a glass roof. Building commenced after the Great Pera Fire in 1870. Onnik Düz, the Armenian merchant of Pera, owned the land and hired Pulgher to design the arcade. The interior design of the arcade of a corridor created a charming appearance. In order to build a strong and durable structure they used Maltese stones during the construction and the ground was laid with Trieste stones.¹³² When it was completed all the stores used gas-powered lighting and mirrors in order to make the appearance of the stores more attractive. As a result the Passage d'Europe was dubbed *Aynalı Pasaj* (Mirrored Passage). With its small statues and window shapes, the stone arrangement symbolized the neoclassical architecture of the period. Entertainment and attractions were also found nearby, and as such it swiftly became a common meeting point and area of high interest for its inhabitants. Passage d'Europe is still a focal point of modern day cultural activity and mobility. Historical bookstores, archives and magazines from

¹²⁸ Akın, Nur. 2002, p. 229.

¹²⁹ Özkan, Miray. 2008: *Transformation of the Arcades in Beyoglu* Ankara, Middle East Technical University, p. 75.

¹³⁰ Akın, Nur. 2002, p. 229.

¹³¹ Akın, Nur. 2002, p. 232.

¹³² Sezer, Sennur & Ozyalciner, Adnan. 2010: *Öyküleriyle İstanbul Anıları-II İstanbul* Evrensel Basım Yayın, in the section: *Avrupa Pasajı*.

the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as historical sources in several languages can also be found there. Clothing, souvenir and other stores continue to function there today in the heart of the Pera.

3.3 Çiçek Arcade *Cite de Pera*

Çiçek Arcade was one of the most remarkable passages in Pera's history. Çiçek Arcade was built on the area previously used by the Naum Theatre before the 1870 fire, reconstructed in order to serve as a passage and place of entertainment. Hristaki Zografos, a Greek banker and one of the most distinguished personalities of Pera's elites, bought the land to establish an occidental-type arcade. This happened only after Joseph Naum, the land owner, had to sell the land after he failed to gain the economical support he needed from the *Altıncı Daire* owing to economical problems being suffered by the municipality at the time. Initially Çiçek Arcade was called *Passage Hristaki*, named after its owner, or *Cite de Pera. La Turquie* announced the demolition of Naum Theatre in order to build it.¹³³ The construction of the *Cite de Pera* finished on May 31st 1876 by the architect Kleantis Zannos, according to *La Turquie*.¹³⁴ *La Turquie* wrote;

“ After a while, Cité de Pera appeared in the Grand Rue. This structure is such a monument that boasts even Paris. Majestic façade is highly effective and perspective along the door is spectacular. Pera has finally reached a monument that both the owner and the entire city will proud. Herewith, it begins a new era in the country's architecture. Although there have been given numerous efforts in order to build some different monuments, Cité de Pera was the one which appeared astonishing in the district. The monument has been beyond the average style in the context of architecture. ”¹³⁵

It is apparent that the arcade was a charming place from the perspective of publishers and could be said that *Cite de Pera* further represented Western figures and architectural contents. Only bricks and iron were used in its construction. Akın specified that the arcade should have three storeys, with each storey having six apartments and each apartment having six rooms. *La Turquie* announced the completion of the new building with its twenty-four new stores available to buy at affordable prices.¹³⁶

¹³³ Aracı, Emre. 2010, p. 374.

¹³⁴ Akın, Nur. 2002, p. 233.

¹³⁵ Akın, Nur. 2002, p. 233.

¹³⁶ Akın, Nur. 2002, p. 233.

The ornamentation characteristics of the arcade were also significant. Carnations, roses and tulips were visible on the exterior and as an *Art Nouveau*, motifs also appeared around the windows and balconies. La Turquie described the arcade as ‘Renaissance mixed with Greek’ resulting in a ‘Monument elegant in its details, imposing in its ensemble’.¹³⁷



Current view of the passage from the inside¹³⁸ and outside¹³⁹

In addition, the statues of women located on the columns around the door were depicted as elegant and idealistic, with a small nose and eyes.

“ *La Cite de Pera* became a city landmark (today the most popular tavernas are located around its courtyard) and a prototype for the many apartment buildings erected in the last quarter of the 19th century ”¹⁴⁰



¹³⁷ Çelik, Zeynep. 1993, p. 136.

¹³⁸ <http://blog.demturkishcenter.com/history-of-cicek-pasaji-cite-de-pera-beyoglu/>.

¹³⁹ <http://www.indiana.edu/~tsa/aboutturkey.html>.

¹⁴⁰ Çelik, Zeynep. 1993, p. 137.

It further served as a new social meeting point for Pera's inhabitants. It was mostly used for events, leisure time and socialising.

3.4 Passage d'Oriental

Sources indicate that the *Passage d'Oriental* was established in the 1840s,¹⁴¹ and the *Journal de Constantinople* states that the roof was restored in 1864.¹⁴² It became famous after the establishment of the Lebon and Markiz bakeries on the ground floor, and as such became known as the Markiz Arcade. We can use this information to find more accurate dates.

The architectural features of the passage characterized the soul of the period with its modern architecture an example of new artistic experiences.



¹⁴³ Entrance of the Passage d'Oriental and interior design Markiz Pastry with Art Nouveau ornaments

¹⁴¹ <http://www.ito.org.tr/itoyayin/0023051.pdf>. p. 234.

¹⁴² <http://www.ito.org.tr/itoyayin/0023051.pdf>. p. 234.

¹⁴³ www.ekşitarif.com.

It also had a neo-renaissance-style round-arched entrance opening with ribbed composite heads resting on pilasters which settled on the both sides.¹⁴⁴ These ornaments created a charming and alluring appearance on the exterior. In the same way, after the establishment of the cafe, interior design achieved high-quality Art Nouveau styles which still exist today.¹⁴⁵ Art Deco ornaments were introduced in the last decades of the 19th century in the interior and exterior design. The building was built for shops on the lower floors and residences on the upper floors.

The six-storey building has a 65 metre-long T-shaped main corridor which connected Pera to Asmalimescit Street.¹⁴⁶ This created new daily habits for the inhabitants of the Pera.

3.5 Halep Arcade *Cite d'Alep*

The Passage of Aleppo *Suriye Pasajı* was built in 1885 by the Arabic family of Hacı. The monument took its name from the constructor's family. Its rear garden was previously used as a circus. Likewise Cirque de Pera functioned there as did Theatre Verdi.¹⁴⁷ The location of the passage was famous for Pera's inhabitants because of its previous activities. The below quote concerns the contribution of the district in making today's Beoğlu/Taksim.

“ Cite d'Alep renovated for theater and opera productions in 1889, it was known as the French Theater during the Republican period until the 1950's, when it earned fame for its movie theaters and was renamed the Beyoğlu Passage. This arcade, where the famous Beyoğlu Cinema is located, is lined with tiny shops selling everything from posters, albums and picture frames to gift items and books. ”¹⁴⁸

In the early 20th century Greek architect Campanaki restored the theatre and constructed a new theatre in its place.¹⁴⁹ Taking the place's wealth background and variation of activities held there into consideration, its name of *Theatre Variete* seems suitable. Cite d'Alep also obtained fame with its theatre, hall, stores and traditionalism from previous decades and became an alternative entertainment center for civilians.

¹⁴⁴ <http://www.ito.org.tr/itoyayin/0023051.pdf>. p. 233.

¹⁴⁵ <http://perapera.com.tr/pdf/Markiz.pdf>. p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ <http://perapera.com.tr/pdf/Markiz.pdf>.

¹⁴⁷ Sezer & Ozyalciner. 2010, p, Halep Passage section.

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2015/04/30/beyoglus-famous-shopping-arcades-open-for-business>

¹⁴⁹ Sezer & Ozyalciner. 2010, p. Halep Passage section.

Cite d'Alep's theatre hall was also one of the few active arcades constructed during the Ottoman empire whose usage continued until it became known as Taksim. As a result the current theatre management team have been given the responsibility of conserving it as a place of historical heritage. The conservation process was realized as a result of personal attempts and initiatives after the founding of the Republic of Turkey. The cultural gap between producer and consumer grew significantly after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, and Pera started to lose its multinational population. The Turkish inhabitants now made up the majority in the district and by doing it it became their responsibility to take care of its cultural heritage. Nevertheless today's passage and theatre still exist and are huge attractions as a result of the preservation.

3.6 Rumeli Arcade *Cité de Roumélie*

Construction of the Rumeli passage began in 1894 according to date found above the entrance. The construction was implemented by Ragıp Pasha (poet, diplomat, translator), the *başmabeyinci* (executive assistant) of the Sultan II Abdulhamid. Unfortunately the architectural history of the passage is unknown. Some writers indicate that the passage had features belonging to the German architect Jachmund who was appointed to construct Istanbul Sirkeci Terminal. Rumeli Arcade consists of three blocks, seven storeys and each block has 21 apartments. The foreground idea related the building construction dates back to the 1880s. Its construction was a long-term project because of its ornamental diversity and distinguished architectural design according to the period.

Rumeli Arcade was one of the buildings among two other arcade projects. The Rumeli, *Africa* and *Anatolia Passages* were designed as a trilogy and these arcades represented the Ottoman empire's expansion on three continents.¹⁵⁰ The ornaments and designs of the passage showed diversity of civilisation elements and glamorous pleasures.

¹⁵⁰ Gülenaz, Nursel. 2011:*Batılılaşma Dönemi İstanbulunda Hanlar ve Pasajlar İstanbul*, Akademik Yayınlar, p. 228.



The door of the Rumeli Passage ¹⁵¹

As we can see from the photo, a mythological head is found above the entrance, surrounded from the underside by a garland. Under the head, an Ottoman inscription on the lion figure can be seen and the area is surrounded with Art Nouveau branch leaves. The columns on both sides show the passage's Greek and French names. The corinthian columns' presence are clearly visible with other diversity elements showing cultural harmony. The seals on the bricks used in construction indicate that they came from Marseille.

The apartments in the passage were immediately bought up by traders with different goods for sale established diversity. Art galleries and artistic activities could also be found there. Wendy Shaw's findings show that European paintings and art products were exhibited in Mr. Raghîb's store in the *Cité de Roumélie*. ¹⁵² French author Lecomte Prétextat visited the Rumeli Passage in 1895 and also wrote about the cultural environment of Pera.

“ Très rapidement et logiquement, les ateliers d'artistes se sont concentrés à Péra et le nombre d'expositions a augmenté de façon considérable. La première adresse connue de Prétextat en 1895

¹⁵¹ Rumeli Han, İstiklal Caddesi, İstanbul.

<http://www.turkeytravelplanner.com/galeri/beyoglu/photopages/009.html>.

¹⁵² Shaw, Wendy M.K. 2011: *Ottoman Painting* London, I.B Tauris, p. 56.

était le numéro 6 dans le Passage Roumélie sur la Grande Rue de Péra (Rue d'Istiklal) et une année plus tard il a déménagé au numéro 14 dans le même passage. ”¹⁵³

According to the data relating to the arcade, it could be argued that the building quickly gained significance. The Rumeli Passage opened a new public place for Pera inhabitants like other passages. Having such a high storey and elegant structure was making it also landmark in the Grand Rue de Pera. Malte Fuhrmann added in his publication;

“ Countless cafés, taverns, restaurants, bars, clubs, cultural centres, and shops have crowded into the area, attracting numerous customers every night. These institutions have found it profitable to stress the multiethnic, multilingual makeup of the district in the past. Long-covered inscriptions, written in foreign and in the minorities' languages, have been restored and made prominently visible once more in the district and in the Agoas Rumelias. ”¹⁵⁴

4. WESTERN TYPE THEATRES OF PERA

4.1 Naum Theatre

The Naum Theatre was the most notable theatre in Pera in the 19th century. It also had numerous features which represented the modernization of the local society. It also symbolised the first modernly designed opera and theatre structure in the period, not only in Pera but in Ottoman Istanbul. However, these changes happened quite slowly and there were enough theatres and artists coming from the West in which to perform in Pera. Therefore the chapter details broader aspects, using examples of ongoing cultural initiatives until the establishment of this building.

I will start with the Italian illusionist Giovanni Bartolomeo Bosco, who made Michel Naum's piece of land popular before the Naum was built on it. Turkish scholar and musician Emre Araci pointed out that Bartolomeo joined the army of Napoleon Bonaparte and was captured by the Russian army in the Battle of Borodino in 1812. During his years held captive in Sibiria, he started to learn some tricks and wanted to develop himself as an illusionist.

¹⁵³ Sinanlar, Seza. 2009: *Lecomte Prétextat; un homme de l'art au XIXème siècle à Péra*
<http://gerflint.fr/Base/Turquie2/seza.pdf>. p. 63.

¹⁵⁴ http://www.ef.huji.ac.il/publications/Ottoman%20Legacies/Malte%20Fuhrmann_Istanbuls%20Pasts.pdf. p. 269.

This was also to keep his friend's morale high while in captivity.¹⁵⁵ After his release he performed in Ottoman Egypt and this spread to all Ottoman lands. In the following years he was in favour with the Ottoman authorities and his fame had extended to Istanbul, especially with the Sultan Abdülmecid who was the 31st Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

After a while, Bosco petitioned the Ottoman palace in order to establish a theatre stage in Pera to which he received a permission with a *ferman* (imperial order) from the Sultan on March 21st 1840. ¹⁵⁶ Bosco was not only one who got a permit to establish a theatre stage - it was an important phenomena in the first half of the 19th century and the number of such imperial orders increased. As a result the creation of such a supportive atmosphere and bureaucratic expansion triggered institutional development of Pera. In addition to the first edict *Tanzimat Fermanı* (November 1839), the cultural, political revolution on the concepts of democratization, secularization and equalization for all citizens, it signified a promising progressive future.

The outcome and first concrete effects of the edict became noticeable shortly after the decree announcement with the decisions and artists, singers, art elements playing an important role in Pera's daily life. I will briefly explain the vital roles Sultan Mahmud II and Abdülmecid I played during the cultural modernization.

Firstly, Abdülmecid I was a modernist and enthusiastic supporter of cultural initiatives in the middle of the 19th century. His father Sultan Mahmud II, ruler of the Ottoman empire from 1808-1839, was seen as a reformist by his people and actually began preparations for the Tanzimat Edict before his death. It was during this period that numerous wooden opera stages were built in Pera. When Abdülmecid I succeeded his father in 1839 he carried out his father's planned reforms. The continuation of these reforms was favored by the new class of salaried, educated bureaucrats, provincial landowners and Europeans. ¹⁵⁷ We also see his decisive and radical character in the Westernization of entertainment and cultural places in Pera.

An illustration of the important journal *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris (May 2nd 1839)* wrote that Italian opera was becoming increasingly interesting to Turks. The audiences always

¹⁵⁵ Aracı, Emre. 2010, p. 54.

¹⁵⁶ Aracı, Emre. 2010, p. 55. quoted in *Türkiye'de İtalyan Sahnesi*, And, Metin.

¹⁵⁷ Coatsworth, John & Cole, Juan & Michael P. Hanagan. 2015: *Global Connections* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 154.

filled the theatre to capacity, and the fact that three times as many plays were performed than previous times serves as evidence of their increasing popularity.¹⁵⁸ Before the Naum there were numerous performances succeeded by Western plays. London-based magazine *The Musical World* wrote;

“ Music in Turkey : Italian music has become the rage among the Mussulmans, and there is now a brilliant Italian opera at Constantinople. The large and splendid theatre crowded nightly, notwithstanding their usual habit of going to bed with the flows, sit motionless till the end of the entertainment, which is often pas midnight. The late Sultan Mahmoud sometimes honoured this theatre with his presence and had Italian operas performed within the seraglio, before the ladies of his court. The vocal company is described as good, and occasionally containing distinguished performers.

One of them, Signora Edelina Fritsche, a young and handsome Milanese, gives lessons in singing to young Turkish ladies of fashion and makes her rounds of professional visits in the magnificent litter, richly fitted up with crimson velvet and gold.

Among the pieces performed have been Bellini’s *Straniera*, Mayerbeer’s *Crociato in Egitto*, and Rossini’s *Italianna in Algeri*. ”¹⁵⁹

The Musical World, Magazine, London

September 19, 1839

The Musical World’s article details how Pera was ready for more cultural events. It is equally important to stress the existence of communicating cultural activities between London and Istanbul. That means the social events and cultural activities of Pera were attracting attention from the popular Western cultural magazines. It is however important to keep in mind that the article does not specifically mention Pera, likely as a result of naming the district not being seen as important. However, as mentioned the previous chapter, Pera gained popularity in the second half of the 19th century, whereas the article was written in 1839. Additionally Istanbul did not have districts which could compete with Pera in terms of hosting cultural activities.

¹⁵⁸ Araci, Emre. 2010, p. 53, quoted in *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, May 2, 1839.

¹⁵⁹ The Musical World Magazine “ Book ” London 1839, p. 333.

https://books.google.cz/books?id=YAYVAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

The article gives us solid clues about what was going on culturally in Istanbul during the time and details the numerous Western stage plays in the Pera area. As a result we see the creation of the Naum in the two stages; firstly, between 1841-44 when named the *Bosco* Theatre, and secondly, between 1844-70 when called *Naum Theatre* which served as a symbol of modernisation and became a landmark in Pera.

After Bosco gained permission to open his theatre, he announced his opening night on the property of Michel Naum Duhani, located opposite the historical *Lycée Galatasaray*. This marked the first known opera to be performed in Istanbul – Bellini’s *Norma* in autumn 1841.¹⁶⁰

The existence of numbered seats, tickets on sale at the box office, pre-printed programmes, kiosks where the audience could purchase food and drinks during the intervals, the presence of protocol seats and ban on all tobacco use in the theatre showed the modernization taking place in Pera.¹⁶¹ It was important for Pera because previously there had not been enough of such protocols in any place. Other sources state that the *Bosco Theatre* had 100 seats.¹⁶² In the following three to four years, *Bosco Theatre* was known as *Italian Opera* by the inhabitants of Pera. As the operas were mostly performed in Italian during the first year, the vast majority of audience members did not understand the lyrics. The Ottoman journal *Ceride-i Havadis* announced that there would be Turkish translations during plays in the *Bosco Theatre* on April 19th 1842.¹⁶³

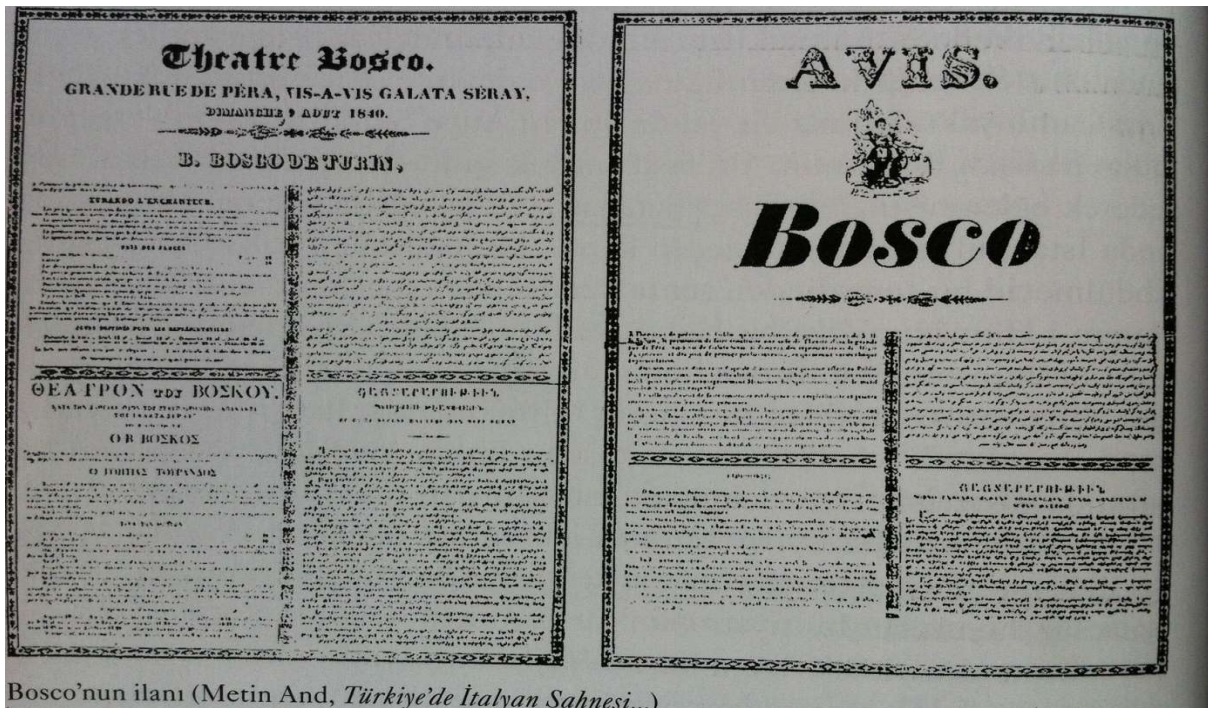
¹⁶⁰ Aracı, Emre. 2010, p. 59.

¹⁶¹ Aracı, Emre. 2010, p. 57.

¹⁶² S.Halman, Talat & L.Warner, Jayne. 2008: *An Anthology of Modern Turkish Drama* New York, Syracuse University Press, p. 18.

¹⁶³ *International Journal of Turcologia*, p. 13.

https://www.academia.edu/6115230/From_the_Empire_to_Republic_Western_Music_in_Turkey.



Bosco'nun ilanı (Metin And, *Türkiye'de İtalyan Sahnesi...*)

*Theatre Announcement of Bosco, Dimanche, 9 Août 1840*¹⁶⁴

Between 1841 and 1844 while Pera audiences grew, Pera's inhabitants immediately purchased all the tickets, both by the upper and lower classes. On the other hand, famous French writer Gerard de Nerval joined the opera in Pera and called it *Italian Opera*. In his travel book *Voyage en Orient*, he mentioned meeting one of his old friends who had lived in Pera for years and exhibiting his paintings and art around the area. After he saw such an environment he wrote:

“-ce qui prouve que Constantinople n'est pas si brouillé qu'on le croit avec les Muses. Nous étions partis de Péra, la ville franque, pour nous rendre aux bazars de Stamboul, la ville turque.”

¹⁶⁵ Gerard de Nerval, 1843

Nerval presents some picture of the period. The *Journad de Constantinople* announced that while Ramadan was starting in Istanbul, ‘Inhabitants of Europeanized Pera would walk along the *Grand Rue de Pera* and go to great diorama and solar microscope to have a look, or going to watch *Judith, Holopherne* plays or listening to Napoleonic stories in the great theatres of Pera’¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Aracı, Emre. 2010, quoted in *Türkiye'de İtalyan Sahnesi*, And, Metin, p. 56.

¹⁶⁵ Nerval, Gerard de. 1851: *Voyage En Orient* Charpentier, Libraire-Éditeur, p. 156.

¹⁶⁶ Aracı, Emre. 2010, p. 67. quoted in *Journal de Constantinople*.

It could therefore be argued that people in Pera lived very different lives to those living in other Istanbul districts, especially the old city where Muslims would fast and pray during Ramadan, showing a gulf between the old city and *new city*. Pera was becoming the little Paris of the Orient.

Famous Austrian pianist Leopold Meyer also visited Istanbul and organized a concert in the theatre to help support the poor. Diplomats and elites purchased all the tickets immediately.¹⁶⁷ This phenomenon was documented in international journals and they presented solidarity in the cultural environment alongside cultural organizations.

Nonetheless the *Journal de Constantinople* announced that the Pera Theatre was becoming insufficient for the artists and spectators within the context of structural characteristic and professional infrastructure. As a result initiatives were put to the Sultan asking for a larger theatre to be built on Naum's land in 1844. However, due to some social and economic problems, that year Pera Theatre almost stopped putting on shows. Inhabitants of the district and some people from the distinguished class of Pera forced Michel Naum to take responsibility, as well as asking him to take responsibility for building a new theatre and manage it.

In 1844 Michel Naum became the head of the Theatre and from that date until 1880 it was called *Naum Theatre*. After a while, he started to renovate the old opera construction and strove to make it a better for audiences and performers. The opening ceremony was held in December 1844 under his management with Gaetano Donizetti's Opera of *Lucrezia Borgia* being performed.¹⁶⁸ Pera's inhabitants experienced a glorious night. It was observed that the opening ceremony received great attention and interest from audiences some had to be turned away due to over-capacity.¹⁶⁹ In the following years the theatre also hosted other famous Italian operas by Bellini and Rossini. It was obvious that Naum closely followed Italian operas and other interesting pieces that had previously been shown in the West. Based on the findings of Aracı, a *Ernani* by Giuseppe Verdi was performed on January 31st 1846 in the Naum and was fairly successful. In fact it was 15 months later that *Ernani* was performed for the first time in New York. Numerous *bel canto* pieces were swiftly brought to Pera and to cope with the demands of

¹⁶⁷ Aracı, Emre. 2010, p. 68. quoted in *Journal de Constantinople*, 1 October 1843.

¹⁶⁸ Yöre, Seyit. 2011: *View Of The Opera In The Ottoman Empire As A Part Of Acculturation* Journal of World of Turks, ZfWT Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 60.

¹⁶⁹ Aracı, Emre. 2010, p. 83.

inhabitants and this was done easily through the ambitious and able directorship of the Naum. Here we see clear developments of the cultural relationship and social communication in Pera. In fact foreign artists even held free concerts on the last night of each season for the benefit of Pera's inhabitants.

This all happened while the Naum was still made of timber. This was discussed amidst the growing fame of both the theatre and Pera and it became necessary to build a modern building. It was allcomers to the theatre who criticised the architecture, not just the elites.

For example, Callisto Guatelli, the art director of the theatre, published a letter in the *Journal de Constantinople* after the season's end. He indicated that there would always be problems as long as the lighting issues were not resolved, as well as building a wider theatre with better acoustic qualities. These demands were once again put to Michel Naum.¹⁷⁰

On January 24th 1846 the Pera fire caused devastation to the district and theatre, leaving the latter unusable. The plans for a modern, stone building had been in place for months and the fire accelerated plans to rebuild. It was notably the Levantine families, elites and richest inhabitants of the district who were pressuring Naum to build a modern theatre before the fire. This shows societal solidarity in wanting a new theatre.

The Viennese theatre magazine *Der Humorist* reported on the Naum days before the fire. They wrote that the new construction would be three times bigger than the current one, and that the European population of Pera regretted not having given financial support to Mr. Naum to help construct a new Naum theatre.¹⁷¹

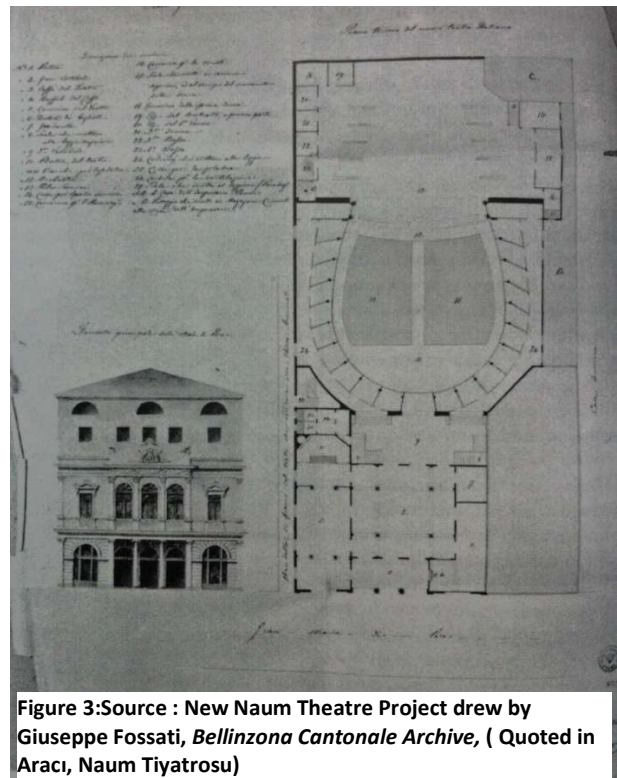


Figure 3:Source : New Naum Theatre Project drew by Giuseppe Fossati, Bellinzona Cantonale Archive, (Quoted in Araci, Naum Tiyatrosu)

¹⁷⁰ Araci, Emre, 2010, quoted in *Journal de Constantinople*, May 1, 1846.

¹⁷¹ *Der Humorist*, January 21, 1847: 'eine Zeitschrift für Scherz und Ernst, Kunst, Theater, Geselligkeit und Sittle' (A journal of jest and earnest, art, theater, socializing and custom).

The most significant proposal was submitted on February 20th 1846 by Giuseppe Fossati¹⁷², whose family's architectural fame dates back to the 14th century. Despite the modern design and construction process, it was not selected.

Another plan was drawn by Scottish architect William James Smith who was working for British Embassy at the time. However Aracı states that the original plan has been lost. Perhaps it disappeared during the transformation process of the street. On the other hand, primary sources prove that the newer brick Naum Theatre was built by William Smith. Interestingly, neither the building's plans were found in the historical archives, and the plan that was found was not the plan that was used.

In any case elites were preparing for the new modern theatre construction with great enthusiasm and the newly constructed Naum Theatre opened its doors again with Verdi's *Macbeth* on October 4th 1848.¹⁷³ This was an important date in the theatre's history. All materials were stone and brick, the surface of the building and interior designs were quite unique and the ornaments represented Western pleasures.

On June 7th 1847 Franz Liszt arrived in Istanbul according to *The Musical World*.¹⁷⁴ The Naum was under construction at the time and could not see Pera's newest theatre. Regarding the architectural and



Figure 4: L'illustration cover photo depicted Naum Theatre , April 19, 1862

¹⁷² Swiss-Italian Architects *Giuseppe Fossati* and his brother *Gaspare Fossati* were historically known as *Fossati Brothers*. They were quite efficient in the process of modern Ottoman building in the 19th century. Dozens of projects were implemented by them, some of them by the Russian Embassy, Old Darulfünün Building, and Haghia Sophia restoration in 1847.

¹⁷³ Baltacan, Mehmet. 2014: *The Relationship between Turkish and Armenian regarding the Ottoman Empire and Contributions of Armenian Artists to the Turkish Opera*, International Journal of Social, Behavioral, Educational, Economic, Business and Industrial Engineering Vol:8, No:5, p. 1231.

¹⁷⁴ Franz Liszt Istanbulda. http://emrearaci.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/8/7/13873024/09_copyright_emre_araci_-_andante_-_december_2011.pdf.

design characteristics of the new theatre, we can have a look at the letter sent by Joseph Naum¹⁷⁵ to Charles Garnier. Within it was written that the theatre would have four floors of private boxes; 27 on the first floor, 24 on each of the the second and third, and 25 on the fourth. The Sultan's personal boxes occupied three boxes in the middle of the theatre.¹⁷⁶

The theatre's interior was decorated with glossy frescoes and foil leaves, the walls were adorned with accurate replica portraits of famous composers and one alluring crystal chandelier hung down from the ceiling with 42 candles, likely produced by a Londoner. It had a capacity of 1,200.¹⁷⁷

The attractiveness of Pera was increasing once again. The *New York Monthly Magazine* wrote about the new theatre:

“Another person is W. Smith employed by the Sultan in the erection of public buildings for him. This person, a Mr. Smith, has also built a theatre or more properly speaking, an opera for an Armenian proprietor. The Sultan aided it in several ways. Pera, like fabled phoenix, is only now rising out of its ashes, and I believe that in a year or two more, it will also have a *Théâtre à la Corp de Ballet*. ”¹⁷⁸

The Knickerbocker or New York Monthly Magazine, June 1849

Considering the few modes of communication at the time, the reported of cultural news from Istanbul in New York was noteworthy. Their observations and comments about Pera were generous and kind. It could be argued that the splendor of Pera was being closely followed not only by Europe, but the world. Furthermore, in the following years, Edward the VII, Prince of Wales, visited Pera and watched a performance with the Sultan in the Naum. His diary keeper Sir William Howard took some notes and he indicated the play of *Le prophète* was performed one evening. The Sultan and Prince watched the play from the Sultan's box yet spectators did not stare as much as most European audiences would have.¹⁷⁹ During the same visit Sir William pointed out that the Prince watched two or three operas more than theatre productions and was

¹⁷⁵ Joseph Naum was the brother of Michel Naum and after Michel's death, Joseph appointed the directorate of the Naum Theatre.

¹⁷⁶ Araci, Emre. 2010, p. 110.

¹⁷⁷ Araci, Emre, 2010, p. 109.

¹⁷⁸ The Knickerbocker or New York Monthly Magazine, Volume, XXXIII, 1849, pp. 546-547.

¹⁷⁹ Russel, W, Howard. 1869: *A diary in the East during the tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales* London, George Routledge and His Sons, p. 487.

quite satisfied with what he saw. He observed the brilliance of the area and similarities to Europe, and he could scarcely believe he was in Constantinople. He also saw how the Levantines, Perotes, Greeks and Syrians dressed, but above all how Armenian ladies shone in jewels and costly dresses.¹⁸⁰ This shows how the Naum contributed to local development and the cultural transformation with its architectural characteristics.

4.2 Tepebaşı Drama Theatre

Tepebaşı Drama Theatre was located on the hill of the *Tepebaşı*, the highest hill in Pera, and has a clear view overlooking the Golden Horn. It was located on the west side, behind the *Grand Rue de Pera* and situated 300 metres from the Naum. Its name came to be used for a cemetery, in which dead Muslims were buried after the conquest of Istanbul. Because of its use, foreigners dubbed it '*Petit-champs de morts*'. It was also used as a viewpoint for Pera inhabitants to look at the Golden Horn. The theatre would come to be called the same.

The idea of constructing a theatre on this hill was put forward during the construction of Pera's tunnel project. Edouard Blacque, the first president of the Pera Municipality, wanted to transfer soil from the tunnel project to the hill. Originally these soils were going to be used to make a garden on the hill. But in 1872 Callisto Guatelli (*also known as a Pasha*) applied for the Sultan's permission to build a theatre instead. Guatelli Pasha was an Italian composer who served the sultans as a director of the palace orchestra in Istanbul. His efforts were vital to the development of Pera and his aims relating to it were always supported by the Sultans.

In 1881 the cemetery area was turned into a garden with nothing remaining from its old use. After this transformation Pera had yet another empty place in which to promote cultural activities, in line with the Sultan's and Pera's inhabitants' wishes. For this reason municipality president Blacque often met with wealthy inhabitants of Pera and encouraged them to contribute towards Pera's cultural transformation. According to a quote from Ezgi Yazıcı, a promenade area with a Parisian look appeared close to an English garden and an Italian theater.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Russel, W, Howard. 1869, p. 506.

¹⁸¹ Ezgi Yazıcı. 2010: Master Thesis *Theatre In Nineteenth Century Istanbul* Ankara, Middle East Technical University, p. 94.

Likewise, Yazıcı added that, similar to other theaters, the authenticity of the theater does not depend only on its architecture but also its architectural understanding that is shaped by the different conceptualization of the modernity inside Pera. While the modernity offers a new understanding of management to the empire, it is possible to identify Pera and Galata as experimental space for new applications. Considering the use of and investment in Pera, we can see continuing interest in creating alternative urban spaces for people. Especially after the destruction of the Naum and the existence of other theatres, Pera was seeking to create new places of cultural attraction for its inhabitants. It was built in two parts, with one to be used as a summer theatre and the other as a winter theatre. By doing so spectators obtained more opportunities to watch performances and during the summer they were watching plays with the Golden Horn acting as a backdrop. This continued in the winter. For this reason architect Barborini planned for the theatre to be built including a garden. Barborini also planned a horse shoe-shaped parterre and two stored theater boxes around it for Tepebaşı Winter Theater. The facade was an example of neoclassicism with its Ionic head plasters, three arches and a parapet.

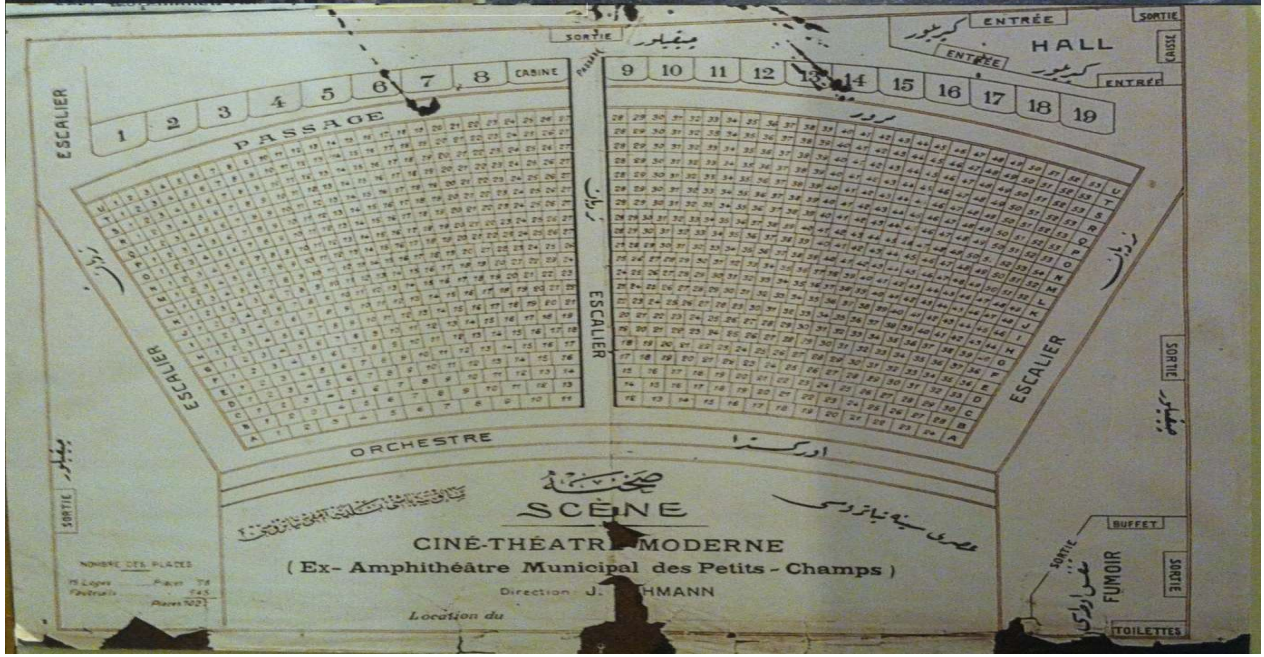
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The opening year of the theater coincided with the period in which films became popular. The famous filmmaker *Pathé Frères* sent Weinberg to Istanbul in order to rent the building and converted the theater into Pathé Cinema. In 1915 the cinema hall was rented by Charles Varian and until 1924 several investors rented the theater, gave it several names and used it as a cinema.¹⁸³ Although the Tepebaşı Drama Theatre was planned as a stone and brick construction, economical difficulties in the municipality resulted in the use of timber instead. The theatre was still used for modern plays and activities. For example, Willy Sperco reported that in 1894, the famous French actor and theatre manager Andre Antoine performed in the *Théâtre des Petits-Champs*. Afterwards he was appointed first manager in the newly established Ottoman national conservatory (*Dar-ul-Bedai*) and as a result Antoine implemented seven lessons including *lecture et prononciation, déclamation, histoire, tragédie, drame, comédie, littérature et aussi section danse maintien et mime*.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Ezgi Yazıcı, 2010, p. 97. quoted in *Osmanlı Mimarisi, Doğan Kuban, Dem Yayınları, 2007*.

¹⁸³ Ezgi Yazıcı, 2010, p. 99. quoted in Üsdiken, B. *Şehir Tiyatroları Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, İstanbul: Türk Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1993*.

¹⁸⁴ Sperco, Willy. 1961: *Turcs d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* Paris, Nouvelles Editions Latines, p. 159.



First plan of the Tepebaşı Dram Theatre – Turvak Archive, Istanbul



Interior Design of Tepebaşı Dram Theatre, Tiyatromüzesi archive

“ Au milieu du XIXe siècle, Beyoglu ne disposait que d'une seule salle de spectacle, le Theatre Naum, détruit lors de l'incendie de 1870. La gamme est aussi large en ce qui concerne les lieux de

*sociabilité et de vie nocturne. C'est à Péra que s'installent les sociétés littéraires et les cercles les plus prestigieux de la ville. ”*¹⁸⁵

As we can see from Anastassiadou's quote, Pera was the social center of the city and after the Naum disaster it was vital to build another theatre. By doing so Pera obtained a new cultural space with a public garden and landscape with the theatre building. This multilayered use of space created a different experience on Pera hill. While you were waiting for your theatre or play you could get a beverage while watching over the Golden Horn. After it was converted from a cemetery into the garden and theatre, both non-Muslims and Muslims shared the space and came together as one. The exact date on which it was completed is unknown, but some primary sources can help us get an approximation. In 1874, in the Parisian *L'Art Musical*, a satirical piece was published on the possible inauguration of this new opera house¹⁸⁶ because of the location of the building plans. During this time only the summer theatre was set up in the garden, so we can see that the *Tepebası Summer Theatre* was almost finished. For example, when the theatre construction was finished and the garden started to be used as a promenade in 1881 under the name 'Theatre Municipal des Petits Champs'.¹⁸⁷ Based on the findings of the *Tepebası Winter Theatre* construction dates, it seems that it opened in 1881. After completion the location became the center of Istanbulite cultural for decades. In the last quarter of the 19th century, a new type of administrative ownership developed between state and private support: the municipality. Private enterprise remained influential after 1870 and numerous new theatre-buildings were erected in Pera and other districts.¹⁸⁸

According to depiction of Adam Mestyan, in May 1880 the garden with a 'kiosque' was almost ready, with three entrances and "'Jardin du 6me Cercle'" inscribed above them.¹⁸⁹ I will now look into the construction and opening date of the theatre using Mestyan's data.

As we can see the attempts of the municipality and state holders contributed to the production of public spaces in Pera. 'In Istanbul, this development concerning the municipal

¹⁸⁵ Anastassiadou, Mérope. 2012: *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIXe siècle : histoire socioculturelle de la communauté de Pera* Boston, Brill, p. 56.

¹⁸⁶ Adam, Mestyan. 2011: *A Garden With Mellow Fruits of Refinements* Budapest, Central European University, p. 149.

¹⁸⁷ Adam, Mestyan. 2011, p. 150.

¹⁸⁸ Adam, Mestyan. 2011, p. 148. quoted in *De Paris a Constantinople* (Paris – Lib.Hachette et Cie. 1886)

¹⁸⁹ Adam, Mestyan. 2011, p. 150.

structure was rather an experiment within the Ottoman administration that allowed Pera/Beyoglu to become more independent of the central government and included it in the organic fabric of the city.'¹⁹⁰ Such social fabrications and designs became more visible, especially in the last quarter of the 19th century.

4.3 Ses Theatre

Cirque de Pera was constructed by a woodcraftsman in the same year *Cite d'Alep* was established in the back garden of the passage in 1885. Today it is known as *Ortaoyuncular Tiyatrosu*, still located in the passage and still continuing to function. Since the establishment of the construction the theatre's ownership has changed hands many times. Considering the strong individuals and their group initiatives with the context of economic and social support, the theatre has remained preserved until today. In other words, we can assume that during transformation from circus to theatre it became a passage theatre of sorts. In the following years, Campanaki converted the circus to a theatre and took the names *Cinema Ideal* (1911), *Cinema Royal* (1915), *Theatre Variete* (1920), *French Cinema* (1929).¹⁹¹ *Cirque de Pera* was renovated for theater and opera productions in 1889 and became known as the French Theater during the Republican period until the 1950s when it earned fame for its movie theaters and was renamed the Beyoğlu Passage.¹⁹²

4.4 Concordia Theatre

The Concordia Theatre was established in the center of Pera in 1871 where Church of St. Anthony of Padua exist today. It constructed as a summer and winter theatre. Before 1871 the theater carried the properties of a *café chantant* and after its conversion into a theater, important performances like *La Traviata* were shown here.¹⁹³ The garden was designed according to the baroque understanding with geometric shapes covered by a fabric tarp.¹⁹⁴ According to Yazıcı Greek musicians played here and in 1886 the winter theater was recovered and turned into a café-concert. The owner of the theater, Malia Andreas, used the advantages of the minorities and

¹⁹⁰ Adam, Mestyan. 2011, p. 151.

¹⁹¹ Ses Tiyatrosu. <http://ortaoyuncular.blogspot.cz/2008/05/ses-tiyatrosu-1885.html>.

¹⁹² Beyoğlu's famous shopping arcades open for business. Daily Sabah Journal, 2015.

<http://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2015/04/30/beyoglus-famous-shopping-arcades-open-for-business>.

¹⁹³ Yazıcı, Ezgi. 2010, p. 90. quoted in Akın, Ibid. p. 263.

¹⁹⁴ Yazıcı, Ezgi. 2010, p. 90.

opened a casino here.¹⁹⁵ Here we can clearly see Greek support of the theatre. A.Ksenato and A.Livada were the managers of the Concordia theatre in 1886¹⁹⁶ and during their tenure many performances took place. In 1906 the theatre was converted to a church. However the theatre had been a cultural entertainment symbol for Pera in the late 19th century.

¹⁹⁵ Yazıcı, Ezgi. 2010, p. 91.

¹⁹⁶ And, Metin. *Eski İstanbulda Yunan Sahnesi* p. 88.

<http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/13/1184/13692.pdf>

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 WAS PERA ‘CREATIVE DISTRICT’, ‘ORGANIC DISTRICT’ OR ‘INTERCULTURAL’?

In this chapter I will present some theoretical concepts related to the notion ‘cultural district’. What does it mean to be a ‘creative district’ in a specific city? What does it mean to be creative, multicultural and to be an organic district in a specific area? In addition, how can you separate one district from the city itself? What roles do *vitality* and *vibrancy* play in daily life in the district? And how can the district culturally affect the city? These are the key questions to answer. I believe the triangle of space, inhabitants and cultural production are the vital components of a city. If we want to adapt these features into a specific district, it may create a cultural district.

Frost-Kumpf stated that a cultural district is the well-recognized, labeled, mixed-use area of a city in which a high concentration of cultural facilities serve as the anchor of attraction. Cultural districts are specialized landscapes that typically feature ‘high’ culture or ‘fine arts’ although the definition of ‘culture’ varies from district to district. Generally cultural districts support the fine arts (concert halls, theatres, galleries and art museums) as well as libraries, historical museums and educational institutions. Some districts include restaurants, nightclubs and other forms of popular entertainment.¹⁹⁷ Such cultural activities are necessary for the creation of a cultural district.

Inhabitants are the key of any city, as it is they who transform empty space into habitable areas. All other productions in the district necessitate these forms. In order to produce a cultural base and share some values in the district, other elements which participate in the production of culture are required. The cultural networks of these inhabitants and their enthusiasm launch interactions with others that create some vibrancy in the district. By doing so, these features may also help encourage multiculturalism in the district.

Communities from different cultures, identities, religions and perspectives may exist next to each other. In other words multiculturalism can be seen as unification of diversity.

¹⁹⁷ Frost-Kumpf, H. 1998: *Cultural Districts* Chicago, Americans for the Arts, p. 13.

“Multiculturalism is a system of beliefs and behaviors that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or society, acknowledges and values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society.”¹⁹⁸

If the city integrates people with culturally-different backgrounds, it means the potential creation of multidirectional values existing in the district. If the inhabitants have various identities and their dissimilarities create some combinations and interactions along the district, it results in rising inter-cultural vibrancy.

“ Inter-culturalism: increasingly vital in a world with mass movements of people. This is different from multi-culturalism. What do we share and what can we do together? The focus is on diversity advantage rather than its problems since if the possible difficulties of managing diversity are overcome, innovation potential and insights increase. ”¹⁹⁹

It is possible to say that the inter-culturalism points out the diversity. These diversities can be ethnic, linguistic and religious amongst other things. The important thing is to accept all these phenomena as a cultural value, and start to create something new in the district.

However, these features do not represent a complex enough set of elements to form a “Creative District” in the city. Based on the findings of Landry, it can be argued that the city has to encourage people to start communicating with each other. Landry argues that cities have to concentrate on the issues that made them unique and find the elements that inspire the population to get involved in city life. *Curiosity, imagination, creativity, innovation, invention*²⁰⁰ are the central elements for connecting with the city itself. Significance comes from the feeling of forming the city. That way the city becomes more meaningful for its inhabitants and the inhabitants of the city become more valuable to the city.

The unity of city and urban people is imperative. The city cannot exist without people and the people cannot realize themselves without the city. During the last two centuries people started to

¹⁹⁸ Rosado,D (1996) *Toward a Definition of Multiculturalism*, p. 3.

¹⁹⁹ Landry, Charles. 2008: *The Creative City London*, The Round, Bournes Green, p. 19.

²⁰⁰ Landry. Charles. 2008, p. 24.

design cities, cultural institutions, department stores and other public places. The inhabitants started to spend their time in the city with other people and this collectiveness shaped their perceptions and judgments. In this context it becomes essential what comes into our perceptions. People play an important role in the district. They are the main actors on stage and here the stage is the district itself. Landry also agreed that people are assets of the city and they have a crucial role in contributing to the development of the city while realizing their personality.

I can apply the city interpretation by Landry to Pera. The operationalization of Landry's theory will show us how a method of city building can also fit district building. After that we can see how a district can nourish the general functions of the city.

“ Seen in this way, people and how they feel are highlighted as the crucial resource. The material infrastructure that makes cities work organizationally needs to support their well-being. This means planning needs to think emotionally. Human talent, skills, and creativity are replacing location, natural resources, undifferentiated pools of labour and market access as the central urban resources. The inventiveness and innovations of those who live in, work in and run cities determine their future success. ”²⁰¹

To be organizational and health-orientated, while living in the city we have to consider all these pre-conditions simultaneously. Landry expressed that there must be six qualities of urban leadership: *foresight, strategic focus, understanding urbanism and city dynamics in a holistic way, developing culture openness and curiosity, organizational agility, determined delivery focus.*²⁰² Foresight can create a sustainable vision of a city.

Strategic focus is the concentration of the general and focusing on the 'big picture' for future-city planning. Understanding urbanism is the comprehension of what a city demands from us and the characteristics of the city. Developing culture indicates ethos and values. Organizational agility is the centralization of power and the constant desire to be aware of the responsibility towards the city. We have to unite inhabitants around some holistic circles to give them the opportunity create some livable places. By doing so these figures ensure planned movement in the district and create some strategic central unity.

²⁰¹ Landry, Charles. 2008, p. 33.

²⁰² Landry, Charles. 2008, p. 38.

I argue that the city has some sort of database inside. The question is whether we can change the way of everyday life of inhabitants to mobilize this database? Can we direct them to collaborate in the development of the city? And if so, how? What is necessary in order to maximize the cultural functions of the city? People and city must be united within some purpose through a creative process. Inhabitants of the city must not be a model of 'res extensa'²⁰³. Inhabitants of the cities are not motionless, immobile or passive elements. They have potential to have the power, intelligence and imagination to affect the city. This affectedness comes from their natural features. In this frame, a city's inhabitants would be contributors to the city. The city directly shapes its inhabitants and simultaneously the inhabitants shape the city. Inhabitants of the city become increasingly interactive 'res cogitans'²⁰⁴ within the city.

I am making some connection between these two philosophical terms and the definition of 'Creative City'. Especially when the city starts to feed the soul of its inhabitants with its characteristics and shape, simultaneously the city starts to obtain the adjective 'Creative'. If we want to imagine a creative city model, first we have to give a shape to city and design it with innovation and creativity. Generally the combination of traditional and modern characteristics in this process, and extensive, broad streets, aesthetic shapes of the design, give inspiration to the people. This inspiration also constitutes a consciousness of the culture towards the city. After a while this consciousness will lead to people protecting their cultural areas in the following periods.

These factors also contribute to the personal qualities of the city. It does mean that the city should have some qualifications to reflect upon the city and to contribute to the development of the city. There are a number of preconditions for a city to be truly creative and if the creativity is to embed itself into the organizational fabric of a city. They start with various personal and collective factors, such as a stimulating environment, security, freedom from disturbance and anxiety.

²⁰³ *Res extensa* is a philosophical term. Here indicates the ontological existence of some specific thing. Generally used in philosophical researches and essays. *Res extensa* clearly means 'extended thing' or 'corporeal substance'.

²⁰⁴ *Res cogitans* indicates a to thinking thing (as the mind or soul) generally used in philosophical fields.

These and other factors are necessary to allow creative thoughts, the incubation of ideas and objective testing. There are at least seven factors, and a series of indicators can be developed for each; *personal qualities, will and leadership, human diversity and access to varied talent, organizational culture, local identity, urban spaces, and facilities, networking dynamic.*²⁰⁵

5.2 OUTCOME

These creativity elements articulated by Landry can be applied to the attitudes of Pera's residents and their distinguished features and dissimilar perspectives towards the district. Personal quality can refer to the talents related to the design process. Will and leadership may lead people to undertake some responsibility toward the city. Human diversity is the key term here because different life experiences of people create different, cultural places and could lead to a creative cosmopolitan. Accepting human diversity evokes real learning and comprehension rather than xenophobia. Civil society and modern togetherness increase understanding and accessible cities might be created. Pera, as a cultural district, ensured such opportunities for its inhabitants. It can therefore be argued that Pera district was a city inside a city and its facilities also contributed to the general development of the city.

Ethnic, religious, social and demographic diversity in the district affected the daily habits of the Pera people. Rinaldo Marmara, from a Levantine family, knows the history of 19th century Pera well.

*“ Chaque communauté avait sa langue: le français, l'italien, l'allemand... L'Empire avait ses frontières et à l'intérieur de ces frontières, chaque communauté vivait séparément avec sa langue maternelle, ses écoles, ses hôpitaux, ses maisons de retraite, son cinéma, son théâtre, ses églises (catholique et protestante, surtout)... Les Levantins n'avaient quasiment pas de contacts avec les Turcs. Dans le quartier de Pangalti par exemple, quartier “nouveau” construit après l'incendie de 1870, les musulmans ne représentaient que 1% de la population. Dans ce quartier, il y avait les Levantins, les Latins non-Levantins et les Arméniens et les Grecs qui voulaient eux aussi bénéficier des avantages des capitulations. ”*²⁰⁶

Pangaltı is located at the liminal area of Pera and most of its inhabitants lived there. Rinaldo Marmara, originally from a Genovese family, is an expert on Levantine groups in Istanbul. He added that every community could speak his own language and had the possibility of representing their cultural specificities in the district.

These opportunities created creativity in the district. Interactions among architecture, cultural spaces and people were growing and spreading across Pera. It can be argued that a kind of

²⁰⁶ <http://www.lepetitjournal.com/istanbul/accueil/actualite/205791-les-derniers-levantins-de-turquie-je-ne-me-sens-pas-tout-a-fait-europeen-ni-tout-a-fait-oriental-3>

component citizenship existed in the district. Cultural diversities, imaginative, differences and transparent communication contributed to the development of the district through the cultural district. Some regulations relating to the district also created characteristics of participation, leading, control, partnership, centralism, enabling, influence and creativity as Landry depicted necessary for organizational culture.

All these features contribute some values to the city.

“ An essential pre-requisite for a cultural quarter is the presence of cultural activity, and, where possible, this should include cultural production (making objects, goods, products, and providing services) as well as cultural consumption (people going to shows, visiting venues and galleries) (Comedia, 1991b). This is axiomatic: cultural quarters cannot exist without cultural activity. Of special significance is the presence of venues. These should be as varied as possible, preferably at the small and medium scale where the objective is to encourage a more active street life. As well as performance venues, there should also be rehearsal and practice spaces. A mixed economy in venues helps generate self-sustaining growth, so that as well as publicly provided theatres and galleries there should also be private galleries and performance venues. It is important that as many venues as possible should remain open in the evenings as well as during the day. The most successful of the cultural quarters very often have quite deliberately set out to develop a ‘network’ of such venues, and in some cases these have been ‘planted’ as strategic elements in the wider development of an area. In order to sustain a living culture, it is important for at least some cultural organisations to be producing houses (i.e. making new work) rather than having an over-reliance on touring products. ”²⁰⁷

I have shown that cultural consumption started in the district with passages, opera houses, theatres, shopping centers and avenues. Cultural activity, participation, imagination, creativity and influence were the essential forms for Pera’s inhabitants. Considering these features as a whole, Pera succeeded in being a creative, cultural cosmopolitan in 19th century Istanbul.

²⁰⁷ MONTGOMERY, John. 2003: *Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising Cultural Quarters, Planning, Practice & Research*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 293–306, p. 296.

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