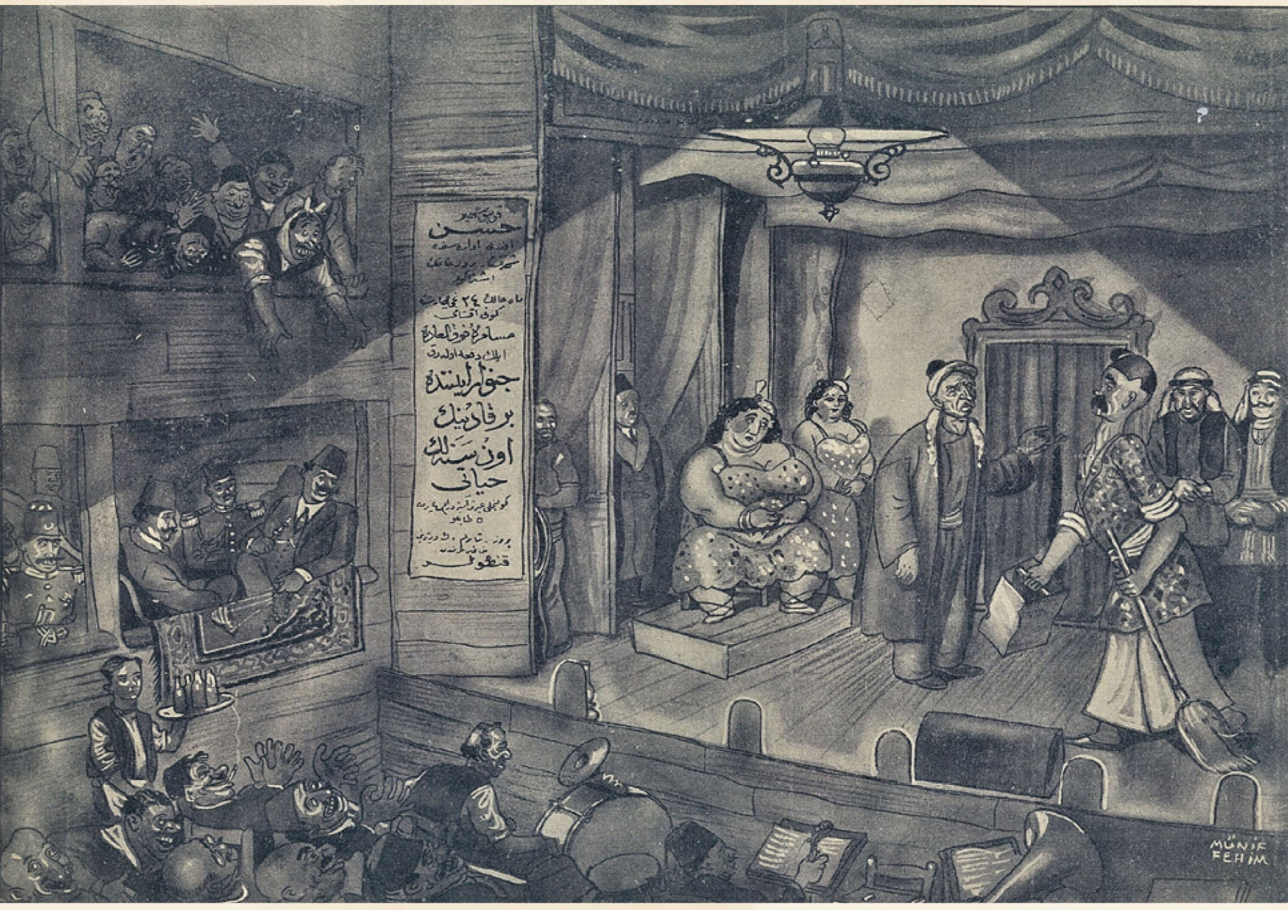
Spectacle, Entertainment, and Recreation in Late Ottoman and Early Turkish Republican Cities



Edited by Nilay Karaca and Seda Kula

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Introduction

Seda Kula

The 2013 Incidents of Emek and Gezi

The editors' motivation to analyse leisure activities and spaces in relation to modernity in Ottoman society extends back to the aftermath of the very controversial 2013 destruction of the famous and historical Emek movie hall of Istanbul. The razing of the cinema was heavily protested, despite the harsh intervention by the police. Emek Cinema had been a very popular spectacle venue in Istanbul since 1909, when it was inaugurated as the Skating Palace.[1] In May 2013, hardly two months after the Emek Cinema incident, the public reacted once again, this time against the destruction of Taksim Gezi Park, just a few hundred metres away from the Emek Cinema site. Istanbul was shaken by sit-in protests by citizens, who were violently evicted from the park by the authorities. What began as a civil initiative by a few people to save the park's trees became an inspiration for the mass public to demand their democratic rights as citizens. Despite violent police suppression, the country-wide protestations lasted until September 2013 with the participation of at least 2,5 million Turkish citizens from all walks of life and all political views.[2] Taksim Gezi Park is also one of the most popular urban recreational spaces in Istanbul, which had been organized for public use during the *Tanzimat* era.[3]

The common denominator of these two significant incidents with long lasting impacts on Turkey was that they were both triggered by a public reflex to watch out for some leisure spaces that had long been reserved for public use. These completely unarmed but certainly appalling mass protests were not against rising inflation and unemployment nor related to augmenting life losses due to terrorist attacks. Instead, the focal point of both events was the risk of losing urban spaces that had long been serving people's leisure time activities, such as spectacle and recreation. Strikingly, people not only defended their beloved leisure spaces but also recognized the risk of losing them as a threat to their individual freedom; then related it to their citizens' rights, consequently carrying their concerns to both individual and collective movements to claim their leisure spaces and continued to do so, despite severe police suppression. All in one go. What is more, this reflex was shared by all public, regardless of political tendencies, economic status, gender, occupation, or age.

Certainly, this whole occurrence took some time to sink in. Our first treatment of these events from an architectural historian's point of view was through the lens of an architect's sense of place. It was a discussion of the meaning and value of the lost entertainment facility of Emek cinema which dated back to the late Ottoman period, through a selection of research articles that appeared in the fall 2016 issue of *Mimar.ist*, the journal of the Istanbul branch of the Chamber of Architects. Following, the observation of events in Turkey in the spring-summer of 2013 brought us to an awakening point regarding the important role that leisure activities could play in the modernization of a society as well as the potential they had for resilience of communities. The subject, thus, gaining even more profundity, was carried to the 2018 European Association of Urban History conference in Rome, which was organized

around the theme of 'Urban Renewal and Resilience' and was further elaborated in the panel 'Spectacle, Entertainment, and Recreation in the Modernizing Ottoman Empire'. It was here that our discussion of the interplay between leisure, its urban venues, and modernization processes was instigated. The discussions and papers presented at this panel, in effect, form the core of this volume.

Notes on Leisure and Modernity Studies

The significance of leisure and its spaces in modern urban life which resurfaced as an ever-existent phenomenon during 2013 events in Turkey, had in fact been subject of an increasing number of sociological studies since the aftermath of World War II (1939–45). French sociologist Joffre Dumazedier defined four criteria for leisure activities: being free and voluntary, being non-utilitarian, providing pleasure, and being individualistic.[4] Based on this definition, leisure activities which are non-productive in nature, imply a necessity to consume time, money, and other sources. We could presume that leisure must have begun as an activity practised by people from the upper socioeconomic levels, who had access to these resources and the right to spend them. However, with the working classes earning their right to free time, or with reigning authorities bestowing such rights upon their subjects, the ability to perform more and varied leisure activities must have further spread across all layers of society. Therefore, the improvement, and growing variety of leisure activities must have paralleled the development of modern value systems, especially concerning individuals' rights. On the other hand, according to Kraus, leisure and free time is defined, from a narrow perspective, as time when one is free from responsibilities of work and earning a life, as well as duties and obligations, whereas a wider definition of leisure includes the right and opportunity to improve one's self by participating hobbies and activities of his choice.[5] Walter Kuentzal further underlines that leisure is a free choice, and that participants are voluntarily engaged in leisure activities.[6]

Recent studies on leisure in relation to modernity often base their arguments on theory of communicative action of Jürgen Habermas, who seeks a future society characterized by free and open communication.[7] Karl Spracklen explains the tensions between instrumental and communicative rationality, concepts developed by Habermas in response to the problems of 'the industrialization, the secularization, and the individualization' of society in modernization process.[8] Spracklen comments that in the present time, forms of leisure, such as sport, popular culture, and music exemplify these tensions. However, he concludes that leisure is a fundamental part of the human condition, and in spite of constant constraints, leisure is a human activity in which communicative rationality is at work, in the sense that we make rational choices about what we do in our free time.[9] Likewise, Williams and Kaltellbom view modernity as the experience of a tension between the freedom and burden to fashion an

identity for oneself, claiming that with the melting of traditional sources of meaning, leisure stands to fill the void.[10] Hence a reasoning which also suggests the resilience opportunities offered to urban societies by leisure activities.

The Continuum of the Evolution of Leisure Activities and Spaces

The constant constraints on leisure that Spracklen mentions or the instrumental rationality that leisure activities confront, have also been discussed in a study by Zieleniec on the parks of Glasgow, Scotland. He notes that parks were produced spaces of nature that manifested the ideological ideals, values, ambitions, concerns, and priorities of the ruling bourgeois hegemony within the physical landscape of the city. But, based on his historical analysis of the use of these parks, he concluded:

> [The] changing popular use and practices of the parks influenced and affected the way in which they were organised, maintained, and regulated through time and, as such, their form and structure had to adapt to changes in the nature of popular leisure and recreational practices.[11]

Hence, he reasoned that communicative rationality and, consequently free and open communication characterized leisure activities. Furthermore, Zieleniec focused on the use and structure of leisure spaces and explored their relationship with respect to a modernizing society.

This inference of the evolution of a leisure space in parallel to the process of modernization over time, while maintaining its integrity, leads us to revisit the Emek Cinema and Gezi Park incidents. Both venues were being heavily used for leisure purposes for over a century and had therefore established valuable sense of place for Istanbulis. Both had maintained their integrity, but their users and uses changed over time, so that they evolved to offer leisure activities to larger and more varied groups of people, and they were situated within a continuum where freedom and means to access the leisure activities they offered, improved. Finally, both sites were claimed with great fervour and perseverance by the public, upon risk of forced demolishment and during this mass reaction that lasted months these sites indeed became free, indirect, and open communication channels for the urban Turkish society of the twenty-first century.

The Hypothesis

These phenomena and sociological research lead us to think that urban leisure spaces are concrete evidence of the freedom of individuals, and of continuing modernization processes.

They also offer opportunities to society for resilience, provided that their integrity is maintained over time. Moreover, spaces of entertainment, spectacle, and recreation also incorporate a sense of place, which is part of urban memory. They are valuable to the extensive crowds of citizens benefitting from leisure activities they offer, regardless of age, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomical condition, or political tendency, and as individual freedom and rights improve over time. Finally, it can be argued that an examination of leisure activities and their corresponding spaces over time could be a way of tracing how the Ottoman subject evolved into a Turkish citizen through modernization processes, and his exercise of free will.

The traditional amusement practices of Ottoman society can be traced back to the fifteenth century via written accounts, and miniatures depicting royal celebrations, shadow puppetry sessions, storytellers, dancers, and processions. Quataert remarks that the open areas before places of worship afforded spaces for such entertainment and conversation, as well as business negotiations.[12] Sakaoğlu describes these at length, based on archival documents and excerpts from Ottoman literature, concluding that these were either comprehensive and flamboyant urban events offered by the ruler to his subjects as part of a celebration, or occasional amusement activities performed in small, closed circles.[13] Sariyannis, referring to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, also comments that, even for Ottoman elite classes, leisure was usually not conceived of as occurring within a definite zone of time, distinct from work. For example, a vizier's time as a whole – was to be devoted mostly to serious state affairs.[14] He also emphasizes that leisure time was not assessed in contrast with work, but rather according to its compliance with the moral values of Ottoman society. Idleness meant not to escape from work, but from the impositions of one's social status.

One type of urban leisure space that addressed greatly to Muslim population as of sixteenth century must have been the coffee houses, which fast became popular social venues that offered amusement via coffee, games, and chat. However, they were soon found inappropriate and were officially prohibited, for fear that they would encourage an exchange of political views.[15] So, entertainment was not an approved component of the highly religion-bound Ottoman social life, at least until the short-lived Tulip Era (Lale Devri; 1718–30), which literally breathed a new life into Ottoman society.[16] New government policies to overcome the overall stagnation envisaged alignment with modern values introduced by the Enlightenment era (seventeenth–eighteenth centuries) in Europe. Introduction and permission of a new lifestyle, allowing to take pleasure in public socializing, entertainment, and interaction with natural beauty seemed to be a major, if not the sole, initiative taken to orient Ottoman life to modernity in the early eighteenth century. Whereupon entertainment gradually became a means of consumption, as well as a right endowed upon Ottoman subjects, who swiftly adopted this new lifestyle incorporating rather individualistic and secular tastes. Novel elements of art, architecture, and new spaces of leisure and entertainment, enjoyed by

both men and women, emerged in the early eighteenth century to complement this cultural change, especially in the capital city of Istanbul. Hamadeh, describing the Ottoman capital's spirit in the 1700s at length, underlines that the participation of ordinary people in this new lifestyle, and in its relevant spaces and architecture, was the most pronounced change.[17] This rather short era had a long-term impact. The right to entertainment was not limited to elite circles, nor to certain occasions, anymore. Accelerated by the nineteenth-century Ottoman policies to establish a closer relationship with European states, as well as by the royal urge to be seen and felt by their subjects more frequently and more interactively, novelties in social life as well as new and modern entertainment, spectacle, and recreation practices were increasingly adopted and practiced by the ruling elite and found their spatial reflection in the major urban centres of the empire.[18]

Whereas the strong on-going discourse that new Ottoman lifestyle and sociability were notions led and promoted by the ruling elite and that they were strongly guided by western influence are pitfalls that we do not wish to fall in our survey and assessment of leisure and its spaces, *Tanzimat* era brings about some concrete evidence that these should not be overlooked at all.[19] As is, the Tanzimat reforms, along with the increased freedom under the sultans of the period, further accelerated imminent changes, while also accentuating western ways of life by relying on the modern concepts of industrialization, secularization, and individualization that had already been internalized, and which had permeated various layers of Ottoman society. The Tanzimat administration preferred to emphasize the concept of civilization rather than modernity, and they often referred to the concept of westernization as a tool to reach civilization.[20] How the abiding amusement aspects in Ottoman culture confronted and possibly fused with this new kind of sociability is dealt with, using varying case studies, by the authors in this volume. This liberty might have also led the traditional and sometimes common, or subaltern amusement practices of ordinary people, until then confined to close circles, to surface, to become visible, and to encounter modernity. The resulting entertainment and amusement practices and venues may well have built a social motivation, and constituted a foundation, based on which a voluntary negotiation of the traditional with the modern could be possible.[21]

In the periods that followed, modern urban life in Ottoman cities flourished, equipped as it was with new forms of recreation and entertainment, and guided by new policies of visibility. Ripping open their traditional nuclei in the second half of the nineteenth century, these urban centres embraced new facilities for trade, finance, and industry, and new residential quarters. These cities were reorganized to accommodate the relevant urban zones.[22] These new facilities and zones included novel types of spectacles, entertainments, and recreation as well. Whereas the venues were initially often reused and adapted buildings and spaces, by the late nineteenth century, Ottoman cities embraced purpose-built leisure spaces, and the emergence of new architectural and urban programs for the construction of opera houses, clubs, performance halls, sports fields, and public parks. Abundant research and historical, urban studies,

and architectural history publications examine the development and change of Ottoman urban facilities and textures in the nineteenth century.[23] These scholarly works constitute a robust foundation, over which discussions about social and cultural changes and their reflections on architecture can be built.

The reused and newly organized spaces of recreation, entertainment, and spectacle represented the new face and culture of the empire, where the Ottoman subject was confronting individualism and slowly transforming into a citizen. The leisure spaces were reshaping due to the negotiation between the ruling elite's preferences, which represented instrumental rationalism, and those of simple folk as an expression of communicative rationalism. These public leisure practices and spaces were also embraced by replenishing society after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, with further additions. It can be argued that the continued and voluntarily increasing use of these public spaces, not only showed that certain modernity values were already filtered out and internalized by the society, but that they also constituted a foundation stone in the construction of the modern, secular Turkish nation.

Yet, this still is a hypothesis, and a challenge for architectural historians, for it demands the scrutiny of various leisure spaces and their users over time and across geography, which would constitute the data to test this hypothesis as well as the contents of this volume.

The Organization and Purpose of the Book

In this context, the user profiles of leisure venues are expected to be changing over time. Leisure spaces should likewise evolve, yet remain as part of the urban fabric, in the same place and without disappearing. As presented, this volume is meant to be an architectural history text. And continuity of sense of place is an essential part of discussions, across all the data examined. Following, a categorization of leisure spaces according to their purpose, architectural organization, and scale would be beneficial to assess the case studies, accounts of leisure practices over time, and excerpts from different geographies.

Entries in Turkish, Ottoman Turkish, English, and French dictionaries give us clues as to which leisure spaces were used for which purposes during the late Ottoman era. The term 'leisure' is mostly linked to the idea of free time, relaxation, and recreation.[24] So, the very first activity directly related to leisure is recreation, whereas the concept of free time could lead us to several others. 'Recreation' is defined as (1) 'refreshment by means of some pastime, agreeable exercise, or the like' and (2) 'a pastime, diversion, exercise, or other resource affording relaxation and enjoyment'.[25] Synonyms include 'play', 'fun', 'enjoyment', 'holiday', 'pleasure', 'refreshment', 'delight', and 'festivity'.[26] The direct translation of 'recreation' in Turkish stands out as '*eylence*'; written with consonant y; with its verb form '*eylenmek*', which could have been derived from the word *eyl*', meaning any other person than one's self.[27] In modern Turkish

dictionaries, this word has three distinct meanings: to stop and rest; to be late for something; and to amuse oneself.[28]

The second major act related to leisure follows from the interchangeable use of two words in Turkish: *eylence*, as described above, and *eğlence*. However, with all its versions, the Redhouse dictionary gives distinct meanings for each word and defines *eğlence* as 'a diversion, an amusement, a plaything'. As is, *eğlence* written with consonant kef in Ottoman script or ğ in modern Turkish alphabet, is the direct translation of the English word 'entertainment'.[29] Whereas 'entertainment' seems close to the term 'recreation' in meaning, entertainment incorporates the ideas of enjoyment, cheer, fun, and distraction corresponding to Turkish words *telezzüz*, *şenlendirmek*, *oyun*, *lu'b* or *lu'biyyat*, and *çılgınlık* or *tecennün*, rather than quiet relaxation.[30]

The dictionary entry gives a comprehensive list of possible entertainment activities. This list includes entries such as 'dance', 'reception', 'game', 'pageant', 'parade', 'party', 'feast', 'banquet', 'extravaganza', 'garden party', and 'festivity'. It also names a group of interrelated diversions, including 'performance', 'show', 'play', 'production', 'presentation', 'spectacle', 'stage show', 'floor show', 'motion picture', 'movie', 'film', 'concert', 'exhibition', and 'cabaret'.[31] Among these, three terms stand out as generic: 'performance', 'show', and 'spectacle', which correspond to Turkish words *icra*, ***seyr***, and *temaşa*, denoting a specific and rather organized type of entertainment where there are two parties, namely performers and spectators.[32]

This examination of vocabulary suggests at least three categories of leisure activities. The first one is recreation/*eylence*, which relates to the changing relationship of Ottomans with the natural environment and implies urban organizations of landscape. The category of entertainment/*eğlence* refers to socialized amusement and includes feasts, parties, dances, festivities, and games, which could take place in either closed or open spaces that could accommodate a group of people sharing and participating in that amusement. Finally, the category of spectacle/*seyr* points to organized, and generally staged shows taking place in formally designed spaces with detailed architectural programmes.

Organized in this way, with linguistic connections in mind, and based on the hypothesis regarding urban leisure and modernity explained above, this edited volume attempts to engage in a two-fold discussion. First, it offers a survey of the forms and spaces of recreation, entertainment, and spectacle during the late Ottoman and early Republican eras. The chapters focus on different forms of recreation, entertainment, or spectacle in cities across the empire, or, later, within the Republic of Turkey. Hence, one primary purpose of the volume is to shed light on how such urban or architectural spaces were developed and shaped. The chapters in this volume also address how various forms and spaces of spectacle, entertainment, and recreation made an impact on and interacted with individuals as well as evolving social, cultural, urban life in the Ottoman and Republican Turkish spheres. Throughout, the contributors consider the ongoing modernization phenomena present in all elements of life.

As previously mentioned, there is a vast literature dealing with modernization and modernity in late Ottoman and early Republican cities, with a considerable number of sources that elaborate on the impact that this transformative period had on architecture. In these sources, one can also come across valuable discussions of the impact of modernization on many of the vital functions of an urban environment, such as transportation and its hubs, administrative units, residential areas, factories, offices, and health and educational services. Scholars have looked at how this impact is reflected in corresponding architecture and infrastructural investments, in terms of aesthetics, form, function, material, technology, and economics. Many of these discuss these urban elements indispensable for the society and the modernity-related exigencies that have been imposed upon them via official regulations, modern technology, economic conditions, international agreements, and the initiatives of the ruling class. On the other hand, research on Ottoman social and cultural history is more limited, and much of that is focused on the elite, rather than on the daily lives of common folk.[33] Ottoman social and cultural life started being analysed with new lenses, especially during the recent years.[34] Previous studies did not pay particular attention to the interaction between social changes, everyday culture, and architectural spaces. The discussion coffee houses in the eighteenth century and earlier by social historian Alan Mikhael, is one of the few social history texts that handles the use of architectural and urban space in association with a leisure space. He describes them as a sort of communal *selamlık* (men's area in a home) where the men of the neighbourhood gathered.[35] As for Boyar and Fleet, they point out another important aspect of entertainment activity, which is sharing an amusement, and the accompanying sense of belonging to a group or society.[36]

This volume aims to participate in the recently sprouting discussion of late Ottoman social and cultural history and modernization from a relatively emerging perspective, which is that of leisure activities and spaces. Leisure is very strongly linked with modernity because, its presence as a significant part of urban life depends on the individual's rights; for participation to leisure activities and their full variety can increase, only when people are given the permission or gain the freedom to use their free time as they wish. The book's focus is on the selected leisure categories of entertainment, spectacle, and recreation, which are natural, voluntary acts that have spontaneously developed from the human need for leisure and socialization, rather than acts enforced by conditions or regulations, laws, authorities, or business exigencies. Entertainment, spectacle, and recreation are activities addressing people from all walks of life, of any gender, age, religion, occupation, ethnicity, or class. And people from different milieus may even, at times, share the same sense of amusement through these activities, whose continuation depends mostly on the demand and initiative of the people experiencing them.

In our volume, we have chosen to discuss the impact of leisure activities on urban modernity with an emphasis on the changing use and design of leisure spaces, as well as their meaning for urban life. The performers, spectators, and organizers of such activities were from a variety of backgrounds and socioeconomic classes. While performances ranged from street shows to

palatial spectacles, performers could be from the regular folk, a traveling band, local troupes, or an invitee of the royal court. Entertainment organizers also could vary from individuals such as coffee house owners, private entrepreneurs, and bureaucrats to institutions including clubs, charities, schools, and foundations. Regarding the design and use of leisure spaces, a negotiation between the formal and the casual, or between the traditional and the modern was always felt, a phenomenon that must have caused these spaces to evolve continually. The changing nature of entertainment, spectacle, and recreation activities and the spaces that accommodated them could quite realistically reflect the ways and modes of increasingly larger segments of society confronting modernity. The sense of place that these venues attained over time, and society's regard for their sustainability and continuity, demonstrated how such places represented society's free will to use free time. This is another important concern.

The embrace of the modern concepts of seeing, observing, and being seen – in other words, the evolution from anonymity to visibility – in modernizing Ottoman social life was of considerable importance in the transformation and development of the facilities and spaces of leisure. As neighbourhood scale amusement activities became more varied, more nuanced, more populated, and more organized, the roles of the participants in these activities began to differentiate into those of performers, organizers, and spectators. As a result, the spaces and venues accommodating such spectacles were shaped and programmed accordingly. This reorganization of leisure activities must have had several implications. One was that they transformed to become a service, with receivers and providers. Their enriched content and presentation, owing to the tools of modern technology, became more attractive and this augmented the demand even more. In analogy, this content began to serve not only amusement, but also educational and informational purposes, and allowed for the conveyance of the modern lifestyle experienced elsewhere in the world to Ottoman society. As a result, entertainment, spectacle, and recreation activities began to facilitate the internalization of modern concepts by various segments of Ottoman society. In parallel, along with the accumulation of entertainment venues in certain regions of the urban fabric, urban zones servicing as entertainment facilities emerged, with spatial implications on the urban scale. This made its contribution to the differentiating functions of different zones in the city.

Last, but not least, it should be noted that, with all these implications, these activities gradually evolved into the entertainment industry. That is, they became part of the emerging modern capitalist economy, and were seen as lucrative investments. Consequently, venues for entertainment and spaces of recreation continued to function throughout devastating wars, economic struggles, and times of chaos, serving a wide range of clientele. With the soaring number of consumers of these services offering pleasure, information, and the chance to socialize through spectacle, entertainment, and recreation, some of these activities proved to be lucrative. Performers became more varied, and international, and evolved from being self-employed and self-promoting to working as recognized

artists that were recruited by privately or state-owned businesses. As leisure activities became more institutionalized and more organized, so was its spatial configuration and the ones that were the most organized, seem to have become the most industrialized or profitable businesses.

Presentation of the Studies

The chapters in this volume are grouped under three sections, each dealing with a distinct type of leisure venue. Even though the spaces and genres of leisure are interrelated, each section corresponds to relationships between architectural and urban spaces. Under each heading, there are longer chapters and shorter narratives, which are related to a specific type of activity and space. The contributions focus on different cities and address changing user profiles. We aim to give an idea of the evolution of each kind of architectural and urban space across time and geography, as the leisure practices develop to meet the changing needs or rights of the users regarding their free time, while also tracing the meaning of these spaces for the urban population throughout their evolution.

The first section 'New Understanding of Landscape and Spaces of Recreation' includes four chapters and two shorter narratives. Nilay Karaca's account of how the imperial gardens of the Topkapı Palace were converted into a modern public park in Istanbul discusses the changing habits of recreation and entertainment, and the concepts of public space, the confiscation of land, historic preservation, and urban transformation, within the framework of Gülhane Park. Karaca elaborates on the role of Cemil (Topuzlu) Paşa, a member of the Ottoman military and ruling elite, in the transformation and modernization of the urban landscape of the city. Her narrative mirrors the local tensions enacted between various Ottoman institutions.

The chapter by Semra Horuz gives an account of Ebüzziya Tevfik's field trip to European zoos in 1887 in preparation for the ultimately failed effort to inaugurate the first Ottoman zoo. She comments on his report, noting that it is indicative of his intellectual curiosity and expert capacity to understand architecture, his awareness of the urban fabric and landscape, and his attentiveness to the technical requirements of recreational projects.

Ekin Akalın's chapter examines Ottoman landscape paintings, particularly those attributed to military painter Halil Paşa, and discusses new modes of perception and representation of the Bosporus. Akalın emphasizes the new social value given to sites of recreation and discusses how their representation in paintings illustrated a cross-section of the bourgeois lifestyle portrayed in nineteenth-century Ottoman literature.

The next chapter turns the focus towards the Asian side of Istanbul, which is much less studied than the European districts of the city. Yasin Bora Özkuş introduces the Kuşdili Meadow in Kadıköy, along with its recreational, entertainment, and spectacular content during the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He stresses the coexistence of eastern traditional and western modern entertainment activities that reflect the 'in-between-ness' of society.

Two valuable contributions comprise the Urban Reflections segment of this section. Duygu Saban provides an account of the recreation areas created in Adana's urban centre beginning in the late Ottoman era. These parks were originally designed with the initiative of high-ranking officials and according to designs by European architects and planners. The parks evolved from formal into casual spaces as the social and cultural characteristics of society re-determined their form and function. Tülin Selvi Ünlü examines an urban park in another city in southern Anatolia, the People's Garden in the port city of Mersin. She presents the park as a place of recreation and entertainment that reflected the commercial and social changes in the city and played a significant role in daily life from the late nineteenth century onwards.

The second section is titled 'Entertainment, Diversity, Diversion' and is focused on entertainment spaces that accommodate society's evolving culture of diversion, through three longer chapters and two shorter reflections. Fatma Tunç Yaşar discusses the formation and transformation of the Direklerarası entertainment district in intramural Istanbul, which supported numerous entertainment venues from teahouses to theatre halls. Yaşar suggests that new forms of entertainment were consumed there by the Muslim communities of intramural Istanbul, which embraced novel spectacles such as theatre and cinema. She argues that entertainment was not exclusive to the district of Pera, and visitors to Direklerarası developed modern modes of socialization during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Ceren Abi focuses on entertainment during the armistice period in the Ottoman capital, when English, French, Italian and American Allied troops were stationed in Istanbul and partaking of its theatres, beaches, and cinemas. Abi discusses the impact of the occupation on the entertainment life of the city, and how the relationship between non-Muslim and Muslim Ottomans and the occupation forces played out in the streets and various entertainment venues of Istanbul in times of extreme tension and hardship.

Erik Blackthorne-O'Barr examines the port districts of Galata and Piraeus during the late nineteenth century, comparing the ways their entertainment venues accommodated a variety of social classes, ethnicities, and ages in a subaltern atmosphere. Focusing especially on bel canto and *rebetiko* performances that took place in liquor shops, coffee houses, and small theatres he vividly depicts the liminal subcultures of these two port cities.

Figen Kıvılcım Çorakbaş contributes a narrative on the depiction of Bursa as a unique example of the modernization of a historical and traditional Ottoman city, with a focus on hotels and the urban zone they generated through their foreign and merchant clientel. This centre of emerging new types of western style entertainment spaces is juxtaposed with the traditional modes of entertainment offered in bathhouses and taverns.

The final narrative in this section is Ümit Fırat Açıkgöz's reflection on entertainment facilities in Beirut since the end of nineteenth century, in which he underlines the class inequality inherent in residents' access to leisure activities and venues.

The last section, 'Spectacle Venues in the Cityscape', offers insight into spectacle venues, the modern organizations for plays and shows, through four longer chapters and two reflection chapters. Fatma Ürekli examines the introduction of panorama and diorama exhibits to Ottoman cities as a novel form of spectacle at the end of the nineteenth century. She reveals how it swiftly became popular and proved to be a profitable business in cities such as Izmir, Thessaloniki, Beirut, Aleppo, and Damascus.

Cenk Berkant elaborates on the mutual transformation of social life in Izmir through the introduction of theatre, spectacle, and entertainment venues from the mid-nineteenth century until the devastating fire of 1922. While picturing the social and cultural life that flourished in this cosmopolitan port city, Berkant provides an account of its architectural fabric, much of it lost in the fire.

Neslişah Leman Başaran Lotz sheds light on the role of the bourgeoisie in the cultural modernization of Turkey and details the investments of Muslim entrepreneur Süreyya Paşa in spectacle and recreation facilities on the Asian side of Istanbul. Emphasizing the role of individual actors rather than institutions in the urban transformation of early Republican Istanbul, Başaran Lotz argues that the modernization of the cityscape and the introduction of new entertainment facilities were not necessarily part of state-led modernization programmes in the young Turkish Republic; but were instead nuanced on a closer inspection.

The chapter by Seda Kula gives a panorama of Ottoman and early Republican film spectacles and movie halls, scrutinizing the rapid introduction and subsequent prevalence of this modern spectacle format, which would survive through the difficult years of war to sustain the country's link with modernization.

The section closes with urban reflections on two port cities. Sotiris Dimitriadis gives an account of Thessaloniki's Ottoman port city culture that let the different social classes as well as the traditional and the European to merge in entertainment and spectacle activities, so that a shared quotidian culture was produced. Iskender Tuluk's narrative, the volume's final account, looks at two of the earliest spectacle venues in Trabzon, and at why these seemingly important sites were demolished in the twentieth century.

Final Word

Triggered by the twenty-first century mass events in Istanbul and the questions they left behind, this volume is intended to open a different channel in architectural history research to deal with urban modernization. Rather than being trapped within the limiting discourse of westernization,

or the handling of modernity as something imposed by the ruling elite upon society, we wish to explore its chances of being negotiated first by late Ottoman, then by early Republican society. In that context, the study of leisure, being a voluntary act related to people's freedom to use their own time regardless of any responsibilities, seems to offer us a new opportunity to match or meet social, urban, and architectural history, and to form a comprehensive grasp of how a society negotiated or adopted modernity and owned its urban spaces. This act was both the result of and evidence for this negotiation. Therefore, with this volume, we hope to contribute to the discussion of Ottoman urban modernization by offering this new perspective, based on leisure activities.

This choice necessitates the heavy sampling and scrutiny of leisure activities and spaces by various users across a wide geography and over a long duration. We must proceed in active avoidance of generalizations. For instance, Istanbul presents an inevitable case study, with its significance as the Ottoman capital city and a major port, and with its cosmopolitan nature. However, the contributors demonstrate that the city's different regions stand out as distinct cases with different characters. Many other urban centres such as Trabzon, Adana, and Bursa, next to more often studied Thessaloniki and Izmir, have their unique characteristics, and hence their own manner of negotiating with modernity. The collection of chapters in this volume contributes to the architectural history literature in this respect, although this is only the beginning of further discussions and examinations of urban leisure venues of the late Ottoman and early Republican modernization.

Notes

1. Seda Kula Say, 'Serkldoryan-Emek Bloğundan Grand Pera'ya: Kazanılanlar-Kaybedilenler', *Mimar.ist 57* (2016): 30–41.
2. 'Gezi Park protests', Wikipedia, accessed August 24, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gezi_Park_protests#cite_note-surreal-74.
3. 'The concept of public parks was introduced to the Ottoman capital during the 1860s. In 1864, when the road between Taksim and Pangaltı was under construction, the Christian cemeteries in Taksim were moved to Şişli, and a garden was planned for the area previously occupied by the cemeteries', Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 69.
4. As the founder of the Groupes d'Études du Loisir in CNRS of France in 1954, he performed extensive field surveys on leisure activities. Joffre Dumazedier, *Vers une civilisation de loisir?* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1962).
5. Richard G Kraus, *Recreation & Leisure in Modern Society* (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1997), 37–46.
6. 'Researchers reference leisure behavior to a process in which people use the freedom of the leisure situation to create desired self-meanings. Because leisure is freely chosen, participants

are motivated to engage in leisure activities that add to, or enhance one's existing self-definition in a linear and developmental way', Walter Kuentzel, 'Self-Identity, Modernity, and the Rational Actor in Leisure Research', *Journal of Leisure Research* 32.1 (2000): 87–92.

7. Jürgen Habermas and Thomas MacCarthy, 'Reason and the Rationalization of Society', in *The Theory of Communicative Action Vol. 1*, ed. Jürgen Habermas, trans. Thomas MacCarthy (Boston: Beacon, 1984), 390–399; Jürgen Habermas and Thomas MacCarthy, 'Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason', in *The Theory of Communicative Action Vol. 2*, ed. Jürgen Habermas, trans. Thomas MacCarthy (Boston: Beacon, 1984), 1–112.
8. Spracklen notes that Jürgen Habermas speaks of two ways of thinking about the world, two rationalities, that in turn create human actions. 'The first way of thinking is communicative, which comes from human discourse, the application of reason, free will and democratic debate […] The second way of thinking is instrumental, which is what happens when human reason is swamped by rationalization, economic logic, or other structural controls. […] Habermas is concerned with the struggle to keep communicative reason afloat under the stress of the instrumentality of late modernity.' Karl Spracklen, *The Meaning and Purpose of Leisure: Habermas and Leisure at the End of Modernity* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 164.
9. Karl Spracklen, *Constructing Leisure: Historical and Philosophical Debates* (NewYork: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011).
10. 'Leisure represents the increased freedom or capacity to seek out and express identity and the burden of discovering meaning in a meaningless world. Guided by fewer strictures on how and what to choose, the self is at once liberated through the expansion of leisure and, at the same time, saddled with the burden of making choices from among an ever widening market of options.' D. R. Williams and B. P. Kaltellbom, 'Leisure Places and Modernity: The Use and Meaning of Recreational Cottages in Norway and the USA', in *Leisure Practices and Geographic Knowledge*, ed. D. Crouch (London: Routledge, 1999), 214–30.
11. 'Public parks can thus be conceived as pivots around which certain social interactions occur. They are nodes for leisure practices […] The complex of forms, structures and designs employed in the production of the large number and variety of public parks in Glasgow represented the multi-functional roles that they were intended to serve […] The public parks provided the opportunity for the ruling elite to create landscapes that were designed, constructed, and represented as serving a number of beneficial functions. They were an example of the local state's attempt to create specific spaces in the city in which leisure and recreation could be combined with instruction and education to promote the rational and "appropriate" use of leisure time and imbue a particular emphasis to dominant cultural values […] Such flaunting, disregard or ignoring of the rules by which the parks should be used invested them with new meanings and values that recreated the form

and structure by which the space of the parks sought to influence social relations.' Andrzej Jan Leon Zieleniec, 'Park Spaces: Leisure, Culture and Modernity: A Glasgow Case Study' (Ph.D. diss., University of Glasgow, 2002), 340–43.

12. Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 161, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511818868.
13. Necdet Sakaoğlu and Nuri Akbayar, *Binbir Gün Binbir Gece: Osmanlı'dan Günümüze İstanbulda Eğlence Yaşamı* (Turkey: Deniz Bank, 1999), 14–15, 77–87.
14. However Sariyannis also notes that available sources refer mainly to non-working elite classes and strata, and also to male society. Marinos Sariyannis, 'Time, Work and Pleasure: A Preliminary Approach to Leisure in Ottoman Mentality', in *New Trends in Ottoman Studies, Papers Presented at the 20th CIÉPO Symposium*, ed. Marinos Sariyannis (Rethymno: University of Crete, Foundation for Research and Technology-Hellas, 2014), 797–811.
15. Coffee houses were not legalized until the eighteenth century. Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'da Kamuoyu* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Yayınları, 2010), 29–38.
16. Sakaoğlu and Akbayar, *Binbir Gün Binbir Gece*, 91–153.
17. Hamadeh notes that Ottoman culture and architecture in the eighteenth century should not be 'ascribed to the ruling institution alone nor can it be fully identified with ruling society. It was the product of a fluid and mobile social constellation in which court, elite, urban, and popular cultures continuously criss-crossed and intertwined'. Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 1–16, 244.
18. Ortaylı states that westernization occured inside life rather than being expressed and demanded by memorandums: 'what westernization meant for Ottoman Turks were lifestyle, savoir-vivre, riches and glory, colors, show, and beautiful, ornate gardens and western music that they began to like. Western people were believed to know a lot; medicine, astronomy, mechanics even Ibn Khaldun.' İlber Ortaylı, 'Osmanlı'da 18.Yüzyıl Düşünce Dünyasına Dair Notlar', in *Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 37–41.
19. Koçak points out that Ottoman modernization began as only a military modernization dictated by urgent needs. There never was a real 'modernization project' of Ottoman administrative elite. It lacked the comprehensive perspective covering all aspects of society; however, this content inevitably added to the project on the way and matured it. Cemil Koçak, 'Yeni Osmanlılar ve Birinci Meşrutiyet', in *Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce*, vol. 1, 72–87. However Çetinsaya states that, there was a second and social motivation other than military reorganization at least from early *Tanzimat* era on. He quotes from Ali Paşa, the renowned bureaucrat of the *Tanzimat*, '*İnsan ihtiyacatı zamaniyeyi takip etmeli, icab-ı asr u zamana uygun hareket etmelidir. Efkar ve etvar-ı mutaasıbaneden sakınmalı, hal-i inziva ya da taassub-ı hal yerine Avrupa ile mübadele-i efkar yolu tutulmalıdır*', meaning 'people and society should follow the

exigencies of modern times; they should avoid conservative conduct and orient towards social interaction with Europe'. Quoted in Gökhan Çetinsaya, 'Kalemiye'den Mülkiye'ye Tanzimat Zihniyeti', in *Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce*, vol. 1, 54–71.

20. 'The Tanzimat elite prefer the term civilization to name this orientation and build a strong relation between civilization and progress. What is more, they justify the inevitableness of progress and civilization by religious discourse that Islam demands believers to follow science and knowledge wherever it is. For they are universal and same everywhere, be it among a pagan society or in Europe and they belong to the Islam and are legitimate.' Çetinsaya, 'Kalemiye'den Mülkiye'ye', 56–58.
21. *Tanzimat* era literature and writers' impact on the building of this motivation should not be overlooked. Their work addressed public, and they became sources of new leisure media such as theatre. Parla points out that 'Tanzimat writers of poems, theatre, article, or novels were not only aware of social change, but they also believed that they could steer it […] Tanzimat's view of the world was essentially dominated by Ottoman norms and culture […] These writers had the common opinion that under the comprehensive and absolute dominancy of Ottoman culture, a number of occidental novelties could easily be absorbed and that this absorption would be beneficial'. Jale Parla, 'Tanzimat Edebiyatı'nda Siyasi Fikirler', in *Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce*, vol. 1, 223–33.
22. Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 'The Building of Istanbul Docks 1870–1910: Some New Entrepreneurial and Cartographic Data', in *Urban Transformation: Controversies, Contrasts and Challenges* (Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, 2010), 277–90.
23. For example, see Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*; Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830–1914* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008); Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840–1880* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Faruk Tabak, 'Imperial Rivalry and Port-Cities: A View from Above', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 24.2 (2009): 79–94; Biray Kolluoğlu, Meltem Toksöz, and Neyyir Berktay, *Osmanlılardan Günümüze Doğu Akdeniz Kentleri* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015); Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *Doğu ile Bati Arasinda Osmanlı Kenti: Halep, Izmir ve Istanbul* (Istanbul: Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı yayındır, 2003).
24. Synonyms for leisure include free time, spare time, recreation, freedom, ease, rest, and peace and quiet. The French for it is '*loisir*' and it is also defined as '*temps libre*', WordReference.com Online, accessed August 24, 2022. For the late Ottoman terms, see The terms corresponding to '*gevşemek*', '*suhulet*', '*rahat*', '*asude*', '*serbestlik*', '*azad*', '*istirahat*', and '*dinlenmek*' in current and late Ottoman Turkish Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon Shewing in English the Significations of Turkish Terms* (Constantinople: Boyajian, 1890).
25. WordReference.com Online, accessed August 24, 2022.

26. These correspond to the Turkish words '*oyun*', '*şaka*' or '*eylence*', '*telezzüz*', '*tatil*', '*keyf*' or '*cünbüş*' or '*safa*', '*tazelendirmek*', '*sevinç*' or '*surur*', 'bayram', in Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*.
27. Ibid. But this entry is not included in Şemsettin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki* (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2007).
28. Türk Dil Kurumu, Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri, accessed August 24, 2022, https://sozluk.gov.tr/.
29. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon Shewing in English the Significations of Turkish Terms*. 'Eğlence', *A Turkish and English Lexicon*.
30. Ibid.; WordReference.com Online, accessed August 24, 2022. Note that the French word for 'entertainment' is '*divertissement*' a term more closely linked with diversion.
31. WordReference.com Online, accessed August 24, 2022.
32. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*.
33. Turkish historical research largely ceased to focus on social and cultural history after the 1930s, making it challenging to study the relationship between literature, art, and everyday culture. See Suraiya Faroqhi and Elif Kılıç, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam: Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011), 3–6. Sajdi associates renewed interest with the anti-decline approach to Ottoman historiography, in which cultural products are deserving of a history. Dana Sajdi, ed. *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century* (London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 32.
34. Among recent social and cultural history studies is the significant book by Malte Fuhrmann who discusses the modernizing urban culture of Ottoman port cities, with a strong emphasize on the western impact and the occidental entertainment practices being introduced via mostly levantine people, that he calls a European dream: 'In the microcosm of the Eastern Mediterranean port cities, it seems the opera stage appeared as a door to the European Dream. To follow the call to "merrily join in advising and doing" was to lead to peaceful coexistence, prosperity, productivity, a higher state of culture, and moreover establish the port city inhabitants as equals among the "cultured nations"', Malte Fuhrmann, *Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean: Urban Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 150.
35. Mikhail is critical of Habermas's perpetual insistence on 'the line between public and private', which separates the public world of cafe and the market from the private space of the home and family. He defends that Ottoman coffee houses help to explode this dichotomy between 'the public' and 'the private'. Alan Mikhail, 'The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House', in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London; New York: Taurus Academic Studies, 2007), 133–70.

36. They do also however condemn changes in entertainment in nineteenth century as addressing to a limited strata of society and superficial, for new forms were often moulded to traditional frameworks and inserted into the pre-existing social mores, an approach to new entertainment forms as things to accept or decline completely and thus a view rejecting the negotiation initiatives of the society facing novelties. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, 'Ottoman Society through the Lens of Entertainment', in *Entertainment Among the Ottomans*, ed. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 1–21.