

Ottoman İstanbul: Modernization, Cinematography, and Women
(1896-1923)

By Enise Şeyda KAPUSUZ

To be submitted to
Central European University
Department of History

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
European Master in Women's and Gender History

Supervisor: Nadia Al-Bagdadi, Ph.D.
Secondary Reader: Tara Andrews, Ph.D.

Budapest, Hungary
2017

Abstract

This study is an attempt to analyze how cinema as a new cultural practice opened a new space for Ottoman Muslim upper-middle class women where they experienced modernization and where they became active agents of modernization by being a part of the new urban centers and the role they played in modernizing late Ottoman İstanbuli urban culture. This thesis then focuses on women's experience of cinematic spectatorship which gave them the opportunity of enjoying the pleasure of looking and being visible in the public sphere as well as being a part of consumer culture. Furthermore, the legal public regulations for cinema, the nineteenth-century novels, and the women's magazines constitute the sources of the thesis. To this end, the thesis defines the role of cinema in and for modernization of Ottoman Muslim upper-middle class women.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my supervisor Professor Nadia Al-Bagdadi both for her academic and personal support. Her intellectual richness and pedagogical skills eased the writing process and rendered this thesis possible. I would like to thank my family who supports me under any circumstances.

I am so grateful to Professor Tara Andrews who took the responsibility of being the second reader of this thesis, despite the fact that she was not fully acquainted with the subject matter. I would also like to thank Professor Francisca de Hann for her support in my first year.

I should mention the names of my friends who are now dispersed all around the world: Mert Koçak, Meltem Şafak, Hilal Yavuz, Eda Güçlü, Deniz Özlem Çevik and Müberra Kapusuz.

I am also very thankful to the Academics for Peace in Turkey who inspires me in my pursuit of being an academic.

Table of Content

| | |
|--|-----|
| Abstract | I |
| Acknowledgements | II |
| Table of Content..... | III |
| List of Figures | IV |
| List of Tables..... | V |
| Chapter 1- Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.2. Literature Review | 3 |
| 1.2 The Structure of Thesis..... | 12 |
| Chapter 2- Historical Background..... | 14 |
| 2.1. Mapping the History of Ottoman Modernization (Early 19 th Century-- 1923) | 14 |
| 2.2. History of the Spectacle Places in Ottoman İstanbul (16 th -1923) | 24 |
| 2.2.1 The Spectacle Places before the Arrival of Cinematography | 25 |
| 2.2.2 Cinema and Empire..... | 28 |
| 2.3. Methodology, Selected Documents, and Limitations..... | 35 |
| Chapter 3- The Spectacle of Gender Relations in Urban-Cultural Life in Ottoman İstanbul.. | 43 |
| 3.1. Introduction | 43 |
| 3.2. Novels..... | 44 |
| 3.3. The Construction of Public and Private Spheres in Novels..... | 47 |
| 3.4 Who Could Enjoy What and Where in the Late Ottoman İstanbul? | 54 |
| 3.4.1 The Old Center..... | 55 |
| 3.4.2 The Green Areas | 56 |
| 3.4.3 The New Center | 57 |
| 3.4.4 The Asian Part..... | 59 |
| 3.5 Conclusion | 60 |
| Chapter 4- Women and Cinema | 62 |
| 4.1 Introduction | 62 |
| 4.2 Cinema as an Entertainment and Enclosure Space for Women | 68 |
| 4.3. Cinema as a Mesmerizing Machine: Identification with the Filmic Characters and Experiencing the Fantasies. | 72 |
| 4.4 Cinema as a Consumption Practice | 76 |
| 4.5 Conclusion | 82 |
| Chapter 5- Conclusion..... | 83 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | i |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|----|
| Figure 1: “Istanbul, Turkey, 1882.” Harvard University Library | 55 |
| Figure 2: Ms. Mary Pickord in “Sinema Muhasebeleri (Cinema Accounts),” <i>Yeni inci</i> (The New Pearl) num. 3 (1 Agustos 1338) (1 August 1922), 9..... | 79 |
| Figure 3 Elhamra Cinema in 1923, <i>Süs</i> | 81 |

List of Tables

| | |
|--|----|
| Table 1 Clarence Richard Johnson, <i>Constantinople To-Day; or, The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople; a Study in Oriental Social Life</i> , (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1922), 264-265..... | 30 |
| Table 2 A list of movies which were screened or filmed in İstanbul between 1896-1923 by Özde Çeliktemel Thormen | 32 |

Chapter 1- Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Ottoman İstanbul- Modernization, Cinematography, and Women (1896-1923) is a study which traces women's active participation in the urban cultural sphere of the late Ottoman İstanbul. It examines cinema-going habits of women and their experience of modernization process with a special focus on cinema. My inquiry builds on methodological and theoretical insights derived from consumption studies, film and cultural theories, modernization theories, urban studies and women studies. I claim that first, cinema-going as a new cultural activity opened up a new space for women where they could enjoy being the subject of the gaze of spectacle by watching movies; second, they became active agents of modernization processes through participation in the urban cultural life. Cinema provided Ottoman women with the opportunity to enjoy the pleasures of the city and the pleasures of looking as modern individuals.

French illusionist of the Ottoman palace, Bartnard, held the first film screening of the Ottoman Empire in the capital at the Yıldız Palace in 1896.¹ The films screened in very early years of cinematography were called as moving images rather than feature films. This screening was organized for a closed audience of the Sultan's family. According to the memoirs of Sultan Abdülhamit's daughter, Sultan's family enjoyed these one minute length

¹ Ayşe Osmanoglu, *Babam Abdülhamit (My Father: Abdülhamit)*, (İstanbul: Güven, 1960), 76

moving images quite a lot. An Ottoman citizen Sigmund Weinberg a Polish origin merchant run the first public screening in 1896 in Sponeck beer house located in Beyoğlu where non-Muslims constituted the majority of the population.² The film was was screened in this beer house, *L'arrivée d'un Train à la Ciotat* , is one of the early movies of Lumière Brothers.³ In the same year, cinema crossed over the Galata Bridge to Şehzadebaşı (Fevziye Coffeehouse), a neighborhood where mostly Muslim citizens of the Empire lived in.⁴ In the following years, cinema had spread out the entertainment centers of Istanbul.⁵ It became a way to pass leisure time for both Muslim and non-Muslim citizens who lived in İstanbul.

This thesis aims to explore the cinematic spectatorship experience of different categories of women in the Empire; not only Ottoman Muslim women's but also the non-Muslim women's participation into the urban cultural life. The women belonging to these categories are upper-middle class women who had access to education and print media. The official state regulations on entertainment culture, representations of women in nineteenth-century Ottoman novels and the articles about cinema-going culture published in the women's

² The information about the first person who organized the first public screening is a controversial issue. Giovanni Scognamillo states that Sigmund Weinberg is the first person who run the screening in Sponeck beer house in *Cadde-i Kebir'de Sinema (Cinema in the Grand Street)* on page 11. However, Nezihe Erdoğan claims that a French painter Henry Delavallee organized the first public screening in Sponeck beer house. See Nezihe Erdoğan, "The Spectator in the Making: Modernity and Cinema in Istanbul, 1896-1928", in *Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe?*, 131

³ The Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat Station, directed by Lumiere Brothers, (1896; Paris: Societe Lumiere)

⁴ Scognamillo, *Cadde-i Kebir'de Sinema (Cinema in the Grand Street)*, 13

⁵ Scognamillo, *Ibid*, 14-16

magazines are the main primary sources that I analyzed in this study.⁶ With the help of the primary sources, I will analyze the ways in which the Ottoman İstanbulite women defined the leisure time, how they consumed the entertainment life, and what their place was in modernizing İstanbul urban culture.

1.2. Literature Review

I consider cinema culture as a signifier of modern urban culture which has been shaped by a modern understanding of leisure time and consuming practices. Thus, cinema culture stands on the cross roads of urban studies and consumption studies in the larger context of modernity. There are two main studies on the late Ottoman consumption practices which are utilized in this thesis; namely, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie Demise of Empire: Ottoman Structure, Social Groups and Westernization* by Fatma Müge Göçek and “Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the 19th C.” by Şerif Mardin.⁷ Göçek’s pioneering book which utilizes a materialistic claim that “goods make and maintain social relationships and fix the public meanings” tackles the consumption practices and their effects on Ottoman society through the lens of the agency of materials and

⁶ I have to limit my study to the sources written in Ottoman Turkish due to my lack of proficiency in other languages of the Empire. While I have access to representations of non-Muslim women in the public sphere in novels, when it comes to the women’s cinematic spectatorship experience, it can be said that my knowledge and information is limited only to the Ottoman Muslim women since the magazines which are analyzed in this thesis were produced in Ottoman Turkish. I could not find any non-Muslim names neither in the bibliography pertaining to the writers of the magazines nor neither in the name of the lists of the audiences of the magazines.

⁷ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1996); Serif Mardin, “Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the 19th c.,” 403-446

materiality.⁸ Although Mardin's study cannot be classified under the title of Ottoman consumption studies, his article scrutinizes the relationship between the consumption of novels and literature characters within the modernization discourse of the late Ottoman Empire. His work is yet another pioneering work in this field which opens up new perspectives in order to establish a link between the Ottoman political and cultural history.

Moreover, recent studies such as "The Material Life of the Ottoman Middle Class" by Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, "The Cultural Use of Consumption Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," by Haris Exertoglu, "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society," by Elisabeth B. Frierson introduce conceptual perspectives on consumption, material culture and everyday life practices of Ottoman society from different centers such as Beirut, Istanbul and Smyrna (İzmir).⁹ Abou-Hodeib's study explores the role of the materiality of objects in emergence of middle class in the late nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.¹⁰ Exertoglu considers the concept of human needs and consumption practices as culturally constructed categories. His article focuses on the consumption of the novels, newspapers and other means of

⁸ Gökçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 37

⁹ Abou-Hodeib Toufoul, "The Material Life of the Ottoman Middle Class," *History Compass* Vol.10 No.8 (2012): 584–595; Haris Exertoglou, "The Cultural Use of Consumption Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 35, Issue 1 (2003), 77-101; Elisabeth B. Frierson, "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society," *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction*, edited by Donald Quataert, (Albany : State University of New York Press, 2000), 243–61

¹⁰ Abou-Hodeib, "The Cultural Use of Consumption Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," 585

communications in the construction of new Ottoman identity in the nineteenth century.¹¹ Frierson's study engages with the consumption of the novel and press media by Ottoman upper-middle class women in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. All these works investigate the relationship between materiality, consumption practices and their cultural uses by Ottoman society.

When it comes to Ottoman women's history; Serpil Çakır's book which is based on her PhD dissertation *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi (The Ottoman Women's Movement)* is a pioneering work which sheds light on the late Ottoman Women's history with the help of women's magazines.¹² Following the publication of her work in 1989, there has been an increase in research on Ottoman women's history focusing particularly on women's magazines. Although, he is not a specialist in Ottoman women's history, Zafer Toprak's works on the Armistice period (1918-1923) also bring new aspects and historical frameworks into Ottoman women's history.¹³ For instance, the research he conducted on Ottoman women who worked as prostitutes during the war years is first in its kind. Moreover, the two important academic works which he supervised, namely *Fact and Fantasies, Images of Istanbul Women in 1920s* by Fatma Türe and *Fashion and Women in Istanbul of the Armistice*

¹¹ Exertoglou, "The Cultural Use of Consumption Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," 77-78

¹² Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi (The Ottoman Women's Movement)*, (Istanbul: Metis, 1994)

¹³ Zafer Toprak, "Cumhuriyet Arifesi Evlilik Üzerine Bir Anket: Görücülük mü? Görüşçülük mü? (A Survey Before The Republic: Matchmaking or Dating?)," *Toplumsal Tarih* No. 50 (February 1988), 32 – 34; "Genelevler (The Whore Houses)," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi (The Encyclopedia of İstanbul from Yesterday to Today)*. (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1993), 392-393; "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevi Hastalıklar (Prostitution and Sexually Transmissible Diseases in İstanbul)," *Tarih ve Toplum* no. 39 (March 1987): 31-40.

Period, 1918-1923 by Elif Mahir İkbāl are amongst the important contributions to Ottoman women's studies.¹⁴ Fatma Türe's work traces the image of İstanbulite women in the obscene literature produced in 1920s. İkbāl focuses on the emergence and the consumption of fashion by İstanbulite women during the Armistice, a period according to İkbāl when women gained liberty and visibility compared to the earlier periods.¹⁵ In addition to these works, there are two more important studies on the late Ottoman women's history. Ayşe Zehra Enis's MA thesis *Everyday Lives of Ottoman Women: Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies) (1895-1908)* approaches the construction of ideal Ottoman women identity in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies)* which was published for thirty years by mostly female editors.¹⁶ Elçin İkbāl also has a similar study: *İnci (Yeni) Magazine (1919 - 1923): The Feminine Actuality during the Occupational Period* which scrutinizes the dissemination and the perception of the women question as conceptualized by the producers of *Süs* magazine who were Ottoman intellectual men.¹⁷

All of these works use women's magazines as their primary source, and through women's magazines they are drawing a picture of women's everyday life in the late Ottoman period in terms of their consumption practices, moralities, and actualities. As it can be seen in

¹⁴ Fatma Türe, *Fact and Fantasies, Images of Istanbul Women in 1920s* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015); Elif Mahir İkbāl, *Fashion and Women in Istanbul of the Armistice Period, 1918-1923* (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, 2005)

¹⁵ İkbāl, *Fashion and Women in Istanbul of the Armistice period, 1918-1923*, 127

¹⁶ Ayşe Zeren Enis, *Everyday Lives of Ottoman Women: Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies) (1895-1908)*, (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2013), 2

¹⁷ Elçin Özkal, *İnci (Yeni) Magazine (1919 - 1923): The Feminine Actuality during the Occupational Period*, (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University History Department, 2007)

the previous literature, the studies on Ottoman modernization and Ottoman women's history are mostly written with a focus on press and published media. There are few studies focusing on the cinema and the modernization process of the Empire, and almost no study covers women's engagement with cinema in the late Ottoman Empire.

Despite the existence of a significant body of literature that scrutinizes the relationship between Ottoman modernization and consumption practices with a specific focus on literature, there has been a little focus on the theories of cinematography and its relationship with Ottoman society until the last decade. The studies of Burçak Evren, Nijat Özön, Ali Özuyar and Giovanni Scognamillo shed light on the early years of cinematography in the late Ottoman period.¹⁸ The studies of these cinema historians mostly focus on the history of films. The studies of Nezih Erdoğan, Özde Çeliktemel-Thormen, and Meltem Gündem Ötken examine the early years of cinema in the Ottoman Empire within the context of modernization theories.¹⁹ The studies of Özuyar examine the official documents which are official regulations on cinematography, and Ottoman magazines on cinematography and which

¹⁸ Burçak Evren, *Türkiye'ye Sinemayı Getiren Adam: Sigmund Weinberg (The Man who Introduces the Cinema to Turkey)* (Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1995); Nijat Özön, *Türk Sineması Tarihi: 1896-1960 (The History of Turkish Cinema: 1896-1960)* (Ankara: Vipart, 2003); Ali Özuyar, *Babıali'de Sinema (Cinema in the Sublime Porte)*; Giovanni Scognamillo, *Cadde-i Kebir'de Sinema (Cinema in the Grand Street)*

¹⁹ Nezih Erdoğan, "The Spectator in the Making: Modernity and Cinema in Istanbul, 1896-1928, 129-143; Özde Çeliktemel-Thormen "Hayaller Hakikat Olursa: Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Filmler, Gösterimler, İzlenimler (1896-1909) (If the Dreams become the Truth: Films, Screenings, Impressions in the Films of Ottoman Istanbul (1896-1909))," *Doğu Batı Düşünce Magazine* 75/4 (November-December-January 2015-2016) 155-179; Özde, Çeliktemel-Thormen, *The Curtain of Dreams : Early Cinema in Istanbul, 1896-1923* (CEU History Department Master Theses: 2009/5, Budapest : Central European University, 2009); Meltem Gündem Ötken, *Sinematograftan Videoya: Türkiye'de Sinema Deneyimi ve Türk Edebiyatındaki Yansımaları (From Cinematography to Video: The Experience of Cinematography in Turkey and its Reflections in Turkish Literature)* (unpublished PHD Thesis, Eskişehir Anadolu University, 2010)

provide a more coherent history of early cinema within the domains of the Empire. However, these studies focus on the major events and milestones of cinema history, thus only skimming the surface of a much richer milieu. These texts nevertheless provide a chronological order of important events in the history of cinema, as well as descriptive information on basic facts about the first person who introduced cinematography to the Ottoman Empire, and the first screening or the first movie produced by Ottoman citizens. However, their discussions around these topics are limited, because there is a lack of validation of information. Since most of the Turkish cinema historians are not academics, the information in these texts is not based on valid references. Moreover, Turkish cinema historians do not tend to establish a link between the milestone events of cinema history and debates on Ottoman modernization as a result of their non-academic backgrounds.

The connections between Ottoman social history and Ottoman cinema history are still inadequately discussed in the literature. Nezi̇h Erdoğan's "The Spectator in the Making: Modernity and Cinema in Istanbul, 1896-1928," which traces the relationship between new cinematic spectatorship and modernity in the capital of the Empire, is an exception.²⁰ This article, published in 2010, paved the way for further studies on the relationship between cinema and modernity in the Ottoman context. His article focuses on the individual experience of being a spectator in İstanbul and introduces the concept of Ottoman *flâneur* during the early years of cinema. Moreover, the Master thesis of Özde Çeliktemel Thormen,

²⁰ Erdoğan, "The Spectator in the Making: Modernity and Cinema in Istanbul, 1896-1928"

The Curtain of Dreams: Early Cinema in Istanbul 1896-1923 is a quite important work which builds a historical narrative on Ottoman modernization within the context of cinematography. Although these works are very helpful and eye opening for my study, I want to put different layers on the cinematography and cinema-going activity in the Empire.²¹ As previous studies utilize the cinematography as a signifier and a tool for modernization, I will keep the line drawn by the literature which relates cinematography with modernity. In addition to the previous studies, I will explore the relationship between cinema and modernity from two different perspectives; first, I will focus on the experience of cinematic spectatorship; second, I will utilize a specific focus on gender relations in the urban cultural sphere.

For this reason, I introduce the literature which assists me to pursue the relationship between cinema and modernity such as *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* by Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz.²² The writers of this literature claim that modern culture did not “create” the cinema, but rather the cinematography created its own understanding of modern culture by mixing the histories and traditions of the technologies, realist novels, and the theater.²³ The uniqueness of cinema is its historical character which ensures a change in the components and the dynamics of the urban culture through spectator experience.²⁴ However, the experience of the city can be varied according to different gender categories.

²¹ Celiktemel, *The Curtain of Dreams : Early Cinema in Istanbul, 1896-1923*

²² Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley : University of California Press, c1995)

²³ Charney and Schwartz, Introduction to *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, 10

²⁴ Schwartz, “Part IV Spectacles and Spectators, Cinematic Spectatorship before the Apparatus: the Public Taste for Reality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris,” in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, 316

While the access to the city is taken granted for men, there is a lack of female experience of the city in the literature of Ottoman modernization.

As an urban-cultural leisure time activity, cinema-going habit of women is the center of this study. I establish new connections between the literature on cinema and modernization and the late Ottoman studies with a specific focus on gender. This thesis aims to find the role of cinema in the creation of modern Ottoman women who could enjoy the pleasures of the city, the pleasures of looking and the performance of being a spectator. To this end, I utilize the literature which helps me to analyze the Ottoman women's spectatorship experience which gave them the opportunity to enjoy the pleasure of looking.

In her book *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship*, Jackey Stacey focuses on the women's experience of spectatorship in the cinemas during 1940's and 1950's in order to find women's active participation in cultural life instead of positioning women only as passive consumers. She claims that the shared experience of cinematic spectatorship empowers women by "producing and reproducing the feminine identities" through "escapism, identification, and consumerism."²⁵ First of all, according to Stacey, Hollywood cinema empowers women as spectators by ensuring them an escape from the wartime reality into the luxury world represented in the film and the luxury of the cinema theaters where women can enjoy a material pleasure of the space itself, and the dream world

²⁵ Jackie Stacey, *Star-Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship* (UK: Routledge, 1994), 144; 150

which is served through the curtain of the cinema.²⁶ Secondly, the identification with the filmic characters provides women pleasure in terms of “the fantasies of power outside their own experience.”²⁷ Thirdly, the female spectators enjoy the power to consume the commodities not only by buying and imitating the styles of the stars but also by transforming their images and “negotiating new meanings” of the cultural signifiers such as clothes.²⁸ According to Stacey, women’s experience of cinematic spectatorship is empowering women since it produces a consumer gaze which enables women to participate in the public sphere as consumers.

In the Ottoman context, the gaze that is experienced by women in the cinemas does not only give them the power to consume, it also provides the opportunity for women to establish their agency in modernization period by reshaping the gendered construction of the public sphere. Let me further explain my claim: the cinema and cinema-going activity are not just consumption practices. The cinema as a general concept, which covers cinema-going activity, the movies, and the cinema theaters, has the power to change the dynamics of looking by situating all spectators as the subjects of the gaze. Moreover, the dark atmosphere of the cinema opens a space for the spectators where they can feel like they are in a dream world; a fantasy world where the spectators escape from the reality on the city streets through identification with the filmic characters. Therefore, the cinema mobilizes the spectators to

²⁶ Ibid, 179

²⁷ Ibid, 282

²⁸ Ibid, 390, 187

change the reality on the streets with by the way of the fantasies that they experience in the cinemas. To sum up, the cinematic spectatorship empowered women as it gave them the chance to experience the subject position of the gaze. Therefore, women could perform this subjectivity in their daily lives by being visible in the streets of İstanbul as individuals, as well as consumers. Ottoman upper-middle class women's participation in the urban-cultural sphere, women's mobility within the city, their consumption practices and identification with the filmic characters will be the main points in my analysis.

1.2 The Structure of Thesis

In order to answer my research question as to whether cinematic spectatorship experience changed women's participation in urban cultural life, first I give a historical background about Ottoman modernization process and the locations of spectacle in Ottoman İstanbul in the second chapter. The second chapter "Historical Background," also covers the methodology of the thesis and the selection process of the sources analyzed in this study. The third chapter "The Spectacle of Gender Relations in Urban-Cultural Life in Ottoman İstanbul" is an analytical chapter which aims to draw a general picture of women's participation in the urban-cultural sphere through the analysis of five novels written in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, before the arrival of cinematography. This third chapter also includes an analysis of the construction of public and private spheres in the late Ottoman Empire and the main spectacle places where women are represented in the novels. Moreover, I provide a map of the capital in 1882 in order to assist the readers to visualize the city's structure. The fourth chapter "Women and Cinema" is another analytical chapter which analyzes the articles and

news on cinema in women's magazines. The fourth chapter is the main analytical chapter where I aim to answer the question of whether cinema has changed women's participation in modernization process through cinematic spectatorship. In the fourth chapter, by analyzing women's magazines, I point out the role of cinema in women's everyday life practices as a new space for women's spectatorship, and as a mesmerizing machine, and a consumption practice. In the last chapter, I conclude my thesis with a summary of all analytical chapters. I introduce the outcome of my study that cinema as a platform for modernization changed women's everyday life practices and participation in modernization process by giving them the opportunity as the subjects of the gaze to change the urban culture.

Chapter 2- Historical Background

2.1. Mapping the History of Ottoman Modernization (Early 19th Century- 1923)

There were many attempts to modernize the Empire both in the institutional and in the social level during the nineteenth century. For example, Mahmud II. (1808-1839) demolished the old military institution of Janissary corps²⁹ in 1826 and establish a new modern army which is called as *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* (Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad).³⁰ After the rule of Mahmud II, the *Tanzimat* Edict was declared in 1839 under the rule of Sultan Abdülmecid. The *Tanzimat* Edict has been considered as the first concrete legal attempt to modernize the Empire on legislative, social and institutional levels. The *Tanzimat* Edict ensures the equal taxation laws for the subjects of the Sultan, the legalization for Western style and foreign education institutions and the emergence of the press.³¹ There were many other attempts to modernize the Empire during the *Tanzimat* Period which covers the years between 1839- 1876, and ends with the First Constitutional Era. The declaration of the *Islahat* Edict (Edict of Reform) in 1856 is a turning point in terms of transforming the legal position of Ottoman subjects as Ottoman citizens. The Edict established all the members of the

²⁹ Janisseries were Ottoman soldiers which were directly under the control of the Sultan. They originated from non-Muslim families and converted to Islam when they were taken away from their families in early ages.

³⁰ Adam Mestyan, *A Garden with Mellow Fruits of Refinement: Music Theatres and Cultural Politics in Cairo and Istanbul, 1867-1892* (Unpublished PHD Thesis, Central European University History Department, 2011), 47; Özdemir, 18; Göçek "War, Ottoman Officials and Western Institutions," *The Rise of the Bourgeoisie Demise of Empire*, 69.

³¹ Mestyan, *A Garden with Mellow Fruits of Refinement: Music Theatres and Cultural Politics in Cairo and Istanbul, 1867-1892*, 79; Çeliktemel, *The Curtain of Dreams*, 25

Ottoman Empire as equal citizens before the law regardless of their ethnic and religious distinctions and promised protection of life and property.

Before the Islahat Edict, the subjects of the Sultan were compartmentalized in the *millet* system according to their religious and ethnic identities.³² According to the *millet* system, each religious category (Muslims, Christians, and Jews) was provisioned with its own system which was under the control of central rule. The *Islahat* Edict abolished the *millet* system, and replaced it with the rule of citizenship, and provided an umbrella identity for the Ottoman citizens as the Ottomans.³³ However, it could be too naïve to expect the transformation of the Ottoman society into equal citizens by a change in the law as it could be too naïve to expect the transformation of the Ottoman society into a modern society just by modern consumption practices.³⁴

The compartmentalization of the population of the Empire is a crucial concept for the historical analysis conducted in this thesis due to the variety of women in the Empire which were defined according to the *millet* system. Moreover, the compartmentalization of the Ottoman population did not take place in an abstract-identity construction level, the city centers were also structured according to ethnic, religious and class categories. Therefore, the

³² Mardin, 411

³³ Metsyan, *A Garden with Mellow Fruits of Refinement: Music Theatres and Cultural Politics in Cairo and Istanbul*, 1867-1892, 66

³⁴ Exertoglou, "The Cultural Use of Consumption Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," 81

ethnic, religious and class identities which categorized women also determined women's place in Ottoman İstanbul before the Edict.

Edhem Eldem, one of the well-known Ottoman social historians claims that even though Ottoman İstanbul had a cosmopolitan characteristic since its inhabitants belonged to a variety of ethnic and religious communities, we cannot call it a cosmopolitan city in the contemporary understanding of the term.³⁵ As an imperial center, İstanbul had a unique peripheral characteristic which depended on *mahalle* (neighborhood) culture rooted in the *millet* system. Each *millet* community settled in its own *mahalle* which was structured as a self-sufficient unit in terms of consumption and cultural practices until the late eighteenth century. While non-Muslim inhabitants of Istanbul settled in Pera, Galata and Şişli districts which were mentioned as Alafranga³⁶ parts of the city, Muslim inhabitants mostly settled in the İstanbul peninsula and Uskûdar on the Asian side. Therefore, even for the elite men, the mobility within the *mahalles* was not that much easy because of the compartmentalization of the city structure which depended on the ethno religious divide.³⁷ However, during the nineteenth century, thanks to the legal reforms concerning the *millet* system and the development of new consumption practices, mobility between different neighborhoods

³⁵ Edhem Eldem, Introduction to *The Ottoman City Between East and West*, ed. Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Alan Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3

³⁶ "Alafranga means the new manners that are borrowed from European cultures. The opposite term Alaturka; on the other hand, references manners that belong to Ottoman culture and tradition. People are also described as alafranga or alaturka in respect to their clothes, wording, and approaches to the events." quoted from Meltem Şafak, , *Tracing Modernization in the Ottoman Literature: The New Ideal in Ottoman Turkish and Armeno-Turkish Novels* (Unpublished M.A. Thesis. CEU History Department, 2016), 43

³⁷ Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital," *The Ottoman City Between East and West*, 157

became possible for the newly defined Ottoman citizens.³⁸ Therefore, during the *Tanzimat* Period, the city center also moved from the *Alaturka*³⁹ part (Eminönü) to Pera, because of its European style modern characteristic, and Pera became a cultural center for Ottoman citizens. The European style cafes, patisseries, theaters, beer houses, hotels and meeting points became the centers of attraction in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thanks to its geographical location, Galata became a transportation center between the two centers of the city: namely between Eminönü (İstanbul) which was the old center and Pera which was the new center of the cultural life.⁴⁰ It can be claimed that rather than ethnic, religious or socioeconomic characteristics of the districts, the “cultural value” of the district became a determinant for the mobilization within the city for the Ottoman İstanbulites in the late nineteenth century.⁴¹

Moreover, the new consumption practices emerged as signs of new identities. For example, reading newspapers, receiving Western style education and going to theaters were signs of belonging to bourgeois class at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In other words, through new consumption practices Ottoman bourgeoisie started to establish itself as a specific class at the beginning of the century.⁴² The new educational reforms also supported the cultural turn during the *Tanzimat* Period. For example, Galatasaray High school (*Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi*) (1868) and the modern higher education institution The

³⁸ Eldem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” 154

³⁹ See footnote 36.

⁴⁰ Eldem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” 203

⁴¹ Ibid, 204

⁴² Göçek, 119

School of Science (*Dar'ül-Fünun*) (1848) are some of the pioneering institutions which led the cultural turn in this period. The new generation who were educated in these institutions started to organize political movements and produced a discourse of modernization by making use of the advantages from printing activity. A group of Western style educated bourgeois men who called themselves the Young Turks started to publish journals and newspapers such as, *Mizan* newspaper in order to spread their political ideas and communicate with their comrades.⁴³ The Young Turks started to publish articles on political thoughts written by the group members, translations and conversations with the readers which they engaged through letters in the newspapers. In addition to these articles, serial novels (*tefrika*) were published by the authors of the newspapers. For example, Murat Bey, the owner and the editor of *Mizan* newspaper and one of the leaders of the Young Turks group until 1908, published his novel *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)* (1891) in his newspaper.⁴⁴ At the onset, the genre of novel emerged as serial novels (*tefrika*) in the Ottoman Empire and the novel consumption became a huge habit for the upper-middle class Ottoman citizens through the late the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ These novels have a crucial importance for the historiography of the Empire since they were concerned as a tool with expressing the thoughts of the authors in the *Tanzimat* Period. They are the sources which give insights into the discourses of Ottoman

⁴³ *Mizan*, December 14, 1896 Istanbul; For more examples see M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution : The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2001), 30, 50

⁴⁴ Mizancı Murad, *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)*, (İstanbul: Bordo Siyah, 2004) [original: İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1891]; This novel is also analyzed in this thesis in order to understand the representation of women in public sphere by a modernizer male writer during the *Tanzimat* Period.

⁴⁵ Exertoglou, "The Cultural Use of Consumption Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," 93

modernization, urban-cultural life, political movements as well as the position of women in different segments of society.

As for the education of women, there was an increase in the efforts to educate women throughout this period.⁴⁶ Ottoman women had the right to attend secondary school level education during the late Ottoman modernization period in 1869.⁴⁷ Working class women could get education up to high school level in public schools while upper-class women mostly get an education in their homes during the *Hamidian* Era (1876-1909).⁴⁸ During the late nineteenth century, higher education institutions were established for women which offered vocational training, such as the Women Teacher Training School (*Dar'ül-Muallimat*) which was opened in 1870. Women were allowed to join the lectures in the university in 1914. The Ministry of Education opened a special faculty for women called *Înâs Darü'l-fünunu* (Women's University) within Istanbul University in 1918.⁴⁹

Although the literacy rate among Ottoman women is estimated to be around 2% at the end of the nineteenth century, there was an increase in women's printing activity at the

⁴⁶ Korkmaz, Gülay, (1998), "*Servet-i Fünûn Romanında Kadın (The Woman in Servet-i Fünun Novel)*", (Unpublished MA Thesis, Süleyman Demirel University: Turkish Literature Department), 59, quoted from Özdemir, 21

⁴⁷ Şefika Kurnaz, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Kadınların Eğitimi (The Education of Women: From Ottoman Empire to the Republic)* last access on 30.05.2017.

http://dhgm.meb.gov.tr/yayimlar/dergiler/Milli_Egitim_Dergisi/143/14.htm

⁴⁸ François Georgeon, *Sultan Adbülhamid* (Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006), 291, quoted in Elif İkbâl Mahir Tekinsoy, "*The Limits of Feminism in Muslim-Turkish Women Writers*", *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women*, ed. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou (Lieden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 87

⁴⁹ Şirin Tekeli, *Kadın, Siyasal ve Toplumsal Hayat* (Istanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1982), 200, quoted from Türe, 109

beginning of the twentieth century when compared the previous periods.⁵⁰ *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies)* (1895-1908), *Kadınlar Dünyası (Women's Universe)* (1913-1921), *Türk Kadını (Turkish Women)* (1918-1919) and *Süs (Ornament)* (1923-1924) are some of the magazines which were published during this period. The audiences of these magazines were for the most part the middle-upper class women who mostly settled in the big cities of the Empire such as Istanbul, Thessaloniki, Beirut, and Trabzon.

During the years of 1908-1920, important events shaped İstanbul's political and cultural life. The Young Turks (The Committee of Union and Progress), who got organized by using newspapers and reading circles, made a revolution which started the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1920) in the Empire.⁵¹ After the revolution, they continued their printing activity by publishing several more magazines and newspapers such as *Genç Kalemler* (the Young Pens) (1910-1912).⁵² Those magazines and newspapers had a leading role in both literature and political thought. As a progressive party, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) considered women's rights as a part of their development and modernization agenda.⁵³ Both the CUP and Ottoman upper-middle class Muslim women used the same medium, the journals, to get mobilized and to spread the discourse of modernization

⁵⁰ Korkmaz, Gülay, (1998), *Servet-i Fünûn Romanında Kadın (Women in Servet-i Fünun Novel)* (Unpublished MA Thesis, Süleyman Demirel University Turkish Literature Department), 59 quoted from Özdemir, 21

⁵¹ Sukru Hanioglu, ``Political Ideas of the Young Turks,``*Preparation for the Revolution*, 291, 192

⁵² Sukru Hanioglu, 50

⁵³ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi (The Ottoman Women's Movement)* (Istanbul: Metis, 1994), 68

and liberation.⁵⁴ Moreover, after the involvement of the Ottoman Empire in WWI in 1914, there was an increase in women's participation in working life. Women started to work as officers in state institutions like the post offices. *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi* (The Islamic Association of Working Women) was established in 1916 by CUP.⁵⁵ Women's education and women's participation in working life opened a new space for women's public activity during the Second Constitutional Era.⁵⁶ *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi* had continued its activities until the foundation of the Turkish Republic. According to Ottomanist Yavuz Selim Karakışla's studies on working women in the late Ottoman Empire, 8194 women out of 14.000 applicants were able to find job via this association.⁵⁷ The living conditions during the war and the participation of women in working life triggered change in the traditional structures of the society. For example, there was a decrease in the marriage rates. Therefore, the state authorities pursued new solutions, such as organizing a marriage campaign for the single employees in 1917. The campaign promoted marriage and childbirth by increasing the income of working women. According to Karakışla, there was a ninety

⁵⁴ Y. Naciye, 'Erkekler Hakikaten Hürriyet perver midirler? Kadınlar Ne İstiyorlar?' (Are men really freedom lovers? What do women want?), *Kadınlar Dünyası* no.7 (10 April 1913): 3, quoted in Serpil Çakır, "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism," *Aspasia* 1 (2007), 71

⁵⁵ Karakışla, "Enver Paşa'nın Kurduğu Kadın Birinci İşçi Taburu: Osmanlı Ordusunda Kadın Askerler" (The First Women's Workers Line: The Women Soldiers in the Ottoman Army), *Toplumsal Tarih* (Social History), 66, 1999: 17-18 quoted in Özde Çeliktemel Thormen, "Çocuklar ve Kadınlar: Geç Osmanlı Döneminde Sinema Hakkında Bir Müteala (Children and Women: An Observation about the Cinema in the Late Ottoman Period)," *Alternatif Politika (Alternative Politics)* Special issue on Cinema (2006): 16

⁵⁶ Haris Exertoglou, "The Cultural Use of Consumption Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century," 89

⁵⁷ Yavuz Selim Karakışla, *Women, War and Work in the Ottoman Empire: Society for the Employment of Ottoman Muslim Women (1916-1923)*, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2005), quoted from Özkal, 6.

percentage wage increase for the working women who got married and twenty percent wage increase for each child. Moreover, there was a punishment for the working women who rejected to get married; their income was reduced by a fifteen percent.⁵⁸

According to Elif Mahir İkbāl, three of the seventeen women's associations founded between 1908 and 1918 were organized by the CUP. These women associations had a crucial role in modernizing Ottoman women's everyday life, and mobilizing Ottoman women as political actors.⁵⁹ The activities of these women associations as political actors became visible in the occupation years. Ottoman women both organized and became a part of the demonstrations against the occupation.

During the occupations years, the demographic characteristics of the city also changed. İstanbul hosted a considerable amount of refugees including Muslim refugees from Western Anatolia and Thrace, *Vilayet-i Şarkîyye* (Eastern Cities), bureaucrats and their families from the invaded areas of the Empire.⁶⁰ Moreover, a considerable number Russian aristocrats, elites and soldiers of the White Army migrated to İstanbul as refugees.⁶¹ According to records of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society (*Türk Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti*) in 1921, İstanbul became a home for 50,000 Muslim, 40,000 Russian, and 4,000 Greek and Armenian

⁵⁸ Karakışla, *Women, War and Work in the Ottoman Empire: Society for the Employment of Ottoman Muslim Women (1916-1923)*, ed. Lorans Tanatar Baruh, (İstanbul : Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005), quoted from Özkal, 7.

⁵⁹ According to Criss, İttihat ve Terakki Kadınlar Subesi (Women's Branch of the CUP), Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti (Ottoman Ladies' Association for the Elevation of the Country), and Osmanlı Kadınları Terakkiperver Cemiyeti (Ottoman Women's Progressive Association) were the women's association founded by CUP. Nur Bilge Criss, *İstanbul under Allied Occupation 1918-1923* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1999), 5, quoted from İkbāl, 23

⁶⁰ Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*, 78-80., quoted from Türe

⁶¹ Türe, 93-94

refugees.⁶² These refugees caused not only a demographic change in the city; they also changed the economic and cultural atmosphere of the city.

In addition to the economic crisis because of the war, the increasing number of population in the city led women to seek jobs during the occupation years in order to sustain their own lives as well as their families. Russian refugees introduced the bar culture to İstanbul society. Russian women worked in these bars as waiters, singers and prostitutes.⁶³ Moreover, Russian women were not the only ones who worked as prostitutes in these bars; there was also a rise in prostitution of Turkish Muslim women.⁶⁴ According to records of the Sanitary Board (*Sıhhiye Heyeti*), there were approximately 2,171 prostitutes were working in İstanbul in 1910.⁶⁵ Moreover, Ottoman women started to work as small merchants, street-sweepers, and officers during the wars years.⁶⁶ The visibility and economic power of both lower and upper-middle class women raised new questions, such as, women's rights concerning holidays, working hours and gender relations. The mass media, both women's magazines and daily newspapers, covered the issues related to women during the war years.

According to İkbâl, both lower class and upper-middle class Ottoman women were going through a transformation during the occupation years, and Russian refugee women were the models of this transformation.⁶⁷ The lower class women joined the working class

⁶² İkbâl, 34

⁶³ Türe, 98

⁶⁴ İkbâl, 78

⁶⁵ Toprak, *Tarih ve Toplum*, 38, quoted from İkbâl, 129

⁶⁶ İkbâl, 59-62

⁶⁷ İkbâl, Abstract

and became visible in social and economic relations of everyday life while middle-upper class women changed their outlook through fashion consumption. The very detailed study of Ayşe Zeren Enis on *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies)* shows that almost every issue of the newspaper has a special section on new fashion of women and children.⁶⁸ The effect of Russian refugee women was also visible in the women's magazines. Ottoman women changed their head covering practices into Russian style veiling as a new fashion trend. There were images and how to do lists which explained how to veil head according to the Russian style (*Rus Başı*) in women's magazines.⁶⁹ While the effects of Russian refugees on women's fashion were so visible, there were a lot of concerns on the part of Ottoman intellectuals about the modernization of clothing. *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies)* advises Ottoman women that an ideal Ottoman Muslim woman should be informed about the European fashion, but should not accept these forms directly.⁷⁰ Therefore, it can be said that both the changes in Ottoman women's lives and the concerns about these changes can be followed in the women's magazines dating from this periods.

2.2. History of the Spectacle Places in Ottoman İstanbul (16th -1923)

In order to establish a comprehensive analysis of women's spectatorship experience, I introduce a brief history of the spectacle (*temâşâ*) places in Ottoman İstanbul. In the Empire, there was four main spectacles (*temâşâ*) places, namely *Karagöz-Hacivat* performances,

⁶⁸ Enis, 347

⁶⁹ İkbâl, 133; for example: illustrations of "Russian Head" style headgear, back page of *Yeni İnci*, no. 2 (July 1922), in İkbâl 162

⁷⁰ Enis, 351

coffeehouses, public gardens, and theaters before the arrival of cinematography. Therefore, in this part of the chapter, I first give brief information about the spectacle places before the advent of cinematography, and then I give information about cinema in the Empire.

2.2.1 The Spectacle Places before the Arrival of Cinematography

Karagöz- Hacivat performance, which is a shadow puppetry performance featuring two main characters Karagöz and Hacivat, is one of the oldest spectacle (*temâşâ*) activities in the Empire. *Karagöz-Hacivat* was introduced to the Empire by some Egyptian artists in the sixteenth century during the reign of Sultan Selim I.⁷¹ *Karagöz-Hacivat* performances became popular during the Ramadan nights (the holy fasting month for the Muslims) among the Ottoman subjects. *Karagöz-Hacivat* performances took place in coffeehouses, and open air gardens with the participation of male, female and children subjects of the Empire. The performance is built on watching shadows on a curtain which is called the Curtain of the Dreams (*Hayal Perdesi*) by Ottoman spectators.⁷²

Karagöz-Hacivat was not the only entertainment form introduced to the Empire in the sixteenth century. The first coffeehouse was opened by two merchants (one from Aleppo, the other from Damascus) in 1555 in Ottoman İstanbul.⁷³ The coffeehouses became a popular public place where men from different classes could socialize and discuss social, cultural and

⁷¹ Jon Gorvett, "The Shadow Puppetry of Karagöz," *The Middle East*, August September, 2004, 62, quoted from Yalçın Yelence "Türkiye'ye Sinemanın Gelişi(The Arrival of Cinema into Turkey)," *Hayal Perdesi* num. 36, (2013): 32-33

⁷² Yelence, "Türkiye'ye Sinemanın Gelişi(The Arrival of Cinema to Turkey)," 32

⁷³ Selma Akyazıcı "Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul," *Journal of Urban History*, 2007, Vol. 36 Issue vi, 966-967

political issues.⁷⁴ The coffeehouses can be considered as spectacle places from three perspectives; first, they emerged as places where men sit and watch the games played in these places such as backgammon; second, there were a lot of Oriental painters who looked at, watched and painted Ottoman men sitting in the coffeehouses; third, the coffeehouses were also places for Karagöz-Hacıvat performances and the forms of entertainment performances such as *meddah*. *Meddah* is a storyteller who performs different characters while telling traditional stories. The historian Ibrahim Perçevi describes the coffee houses in Istanbul around 1635 as follows:

“These shops became the meeting places of a circle of pleasure seekers and idlers, and also of some wits from among the men of letters and literati, and they used to meet in groups of about 20 or 30. Some read books and fine writings, some were busy with backgammon and chess; some brought new poems and talked about literature.” (Translated by Bernard Lewis)⁷⁵

While the spectacle in the coffeehouses belonged only to men’s spectatorship, with the opening of the public gardens and meadows as excursion spots (*mesire yerleri*), such as Göksu, Kağıthane River, for the Ottoman subjects in the eighteenth century, women’s spectacle experience also became more visible in the public sphere.⁷⁶ The popularity of

⁷⁴ Çeliktemel, *The Curtain of Dreams*, Abstract

⁷⁵ Bernard Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire* (Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 132-133; For the paintings see *A Turkish Coffee-House, Constantinople*, Preziosi, Aloysius Rosarius Amadeus Raymondus Andreas 5th Count Preziosi | V&A Search the Collections.” 2017. *V and A Collections*. May 30. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O148085>; C. Biseo, *Turkish Coffee House in Kasımpaşa* (Paris, Hachette, 1883) accessed on May 30 <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=39225>; Robert Walsh and Thomas Allom, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor illustrated, In a Series of Drawings from Nature by Thomas Allom. With an historical account of Constantinople, and descriptions of the plates, by the Rev. Robert Walsh...*, London/Paris, Fisher, Son & Co. [1836-38] accessed on May 30 <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=38944>

⁷⁶ Ayverdi, “Days and Nights of the Tulip Age; Özdemir “

gardens continued during the nineteenth century, and new gardens such as Çamlıca Hill were opened. The representation of the places and Ottoman citizens in the nineteenth-century novels provides us the hints as to the spectator experience of İstanbulites during this period. For example, the visitors of the Çamlıca Hill in *Araba Sevdası (The Carriage Affair)* by Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem are described as spectators (*temâşâcılar*) instead of visitors.⁷⁷ The third chapter will analyze the nineteenth-century novels in terms of gender relations in the spectacle places of the century.

During the middle of the nineteenth century, a new spectacle form was introduced to the Ottoman citizens by European theater companies: the modern theater. Sultan Abdülmecid (1823-1861) was in favor of this modern way of spectacle.⁷⁸ According to Arab Ottoman cultural historian Adam Mestyan, the first theater was opened by Arab Christian Michel Naum in the district of Beyoğlu in 1859.⁷⁹ The Naum Theater was also invited by the Sultan to perform in Dolmabahçe Palace in 1859.⁸⁰ In 1860, the most famous theater Gedikpaşa Theater was opened by an Ottoman Armenian citizen, Güllü Agop, in İstanbul peninsula. Most of the plays were performed in Ottoman Turkish in Gedikpaşa Theater. Moreover, the strong tie with the Ottoman modernization movements and the modern cultural practices were

⁷⁷ Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası* (İstanbul: Sule Yayınları, 2009) [original: in *Servet-i Fünun*, February-March, 1896]

⁷⁸ Mestyan, "Cultural Policy in the Late Ottoman Empire? The Palace and the Public Theatres in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," in *Kulturpolitik und Theatre: Die Kontinentalen Imperien in Europa im Vergleich (Cultural Politics and Theater: Comparatives of the European Continental Empires)* ed. Philipp Ther (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012), 134

⁷⁹ Ibid, 134

⁸⁰ Ibid, 135

also carried by this new spectacle form. For example, the famous patriotic play *Vatan yahut Silistre* (*Homeland of Silistra*) written by a Young Ottoman Namık Kemal was performed in Gedikpaşa Theater in 1873.⁸¹ However, the play was banned by the Sultan Abdülaziz.⁸² Another popular theater of the second half of the century was Tepebaşı Theater located in Pera, which was run by Christian Ottoman citizens.⁸³

2.2.2 Cinema and Empire

Cinematography was introduced to the Empire nearly one year after the first film screening in Paris in 1896.⁸⁴ Until the opening of the first cinema, the screenings were run in the entertainment places such as coffeehouses, bars, and theaters along with other forms of spectacle such as theaters and concerts. The first cinema theater, which was called Pathé Cinema, was opened by French film Company Pathé; and it was run by the first cinema operator of the Empire Sigmund Weinberg.⁸⁵ Pathé Cinema was located in former Tepebaşı Theater. The information on the cinemas in Ottoman İstanbul is limited to the cinemas in Pera district until 1921.⁸⁶ However, from the official documents, we learn that there were

⁸¹ Ibid, 142

⁸² Metin And, *Osmanlı Tiyatrosu (Ottoman Theatre)* (Ankara: Ankara Univ. DTCF, 1976), 63-64, quoted from Mestyan, "Cultural Policy in the Late Ottoman Empire? The Palace and the Public Theatres in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," 142

⁸³ Mestyan, "Cultural Policy in the Late Ottoman Empire? The Palace and the Public Theatres in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," 144

⁸⁴ Ali Özuyar, *Babıali'de Sinema (Cinema in the Sublime Porte)*, 15

⁸⁵ Nijat Özön, *Türk Sineması Tarihi Düünden Bugüne, 1896-1960 (Turkish Cinema History from yesterday to Today, 1896-1960)* (Ankara: Kültür Sanat Vakfı, 2003), 34

⁸⁶ Cinema Cenral (1911), Cinema Cosmographie, Cinema Etoile, Cinema Luxembourg, Cibema Magic, Cinema Orientaux, Pathe Cinema, as recodered in Cesar Raymond, *Nouveau Plan de Pera*, Imprint Constantinople: Librairie Raymond, [1915], 15 quoted from Çeliktemel, *The Curtain of Dreams*, 33

screenings organized in public places such as schools, coffeehouses, and theaters in the old center.⁸⁷ Moreover, as stated by cinema historian Nijat Özön, there were three cinemas in the old part: *Milli* (National) Cinema in Şehzadebaşı, and Ali Efendi Cinema and Kemal Bey Cinema in Sirkeci in 1914.⁸⁸

WWI years made a big change in terms of film production in the Empire. The Ottoman state attempted to institutionalize the cinema production. For this purpose, the Central Military Office of Cinema (*Merkez Ordu Sinema Dairesi*) was established in 1915 by the Ministry of War.⁸⁹ The Claw (*Pençe*) by Sedat Simavi in 1917 is considered as the first feature length movie of the Turkish Cinema.⁹⁰ Kemal Film Production is the first film production company established in the Empire in 1922. As it is stated in *Inci Magazine*, *A Tragedy of an Affair in İstanbul (İstanbul'da bir Faciayı Aşk)* was distributed to the US and France by Kemal Film Production. The director of the movie Muhsin Ertuğrul was the most popular director during the early years of cinema in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.

The war years were also fruitful for the production of cinema magazines in the Empire. The first cinema magazine in Ottoman Turkish was *Cinema (Sinema)* which started

⁸⁷ For more information see BOA DH.EUM.6.Sb.17.3, N.1.1335 [1 April 1919]: a request for a film screening for women in the garden of Turkish House Türk Ocakı in Şehzadebaşı; BOA DH.EUM.19/17.1/20, L.5.1339 [5 October 1923] a document reports the investigations about public screenings organized close to Sümbül Sinan Mosque in Koca Mustafa Pasha Neighbor. The documents are available in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive [BOA], İstanbul/Turkey.

⁸⁸ Nijat Özön, *Sinema El Kitabı (A Handbook for Cinema)* (İstanbul: Elif Yayınları, 1964), 113-114, Çeliktemel, *The Curtain of Dreams*, 33

⁸⁹ Çeliktemel, *The Curtains of Dreams*, 10

⁹⁰ Özde, *The Curtain of Dreams*, 52

to be published in 1914 three times per week.⁹¹ There were six cinema magazines published in Ottoman Turkish between the years of 1914 and 1923, namely; *Ferah*: (1914- 1915); *Sinema* (1914); *Temâşâ*: (1918-1919); *Yarın* (1921-1922); *Dergah* (1921-1923); and *Sinema Postası* (1923-1924). The magazines include news and critiques of the screenings, interviews with the film stars, and letters from the audiences.⁹² Moreover, cinema magazines were not the only printed materials that covered the issues related to cinema such as the schedule of screenings, or coming soon lists; women's magazines, and daily news papers also devoted a special section to cinema.

The cinemas in Ottoman İstanbul are recorded in the table below by Clarence Richard Johnson in 1921. As it can be seen in Table 1, the cinemas were located both in *Alaturka* and *Alafranga* parts of the city.

Table 1 Clarence Richard Johnson, *Constantinople To-Day; or, The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople; a Study in Oriental Social Life*, (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1922), 264-265

| The Name | Location | Seat Capacity | Classification |
|----------------|----------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Magic | Pera | 1005 | 1 st class |
| Etoile | “ | 541 | 1 st class |
| Cosmograph | “ | 900 | 2 nd class |
| Russo-American | “ | 342 | 2 nd class |
| Luxemburg | “ | 460 | 1 st class |

⁹¹ Özuyar, *Sinemanın Osmanlıca Serüveni*, 19

⁹² Ibid, 15

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|------|-----------------------|
| Cine Palace | Pera | 482 | 1 st class |
| Éclair | “ | 452 | 1 st class |
| Central | “ | 350 | 2 nd class |
| Cinema Orientaux | “ | 466 | “ |
| Cinema Amphi | “ | 1030 | 1 st class |
| Pangalti | “ | 450 | 2 nd class |
| Cinema Variete | “ | 752 | 2 nd class |
| Majestic | “ | 200 | 3 rd class |
| Cinema Ali Efendi | Old İstanbul | 280 | 2 nd class |
| Alemdar | “ | 338 | 2 nd class |
| Cinema Milli | “ | 500 | 1 st class |
| Military Museum | “ | 300 | 1 st class |
| Cinema Ertuğrul | “ | 500 | 1 st class |
| Shark Cineması | “ | 500 | 1 st class |
| Cinema Koum Kapou | “ | 300 | 2 nd class |
| Cinema Taxim | “ | 300 | 2 nd class |
| Cinema Appollpon | Scutari (<i>Üsküdar</i>) | 400 | 1 st class |
| Taxim Garden | Pera | 400 | 2 nd class |
| Cinema Tepe | Scutari (<i>Üsküdar</i>) | 1000 | 2 nd class |
| Layla Baghtchesi | Old Istanbul | | 2 nd class |

The screening in cinemas was organized little differently than the performances in theaters. For example, while eating, drinking and smoking were prohibited in the theaters by

law, there was no ban on eating, drinking and smoking in the cinemas.⁹³ Moreover, according to the memoirs of Ottoman Turkish writer Ahmet Rasim, male and female spectators could enjoy the spectacle of a movie by sitting in the gender segregated sections within the cinema.⁹⁴

The movies were screened in these cinemas were mostly European productions. The content of the movies was rich including the fragments of everyday life in European cities, stories of European political leaders, etc. According to the research by cinema historian Özde Çeliktemel Thormen, the movies, which were screened or filmed in Ottoman İstanbul, were articulated in the newspapers, state regulations and memoirs as:

Table 2 A list of movies which were screened or filmed in İstanbul between 1896-1923 by Özde Çeliktemel Thormen⁹⁵

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| The Crocodiles in African Rivers | The Opera Square in Paris |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|

⁹³ BOA DH.EUM.MEM.00132/00070/7 Teşrin-i Sani 1331 [1915]

⁹⁴ Ahmed Rasim, "Muhtelif Temâşâlarda Kadın (Women in Various Spectacle)," *Muharrir Bu Ya (That's the Author)*, (Ankara: Devlet Kitapları, 1969/1926), quated from ÖzdeÇelik Temel Thormen, "Kadınlar ve Çocuklar: Geç Osmanlı Döneminde Sinema Hakkında bir Mütelaa (Women and Chidren: An Observation of Cinema during the Late Ottoman Era)," *Alternatif Politika (Alternative Politics)* Special Issue on Cinema (2006): 13

⁹⁵ As Çeliktemel states in her article, she uses different sources to prepare this list, such as : Said N. Duhanî, Beyoğlu'nun Adı Pera İken, s. 76, Stamboul, 12 Aralık 1896. Refik Halid [Karay], "Sinema", s. 86. BOA.Y.PRK.EŞA. 40/1, (3/ M/1320), [12 Nisan 1902]. "Théâtres et Concerts", Le Moniteur Oriental, 20 Mart 1901. "Théâtres et Concerts", Le Moniteur Oriental, 12 Ekim 1909. "Théâtres et Concerts", Le Moni-teur Oriental, 16 Ekim 1909. "Théâtres et Concerts", Le Moniteur Oriental, 23 Ekim 1909. Ercüment Ekrem Talu, "İstanbul' da İlk Sinema ve İlk Gramafon", Perde ve Sahne, 7, (1943), s. 5. Ali Özüyar, "Türkiye'de Gösterilen İlk Filmler". Stamboul, 17 Mart 1897. Çeliktemel, "Hayaller Hakikat Olursa: Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Filmler, Gösterimler, İzlenimler (1896-1909) (If the Dreams become the Truth: Films, Screenings, Impressions in the Films of Ottoman Istanbul (1896-1909))," 170, The list is based on a research done by Çeliktemel Thormen. There is no any other information about the films, such as the production company, dates, or stars.

| | |
|---|---|
| (Afrika Nehirlerinde Timsahlar) | (Paris'te Opera Meydanı) |
| Ten Hats in Sixty Seconds (Altmış Saniyede On Şapka) | The Opera Theatre in Paris (Paris'te Opera Tiyatrosu) |
| Niagara Waterfall in America (Amerika'da Niagara Şelalesi) | The Race of Cars with Oil Engine (Petrolle Mühendislik Arabalar Müsabakası) |
| A Start for an Alpinist (Bir Alpinistin Başlangıcı) | St. Peter Church in Roma (Roma'da Saint Peter Kilisesi) |
| Undressing a Parisian (Bir Parisli'nin Soyunması) | The Navy Drill in Salzburg(Salzburg'da Donanma Talimi) |
| The Bomb (Bomba) | Belgica |
| Concordia Square (Concordia Meydanı) | A morning in Teuileries Beach (Teuileries Sahili'nde Bir Sabah) |
| The arrival of Char to Paris (Çar Hazretlerinin Paris'e Vürûdu) | A Ferry in Seine River (Seine Nehri'nde Bir Vapur) |
| The Sea Bath (Deniz Hamamı) | Paris, Bois de Boulogne |
| Bullfight in Andalusia (Endülü's'te Boğa Güreşi) | A Date for Three (Üçlü Randevu) |
| Claiming on Eiffel Tower (Eyfel Kulesi'ne Çıkış) | A Night Walk in Thompson (Thompson'da Gece Yürüyüşü) |
| The School of Young Girls (Genç Kız Mektebi) | Serpentine Dance (Serpentine Dansı) |
| Golden Horn Panaroma (Haliç Panoraması) | The Revenge of Manoel (Manoel'in İntikamı) |

| | |
|--|--|
| The Hunt of Elephant and Lions in India (<i>Hindistan 'da Fillerle Kaplan Avı</i>) | The Old Jealous Girl (<i>Yaşlı Kıskanç Kız</i>) |
| The Polis who is Hypnotized (<i>Hipnotize Olan Polis</i>) | Pyramids and Cairo (<i>Kahire ve Piramitler</i>) |
| It is forbidden to Post a Bill (<i>İlân Yapıştırmak Yasaktır</i>) | The Myth of the Star (<i>Yıldız Efsanesi</i>) |
| The Waves on Ashore (<i>Kıyıya Vuran Dalgalar</i>) | The Arrival of the train to Gar at St. Petersburg (<i>St. Petersburg 'da Trenin Gara Gelişi</i>) |
| | |
| The Adventures of Pirate Morgan (<i>Korsan Morgan 'ın Maceraları</i>) | The Bed of the Bridge (<i>Gelinin Yatağı</i>) |
| The Funeral of Queen Victoria (<i>Kraliçe Victoria 'nın Cenaze Merasimi</i>) | Good Kids (<i>İyi Çocuklar</i>) |
| London DrawBridge (<i>Londra 'nın Asma Köprüsü</i>) | A Travel to China (<i>Çin 'e Yolculuk</i>) |
| Marseille Waterfronts (<i>Marsilya Rıhtımları</i>) | Salomé |
| The Arrival of Train (<i>Trenin Gara Gelişi</i>) | Poor Old Man (<i>Zavallı İhtiyar</i>) |
| The Arrival of The Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph to Berlin (<i>Avusturya İmparatoru Haşmetli Franz Joseph Hazretlerinin Berlin 'e Gelişi</i>) | The Meteor Yacht of the German Emperor (<i>Haşmetli Almanya İmparatoru Hazretlerinin Meteor Yatı</i>) |
| Shipping on Ice in Stockholm (<i>Stockholm 'de Buz Üstünde Gemicilik</i>) | The Swimming Exercise of Cavalry (<i>Süvarinin Yüzme Talimi</i>) |

To sum up, the spectatorship experience and cinema-going activity of Ottoman citizens was mostly located around two main entertainment centers of the city, namely, the old center and the new center. As it can be seen in the table, while fourteen cinemas were located in the new center, there were nine cinemas located in the old center and two cinemas located on the Asian side. Moreover, the cinema magazines provide a significant amount of information on Ottoman spectators since the audience letters have an important place in the magazines. When it comes to the movies, Ottoman citizens mostly watched European products, but after WWI years domestic film production increased. Women and men could experience the cinematic spectatorship in the same place both in the Muslim and non-Muslim parts of İstanbul. In the following part of the chapter, I introduce the methodology, the selection of the sources and the limitations of the thesis.

2.3. Methodology, Selected Documents, and Limitations

The research methodology of this thesis can be defined as “researching around” methodological approach which is defined by feminist historian Sherry J. Katz.⁹⁶ As Katz states, “researching around” methodology is not a unique methodology since it basically depends on research around the subject of the study in order to get all possible related documents and different kinds of research material. Since an analysis and historical tracing of women’s history and women’s everyday based only on the official documents or narratives

⁹⁶ Sherry J. Katz, “Excavating Radical Women in Progressive-Era California,” Ch. 6 in: Nupur Chaudhuri, Sherry J. Katz, and Mary Elizabeth Perry, eds., *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 91

written by non-female subjects would be limited in order to draw a comprehensive picture of women's cinematic spectatorship experience, I use "researching around" methodology. Therefore, there are three different kinds of primary sources that are analyzed in this thesis: the novels written in the *Tanzimat* Period, the official state regulations (*Nizamname*) on cinemas and entertainment places (theaters, bars, cafes, and café-concerts (*kafé şantonlar*)) and women's magazines.

Five novels analyzed in this thesis under three categories: first, *Dürdane Hanım* (Ms. *Dürdane*) (1881)⁹⁷ and *Müşahedat* (*Observations*) (1891) by Ahmet Mithad⁹⁸ which belong to the category of *Tanzimat* novels; second, *Zehra*⁹⁹ (1884) by Nabizade Nazım and *Aşk-ı Memnu* (*The Forbidden Love*)¹⁰⁰ (1899-1900) by Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil which belong to the *Servet-i Fünun* novels, and third, *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?* (*Fresh or Wasted?*)¹⁰¹ (1891) by Mizancı Murad which stands in between.

It is better to introduce a brief history of the novel in the Ottoman Empire in order to explain the selection rationale of the novels. These early novels are published as serial novels (*tefrika*) in newspapers. Although the publication of *Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* (*The Love of*

⁹⁷ Ahmet Mithat, *Dürdane Hanım* (Ankara : Akçağ, 2005) (original: İstanbul: Tercüman-ı Hakikat Newspaper, 1881)

⁹⁸ Ahmet Mithat, *Müşahedat* (*Obseervations*) (İstanbul: Özgür Yayınlar, 2011) (original: İstanbul: Tercüman-Hakikat Newspaper, 1891)

⁹⁹ Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra*, ed. Hüseyin Alaçatlı (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1997) (original: *Servet-i Fünun* Magazine, 1884)

¹⁰⁰ Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Aşk-ı Memnu* (*The Forbidden Love*) (İstanbul: İnkilap Kitapevi, 1998) (original: *Servet-i Fünun* Magazine, 1899-1900)

¹⁰¹ Mizancı Murad, *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?* (*Fresh or Wasted?*) (İstanbul : Bordo Siyah, 2004)(original: İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1891)

Talat and Fitnat) by Albanian originated Ottoman writer Şemsettin Sami in 1873 considered as the first Ottoman novel published in the late Ottoman Empire by the nationalist Ottoman literature and cultural historiography, a study by Johann Stratuss states that non-Muslim Ottoman citizens started to publish novels in their newspapers before the publication of novels by Ottoman Muslim citizens.¹⁰² *Agabi Hikayesi* (*The Story of Agabi*) (1851), by Hovsep Vartanyan, is the first novel which was published in Ottoman Turkish written in Armenian script.¹⁰³ However, the nationalist historiography of Turkish modernization and the Turkish literature exclude the texts produced by the non-Muslim citizens of the Empire. In this thesis because of the language barrier and accessibility, I use only sources produced in the Ottoman-Turkish language with the Arabic alphabet.

Where as the publication of *Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* (*The Love of Talat and Fitnat*) has been considered as the beginning of the movement of *Tanzimat* novels; the publication of *Aşk-ı Memnu* by Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil in *Servet-i Fünun* magazine in 1899 has been considered as the beginning of *Servet-i Fünun* novel movement.¹⁰⁴ Although there is a twenty-year gap between the two literary movements, the categorization of the early novels produced in the Empire as *Tanzimat* novels and *Servet-i Fünun* (*Wealth of Knowledge*) novels depends on the

¹⁰²Şemsettin Sami, *Taaşşuk-ı Talât ve Fitnat* (*The love of Talat and Fitnat*), (İstanbul: Özgür Press, 2011)(original: Hadika: 1872-1873); Johann Stratuss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th)?," *Middle Eastern Literature* vol:6 no.1, (2003): 42

¹⁰³ Hovsep Vartanyan [Vartan Pasha], *Akabi Hikayesi*, Yay. ed. Andreas Tietze, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1991). (original: İstanbul: Mecmua-i Havadis newspaper, 1851)

¹⁰⁴ Zeynep Uysal, Introduction to *Matruk Ev* (*The Desolate House*), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları: 2014), 18

narration style, and the common thematic aspects instead of a historical categorization.¹⁰⁵ While *Tanzimat* novels are considered as “thesis novels” because of the active contribution of the authors into the stories through moral judgments and political statements that they make, the narration of *Servet-i Fünun* novels is based on the analysis of novel characters’ psychology and emotional situations without the contribution of the authors into the texts.¹⁰⁶ In addition to the narration style of the novels, there is one more layer that is at work in the categorization of the novels, which is the political discourse of modernization utilized in the novels. Each newspaper and publishing house in and by which the serial novels (*tefrika*) were published were representative of a different community which had a different discourse on modernization. The first category of novels as *Tanzimat* novels: *Dürdane Hanım* (Ms. *Dürdane*)¹⁰⁷ and *Müşahadat* (Observations)¹⁰⁸ was published in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (*Interpreter of The Truth*) newspaper which belongs to Ahmet Mithat Efendi who was an Ottoman Muslim male intellectual and the authors of the novels in this category. His modernization discourse was based on a modernization policy which is driven by the state, namely the Palace and its bureaucrats. Therefore, he was not standing on the same line with the Young Turks who made the 1908 revolution which led to the establishment of the Second

¹⁰⁵ Meltem Şafak, *Tracing Modernization in the Ottoman Literature: The New Ideal in Ottoman Turkish and Armeno-Turkish Novels*, 20; *Servet-i Fünun* is a weekly newspaper which was published in Ottoman İstanbul between the years of 1891-1944

¹⁰⁶ Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış 1* (A Critical Perspective Towards Turkish Literature 1) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 102

¹⁰⁷ Ahmet Mithat, *Dürdane Hanım*

¹⁰⁸ Ahmet Mithat, *Müşahadat* (Observations)

Constitutional Era of the Empire.¹⁰⁹ *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)* stands in between the two categories because the narration style of both of the movements exist in the novel. Moreover, because of its author's political position in the modernization discourse, it is separated from other two categories. *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)* was published in *Mizan* newspaper which was founded by Mizancı Murad, who was among the founders of Young Turks movement.¹¹⁰ Finally, the third category of the novels: *Zehra* and *Aşk-ı Memnu* were published in *Servet-i Fünun (Wealth of Knowledge)* magazine which was organized by a group of Galatasaray High school (*Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi*) alumni. As it can be derived from the title of the magazine, the scientific, progressive and rational thought had a huge role in the modernization discourse of the *Servet-i Fünun (Wealth of Knowledge)* magazine. As individuals who internalized the modernization process when compared to the previous generation, the authors of *Servet-i Fünun* were in favor of individual modernization and progress. To sum up, the selected novels represent different political discourses on modernization circulation in the Empire through the late nineteenth century.

As the geographic scope of this study is limited to İstanbul, I research only the women's magazines published in the capital of the Empire. I use the concept of women's magazine as an umbrella term for the magazines which considered female audiences as a

¹⁰⁹ Mehmet Safa Saraçoğlu, "Reality with a Moral Twist: Ahmed Midhat's Müşahedat as an Image of an Ideal Ottoman Society," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 1531 (2006): 31

¹¹⁰ *Mizan*, December 14, 1896

target group. All of the magazines which are analyzed in this chapter were owned by Muslim male authors. For example, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (Newspaper for Women)* which has the longest lifespan among the Ottoman women's magazines was owned by a Muslim man İbn'ül Hakkı Mehmet Tahir, but its chief-editor and most of the authors were female authors.¹¹¹ The writers of the other magazines (*Türk Kadını (Turkish Women)*, *Inci-Yeni İnci (Pearl-New Pearl)*, and *Süs (Ornament)*) will be analyzed in this chapter are mostly male. Even though I try to trace women's own responses to cinematography, there is only one article about cinematography written by a female author, Neziha Rikkat, in *Türk Kadını (Turkish Women)*, and two articles written by male authors in *Türk Kadını (Turkish Women)* and *Inci(Pearl)*, respectively.¹¹² The other articles analyzed were published anonymously. Although most of the articles were written by male authors, women's magazines still give us information about their target audiences: Ottoman female cinema spectators.

The general audiences of women's magazines are defined as upper-middle class women by Suraiya Faroqhi who is a well-known Ottoman cultural historian, and Serpil Çakır who is the pioneer of the studies on Ottoman women's movement and magazines. However, Serpil Çakır also states that there was an exception; *Kadınlar Dünyası (Women's Universe)* which is a feminist magazine published and written only by female authors was supported by

¹¹¹ Çakır, "Osmanlı Kadın Hareketinin Boyutları (The Dimensions of Ottoman Women's Movement)," *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi (The Ottoman Women's Movement)*, 27

¹¹² Neziha Rikkat, "Sinemalara dair bir Muhabbet (A Conversation on Cinemas)," *Türk Kadını (Turkish Women)* no. 15 (26 Kanun-i evvel 1334) (26 December 1918), 16; Ethem Nejat, "Kadın ve Erkek Eğlencede Birlikte (Women and Men are Together at the Entertainment)," *Türk Kadını (Turkish Women)* num. 9 (7 Eylül 1334) (7 September 1918), 9; "Necmettin Sadık, "Memleketimizde Sinemanın Tesirleri" (The Effects of the Cinema on Our Country), *Inci (The Pearl)* no. 27, (14 March 1337) (1921), 4

each category of women in the Ottoman society.¹¹³ With regard to the exception pointed out by Çakır, it can be claimed that categories of the audiences can be differentiated according to the scope of the magazine. When it comes to the magazines analyzed in this thesis, even though there is nothing mentioned about the class of the audiences, thanks to the letters of audiences which were sent to *Süs* magazine, it can be said that *Süs* had Muslim female audiences all over İstanbul.¹¹⁴ The magazine made a contest which requires collecting the coupons and the photos of cinema actresses which can be found in the first four issues of the magazine and write a letter which states the writer's favorite actress. They received 983 letters from the audiences who were settled almost in every district of İstanbul such as, Sultanahmet, Fatih, Adalar, Kadıköy, Sarıyer etc.¹¹⁵ When we consider the population of İstanbul during that time, which was estimated around 800.000,¹¹⁶ if we assume the population distribution between man and women was 50%-50%, it means that estimated 1/400 of women joined the contest.¹¹⁷ Moreover, the official documents which are the regulations (*Nizamname*) on

¹¹³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan : Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London : I.B. Tauris, 2000) , 282; Serpil Çakır, "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism," *Aspasia* 1 (2007): 69

¹¹⁴ *Süs* (Ornament), ed. Mehmet Rauf (İstanbul: Tanin Press; Yeni Press), 16 Haziran 1339 (16 June 1923) (1923-1924)

¹¹⁵ ..., "Sinema Artistleri Müsabakasında Hediye Kazanalar (The Winners of the Contest of Cinema Actresses)," *Süs* (Ornament) no 5, July 14 1339 (1923), 15

¹¹⁶ According to Kemal Karpas 1914-1916, 1.600.000 people lived in İstanbul. See: Kemal Karpas, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 102-103. However, because of the WWI the number of population is reduced around 800.000.

¹¹⁷ According to the demographics published by Kemal Karpas until the WWI the female population approximately 25% less than the male population in İstanbul. However, because of the male's participation into war as soldiers the percentage female population of the city was increased. Karpas, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* , 102-105

cinema and the other entertainment places such as theaters, bars, cafés and café-concerts (*kafe şantan*) published between 1896-1923 give general information about the locations of cinemas, the screenings, the order of regulations and state policy on spectatorship experience of Ottoman women. All three kinds of sources establish a general view on Ottoman women's participation in the urban-cultural sphere, women's mobilization within the city, the consumption practices and the experience of cinematic spectatorship.

Chapter 3- The Spectacle of Gender Relations in Urban-Cultural Life in Ottoman İstanbul

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze five novels which are produced in the second half of the nineteenth century by Ottoman-Muslim male writers in order to scrutinize the representation of Ottoman women in the urban-cultural sphere in İstanbul before the arrival of cinema. These five novels can be categorized into three categories according to the literary movements that they belong to: first, *Dürdane Hanım* (Ms. *Dürdane*)¹¹⁸ and *Müşahedat* (Observations)¹¹⁹ belong to the category of *Tanzimat* novels, second, *Zehra*¹²⁰ and *Aşk-ı Memnu* (*The Forbidden Love*)¹²¹ belong to the *Servet-i Fünun* novels, and third, *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?* (*Fresh or Waste?*)¹²² stands in between. In the first part of the chapter, I introduce the novels with small summary. After that, in my analysis I focus on two subjects: first, I trace the construction of the public and the private sphere in the novels in order to examine the places where in women are represented. Second, I explore which category of women enjoyed what and where in the late Ottoman İstanbul by analyzing the novels. This chapter aims to show the limits to and the possibilities of taking pleasure in the city and from looking for Ottoman women before cinema became a part of the urban-cultural life of İstanbul.

¹¹⁸ Ahmet Mithat, *Dürdane Hanım*

¹¹⁹ Ahmet Mithat, *Müşahedat* (Observations)

¹²⁰ Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra*

¹²¹ Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Aşk-ı Memnu* (*The Forbidden Love*)

¹²² Mizancı Murad, *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?* (*Fresh or Wasted?*)

3.2. Novels

Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?) (1891)¹²³: The protagonist of the novel, Mansur, is an idealist young man who grew up in Algeria. Upon finishing his medical degree in France, he moves to the capital of the Empire. He starts to live with his uncle and his family. During her stay in İstanbul, he faces the cultural and political decadence of the Empire. The author of the novel, Mizancı Murad, is one of the founders of Young Turk movement. He deploys his ideological point of view on what a good Ottoman citizen should be like within his novel. The novel is established on a melodramatic structure as the binary between the ideal type of the good woman and man, and the bad woman and man. Although all of the characters in the novel are Muslims, bad people are represented as Westernized people, and good people are represented as patriotic conservative Ottomans who are idealist people. The title of the novel, *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)*, implies that the new/modern way of living is the signifier of the cultural and political corruption in the Empire. The novel mostly takes place in an Ottoman bureaucrat's house. The people who enjoy the spectacle places are Westernized and less moral people. The representatives of good women in the novel always stay at home, while less moral ones can enjoy the spectacle places. The male protagonist of the novel (Mansur) also rejects the pleasures of the spectacle places since these places symbolize the degenerated urban life of Ottoman citizens.

¹²³ Mizancı Murad, *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)*

Dürdane Hanım (1881)¹²⁴: The protagonist, *Dürdane Hanım* is a cross-dresser, a cis-woman performing masculinity. The story of *Dürdane Hanım* starts with her interest in the new technological innovation: the telephone. She hears about the telephone and buys one. Then, she starts listening to her neighbor's room. Her neighbor is a young Muslim woman who hosts her lover in her room without her parents knowing about it. The neighbor gets pregnant but her lover wants to kill the baby after it is born. The young neighbor never leaves her room. *Dürdane Hanım* wants to help her and punish the lover. Therefore, she starts to cross-dress. The author of the novel Ahmet Mithat *Efendi* is one of the famous authors of the *Tanzimat* Period who also aims to establish an ideal Ottoman citizen as modernized, educated and an ideal Ottoman society as a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society.

Müşahedat (Observations) (1891)¹²⁵: It is a novel which tells a real story about two Armenian İstanbulite women whom the author came across on the ferry. The novel is also written by Ahmet Mithat *Efendi*, using the first person narrative. As the characters of the novel (real personas), these two women joined the story writing process. The novel opens with a scene at the ferry and it continues mostly in public sphere both in the old İstanbul and Beyoğlu. The protagonists of the novel, Siranuş and Agavni, are two orphan girls who live in Beyoğlu. The story of the novel is based on their love affairs with Muslim and non-Muslim İstanbulite *Beys*.

¹²⁴ Ahmet Mithat, *Dürdane Hanım*

¹²⁵ Ahmet Mithat, *Müşahedat (Observations)*

Zehra (1884)¹²⁶: The novel is about a young Muslim upper-middle class woman's (Zehra) love with her husband (Suphi). There are two more women other than Zehra namely Sırrıcemal who is a Muslim converted concubine and Ürani who is a non-Muslim prostitute. Therefore, the novel is a quite good example to analyze three different typologies of femininity who belong to different religions and socio-economic classes in the Empire. Zehra is an ambitious, jealous woman while Sırrıcemal is naïve and angelic, and Ürani is a flirtatious and wanton one. Zehra's husband (Suphi) has a love affair with their concubine Sırrıcemal and moves with her to another house after she gets pregnant. Therefore, Zehra hires Ürani in order to get revenge by making Suphi fall in love with Ürani. At the end of the novel, all of the characters die, respectively; Sırrıcemal, Ürani, Suphi, Zehra. The novel was written by Nabizade Nazım who is one of the famous writers of the *Servet-i Fünun* movement.

Aşk-ı Memnu (*The Forbidden Love*) (1899-1900)¹²⁷: *Aşk-ı Memnu* has quite dominant women characters who are in a competition for their love affairs with men. There are three main Muslim women characters in the novel: Bihter as the protagonist, Firdevs *Hanım* as the mother of Bihter, and Nihal as the step-daughter of Bihter. Bihter gets married with Adnan *Bey* whom her mother Firdevs wants to get married with. After her marriage, she has a love affair with Behlül who is the young and educated niece of Adnan *Bey*. Firdevs matches up Behlül and Nihal in order to take revenge from Bihter. Before the marriage of Behlül and

¹²⁶ Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra*

¹²⁷ Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Aşk-ı Memnu* (*The Forbidden Love*)

Nihal, Adnan Bey learns the love affair between his wife and his niece. The story gets resolution with Bihter's suicide. The novel tells the reader about upper class Muslim women's entertainment life and how they enjoy their power mostly in the private sphere.

3.3. The Construction of Public and Private Spheres in Novels

These five novels, it is through love affairs that the story represents the crisis of modernization, the changes in the urban sphere through the gender relations. All of them consider the love affairs as the base of the story. The transformation of the Ottoman society into a modernized society is represented through two different layers; firstly, the transformation of the characters from private spheres into the public sphere, secondly, the transformations of the characters from the old centers of the city into the new/modern centers. There are three categories of actors of the novels which are analyzed in this thesis: first, the Ottoman Muslim female citizens who are represented as the conservatives of the traditional form of Ottoman society who are mostly kept in the private sphere; second, the Ottoman non-Muslim female citizens are the carriers of modernization who enjoy the spectacle places, especially the theaters; third, the Ottoman Muslim male citizens who are mostly represented as the people who can enjoy both public and private sphere and both the old and new centers of the city.

Both of the two texts employed in this chapter, Mardin's article "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the 19th C." and Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak's "Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul," utilized Habermas' concept of the public sphere, as an open space for all where the

individuals and the capital can issue independently from the state and the political authorities, into the Ottoman society.¹²⁸ However, the construction of the Ottoman society and space is much more complicated than Habermas' conceptualization of the public and the private since there different layers such as ethnic, cultural differences in the Ottoman society which lead to the emergence of varieties of public and private spheres. Moreover, Habermas has a gender blind conceptualization of the public and the private sphere. The public sphere which he defines as open for all is not open for all citizens. The public sphere which Habermas conceptualized is accessible only for the male citizens since the public access is determined according to the division of labor which keeps women in the private sphere as domestic workers.¹²⁹ Therefore, in this thesis instead of directly utilizing the Habermas' conceptualization of the public and the private spheres, I conceptualize the public and the private sphere in the Ottoman Empire through the spectacle relations since there is no clear-cut line between the public and the private sphere in the construction of Ottoman society.¹³⁰

In order to explore the construction of the public and the private sphere in the Ottoman İstanbul, I start with the construction of the Ottoman *konak* culture where in Muslim women represented.¹³¹ *Konak* is a form of housing in the Ottoman Empire which is constituted by two

¹²⁸ Selma Akyazıcı "Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul," 965

¹²⁹ Voithete Allilous, "To Help Each Other," *Neologos* 23 (4 February 1875), quoted from Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers During the 19th Century," 87

¹³⁰ Nancy Mircklewright, "Harem/House/Set: Domestic Interiors of Photography from the Late Ottoman World," *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Spaces*, (Duham, London: Duke University Press, 2010), 240

¹³¹ Arzu Öztürkmen, "Performance in the Ottoman World," in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, ed. Suraya Faroqhi and Arzu Öztürkmen, (London; New York: Seagull Books, 2014), 8

main parts, *Haremlık* and *Selamlık*. The *Harem* part, which literally means private, belongs to the women of the house.¹³² The bedrooms, the rooms of workers, reading rooms, the kitchen are situated in the harem part. *Harem* is located behind the *Selamlık* part of the house. Harem is structured hierarchically according to age. The oldest woman of the house is responsible for the organization the harem section. Each room of the house is run by the owner as an autonomous unit in the big structure of the house. To sum up, it can be claimed that *Harem* part is associated with femininity in the Ottoman society. The *Selamlık* part which means a place for salute belongs to the men of the house. *Selamlık* is located at the entrance of the house. The male guests are welcomed in *Selamlık*. The female guests can also be hosted in *Selamlık* if there is no man accompanying. The construction of the Ottoman houses reflects the gender segregation. However, the distinction between the private and public spheres does not only depend on the feminine-masculine dichotomy but also it is constructed according the categories of to class and ethnicity. For example, *Selamlık* is mostly associated with masculinity, but it is not open for the all-male citizens; since it is located inside of a private space, house, it is only open for the socialization of men who belong to the same social-economic class.¹³³ Moreover, when it comes to the women's social activities, *Harem* part can become a gender segregated public sphere for women. For example, women make parties, gatherings and engage in intellectual activities in the novel *Aşk-ı Memnu* in *Harem*.¹³⁴ In other

¹³² Nancy Mircklewright, "Harem/House/Set: Domestic Interiors of Photography from the Late Ottoman World," 240

¹³³ Özkoçak, "Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul," 978

¹³⁴ Uşaklıgil, *Aşk-ı Memnu* (*The Forbidden Love*) 142-148

words, they make their private sphere open for other people who belong to same class and gender. Therefore, it can be said that the distinction between private and public sphere is not just a distinction between the home and the outside of the home in the Ottoman society. Rather than a distinguishing line between the private and public through space, I analyze the gaze and spectacle relations in order to trace the construction of the gender segregated division of the space. Two novels are analyzed in this part of the chapter: namely, *Zehra* and *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)*.¹³⁵

The relations and stories between men and women are established on the grounds of gaze relationships in the novels. The pleasure and the power of being the subject of the spectacle can vary according to the gender relations in different spaces. The gaze, that distinguishes space as private and public in the novels, is established as a panoptical male gaze. That is to say; the gaze is constituted as a voyeuristic gaze and the subject of the gaze is represented as a man. The penetration of the male gaze into private sphere (it could be a home, car, ferry) in order to gaze at the female body is a common ‘act’ which represents a turning point in the stories. Therefore, the threshold of the private sphere is defined via female body which is the object of the gaze and which can be moved in the city.

For example in *Zehra*, when Suphi visits his boss in his house, he watches Zehra who is the daughter of his boss through a window which stands towards *Harem* part from the *Selamlık* part. When the gazes of Zehra and Suphi encounter each other, he feels ashamed

¹³⁵ Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra*; Mizancı Murad, *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)*

because of penetrating his boss' privacy.¹³⁶ Another example, in *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, when the neighbor of Salih Efendi(Sir) realizes that the harem part of his house is visible for the outsider's gaze, he postpones putting a wooden curtain there, he plans in order to make Salih Efendi fall in love with her sister Müzeyyen. Müzeyyen is defined as the one who draws the gaze (*baktıran*), while Salih Efendi is defined as the one who looks (*bakan*).¹³⁷ The threshold of the private sphere of Müzeyyen's house is defined through Müzeyyen's body as an object for the gaze of Salih Efendi. Moreover, the private sphere can be moved via female's body into the spectacle places. When the female protagonist of *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?* (*Fresh or Wasted?*), Zehra goes with her aunt and cousin to Kağıthane, which is a popular spectacle place in the nineteenth century İstanbul, she realizes the gazes of other men

¹³⁶ "Şimdiye kadar Suphi, Şevket'in evine hiç ayak atmamıştı. Bir Cuma günü kaydedilmesi gerekli kimi hesapları yapmak için gitmek zorunda kaldı. Çünkü bugün mağaza kapalı olacağından orada çalışamayacağı gibi, günlük hesapların Şevket'in gözü önünde yapılması gerekiyordu. Selamlıkta bir küçük odada, muhasebeci effendi işe koyuldu...

Akşama doğru, tuvalete gitmek üzere kendisine gösterilen tarafa çıkmıştı. Yolu bir koridora rastlamıştı ki, bu koridorun penceresinden büyük bir bahçe görünmekteydi. İşten sıkılmıştı, bir iki dakikacık olsun şuraya dinlenmeye gerek görerek dönüşte pencereye abanıp geniş geniş soluk almaya başladı.

.....

Gözüne hoş bir yüz göründü, bu yüzün ne olduğunu fark etmeden başını çekti. Utanarak yürümeye başladı. Fakat şu birdenbire karşılaşma hayalleri duygularını uyandırmış ve gözünün önünde Zehra'nın belirsiz hayali gelmişti.

...

Suphi gülerek döndü. Döner dönmez Şevket'le yüz yüze geldi. Şevket'in üzerine dikilen gözlerine bakınca put gibi dondu kaldı. Bir ölüm teri şakaklarını ıslatmaya başladı. Bir cinayet üzerinde baskına uğramış gibi dili tutulmuş damarlarından kanı çekilmiş, sanki adeta yüreği durmuştu. Karşısında duran efendisini fırıl fırıl döne döne yok oluncaya kadar küçülerek gidiyor gibi görmekteydi. Bir dürbünün ters tarafından bakıyormuş gibi."

Racizade Mahmud Ekrem, Zehra, 31-33

¹³⁷ "Bakan Şeyh Salih Efendi idi. Fotoğraf camı gibi bir hayli vakit dikilmiş olan gözleri hayvani vücuduna silinmesi güç bir şekil aksettirmişti.

Baktıran Müzeyyen ise o kadar az ehemmiyet vermişti ki, hatta durumu akşam ağabeyisine çitlatarak konağın tamirinden beri selamlığın üst kat pencerelerinden taraçanın gözüktüğünü ve o tarafa kafes koymanın icap ettiğini söylemişti." Mizancı Murat, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?* (*Fresh or Wasted?*), 138-39

towards their carriage. She feels unprotected since her secrecy is demolished. When one of the men whom her cousin flirts with throws a letter inside of the car, she blames her aunt and her cousin for not protecting their privacy. After the penetration of the letter into the carriage, she wants to return home and never comes back to spectacle areas again.¹³⁸ In this carriage scene of the novel, the body of Muslim women is again constructed as an object of the male gaze. Even though the female actors of the novels are in a spectacle place, they are not represented as the ones who have the pleasure of looking.

There was also a modernization process in architecture and housing style in the Empire during the nineteenth century. The apartment buildings were first built in the Beyoğlu-Pera district where the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire lived in at the end of the century.¹³⁹ Muslim subjects of the empire also started to move to the apartment buildings in Şişli. The construction the public-private sphere changed in the Empire since the *Haremlik-Selamlık* construction has been restructures. There is also a parallel between the construction of the apartment building and the consumption of the public sphere in the late Ottoman

¹³⁸ “Zehra Hanım, akrabaları içinde bir Kazım Bey mevcut olduğunu henüz bilmiyordu. Merak etti. Araba ilişti. Bir müddet sonra iki araba yan yana gittiler. Arabada Kazım Bey sırtarak gülüyordu. Elindeki zarfı bir fırsatını getirip, hanımların arabasına doğru fırlattı.

...

Zehra: Mektubu bana nçin aldıldınız? Hem bu herif bize ne halde name atıyor? Siz de bu herifin mektubunu niçin kabul edip okuyorsunuz?

Zehra: Hem beni buraya niçin getirdiniz? Sizin de burada ne işiniz var? Haydi arabacıya arabayı çevirt gidelim.

...

Zehra: Nasıl etmiyoruz? Demin arkamızdan gelen herif, şu mektubu arabamıza atarak, hukuk ve iffetimize tecavüz ettiği, diğer biri de parmaklarını dudaklarına karşı götürüp selam verdiği vakit, heriflerin tecavüzlerini tekrarlamaktan men edecek ne gibi bir harekette bulunduk?”

¹³⁹ Zeynep Çelik, *Remaking İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in 19th Century* (London: University of California Press, 1993) (paper print), 88

Istanbul.¹⁴⁰ Because of the abolishment of the socializing places and the autonomy of the room, people started to go out to public areas to meet and socialize. For example, in *Müşahedat*, the two protagonist women Siranuş and Agavni live in the apartments in Beyoğlu. The apartments constructed as small units which related to each other. The apartment buildings where Siranuş and Agavni live are organized like a hotel that has a special cook and janitor. As it is represented in *Müşahedat*, the gender segregation in the houses has also changed with the change in the house structure. All characters of the novel, Ahmet Mithat *Efendi* as Ottoman Muslim male citizen and Siranuş and Agavni as Ottoman non-Muslim female citizens, come together in gatherings and they enjoy intellectual talks on music and literature in Siranuş's apartment without any gender segregation.¹⁴¹ Moreover, there is no scene which represents the Ottoman non-Muslim female citizens as the object of the gaze and the male gaze as a subject of the gaze. Therefore, it can be claimed that with changing structure of the gender segregation within the space, the spectacle relations are also challenged. However, this claim is too limited to the representation of the Ottoman non-Muslim female citizens in *Müşahedat* since there is no room for the representation of the Ottoman Muslim female citizens in the gatherings without any gender segregation.

Three intersectional categories, Ottoman Muslim male, Ottoman non-Muslim female and Ottoman Muslim female, are not represented in the same way according to the gaze and

¹⁴⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Elegance Alafranga, Social Criticism and Tomatoes: Transformations in the Culture of the Ottoman Upper Class, 1840-1914," *Subjects of the Sultan : Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London : I.B. Tauris, 2000), 256

¹⁴¹ Ahmet Midhat, *Müşahedat (Observations)*, 93

spectacle relations, and they are not represented in the same space. Therefore, one needs to answer the question of what are the thresholds in the Ottoman city for different categories of women in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the participation of women in the urban-cultural sphere in the late Ottoman İstanbul.

3.4 Who Could Enjoy What and Where in the Late Ottoman İstanbul?

In this part of the chapter, firstly, I introduce the spectacle centers of the city as they are represented in the five novels and elucidate the mobilization and the participation of three intersectional categories, which are mentioned in the previous part of the chapter, into these spectacle centers. There are four main entertainment centers of the Ottoman İstanbul in the late nineteenth century as it is represented in the novels. These include in the old center: Şehzadebaşı, the Green Spectacle areas: Kağıthane, Maslak, and in the new center: Beyoğlu, Pera, Galata, and in the Asian part: Üsküdar, Göksu.

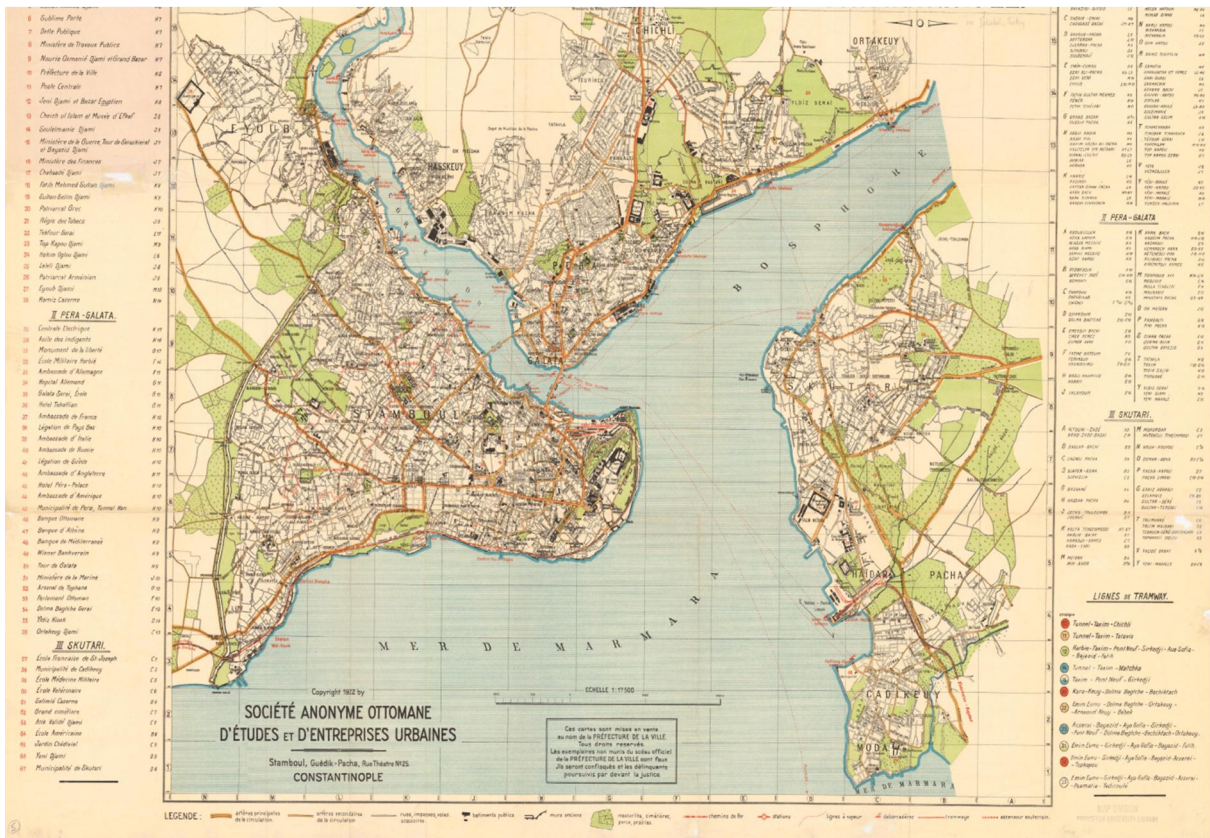


Figure 1:“Istanbul, Turkey, 1882.” Harvard University Library

3.4.1 The Old Center

Şehzadebaşı: Şehzadebaşı is one of the most important neighborhoods located in the old-İstanbul where the Muslim citizens of the Empire lived. Şehzadebaşı is in the same district of the *Topkapı* Palace which is the old palace built by Mehmet II (1465) after the conquest of İstanbul by the Ottomans.¹⁴² The neighborhood was famous for its Ramadan entertainments.

¹⁴² For more information about the construction of Ottoman palaces through the history, Zeynep Çelik, “An Architectural Survey of the City,” *Remaking İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in 19th Century*, 3-8

Several theaters were located in this neighborhood such as Hanedan-i Osmani and Direklerarası.¹⁴³ Moreover, Fevziye Kırathanesi, the second location in the Ottoman Empire where a film was screened, was in Şehzadebaşı.¹⁴⁴ Although there is no character representation of Muslim women in Şehzadebaşı in the novels, the place is represented as an open space for both Muslim men and women. While Ottoman Muslim men and women can move and spend their time in Şehzadebaşı, Muslim women who are not accompanied by men were not represented. In *Zehra*, four-pages are devoted to the description of the theater and a play which was attended by Ürani and Suphi in *Hanedan-i Osmani* Theater.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the protagonists of *Müşahadat*: Siranuş and Agavni when they visit Şehzadebaşı are accompanied by Muslim male characters. Therefore, it can be said that the old center of the city was continued to be represented as a cultural center because of its urban cultural fabric, but it is accessible only for the Muslim citizens of the Empire.

3.4.2 The Green Areas

Kağıthane: It is a neighborhood outside of the city walls of İstanbul. It is neither in the Muslim nor in the non-Muslim part of the city. Kağıthane neighborhood has an important role in the modernization process and spectacle life of the Empire since the first French style palace *Sa'd-abad* Palace and gardens known as the *Sa'd-abad* was built in 1772 in the neighborhood. There is a small river where people had small cruise tours with small boats.

¹⁴³ Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra*, 141; Uşaklıgil, *Aşk-ı Memnu* (*The Forbidden Love*), 44

¹⁴⁴ Scognamillo, *Cadde-i Kebir'de Sinema* (*Cinema in the Grand Street*), 11

¹⁴⁵ Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra*, 141-145

Kağıthane is one of the most popular spectacle places amongst Ottoman citizens in the nineteenth century as it is mentioned in *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?* and *Aşk-ı Memnu*.¹⁴⁶ Ottoman İstanbulites enjoy cruising each other through the windows of carriages in Kağıthane. The act of cruising has a heterosexual characteristic in Kağıthane district as it is mentioned in these two novels. If the heterosexual couples have the chance to arrange a meeting in Kağıthane, they go to a near by neighborhood which is called as Maslak.

Maslak- Büyükdere Street: Maslak-Büyükdere Street also became popular in the nineteenth century. This neighborhood is a green place where people go in their carriages to enjoy cruising. As it is mentioned in *Aşk-ı Memnu* people could do their private meetings on the green areas without the protection of their carriage.¹⁴⁷

Therefore, it can be said that the second category of spectacle centers as the green areas: Kağıthane and Maslak-Büyükdere Street which were open spaces for both Muslim and non-Muslim citizens of the Empire without gender segregation.

3.4.3 The New Center

Beyoğlu-Pera: Beyoğlu-Pera district is known as *Alafranga* district where non-Muslim citizens of the Empire used to inhabit. The neighborhood is represented as a spectacle and entertainment center of the Ottoman Empire in all five of the novels. There were a lot of theaters, shops, restaurants, bars, cinemas and hotels such as Le Bonne Patisserie, Concordia

¹⁴⁶ Mizancı Murad, *Turfan'da mı? Yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)* 97; Uşaklıgil, *Aşk-ı Memnu (The Forbidden Love)*, 77

¹⁴⁷ Mizancı Murad, *Turfan'da mı? Yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)* 97; Uşaklıgil, *Aşk-ı Memnu (The Forbidden Love)*, 77

Theater, Odeon Theater, Luxemburg Coffeehouse.¹⁴⁸ It is rather a multi-cultural and diverse place in comparison to old-Istanbul spectacle places. The entertainment days start Friday afternoons end last until Sunday mornings, much like contemporary understanding of entertainment times, in *Dürdane Hanım*.¹⁴⁹ The statement of entertainment time is crucial since the holidays are regulated according to the religious practices of the Ottoman citizens. Therefore, Fridays were holidays for Muslim citizens, and Sundays were holidays for Christians. The description of the entertainment life in *Dürdane Hanım* shows that Beyoğlu-Pera district is available during these three days for both Muslim and non-Muslim citizens of the Empire. As it is mentioned in the introduction chapter, the first film screening, which is open to the public, was run in Sponeck Beerhouse in Beyoğlu district in 1897.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, in *Dürdane Hanım*, men's homosexual relationships are represented as visible as heterosexual relations in Galata- Beyoğlu region.

Galata: Galata neighborhood is located in between the old-İstanbul and Beyoğlu-Pera district. It is also known as one of *Alafranga* districts of Ottoman İstanbul. The district had a masculine characteristic comparing to Beyoğlu-Pera since Janissaries used to entertain themselves in *meyhanes* (local bar-restaurants) and brothels in Galata before the demolishment of Janissary institution in 1826.¹⁵¹ The district kept its masculine characteristic

¹⁴⁸ Uşaklıgil, *Aşk-ı Memnu (The Forbidden Love)*, 35,52

¹⁴⁹ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Dürdane Hanım*,5-7

¹⁵⁰ Ali Özuyar, *Babıali'de Sinema (Cinema in the Sublime Porte)*, 15

¹⁵¹ Janissaries are Ottoman soldiers which directly under the control of the Sultan. They are originated from non-Muslim families and converted to Islam when they were taken from their families in early ages.

as it is mentioned in *Dürdane Hanım* since mostly the firemen, bandits and robbers spend time and enjoyed the spectacle places there.¹⁵²

3.4.4 The Asian Part

Some of the aforementioned spectacle places such as Bağlarbaşı and Göksu are the parts of Üsküdar district. The district is associated with femininity in Ottoman historiography because of the Palace women's activity in the district such as Mihrimah Sultan Mosque that was founded by the daughter of Suleiman the Magnificent in the mid-sixteenth century, Atik Valide Mosque that was founded by the mother of Murat III in the late sixteenth century.¹⁵³ The district is represented as an alternative space to the old and new centers of the city in the novels because of it is a geographical and cultural location in the general structure of the city; it is located in the Asian part of the city which is separated from the other centers of the city. Moreover, as the multi-ethnic and diverse character of the settlers of the district, it is not associated with one unique *millet* category. Because of its historical role in the city structure as an open space for women's foundations, Üsküdar district is a signifier of the agency and the power of the Ottoman women of the Palace.

Bağlarbaşı: Bağlarbaşı is a neighborhood located on the Asian side of Istanbul (Üsküdar). In Bağlarbaşı there was a famous theater called Bağlarbaşı Theater run by *Güllü Agop* (an Armenian Ottoman Artist) in the late nineteenth century. Plays were run in both Armenian

¹⁵² Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Dürdane Hanım*, 5-7

¹⁵³ For more information see Leslie L. Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993)

and Turkish in Bağlarbaşı. Both men and women, regardless of their religion, are represented in Bağlarbaşı in *Dürdane Hanım*.¹⁵⁴

Göksu: It is a small river next to Anatolian Fortress on the Asian side of İstanbul. Most of the upper-class Ottoman citizens and bureaucrats had summer houses on the Asian side like Zehra and her husband Suphi have in *Zehra*. Göksu River is articulated as a spectacle place where Muslim upper-class people visit to enjoy the scenery by private or rental ferries in *Zehra* and *Aşk-ı Memnu*.¹⁵⁵

3.5 Conclusion

Since my aim is to scrutinize the women's participation in the urban-cultural sphere in order to trace their agency in the modernization process in the late nineteenth century, I began my analysis with the gendered construction of the public and the private spheres through the spectacle relations and participation of different gender categories in the spectacle places as they are represented in the novels. The space is constructed on the basis of gaze relations. In the novels, the subject of the gaze is defined as the Ottoman Muslim male citizens while the object of the gaze is defined as the Ottoman Muslim female citizens in the novels. However, when it comes to analyzing the gaze relations between the Ottoman non-Muslim female citizens and the Ottoman Muslim male citizens, there is no gaze relation that depends on the subject and the object dichotomy as there is no binary distinction of the construction of public and private sphere represented in the novels. Moreover, non-Muslim women are represented

¹⁵⁴ Ahmet Mithat, *Dürdane Hanım*, 70, 92-95, 105

¹⁵⁵ Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra*, 20; Uşaklıgil, *Aşk-ı Memnu (The Forbidden Love)*, 79

as the spectators of the theaters and the idle strollers of the streets of Istanbul. When it comes to the Ottoman Muslim female citizens and their participation in the urban cultural sphere; the Ottoman Muslim female citizens are only represented as the spectators of the shop windows. As it is represented in the novels, even though the Ottoman Muslim female citizens are participants of the urban-cultural life as the spectators of the green areas and the shop windows, they are represented as the ones who lack the gaze which can be in the subject position of pleasure of looking. However, it is crucial to note that these novels are the narratives of the authors who consider the genre of the novel as a tool to spread their discourses on modernization and the ideal modernized Ottoman citizen. Therefore, the women's daily life experiences could be different than the narratives of the authors. For this reason in the next chapter, I am going to analyze the articles published in women's magazines in order to trace whether the cinematic experience of spectatorship gave Ottoman Muslim women the opportunity to be the subject of the gaze who can enjoy the pleasure of looking.

Chapter 4- Women and Cinema

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I answer my main question concerning the role of the cinema culture in the modernization experience of Ottoman women.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, first I introduce the women's need for places of entertainment in the late Ottoman İstanbul, and the discourse on modernization and cinematography which were articulated in the women's magazines. I analyze Ottoman women's cinematic spectatorship with the help of Jackie Stacey's analytical tools "escapism, identification and consumerism", which she uses to analyze British Women's cinematic spectatorship experience in the 1940s and 1950s.¹⁵⁷ In her book *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship*, Stacey claims that cinemas provide women a place to escape from reality, an opportunity to experience their fantasies through identification with filmic characters, and a way of employing their agency through consumerism.¹⁵⁸ Besides Stacey's analytical tools, there are some other analytical perspectives employed in this thesis. In the first part, the cinema will be analyzed as a space of enclosure of women as much as a liberating place where they experienced the position of the subject of the gaze and to get the pleasures of looking as well as a space where their pleasure and spectatorship experience were controlled and structured by state regulations . In

¹⁵⁶ As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, the category of Ottoman Muslim women is employed in this chapter because of the limitations of primary sources.

¹⁵⁷ Stacey, *Star Gazing*, 144, 150

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 179,282, 390,187, respectively

the second part, I explore how Ottoman women experienced cinematic spectatorship in movie theaters. Identification with the filmic characters is utilized as a tool to explore the mesmerizing effect of cinema on women in the second part. In the third part, I investigate the modern consumption practices introduced by cinema to Ottoman women.

There are two types of primary sources utilized in this chapter, namely, the legal public regulations for cinema and entertainment culture in İstanbul (cinemas, theaters, cafés, bars, circuses, café-concerts (*kafe şantan*)) and women's magazines. The audiences of women's magazines are mostly defined as upper-middle class educated women who settled in different parts of the city.¹⁵⁹ The women's magazines give information about the spectators of the cinemas, the movies and women's responses to cinematography. The female spectators of the cinemas are described as women from every segment of society by Neziha Rikkat, who is the only female author who has written an article about cinematography in 1918. She describes the female spectators as young girls with naïve and chic clothes, middle age women with yashmak, school girls with a sarcastic gaze, heavy-head widows, the rich ones, the poor ones, the educated ones, the illiterate ones, finally all members of the society.¹⁶⁰ When it comes to the movies viewed by women, as it has been shown in figure in the "Cinema and the Empire" part of the first chapter, the movies which were screened in the Empire were mostly

¹⁵⁹ For more information about the women's magazines look at the methodology and selected document.

¹⁶⁰ "İçlerinde sık, zarif giyinmiş genç kızlar, peçeleri kapalı orta yaşlı hanımlar, müstehzi bakışlı mektepliler, ağır tavırlı dullar, zengin, fakir, malumatlı, cahil, velhasıl cemiyetin her ferdine mensup olanlar vardı." by Neziha Rikkat, "Sinemalara Dair Bir Muhabbet: Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Müesselerinden İsmail Hakkı Bey'e" (A Conversation about the Cinemas: To Mr. İsmail Hakkı from the Board of Education), *Türk Kadını (Turkish Women)* no. 15, 26 Kanun-i evvel 1334 (16 December 1918): 16

European productions such as *Poor Violette* (*Zavallı Viyolette*), *Elegance Parisian* (*Elegans Parisyen*), *Orphan* (*Yetime*). There is only one article about the production process of an Ottoman movie *A Tragedy of an Affair in İstanbul* (*İstanbul'da bir Facia-ı Aşk*).¹⁶¹ Even though the information to research the women's own responses to cinematography is very limited, women's magazines still provide us with information on women's cinematic spectatorship in the Ottoman İstanbul.

Before I continue with the analysis of the main sources about women's cinema-going activity, I want to introduce an article published in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (*Newspaper for Ladies*) "Nisvâna Mahsus Klüpler" (The Clubs belong to Women) which was published a few months before the arrival of cinematography to the Empire in 1896.¹⁶² This article is significant since it sheds light on how Ottoman women perceive the notion of civilization and its relationship with women's participation in intellectual and leisure time activity. The article states that:

"There is no more difference between men and women in terms of education and training in recent years; women's intelligence and knowledge is capable to study law, philosophy and science.... As a consequence of the will of women, women do not want to be separated from the civilization which is profited by men, and they also want to have [the civilization] for themselves. Therefore, higher education institutions for women have been opened.

¹⁶¹ There is no metadata information about the European production movies. *A Tragedy of an Affair in İstanbul* (*İstanbul'da bir Facia-ı Aşk*), Muhsin Ertuğrul (İstanbul: Kemal Production, 1922)

¹⁶² ..., "Nisvâna mahsus Klüpler" (The Clubs belong to Women), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (*The Newspaper for Ladies*) no 142, 27 Recep, 1313 (13 Ocak 1896), 1-2

Booklets, newspapers have been published. In addition to this, clubs for women have been opening.”¹⁶³

Although there is no information about a women’s club in Ottoman İstanbul, the article informs the audiences about the women’s clubs in America, England, and France. According to the authors of *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies)*, the clubs for women were a sign of the civilization (*medenîyet*) like schools, newspapers, and booklets. Since women can receive education and become civilized like men, women have the right to have their own entertainment places. When it is considered that the Ottoman women in the late nineteenth century could attend higher education in *Dar’ül-Muallimat* (Teacher Training School), the article also can be seen as foreshadowing the need for entertainment places for the newly educated Ottoman women.¹⁶⁴

Moreover, it is not the only article which articulates entertainment as a sign of civilization (*medenîyet*); such an understanding is also present in the announcement of the contest of cinema actresses organized by *Süs* magazine. In *Süs* magazine, the participation of the readers in the contest is defined as a civilized mission much like being active [in social

¹⁶³ “Bu son senelerde ta’lim ve terbiye-i nısvân rıcalden bir fark göstermeyecek dereceye varmıştır. Erkeklerle mahsus gibi görülen derecât-i ‘âliyyeye tahsilden bugün kadınların da nasibi vardır. ‘İrfan ve zekâlarıyla tıp hukuk ve felsefe gibi ilim ve fende müntehî mertebesine varıyorlar... Yine bu arzunun neticesidir ki kadınlar erkeklerden hiçbir surette ayrılmak istemeyerek ricâlin şâyân-ı istifade görerek vücûda getirdiği mu’esat-ı medenîyyeye kendileri de sahip olmak istiyorlar. Kadınlara mahsûs ‘ali mektepler açılıyor. Risâle, gazeteler neşrediliyor. Bundan başka nısvâna mahsûs kulüpler dahi kûşât ediliyor.” in “Nısvâna mahsus Klüpler” (The Clubs belong to Women), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies)* no 142, 27 Recep, 1313 (13 Ocak 1896), 1, translated by myself.

¹⁶⁴ Şefika Kurnaz, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Kadınların Eğitimi (The Education of Women: From Ottoman Empire to the Republic)* last access on 30.05.2017.

http://dhgm.meb.gov.tr/yayimlar/dergiler/Milli_Egitim_Dergisi/143/14.htm

life].¹⁶⁵ In the last article of the contest, the participation of women in the contest is described as a sign of women receiving the honor of civilization (*nebâhat-ı medenîyet*).¹⁶⁶ Moreover, the first announcement states that the contest is also a test to discover whether the readers are civilized or not, in order to encourage the readers to participate in the contest.¹⁶⁷ It is articulated in the first announcement that the new women are going to prove their difference from the old women by participating in the contest.¹⁶⁸ Since the contest requires collecting the photos of cinema actresses published in the magazines, the publisher promotes the buying of the magazine in order to prove the level of women's civilization. Therefore, it can be claimed that in the contest organized by *Süs* magazine, cinema culture is associated with being modern by differentiating between the new and the old women. Being modern and civilized is proved the consumption of the cinema related products.

As the entertainment culture is articulated as a signature of being modern cinema culture is particularly articulated as a sign of civilization in the women's magazines. Moreover, cinematography is also considered as a powerful mesmerizing invention in the article "Memleketimizde Sinemanın Tesirleri" (The Effects of Cinema on Our Country) written in 1921 by Necmeddin Sadık, a male professor of *Dar'ül-Fünun* (The School of

¹⁶⁵ "Yani Türk kadını tam manasıyla müteşebbis, fa'al olmak nasıl medeni bir vazife ise, her Süs kârîsi için bu müsabakaya iştirâk etmek de öyle medenî bir vazifedir." ..., "Sinema Artistleri Müsabakası," *Süs* num. 1 (16 Haziran 1339) (16 June 1923), 15

¹⁶⁶ "Hanımefendilerimizin bu son senelerde pek büyük bir nebâhât-ı medenîyete ihtisap ettikleri şüphesizdir," *Süs* n.4, 1923, 8

¹⁶⁷ "Haydi, hanımefendiler, imtihan meydanına!," *Ibid*

¹⁶⁸ "Bunun için Süs kârîleri gazetelerinin kendilerine 'arz ettiği bu müsabakaları asla ihmal etmeyecekler ve eski kadınlardan esaslı farklarla değişmiş olduklarını pek çok parlak olarak ispât edip mutlaka iştirak edeceklerdir." *Süs* num.1, (16 Haziran 1339) (16 June 1923), 15

Science). Sadık tries to explain the effects of cinema on human psychology by using scientific language. He often pronounces words such as modern, invention, automate, hysteria and to mesmerize in order to explain the strong effects of cinematography. He considers cinematography as the modern and most powerful mesmerizing device invented until his time.¹⁶⁹

At the beginning of his article, Necmeddin Sadık claims that most structured reformations of modernity take place in the new world through giving an example of the new regulations on cinema in New Zealand.¹⁷⁰ Sadık starts his article by making a distinction between the new world and the old world. For him, the new world can demolish everything [ethical-moral values] that can be considered as useless in contemporary circumstances and the old world, conversely, is the conservative one because it sticks to the traditional ethical-moral values. Even though he does not provide any clue as to about the content of the regulations on cinema in New Zealand, he claims that the rules New Zealand passed should be applied all around the world. He claims that the new/modern world is more adaptable to the new/modern inventions than the old/traditional world. Moreover, the old-traditional world also has to adapt itself by making new regulations on new technology, namely

¹⁶⁹ “Çünkü bu kadar büyük bir kuvvetle intişār) eden hiçbir mu’essese yoktur: aynı zamanda bu kadar mu’āsır ve bu kadar kuvvetli hiçbir telkin vasıtası da icād edilmemiştir.” Necmettin Sadık, “Memleketimizde Sinemanın Tesirleri” (The Effects of the Cinema on Our Country), 4

¹⁷⁰ “İçtimā-i islahatta en kati yenilikler yeni dünyada oluyor: ispirotyu evvel men-i iptida’i, sinemaları Yeni Zellanda men ediyor.” Necmettin Sadık, “Memleketimizde Sinemanın Tesirleri” (The Effects of the Cinema on Our Country), 4

cinematography, in order to keep its traditional values.¹⁷¹ Even though he contradicts in his claim pertaining to the adaptation of the old world to the new inventions in a similar fashion employed by the new world, he upholds a discourse on modernity through cinematography.

Therefore, in the following sections, I will scrutinize women's experience of modernization through cinema from three main points of view; first, cinema as a space for entertainment and enclosure; cinema as a modern mesmerizing machine; and cinema as a new consumption practice.

4.2 Cinema as an Entertainment and Enclosure Space for Women

According to the articles in women's magazines, women's need for entertainment places kept its importance during the 1910s. In his article "Kadın ve Erkek Eğlencede Birlikte" (Women and Men are Together at the Entertainment), Ethem Nejat articulates his contemporary observations on women's participation in entertainment and urban culture in 1918. Nejat states that although there are different types of entertainment places for women, cinema is defined as the proper place for women's leisure time activity which is an effect of women's participation in working life.¹⁷² Cinema is pointed out by the author as a proper

¹⁷¹ "Yeni dünya insanları pek eski an'ane ihtiyatlara bizim kadar bağlı olmadıkları için ma'zûr gördükleri her şeyi kolaylıkla ortadan kaldırıyorlar. Eski dünya icrâ'âtında bu kadar kaç'ı olmuyor, çünkü terbiyesi itibariyle muhafazakârdır, ısrarlarından biri toplanan kuvvete hâsılları kendisini düvene kuvvetle bağlıyor." Necmettin "Memleketimizde Sinemanın Tesirleri" (The Effects of the Cinema on Our Country), 4

¹⁷² "İşten sonra eğlence gelir. Hanımlarımıza çalışınız, şinâ'i ve amele safına geçiniz, hayat-ı 'umumiyyeye karışınız diyoruz da onlara has irâ'eler etmiyoruz. Bir Cuma bir Pazar tatili yalnız geçen haftanın mutemâdi yorgunluğunu bertaraf etmez... Şimdiye kadar konu komşuya gitmekle anılan hanımlarımıza bu ibtidâ'i ve sade eğlenceler artık n nâkiş ve kâfi geliyor. Keza Sarıyer ile Büyükdere arasındaki rıhtımın veya Kuşdili çayırının dereye nazır parmaklığı dâhiline girip saatlerce fındık, kestane ve kâğıt helvası yemek de artık onları

place for women since other forms of entertainment such as strolling in the city is defined as less moral and less joyful. In the article, cinema appears to be a place which can prevent women from strolling in the spectacle places which are the signs of lower morality.

The author categorizes the entertainment places for women with regard to the class differences between the participants and his moral judgments. He describes three main entertainment places where women participate in: first, the old spectacle places belonging to the middle-class Ottoman citizens; second, the private entertainment places belonging to the upper-class Ottomans; third, the new entertainment places located in the new center of the city Beyoğlu for every İstanbulite. According to the author, the old entertainment places, in other words, the old spectacle places as gardens and meadows are described as less moral places. He states that the old spectacle places are not suitable for women since in these places there are naughty young boys who harass women. Moreover, the young ladies, unlike the old habits, are going out without a company of an old woman. In their leisure time when women go outside by themselves, they manage to dates with the men in these places. Therefore, these places became less moral spaces. When it comes to the entertainment places located in private sphere mostly in the old style *konak* houses of an upper-class Ottoman citizen in the Islands, he makes a moral judgment based on women's behavior in the entertainment activities. He states that women can drink, sing and dance in these entertainment places located in private sphere which is accessible for all genders. He states his concern that this kind of

entertainment style can disseminate from the upper-class *konak* style life to the middle-class apartment buildings. Therefore, he warns his audience that women's need for entertainment spaces should be immediately fulfilled.¹⁷³

Nejat suggests that a woman should visit the spectacle and entertainment places accompanied by a male member of her family. Even though he proposes to conserve the traditional form of the family, he directs people to Taksim-Beyoğlu district which is the new modern entertainment center of the city. He states that watching a movie in a cinema theater with the family members is a wonderful entertainment both for men and women. Therefore, it can be claimed that even though he tries to preserve the traditional form of the society, the author also encourages mobility between the centers of the city by leading people from old spectacle places to new modern public centers of the city. However, he does not leave room for women to go outside and enjoy the modern structure of city as independent individuals. He tries to limit women and prevent them from establishing an individualistic experience of cinematic spectatorship and being idle strollers of modern İstanbul by suggesting that the best entertainment activity for women should be searched inside of the family structure.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Ethem Nejat, "Kadın ve Erkek Eğlencede Birlikte (Women and Men are Together at the Entertainment)," 9

¹⁷⁴ "Bir vâlîde-i kerime, oğul ve damatlarıyla; bir pederinin hemşerileriyle, bir bacanak baldız ve evlatlarıyla, nihayet bir ahbap iyi dost ta'likatıyla neden gezintiler, ziyaretler yapmasın, neden eğlenceler tertip etmesin!... Taksim ve ya herhangi buna benzer bir bahçe ve ya gazinoda zevç, zevce, çocuk için birer dondurma ve ya pasta yemek sonra güzel ve temiz bir musiki dinlemek pek nezih bir eğlencedir. Kadın ve erkekler aile efradının, akrabanın bir locada yahut yan yana sandalye ve koltuktan güzel bir sinemaya istima' ve temâşâ eylemeleri nefis bir meşgaledir." Ethem Nejat, "Kadın ve Erkek Eğlencede Birlikte (Women and Men are Together at the Entertainment)," 9

When we analyze his article which encourages women to visit cinema theaters instead of old style spectacle places, cinema can be read as a space of enclosure for women's agency in entertainment life. As a closed space, cinemas were under the control of state regulations just as cafes, bars, and theaters were. As articulated by the author in his article, women can behave freely in the private entertainment places and old style spectacle places. However, the cinemas were organized as gender segregated spaces. Even though men and women could watch the same movie in the same theatre, there was a wooden curtain separating men and women from each other.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, there were rules which control women's behaviors in the caf  s and *kafe-  tantans*.¹⁷⁶ According to the official regulations on theaters, cinemas, cafes, and *kafe   tantans*, women could not sit and dance in the same lodges with men. Therefore, women's activities such as communication with people of different genders, dancing and drinking were under state surveillance in the modern public entertainment places. For this reason, cinemas can be regarded as enclosures of women's agency as much as liberating places which women enjoy being the subject of the gaze in the late nineteenth-century Ottoman context. Cinema as a modern place for passing leisure time and engaging in

¹⁷⁵ Ahmed Rasim, "Muhtelif Tem    larda Kadın (Women in Various Spectale)," Muharrir Bu Ya (That's the Author), (Ankara: Devlet Kitapları, 1969/1926), quated from   zde  elik Temel Thormen, "Kad  nlar ve   ocuklar: Ge   Osmanlı D  neminde Sinema Hakkında bir M  telaa (Women and Chidren: An Observation of Cinema during the Late Ottoman Era)," *Alternatif Politika (Althernative Politics)* Special Issue on Cinema (2006): 13

¹⁷⁶ "Kafe   ntan, kafe konser   ret-i ma  s    ta   algı   alan ve   algı ile beraber men'f'i ve vakfiyeler tarafından 'icra-ı takib  t edilen mahallerde kafe   tantanda gerek   algıcı ve m  fniye kadınların ve hari  ten girilen nisv  n  n m    teriler ile beraber 'umumi salonlara ve y  hut hus  s   kabinlerde oturmaları ve dans etmeleri ledel-'icab en b  y  k m  lkiye memurunun tenbihi ile men edilebilir." BOA. DH.EUM.MEM.00132/00070/025 (15 K  n  n-ı evvel 1331) (18 December 1915)

entertainment practices was also as a place where modern surveillance and state control apparatus can be performed.

4.3. Cinema as a Mesmerizing Machine: Identification with the Filmic Characters and Experiencing the Fantasies.

In this part of the chapter, I analyze two articles “Sinemalara dair bir Muhabbet” (A Conversation on Cinemas) (1918) by Neziha Rikkat and “Memleketimizde Sinemanın Tesirleri” (The Effects of Cinema on Our Country) (1921) by Necmeddin Sadık.¹⁷⁷ Both articles are written in order to direct attention to the powerful effects of cinema on women. Both of the writers consider the effects of cinematography on women as a threat to the family structure since women experience identification with the filmic characters in the cinemas; they cannot enjoy their real life anymore. Ottoman female spectators are depicted as daydreamers of the city who transform the everyday reality into a dream world which they experienced in cinema by both authors. Rikkat wrote her article in order to inform the board of education to take action in terms of controlling the movies watched by women in cinemas by claiming that some of the movies dismiss and alter women’s role in the family and the social structure.¹⁷⁸ She starts her article by relating her observations in the city during the closure of the cinema theaters because of an epidemic illness which lasted few weeks. She

177 Neziha Rikkat, “Sinemalara dair bir Muhabbet” (A Conversation on Cinemas); Necmeddin Saık “Memleketimizde Sinemanın Tesirleri” (The Effects of Cinema on Our Country)

¹⁷⁸ “Bunla beraber sinemaların bugünkü ahlakımızı ifsâd ettiğini de i’tirâfa mecburum: temâşâ edilen manzaralar içinde olanalar vardır ki hiçbir hanım gördüğünü bilâ-hicâb hikâye edemez. Hayatın murdar sırlarından bi’ haber, alnına temas edecek ilk muhabbet ruhunu tevdi’ye hazır olan saf ve masum bir kızın, fuhuşun gizli manzarasını kahkahalar içinde seyretmesini hoş buluyor musunuz?” Neziha Rikkat, “Sinemalara dair bir Muhabbet (A Conversation on Cinemas)”

draws a picture of Ottoman cinema lover women as who are in a dazzle because of the lights, have wild-eyes, and walk around as loafers, and draws attention to the disappearance of women who go to the cinemas in the evening trams and the women on the streets of three main entertainment centers of the city namely, Beyoğlu, Kadıköy and Şehzadebaşı.¹⁷⁹ The cinema-lover women became a part of the image of the city already in 1918.

Rikkat claims that cinema has a huge power on society since it could reach a huge variety of spectators from the noble women to the young girls. Moreover, she points out that the effects of the cinematic spectatorship experience are visible in daily life, and one can recognize it by observing the smiles and the behaviours of the young girls.¹⁸⁰ In Rikkat's article, the body of the female spectator appears on the city street as someone who stands on the threshold of the dream world of cinema and the reality of the urban life.

According to Rikkat, the movies such as the one which has a plot narrating the story of the countess who travels with her lover, or the one which narrates a husband who has been cheated by his wife, incentivize adultery and render become familiar with these kinds of less moral behaviors.¹⁸¹ She claims that the movies, especially the ones about love affairs, are very dangerous for young women in terms of their psychological stability. Therefore, she asks

¹⁷⁹ "Birkaç haftadan beri sinemalar – hastalık dolayısıyla- kapalı. Artık Beyoğlu'nda, Kadıköyü'nde, Şehzadebaşı'nda gözleri ziyâdan kamaşmış, başları dönmüş yararsız bir halde yolları dolduran hanımları dolduran hanımları görmüyor musunuz? Akşamları tramvaylar hemen hemen sinema meraklılarını şehre tevzi'e başlardı." Neziha Rikkat, "Sinemalara dair bir Muhabbet (A Conversation on Cinemas),"

¹⁸⁰ "Dikkat ederseniz gülüşlerinde yürüyüşlerinde bu temâşâların tes'ir lerini görürsünüz." Rikkat

¹⁸¹ "Zevceleri tarafından mâhirâne aldatılan kocaların haline gülüyoruz. Bunlar bize abdal, değersiz böyle bir akıbeta mustehâkk olarak gösteriliyor." Rikkat, "Sinemalara dair bir Muhabbet" (A Conversation on Cinemas)

authorities to take an action to control the movies in cinema theaters and to establish a cinema theater for everyone [including young girls] to enjoy in Beyoğlu, Şehzadebaşı and/or Kadıköy.

Sadık claims that the cinematographic affection on the spectators is a way of mesmerizing (*telkin*). The mesmerizing effect can be more powerful for the spectators who have weak psychology and intelligence.¹⁸² The author considers young girls, house wives and the children under the category of a spectator that can be easily affected by the cinematic mesmerizing since cinema creates an artificial space by imitating the real life.¹⁸³ Moreover, space which has been created by the hyperreality effect of cinema and the mesmerizing effect are described as including a trance mood and a hypnotic mood by the author. He claims that the sensations of cinema spectators are numb, and their capacity of being conscious is tempered.¹⁸⁴ Therefore the spectators become “automats”, isolated from whole nature, who cannot see and cannot be occupied with anything other than the curtain of the cinema.¹⁸⁵ For this reason, he considers the hysteric and neurotic women and the children as the slaves of

¹⁸² “Telkin, ne kadar musâ'id-i şerî'at dâhilinde yapılır ve buna tabî' olanlar sinirleri ne kadar zayıf, fikri ne derece boş, zekâsı ne kadar muhtar olursa, o derece büyük bir tesir 'icra eder; ...Her nev-i sinema çocukların, genç kızların, bilhassa asabi kızların bir cinayetidir...” Sadık, Ibid, 4

¹⁸³ “Meziyyet-i hayata tamamıyla mutâsabık olması, sâni muhitler içinde cereyan etmemesidir.” Sadık, Ibid, 4

¹⁸⁴ “Bir müddet sinema perdesi yanında seyredenlere bakmak bu 'iddiayı ispâta kâfidir: herkesin gözleri açılmış büyük ve dâ'imi bir dikkat esiri olarak başlar öne doğru çıkmış, ağızları açık, herkes hareketsiz. Buna bir de piyanonun basit fakat muzun ahengini ilave ediniz. Ruhu, akli bütün kuvvetler dikkat olarak temerküz etmiştir. Perdeye dikilen gözlerden mâ'ide bütün havas uyuşmuştur; şu'urun sahası tamamıyla daralmıştır.” Sadık, Ibid, 4

¹⁸⁵ “Sinemayı seyredenler büyük bir zulmet içinde bütün kâinatla alakası kesilmiş gözleri yalnız sinema perdesini gören, başka bir şey görmeyen, başka bir şey işitmeyen, başka şeyle meşgul olmayan, hakiki “otomatlardır.”” Ibid, 4

this dream world.¹⁸⁶ The most interesting part of his article is that he never mentions a category of healthy women. According to him, there is only one group of female spectators who either hysteric or neurotic. Without referring to any name, genre, and/or content of the movies, he claims that there are a lot of house-wives who do not enjoy their own lives, get angry at their husbands, and destroy the peace of their houses since they cannot find the lifestyle, attention, resplendence which they saw at cinema.¹⁸⁷ According to Sadık, women as one of the weakest groups of the society, especially the young girls and housewives, are too fragile to be exposed to this modern mesmerizing machine.

By pointing out the bad effects of cinematic spectatorship experience, both writers hint at the birth of the new female spectator on whose face the effects of cinema can be found. The new female spectator in Ottoman İstanbul experienced the dream world, which does not exist in the reality of daily life, in the cinemas, and they go out of cinemas be dazzled because of the lights of cinema and walk around as loafers with wild eyes. Moreover, these spectators deploy their agency to rener the fantasies reality. According to both of the authors, there are a lot of women who engaged with the female stars of the movies and are willing to become one of the characters of the dream world of cinema. Therefore, there are two outcomes that can be derived from Ottoman women's cinematic spectatorship experience: first, they consider

¹⁸⁶ “İşte, bunun için bütün çocuklar vâkıfve terbiyesi olmayan basit zekâlı gençler, asab ve isterik kadınlar hep bu sinema perdesinin esiridirler.” Ibid, 4

¹⁸⁷ “Sinemada görüp beğendiği tarz-ı hayatı kendi muhitinde göremediği, özentî ve ihtişamı etrafında bulamadığı için hayattan usanan, kocasına hiddet eden, ‘aile refahını istirahatini bozan ev kadınlarına sık sık tesadüf ediliyor.” Ibid, 4

cinema theaters as a dream world where they can experience fantasies through identification with the filmic characters; second, they became a threat to the traditional structure of the family and the society by replacing the reality of everyday life with the fantasies which they experience in the cinematic dream world.

4.4 Cinema as a Consumption Practice

In the last part of this chapter, I analyze the role of women's magazines in creating the star gazing-fan system and promoting fashion consumption. The change in the cultural norms and gender relations can be traced by analyzing the concept of fashion since fashion covers not only trends in clothing but also provides us with hints as to the consumption practices as well as, social and material relations. For that reason, I analyze how cinema culture was utilized as a tool in the creation of a modern consumer culture, and commodity fetishism in the late Ottoman period.

According to German cultural critique Benjamin, the beginning of the twentieth century commodity fetishism and dream fetishism became indiscernible because of the architectural structure of the departmental stores and the new technological forces such as cinema.¹⁸⁸ In *Arcades Project*, Benjamin considers modernity as a dream world, and arcades as "the houses of consumer's dream world".¹⁸⁹ Arcades and the departmental stores were the places where the commodity fetish became visible in the nineteenth-century Paris. In the

¹⁸⁸ Buck-Morss, "Mythic Nature: Wish Image," 118,144

¹⁸⁹ Buck-Morss, "Introduction to Part II," 37, "Dreamworld of Mass Culture," 253

following part of the chapter, I explore how Ottoman İstanbulite women experience the commodity fetishism in cinemas as it can be experienced in departmental stores by analyzing the articles, contests and news on women's magazines.

Süs magazine had an important role in promoting consumerism and fashion through cinema. As mentioned above, the magazine organized a contest of cinema actresses. The rules of the contest include collecting of the photographs of two actresses which are published in the first four issues of the magazine, and voting for the most beautiful and most artistically talented one. Therefore, the magazine acquainted women to with the famous European and American female stars, and led them to pick a favorite one.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, the awards of the contest are the last fashion commodities such as hand-held fan, tricolette handkerchief, face powder, and a hand bag. These awards are described as commodities since they are articulated with their brands, their exchange values, and their fashionableness instead of their use value by the magazine.¹⁹¹ Through the contest, the star gazing and fan system was being established. Moreover, the contest promotes the idea of cinema consumption as a sign of modernity and civilization. The magazine promises female spectators to be modern and civilized not only through the pleasure of looking at commodities but also through consumption of cinema related commodities.

¹⁹⁰ Names of some of the actresses articulated as Russian actress Elena Makuška, Italian Lida Bordalli,...

¹⁹¹ Karl Marx, "Part 1: Commodities and Money, Chapter 1: Commodities," *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy vol. I* (London: Penguin Books, 1990-1992, c1976-1981), 27-60

Süs is not the only magazine which serves to establish the star gazing-fan system; from its first issue *Yeni İnci* (*New Pearl*) magazine publishes the translations of interviews with foreign actresses published in European magazines in order to make the female reader familiar with the movie stars.¹⁹² In the first issue, the magazine publishes an interview with a French actress called Biscoe about her cinema career. However, in the following issues, the interviews cover, for the most part, information pertaining to the wealth and means of the cinema actresses. For example, the interview with American actresses Ms. Mary Pickford and Ms. Betty states that Ms. Betty has eight cars, hundreds of dresses, and approximately two hundred pairs of shoes.¹⁹³ *Yeni İnci* publishes not only the translations of the interviews but also conducts interviews with the stars who visit İstanbul. For example, there is an interview with US based French actress Maria Montel published in the fifth issue of the magazine. The narrative of the interview draws a picture of the life of an actress as the most desirable life which is full of travels and fun. Through creating a star system the female spectators became familiar with consumerism and commodity fetishism.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, the usage of the commodities is promoted through the star system in the magazines.

¹⁹² ... "Bisko Nasıl Sinemacı Olmuş? (How Bisko Became a Cinema-Person?)" *Yeni inci (The New Pearl)* num.1, (1 Haziran 1337) (1 June 1922), 10

¹⁹³ ... "Sinema Muhasebeleri (Cinema Accounts)," *Yeni inci (The New Pearl)* num. 3 (1 Ağustos 1338) (1 August 1922), 9

¹⁹⁴ Stacey, *Star Gazing*, 340



Figure 2: Ms. Mary Pickford in “Sinema Muhasebeleri (Cinema Accounts),” *Yeni inci* (The New Pearl) num. 3 (1 Agustus 1338) (1 August 1922), 9

In the thirteen issue of *Süs* magazine, there is an article which announces the opening of Elhamra Cinema (*Elhamra Sineması*).¹⁹⁵ The article states that there will be an opening of a popular art and amusement place in Beyoğlu which is organized only by Turkish entrepreneurship. Elhamra Cinema is described as an astonishing place for the fans of spectacles (*temâşâ perverler*). Moreover, the magazine heralds the news that there will be surprises such as the screenings of the films of the models which show the latest fashion on women's and men's clothing, hair style and underwear.¹⁹⁶ In the following issue of the same magazine, there is also another article about the same opening "Elhamra Sinemasında Paris'in Son Modası" (The Last Fashion of Paris in Elhamra Cinema). The article firstly states the location of the cinema as in the middle of Beyoğlu. In the second article, more information is available on the movie which is going to be screened in the opening ceremony. The movie called is *Elegance Parisian* (*Elegans Parisyen*). According to the article, the movie is produced in order to spread the last fashion in Paris to all women.¹⁹⁷ With the light of these two articles, Elhamra Cinema is pictured as an astonishing place where women can find the fashion of Paris in the middle of Beyoğlu. *Süs* magazine makes a call for women to go to Elhamra Cinema in order to experience the luxury life of the capital of modernity, Paris in the

¹⁹⁵ ... "Elhamra Sineması (Elhamra Cinema)," *Süs* num.13 (8 Eylül 1339) (8 September 1923), 16

¹⁹⁶ "Derin bir iftiharla tebşir ederiz: sırf Türk teşbisi ile Beyoğlu'nun nâm-ı gününde şahane bir mahfel zevk ve sanat küşâd olunuyor: Elhamra Sineması en bed'i ihtimamlarla müzeyyen olarak, Eylül'ün 21. Cuma günü mutantan salonlarına muhterem temâşâ-perverlere açıyor. Programlarda İstanbul halkı için muhayyir'ül 'ukul harikalar var: mesela müdüriyet Paris'in en son kadın ve erkek tuvaletlerini, saç modellerini, iç çamaşırlarını en şık ve en yüksek terzihanelerinde en güzel, en latif mankenlerle filmlere aldirmek üzere teşkil etmiş." Elhamra Sineması'nda Paris'in Son Modası" (The Last Fashion of Paris in Elhamra Cinema), *Süs* num.14 (15 Eylül 1339) (15 September 1923), 16

¹⁹⁷ "Bu filmleri cihâna Paris teşkil etmiş "Elegans Parisyen" yani Paris şıklığı şirket tarafından Paris'in son modasını bütün hanımlara neşr ve teşbir için i'mâl olunuyor." Ibid, 16

luxurious architecture of Elhamra Cinema. Moreover, at the end of the second article, there is a warning for women which suggests that women should not go for winter shopping before watching the movie *Elegance Parisian*. The cinema was introduced to women by *Süs* magazine as a capital of the latest fashion.

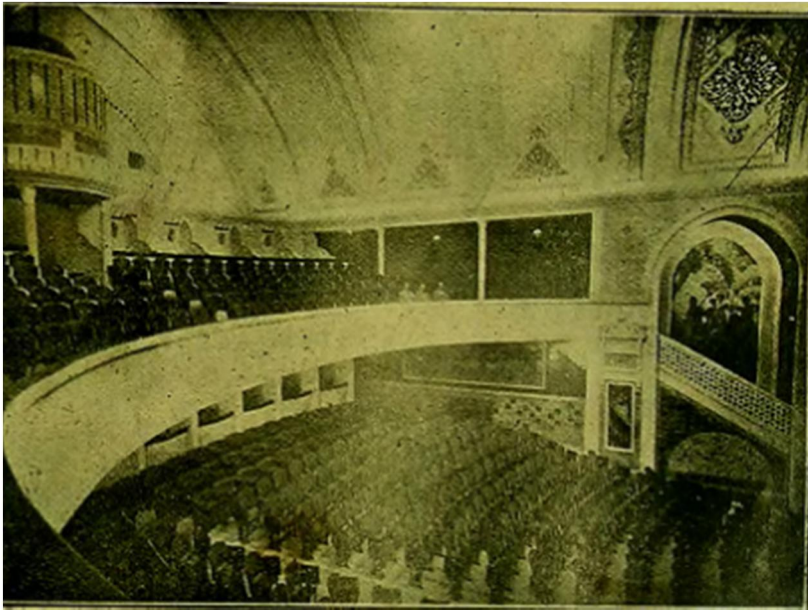


Figure 3 Elhamra Cinema in 1923, *Süs*¹⁹⁸

As the capital of the nineteenth century, Paris displayed in the middle of Beyoğlu where Ottoman women could get the pleasure of looking towards the fashion as a “true face of commodity fetishism”.¹⁹⁹ The promotion of transforming the image and the body of the

¹⁹⁸ ... “Elhamra Sinemasının Resmi Küşâdı (The Official Opening of Elhamra Cinema),” *Süs* num.16 (29 Eylül 1339) (29 September 1923), 16

¹⁹⁹ Buck-Morss, “Special Origins,” 23

female spectator into filmic images hints at the construction of modern consumer who transforms her image into filmic reality.

4.5 Conclusion

According to the analysis of the articles related to cinema in women's magazines, cinema and cinematic spectatorship experience gave Ottoman Muslim women the power to look and to enjoy the pleasure of looking which they also employed in the city streets. Therefore, Ottoman Muslim women became individuals who have the ability to reshape and re-edit the modern urban culture. It can be claimed that women took an active role in the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire in four ways. First, they defined the leisure time activity by participating in the working life. Second, they mobilized the city centers according to the modern forms of entertainment by using modern mass transportation and walking in the city streets as idle strollers under the mesmerizing effect of the cinematography. Third, they attempted to deconstruct and reconstruct their everyday life reality with regard to the filmic reality. Fourth, they experienced the pleasure of looking as the agents of the commodity fetishism.

Chapter 5- Conclusion

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Istanbul became a place for social and political transformation. While a modernization process was visible in the political area, Ottoman society also experienced modernization through new consumption practices. The new consumption practices and public spaces laid the grounds for the modernization movements in the Empire. As a part of cultural practices of the nineteenth century, cinema became a platform and a reflector of the attributions of modernity in the late Ottoman Empire.²⁰⁰ This thesis explored the role of cinema in the modernization of Ottoman Istanbulite women, particularly Ottoman Muslim upper-middle class women.

At first, I traced the thresholds of the city for women by picturing the private and public spheres for Ottoman women in the nineteenth-century novels which belong to the period before the arrival of cinematography. By analyzing novels, I introduced different categories of women in the Empire which were classified according to their ethnic and religious identities. Therefore there were two categories of women employed in this thesis: Ottoman non-Muslim women and Ottoman Muslim women. I explored the thresholds of the city; where Istanbul started and ended for Ottoman women who belong to different intersectional categories. Therefore, in chapter three, I mapped women's Istanbul in order to clarify the access of Ottoman women to the city and to modernization through the city. In the third chapter, Ottoman non-Muslim women were manifested as individuals who could enjoy

²⁰⁰ Charney and Schwartz, Introduction to *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, 1

modern ways of spectacle and who had the power to modernize the gendered structure of the urban sphere by strolling in the city. However, there was no representation of Ottoman Muslim women as active participants of urban-cultural life; they were represented mostly in the private sphere as the keepers of the traditional form of Ottoman society and family.

With women's participation in working life, at the end of the nineteenth century, Ottoman women became visible in the streets of İstanbul. In the women's magazines, there was a stress on the differences between the old women and the new women. As it is represented in the novels, the articles in the magazines also stated that the old [Muslim] women were not visible in the city while the new/modern women were emancipated from the walls of *Harem*.²⁰¹ Moreover, the image of Muslim women as the one who lack the agency of the gaze and who can not get the pleasure from looking changed after the arrival of cinematography into Ottoman İstanbul in 1896. In the fourth chapter, I analyzed the role of cinema in and for modernization of Ottoman Muslim women.

Cinema culture empowered Ottoman Muslim upper-middle class women in terms of being visible in the city streets as individual idle strollers. Through identification with the filmic characters, Ottoman Muslim female citizens encountered the different parts of the world and a different construction of womanhood which stood out of their daily life experience. Therefore, cinema was considered as a threat to the traditional gender construction of Ottoman society since Muslim women attempted to adapt their everyday

²⁰¹ Özkal, 104

reality to the filmic reality. Moreover, women's cinema-going activities moved the city centers from old centers into new centers which were centralized around the modern entertainment activities. The last point is that Ottoman Muslim women joined the modern ways of economic and social relations through commodity fetishism. As a conclusion, the cinematic spectatorship encouraged Ottoman Muslim upper-middle class women to be an active agent of modernization in the late Ottoman Empire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary Sources

1.1. Archival Material

- BOA DH.EUM.6/Sb.17/3, 1 Nisan 1335. [1 April 1919]
 BOA DH.EUM.19/17.1/20, 5 Teşrin-i evvel 1339. [5 October 1923]
 BOA DH.EUM.MEM.00132/00070, 7 Teşrin-i sani 1331. [1915]
 BOA DH.EUM.MEM.00132/00070/025 15 Kânun-ı evvel 1331.[18 December 1915]

1.2. Periodicals

- Ethem Nejat. “Kadın ve Erkek Eğlencede Birlikte (Women and Men are Together at the Entertainment).” *Türk Kadını (Turkish Women)* num.9:9. 7 Eylül 1334. [7 September 1918]
 Anonymous. “Bisko Nasıl Sinemacı Olmuş? (How Bisko Became a Cinema-Person?)” *Yeni inci (The New Pearl)* num.1:10 Haziran 1337. [1 June 1922]
 Anonymous. “Elhamra Sineması (Elhamra Cinema).” *Süs* num.13: 16. 8 Eylül 1339. [8 September 1923]
 Anonymous. “Elhamra Sinemasının Resmi Küşâdı (The Official Opening of Elhamra Cinema).” *Süs* num.16:16. 29 Eylül 1339. [29 September 1923]
 Anonymous. “Sinema Artistleri Müsabakasında Hediye Kazanalar (The Winners of the Contest of Cinema Actresses).” *Süs (Ornament)* no.5:15 July 14 1339. [1923]
 Anonymous. “Sinema Muhasebeleri (Cinema Accounts).” *Yeni inci (The New Pearl)* num.3: 9. 1 Ağustos 1338. [1 August 1922]
 Anonymous. “Sinema Artistleri Müsabakası.” *Süs* num.1: 15. 16 Haziran 1339 [16 June 1923]
 Anonymous. “Nisvâna mahsus Klüpler” (The Clubs belong to Women), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies)* no.142:1-2 27 Recep, 1313. [13 Ocak 1896]
 Necmettin Sadık. “Memleketimizde Sinemanın Tesirleri (The Effects of the Cinema on Our Country).” *Inci (The Pearl)* no.27:4. 14 March 1337. [1921]
 Neziha Rikkat. “Sinemalara dair bir Muhabbet (A Conversation on Cinemas),” *Türk Kadını (Turkish Women)* num.15:16. 26 Kanun-i evvel 1334. [26 December 1918]
 Y. Naciye, “Erkekler Hakikaten Hürriyet perver midirler? Kadınlar Ne İstiyorlar? (Are men really freedom lovers? What do women want?)” *Kadınlar Dünyası (Women's Universe)* no.7:3 (10 April 1913): 3.

1.3. Novels

- Ahmet Mithat. *Düldane Hanım (Mss.Düldane)*. Ankara : Akçağ, 2005.
 ———. *Müşahadat (Obsevation)*. İstanbul: Özgür Yayınlar, 2011.
 Mizancı Murad. *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı? (Fresh or Wasted?)*. İstanbul : Bordo Siyah, 2004.
 Nabizade Nazım. *Zehra*. Edited by Hüseyin Alaçatlı. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1997.
 Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem. *Araba Sevdası*. İstanbul: Sule Yayınları, 2009.
 Şemsettin Sami. *Taaşşuk-ı Talât ve Fitnat (The love of Talat and Fitnat)*. İstanbul: Özgür Press, 2011.

Ziya Uşaklıgil, Halit Ziya. *Aşk-ı Memnu* (The Forbidden Love). Istanbul: Inkilap Kitapevi, 1998.

2. Secondary Sources

- Abou-Hodeib, Toufoul. "The Material Life of the Ottoman Middle Class." *History Compass*. 2017. 584-595.
- Allilous, Voitheite "To Help Each Other," *Neologos* 23.1875.
- And, Metin. "Osmanlı Tiyatrosu": *Kuruluşu, Gelişimi, Katkısı* ("Ottoman Theater": *Establishment, Development, Contribution*. Ankara: Ankara University DTCF. 1976.
- Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*. Edited by Rolf Tiedemann. Translated by Eiland, Howard and McLaughlin, Kevin. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Buck-Morss, Susan. *The Dialectics of Seeing : Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1999.
- Charney, Leo, and Vanessa R. Schwartz. *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*. Berkeley : University of California Press, c1995.
- Çakır, Serpil. *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi (The Ottoman Women's Movement)*. Istanbul: Metis, 1994.
- Çakır, Serpil. "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism." *Aspasia* 1: 61-83. 2007.
- Çeliktemel Thormen, Özde. "Çocuklar ve Kadınlar: Geç Osmanlı Döneminde Sinema Hakkında Bir Müteala (Children and Women: An Observation about the Cinema in the Late Ottoman Period)," *Alternatif Politika (Althernative Politics)* Special issue on Cinema: 1-29.2006.
- . "Hayaller Hakikat Olursa: Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Filmler, Gösterimler, İzlenimler (1896-1909) (If the Dreams become the Truth: Films, Screenings, Impressions in the Films of Ottoman Istanbul (1896-1909))." *Doğu Batı Düşünce Magazine* 75/4: 155-179.2015-2016).
- . *The Curtain of Dreams : Early Cinema in Istanbul, 1896-1923*. CEU History Department Master Theses: 2009/5. Budapest : Central European University, 2009.
- Çelik, Zeynep. *The Remaking of Istanbul : Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Publications on the Near East, University of Washington: No. 2. Seattle : University of Washington Press, c1986.
- Eldem, Edhem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Alan Masters. n.d. *The Ottoman City between East and West : Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Erdoğan, Nezih. "The Spectator in the Making: Modernity and Cinema in Istanbul, 1896-1928." in *Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe?* Ed. Deniz Göktürk, Levent Soysal and İpek Türeli. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Enis, Ayşe Zeren. *Everyday Lives of Ottoman Women: Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies) (1895-1908)*. İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2013.
- Evren, Burçak. *Türkiye'ye Sinemayı Getiren Adam: Sigmund Weinberg (The Man who Introduces the Cinema to Turkey)*. Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1995.

- Exertzoglou, Haris. "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers During the 19th Century." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (1): 77–95. 2003.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Subjects of the Sultan : Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*. London : I.B. Tauris, 2000.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya, and Arzu Öztürkmen. *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*. London ; New York: Seagull Books. 2014.
- Frierson, Elisabeth B. "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society." In *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922 : An Introduction*, edited by Donald Quataert, 243–61. SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East. Albany : State University of New York Press, c2000.
- Genç, Kaya. *An Istanbul Anthology : Travel Writing through the Centuries*. Cairo : The American University in Cairo Press, 2015.
- Georgeon, François. *Sultan Adbülhamid*. Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006.
- Gorvett, Jon. "The Shadow Puppetry of Karagöz," *The Middle East* vol. 348: 62-63. 2004.
- Yelence, Yalçın. "Türkiye'ye Sinemanın Gelişi(The Arrival of Cinema into Turkey)." *Hayal Perdesi* num. 36: 32-33. 2013.
- Göçek, Fatma Müge. *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*. New York : Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Göndem Ötken, Meltem. *Sinematografya Videoya: Türkiye'de Sinema Deneyimi ve Türk Edebiyatındaki Yansımaları (From Cinematography to Video: The Experience of Cinematography in Turkey and its Reflections in Turkish Literature)*. Unpublished PHD Thesis, Eskişehir Anadolu University, 2010.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere : An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. London : Polity Press, 1992, c1989.
- Hanioglu, M. Şükrü. *Preparation for a Revolution : The Young Turks, 1902-1908*. Studies in Middle Eastern History. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Huyssen, Andreas. *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*. Language, Discourse, Society. London : MacMillan, c1986.
- İkbal, Elif Mahir. *Fashion and Women in Istanbul of the Armistice period, 1918-1923*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Boğaziçi University, The Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, 2005.
- Katz, Sherry J. "Excavating Radical Women in Progressive-Era California," Ch. 6 in: *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources*. Edited by Nupur Chaudhuri, Sherry J. Katz, and Mary Elizabeth Perry. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010.
- Karakışla, Yavuz Selim. "Enver Paşa'nın Kurduğu Kadın Birinci İşçi Taburu: Osmanlı Ordusunda Kadın Askerler (The First Women's Workers Line: The Women Soldiers in the Ottoman Army)." *Tophumsal Tarih (Social History)* num.66: 15-24. 1999.
- . *Women, War and Work in the Ottoman Empire: Society for the Employment of Ottoman Muslim Women (1916-1923)*. Ed. Lorans Tanatar Baruh. İstanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005.
- Karpat, Kemal. *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

- Korkmaz, Gülay, *Servet-i Fünûn Romanında Kadın (The Woman in Servet-i Fünun Novel)*. Unpublished MA Thesis, Süleyman Demirel University: Turkish Literature Department, 1998.
- Köksal, Duygu, and Anastasia Falierou. *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*. Leiden: Brill. 2013.
- Kurnaz, Şefika. “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Kadınların Eğitimi (The Education of Women: From Ottoman Empire to the Republic).” *Milli Eğitim Dergisi* (The Journal of National Education Ministry). Last access on 30.05.2017.
http://dhgm.meb.gov.tr/yayimlar/dergiler/Milli_Egitim_Dergisi/143/14.htm
- Lewis, Bernard. *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire*. The Centers of Civilization Series: 9. Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
- Mardin, Serif. “Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century.” In *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*. Ed. Peter Benedict, Erol Tumertekin, Fatma Mansur, 403–46. Leiden: Brill. 1974.
- Marx, Karl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy vol. I*. London: Penguin Books, 1990-1992, c1976-1981.
- Mestyan, Adam. *A Garden with Mellow Fruits of Refinement : Music Theatres and Cultural Politics in Cairo and Istanbul, 1867-1892*. CEU History Department PhD Theses: 2011/6. Budapest : Central European University, 2011.
- . “Cultural Policy in the Late Ottoman Empire? The Palace and the Public Theatres in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul.” *Kulturpolitik und Theatre: Die Kontinentalen Imperien in Europa im Vergleich (Cultural Politics and Theater: Comparatives of the European Continental Empires)* ed. Philipp Ther (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012), 127-149. 2017.
- Mircklewright, Nancy “Harem/House/Set: Domestic Interiors of Photography from the Late Ottoman World.” *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Spaces*. Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Moran, Berna. *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış I (A Critical Perspective Towards Turkish Literature I)*. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001.
- Osmanoğlu, Ayşe. *Babam Abdülhamit (My Father: Abdülhamit)*. İstanbul: Güven, 1960.
- Özdemir, Nebi. “Osmanlı Tüketim Kültürü, Eğlence ve Yazılı Medya İlişkisi (The Relation among Consumer Culture, Entertainment and the Print Media in Ottoman Period trans. by author),” *Milli Folklor (National Folklore)* vol. 73: 12-22. 2007.
- Özen, Mustafa. “Visual Representation and Propaganda: Early Films and Postcards in the Ottoman Empire, 1895-1914.” *Early Popular Visual Culture* 6 (2): 145–57. 2008.,
- Özgüç, Agah. *Türk Sinemasında Sansür Dosyası (The Censorship File of Turkish Cinema)*. Istanbul: Koza, 1976.
- Özkal, Elçin. *İnci (Yeni) Magazine (1919 - 1923): The Feminine Actuality during the Occupational Period*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University History Department, 2007.
- Özkocak Akyazıcı, Selma. “Coffeehouses - Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul.” *Journal of Urban History* 33 (6): 965–86. 2007.
- Özön, Nijat. *Sinema El Kitabı (A Handbook for Cinema)*. İstanbul: Elif Yayınları, 1964.
- Özuyar, Ali. *Sinemanın Osmanlıca Serüveni (The Adventure of Cinema with Ottoman Turkish)*. Ankara: Öteki Yayınevi. 1999.

- *Babiali'de Sinema (Cinema in the Sublime Porte)*. İstanbul: İzdüşüm, 2004.
- Pierce, Leslie L. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Rasim, Ahmed. *Muharrir Bu Ya (That's the Author)*, Ankara: Devlet Kitapları, 1969/1926.
- Raymond, Cesar. *Nouveau Plan de Pera*. Imprint Costantinople: Librairie Raymond, 1915.
- Sakaoğlu, Necdet, and Nuri Akbayar. *A Thousand Days and a Thousand Nights: The World of Entertainment in Istanbul from Ottoman Times to the Present Day*. İstanbul: Denizbank, 1999.
- Saraçoğlu, Mehmet Safa. "Reality with a Moral Twist: Ahmed Midhat's Müşahadat as an Image of an Ideal Ottoman Society." *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 15: 29–47. 2006.
- Scognamillo, Giovanni. *Cadde-i Kebir'de Sinema*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları. 1991.
- Stacey, Jackie. *Star-Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship*. UK: Routledge, 1994.
- Strauss, Johann. "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6: 39–76. 2003.
- Şafak, Meltem *Tracing Modernization in the Ottoman Literature: The New Ideal in Ottoman Turkish and Armeno-Turkish Novels*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. CEU History Department, 2016.
- *Hysterical Men in the Ottoman Novels*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. İstanbul Şehir University Comparative Literature, 2015.
- Tekeli, Şirin. *Kadın, Siyasal ve Toplumsal Hayat*. İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1982.
- Toprak, Zafer. "Cumhuriyet Arifesi Evlilik Üzerine Bir Anket: Görücülük mü? Görüşçülük mü? (A Survey Before The Republic: Matchmaking or Dating?)" *Toplumsal Tarih* no. 50: 32 – 34. 1988.
- "Genelevler. (The Whore Houses)" in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi (The Encyclopedia of İstanbul from Yesterday to Today)*. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1993.
- "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevi Hastalıklar. (Prostitution and Sexually Transmissible Diseases in İstanbul)" *Tarih ve Toplum* no. 39: 31-40 1987.
- Türe, Fatma. *Fact and Fantasies, Images of Istanbul Women in 1920s*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015.
- Usdikan, Behzat. "Beyoğlu'nun Eski Sinemaları IV. (*The Old Cinemas of Beyoğlu IV*)" *Toplumsal Tarih (Social History)* no. 26: 358.1996.
- Uysal, Zeynep. *Matruk Ev (The Desolate House)*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları: 2014.
- Vartanyan, Hovsep. *Akabi Hikayesi (The Story of Agabi)*. Edited by Andreas Tietze. İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1991.