

ARCHITECTURE, IDENTITY, AND LIMINALITY: ON THE USE AND MEANING OF CATHOLIC SPACES IN LATE OTTOMAN ISTANBUL

Our present image of the Catholic churches of Istanbul is that of buildings scarcely related to the core of the city's architectural heritage. Although the origin of many of these religious structures goes back to the late Byzantine era or to the early centuries of Ottoman rule, their present shape is mostly the result of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century renovation, reconstruction, or building *ex novo*, following the liberalization of Ottoman religious policies after the Tanzimat Charter of 1839. Topographically, the majority of these churches are located outside the historic peninsula, in the districts of Galata and Pera (present-day Beyoğlu),¹ which have habitually sheltered a large share of non-Muslim Ottoman and European inhabitants, thus acquiring an altogether foreign patina (fig. 1). Socially, they were built for communities who did not belong to the Ottoman *millets*, or "nations," of Greek Orthodox, Armenian, or Jewish allegiance. Architecturally, their style and layout conform to the standards of nineteenth-century European historicism: Gothic and classical revivals of various denominations, with only occasional references to Byzantine decorative idioms or spatial layouts.

However inclusive our concept of architectural Ottoman-ness may be—and it surely is a concept that exceeds its Islamic and dynastic dimensions—we will nevertheless have difficulty in relating to it local architectural projects like the 1841–43 neoclassical reconstruction of the Dominican Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Galata (fig. 2), by Gaspare Fossati, or the present Catholic Cathedral of Saint Esprit (fig. 3), a basilican structure conceived in 1846 and rebuilt after an earthquake in 1865, which reflects contemporary Italian and Roman interest in the revival of the early Christian basilica type.² The foremost Catholic complex on the Asian side of Istanbul, the Church of the Assumption in Moda (near Kadıköy, the ancient Chalcedony, site of the Ecumenical Council of 451), begun in 1859, has a Latin-cross plan with a dome over the crossing and adopts a simplified version of

a post-Renaissance facade type flanked by two bell towers (fig. 4).³ Finally, a Gothic revivalist idiom is adopted for a national and religious landmark—the most popular, visible, and monumental Catholic church of present-day Istanbul—that of Saint Anthony in Beyoğlu, designed by the Istanbul-born Giulio Mongeri in 1905–8 (fig. 5).⁴

It is reasonable to assume that an overall image of alterity and distance from the main architectural features of Istanbul also characterized the Latin complexes surviving in the city during roughly the first two and a half centuries of Ottoman rule. Louis Mitler's view that "the physical appearance of Galata before the conquest and for several centuries thereafter remained that of a typical, fortified North Italian medieval town with castles, walls, narrow circuitous streets, Gothic churches and convents, stepped alleys, and solid masonry houses"⁵ seems rather exaggerated; for religious buildings, however, the best-known visual records, such as the illustrations to Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum* or Matrakçı Nasuh's depiction of Galata, testify to the prevailing adoption of basilican types with single or aisle-flanked naves, clerestories (sometimes absent), square bell towers detached from or contiguous with the prayer halls, and pitched roofs: all aspects in contrast with the basic features of most Byzantine and Ottoman monuments.⁶ The only significant exception seems to be the Church of Saint Benedict, originally a Genoese building of the fifteenth century, later staffed by French Jesuits and Lazarists; this was rebuilt several times in the Ottoman centuries but always preserved a trace of its original Byzantine-looking domes and belfry while also displaying Ottoman construction techniques in its masonry work (fig. 6).⁷ A connection with local heritage may be traced in the presence of narrative and devotional mosaics (in addition to frescoes) on the interior walls of many Latin churches, attested by written sources until the mid-seventeenth century.⁸ The foremost Latin remnant of the pre-Ottoman period until the late seventeenth

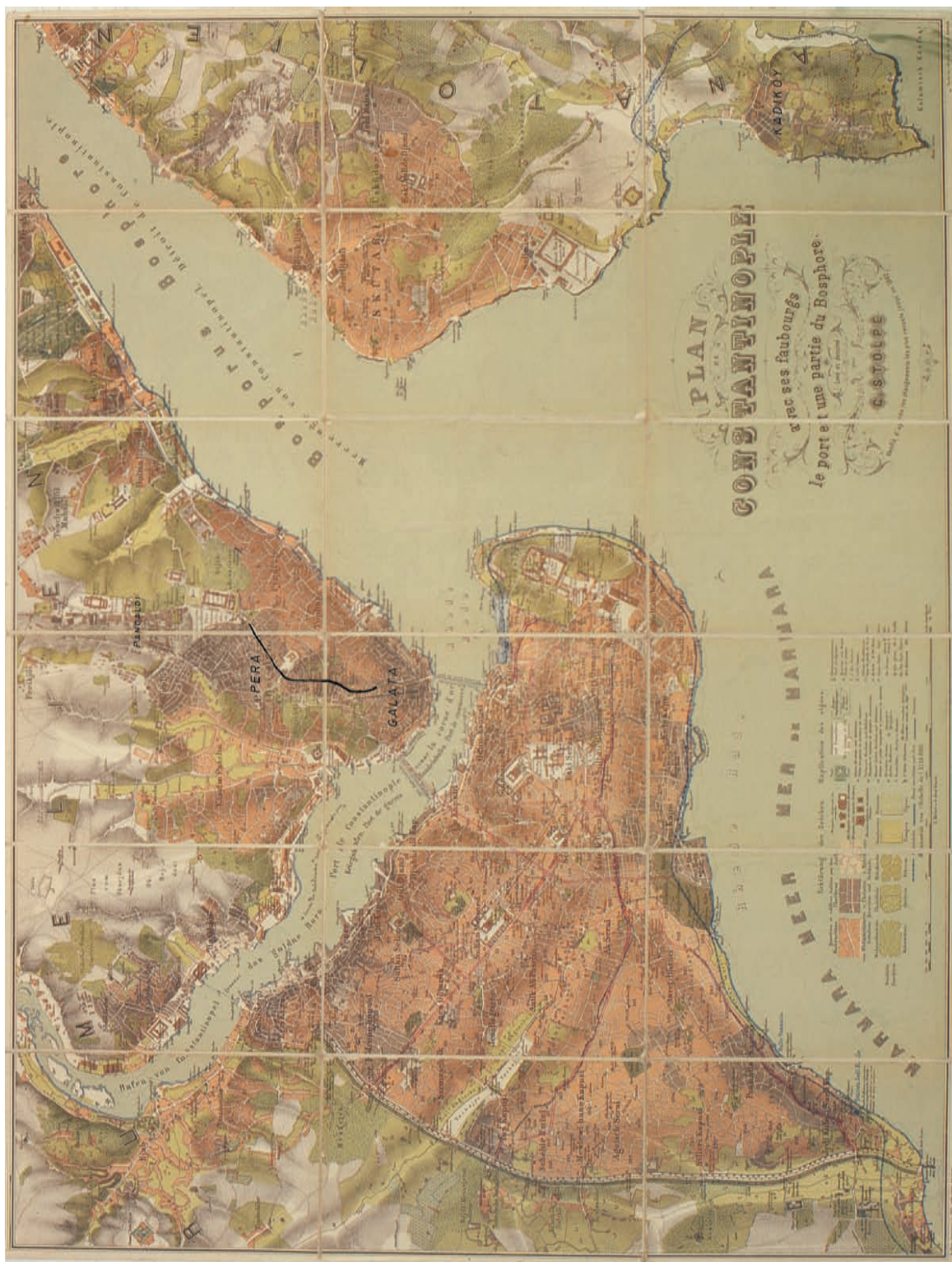


Fig. 1. Istanbul ca. 1882: the spine of the Grand Rue de Pera (present İstiklal Caddesi) and the location of Galata, Pera, Pancaldi (Pangaltı), and Kadıköy are emphasized. (Based on C. Stolpe, "Plan von Constantinopel mit den Vorstädten, dem Hafen und einem Theile des Bosphorus" = "Plan de Constantinople avec ses faubourgs, le port et une partie du Bosphore" [Constantinople: Lorentz & Keil, 1882])

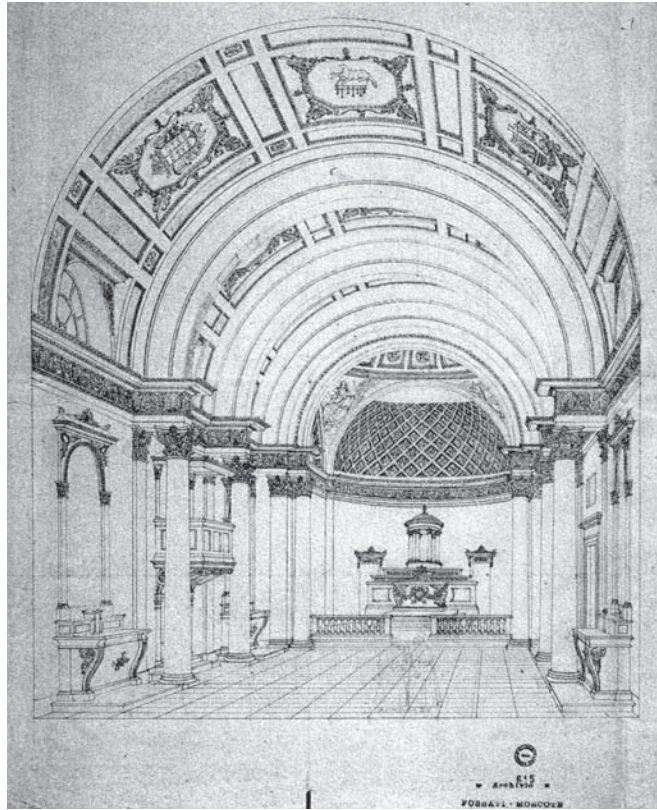


Fig. 2. Gaspare Fossati, interior perspective of the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Galata, 1840. (Archivio di Stato di Bellinzona, fondo Fossati)



Fig. 3. The present Catholic Cathedral of Saint Esprit, interior view from the altar. (Photo: Monica Fritz)



Fig. 4. Church of the Assumption in Moda. (Photo: Monica Fritz)



Fig. 5. Giulio Mongeri, early proposal for the facade of the new Saint Anthony, dated 1906 (later modified). (Archives of Saint Anthony, Istanbul)

century was the Church and Convent of Saint Francis (figs. 7–8) in lower Galata (present day Karaköy), originally built in the thirteenth century. Restored on the eve of the Ottoman conquest and reconstructed after the fires of 1639 and 1660, it was finally replaced by a mosque—the Yeni Valide, dedicated by Mustafa II to his mother—after the fire of 1696, which also destroyed the adjacent Church of Saint Anne, the congregational sanctuary of the Genoese “Magnifica Comunità di Pera.” This complex, analyzed in detail in Matteucci’s study,⁹ was perceived by apostolic visitors sent from Rome in the seventeenth century as essentially conforming to Italian liturgical and architectural standards, with only one major anomaly—the women’s galleries in the prayer hall, described as a reflection of local habits.¹⁰ Its loss, following the similar fate of other churches destroyed by fire, converted into mosques,¹¹ or simply allowed to fall into disrepair and abandoned, marked the lowest point in the decline of the Latin architectural presence in Istanbul.

Between this period and the post-Tanzimat resurgence symbolized by the number and imposing size of the revivalist buildings I have mentioned in part,¹² an intermediate phase of relative growth in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries produced the new churches of Saint Anthony (1763) and Santa Maria Draperis (1769) on the Grand Rue de Pera,

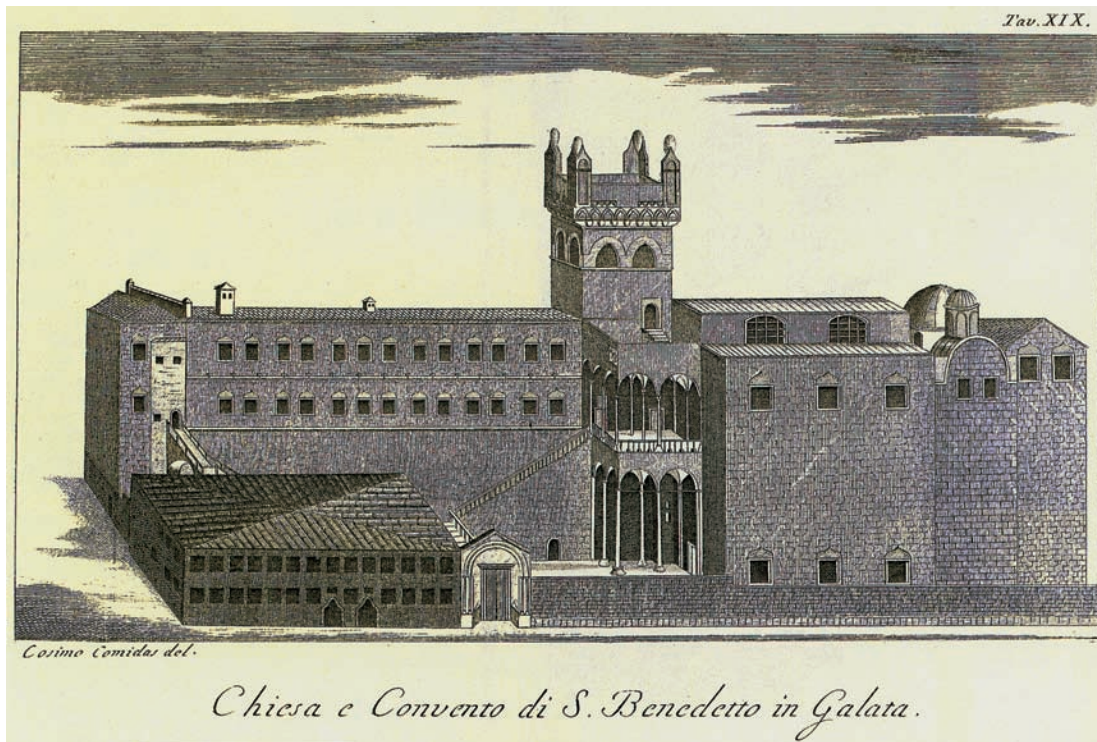


Fig. 6. Church of Saint Benedict. Engraving by C. C. de Carbognano, 1794.

in the suburban heights outside the walls of Galata. Saint Anthony was staffed by the same Franciscan mission that had lost Saint Francis in Galata; it would be replaced in the early twentieth century by Mongeri's monumental Gothic revival church.¹³ Santa Maria Draperis, still existing today in its basic late-eighteenth-century layout, although altered by additions and renovations, was the reconstruction of a church also originally located in Galata, in the area of Mumhane. Until the creation of new parishes in the course of the nineteenth century, Santa Maria and Saint Anthony were two of only three official Catholic parish churches, the third being the Dominican Saints Peter and Paul in Galata. From 1725, the year official parochial boundaries were established, the two shared religious jurisdiction and administered the sacraments to the entire Catholic population of Istanbul outside the historic peninsula and Galata (the area reserved for Saints Peter and Paul).

This paper is not a survey of the Catholic religious architecture of Istanbul in the late Ottoman period but rather a reflection on the degrees of integration and foreignness, of belonging and difference, displayed

in general by such an architectural presence, spatially and stylistically as well as in its sociocultural and political dimensions. It will be concerned mostly with the process of transition from the late-eighteenth-century phase to the post-Tanzimat order, and will use the churches of Saint Anthony and Santa Maria and the related documentation in the Roman archives of Propaganda Fide as evidence of a sort of "Catholic Ottoman-ness" in the eighteenth century, which is gradually replaced in the nineteenth by estrangement and conformity to nationally defined standards of religious and cultural identity.¹⁴ Depending on the context and period, I will implicitly address as "local" various layers of the architectural heritage of the city, from Byzantine to classical Ottoman, and from the Ottoman Baroque to the most "westernized" aspects of the recent architectural history of Istanbul.

INTEGRATION AND ESTRANGEMENT

The existence of Catholic houses of worship in Istanbul is an obvious reminder of Ottoman religious pluralism, as well as a reflection of changing power relations

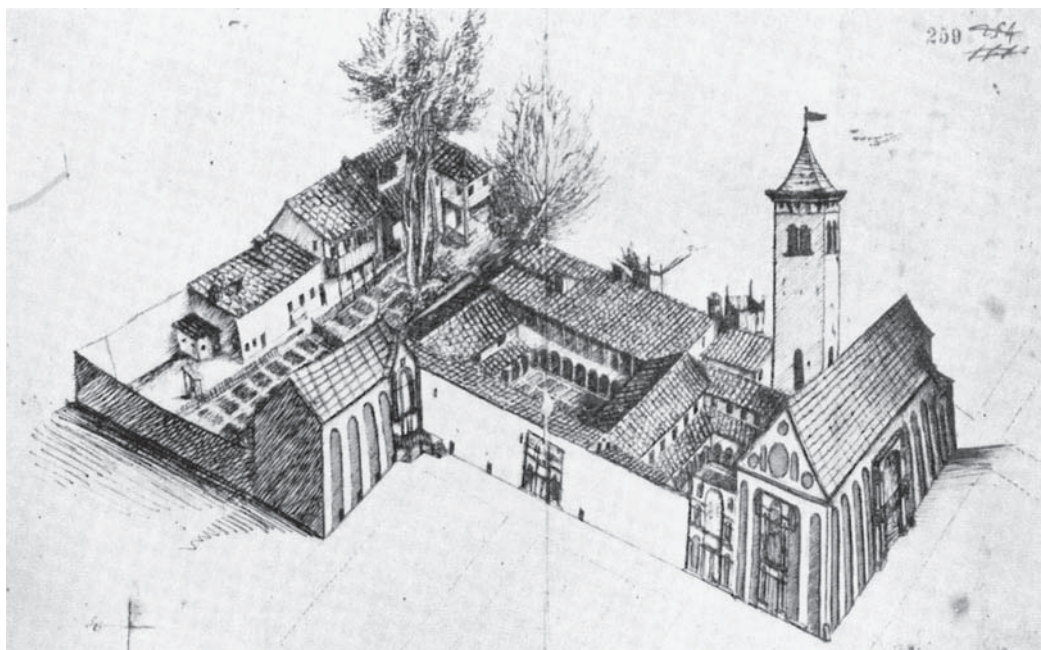


Fig. 7. The complex of Saint Francis in Galata, before the 1639 fire, in a document from the archives of Propaganda Fide. (After G. Matteucci, *Un glorioso convento francescano sulle rive del Bosforo, il S. Francesco di Galata in Costantinopoli, c. 1230-1697* [Florence, 1967])

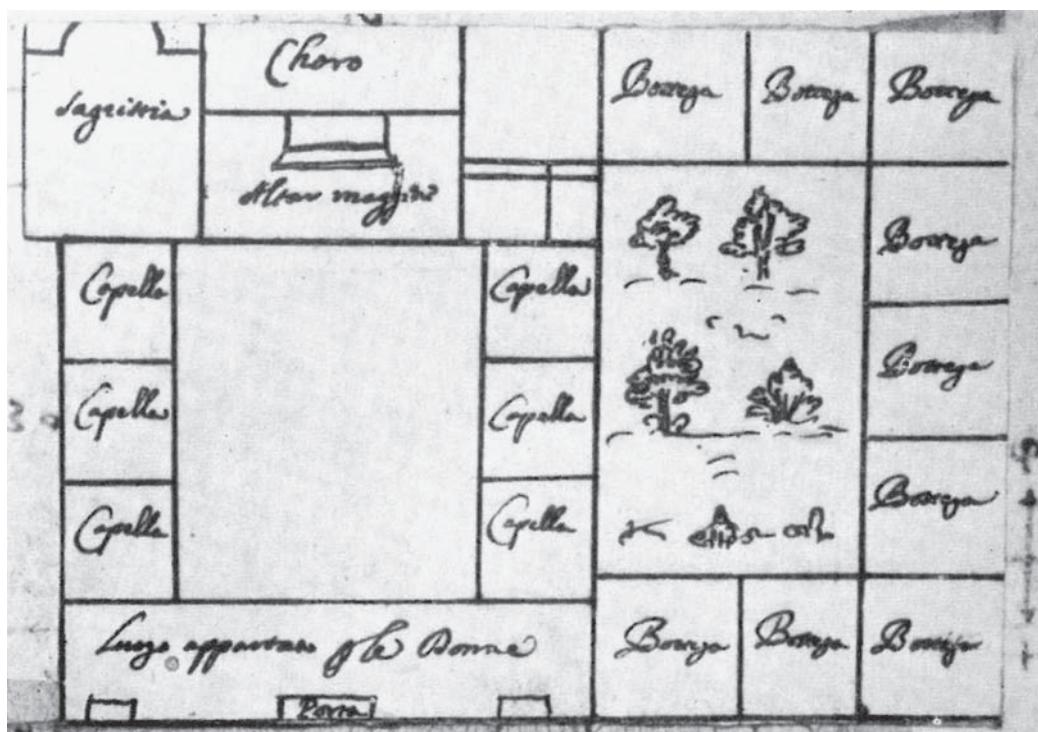


Fig. 8. Part of the reconstruction project for Saint Francis, following the 1639 fire. (Archives of Propaganda Fide)

between Europe and the Sublime Porte. According to one of the classical accounts of the capitulations system, Ottoman tolerance of these European institutions within the territorial boundaries of the empire was framed by the same restrictive principles that regulated the existence of the sanctuaries used by the *dhimmis*, or non-Muslim subjects of the Empire.¹⁵ A basic ambiguity in this regard, though, is engendered by the fact that the Catholic community of Galata was composed both of Ottoman subjects—the Latin *reaya*—and of foreigners represented by an ambassador in charge of guarding their religious freedom vis-à-vis the Ottoman authorities. The proportional shares of the two elements are by no means constant, and the line between them is blurred by the possibility that a foreigner became an Ottoman subject after a certain period of residence, or that a Latin *reaya* acquired foreign protection, if not citizenship.¹⁶ In the absence of a religious head acknowledged by the Ottoman authorities and comparable to the Greek Orthodox or Armenian Patriarch, the Latin Ottoman subjects of Galata and Pera shared many aspects of communal life with their foreign co-religionists, used the same religious spaces, often practiced intermarriage, and could be assimilated easily into the foreign element in local perceptions, representations, and practices.

A consequence of this ambiguity was that, while the synagogues and churches of the Ottoman *millets* were an integral part of Ottoman urban societies,¹⁷ the status of Catholic buildings in such a context was additionally a matter of negotiation, diplomatic agreements, and international power balances. A particularly zealous Catholic sovereign like Louis XIII thought in this regard that the “principal duty of the ambassador of the [French] King to the Porte is to protect, in the name of the king and the authority of His Majesty, the religious houses established in the different locations of the Levant, as well as the Christians who come and go in order to visit the sacred places of the Holy Land.”¹⁸ It should not be forgotten that however material, political, and instrumental may have been the interest of the Catholic nations in protecting the churches of Istanbul, until the age of mature nineteenth-century European imperialism the Catholic perception of Istanbul was largely (though not exclusively) that of a city inhabited by Catholics and Oriental Christians who might become Catholic, as well as the capital of an empire that “temporarily” ruled over Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Inspired by the general concern to keep non-Muslim

presence under control and limit its visibility within urban society and space, Ottoman policy toward construction and repair of churches was also affected by the flexibility of the Hanafi school of law and by circumstantial pragmatism and empiricism, which makes it difficult to describe or reconstruct a coherent practice.¹⁹ In the absence of a positive codification, some constant elements may be singled out from the analysis of individual cases, pertaining to the pre-Tanzimat period:²⁰

1. Unlike churches and synagogues of the non-Muslim Ottomans, subject to a looser regime of control, the reconstruction and repair of the Catholic buildings of Istanbul seem always to have been subject to a special permission issued by the central government. Since the legal standing of these Latin sanctuaries was not simply that of churches used by a local *millet* but also that of foreign institutions protected by the representatives of the major Catholic powers, this kind of negotiation occurred at the highest political level and was made official by a firman;²¹ the authorities involved in the issue—the kadi, the *kaimakam* (prefect), and the *mimar ağa* (chief architect)—all were notified of its contents.²² In some cases, issues of repair and reconstruction were included in the text of the capitulatory treatises.²³

2. It was difficult (but not impossible) to obtain permission to build a new church on a site with no preexisting Christian building. In Istanbul the first Catholic example of the kind is the Capuchin-staffed Church of Saint Louis, which the French ambassador Gabriel-Joseph de la Vergne built on the premises of his embassy in 1678.²⁴

3. In theory, it was prohibited to increase the dimensions of a church or change its design and construction features. An inspection by the *mimar ağa* or his representative before and after reconstruction or repair was to ensure that such limitations were respected. As a matter of fact, we have evidence of enlargements and reconstruction with more durable materials having taken place since the eighteenth century.

4. It was difficult, but again not entirely impossible, to obtain permission to cover non-Muslim buildings with masonry domes or vaults. This restriction engendered a predominance of timber roofing associated with interior wood and plaster (*bağdâdi*) ceilings or vaults,²⁵

while obviously emphasizing the meaning of domes and masonry roofing as architectural symbols reserved for the ruling, Islamic establishment. In addition, since any reconstruction or repair had to be authorized through diplomatic mediation, the adoption of a durable roof structure would also reduce Ottoman contractual power, limiting the possibility of denying such permission in case of conflict with the protecting power involved (as happened when the complex of Saint Francis, then protected by Venice, was replaced by the Yeni Valide Mosque after the 1696 fire).

5. Regarding such specifically Christian features as bell towers or belfries, it seems that buildings surviving from the pre-Ottoman period, like Saint Benedict and Saint Francis, could preserve and even reconstruct such components but were not usually allowed to use the bells for the summons to prayer. A note in the legend of a drawing representing the Convent of Saint Anthony, rebuilt after the 1831 fire, describes the belfry as the first “to have been erected in public in Constantinople after the fall of the Greek Empire.”²⁶ The 1622 report by Demarchis mentions a bell tower without bells in Saint Francis, while in 1665 a friar visiting Istanbul observed that bells were used in the chapels of the galley slaves at Kasım Pasha and in the church of Saint Roch in Beşiktaş.²⁷

6. Since in the pre-Tanzimat period Christian processions in the streets were either forbidden or permitted only during the Easter period, and in keeping with a general restraint of visibility and self-representation, the facades of most churches, usually not individualized architecturally, were sheltered within courtyards (also used for processions), which prevented direct access from the street. An exception to this implicit rule in the Catholic realm is the already-mentioned reconstruction of Saint Anthony after the 1762 fire. The facade of the church bordered the Grand Rue de Pera, although the prayer hall was directly accessible not from the street but through a lateral corridor.

Framed by such customary principles, negotiation between the Catholic powers and the Porte in these matters could also include requests and concessions of political, diplomatic, and commercial nature. The enforcement of principles of religious equality during the nineteenth century, ratified by the *Islahat Firman* of 1856 and the secularization of Ottoman citizenship in 1869, does not seem to have produced an explicit,

direct, *de jure* abrogation of these restrictions. Permissions for the construction, reconstruction, and repair of Catholic churches continued to be requested by ambassadors and granted with *firman*s until the era of Abdulhamit II.²⁸ What changed drastically was the *de facto* situation, in which the Western powers had the upper hand in the negotiations, so that we witness a dramatic growth in the size, monumentality, and number of Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, and Armenian sanctuaries, most of them built on sites with no preexisting religious structures.²⁹

But the image of decline in the architectural profile of the Latin presence in Istanbul prior to the eighteenth century is not solely connected with stricter observance of these restrictions and greater contractual power on the Ottoman side. Machiel Kiel has shown convincingly that in the case of the Orthodox churches of the Balkans, written documents testifying to compliance with Islamic restrictions on Christian ecclesiastical architecture must be considered exceptions rather than representative cases. Documents show us the minimum level of Ottoman tolerance in this regard, while the maximum is represented by the far more conspicuous number of churches and synagogues built without written permission in newly established Christian or Jewish settlements. For simple demographic reasons, a similar flexibility must be imagined in the Ottoman attitude toward Armenian churches and Jewish synagogues in the capital: it is simply impossible to think that all those existing before the Tanzimat period were faithful reconstructions of buildings used by these communities in the late Byzantine era. If the Catholic case appears different—showing a declining profile until the eighteenth century and a closer conformity of practice to principles—this is due to two factors: first, the foreign identity of the Catholics from the Ottoman point of view and their political allegiance with potential or actual enemies; second, a demographic context in which a community of a few hundred permanent residents lacked the possibility, necessity, and will to maintain the large number of sanctuaries left from a period in which Catholics constituted roughly one-fifth of the population of Constantinople.

The difference between the Catholics and other non-Muslims of the Empire in legal status and in cultural and political identity also parallels an architectural divergence in their religious spaces. In contrast to the image of estrangement conveyed by the Catholic buildings, many landmarks of Ottoman Christians

and Jews abound with Ottoman stylistic, constructional, and typological features. A recent evaluation of some Greek Orthodox churches of Istanbul of the Tanzimat era, rather than using the customary label of “post-Byzantine,” proposes to define them as “Ottoman” churches, in acknowledgment of their many formal links with contemporary Ottoman architecture and of their belonging to a supposedly cohesive political system.³⁰ Only one of the Greek Orthodox churches of Istanbul featured in Zafer Karaca’s monograph displays an obvious revivalist reference to the Byzantine tradition.³¹ In fact, the large majority of these buildings are based on basilican layouts that can be associated with Ottoman vernacular technologies like the *bağdâdî*, and are decorated with plain moldings and/or references to the classical orders, the “Ottoman Baroque” or even Ottoman classical and revivalist idioms.³² They hardly fit into our “typical” image of a Byzantine style or revival.³³ Striking examples of an Ottoman revivalist choice in a Greek Orthodox church are the muqarnas capitals in the iconostasis of Hagia Triada in Taksim (Beyoğlu), built in 1882. Outside the Ottoman domain, one of the most spectacular examples of the integration of a Christian minority’s religious landmarks into the stylistic framework of a dominant Islamic culture is provided by the Armenian churches of New Julfa, Iran, studied by John Carswell.³⁴ However, nothing comparable to such hybridizations seems to inform the design, structure, and public image of the buildings we are concerned with, at least in their present appearance.

But the Catholic churches of Istanbul were also architectural cores in a web of intercommunal relations—landmarks of a contextual identity that was constantly redefined. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, after the disappearance of the Latin monumental landmarks surviving from the late Byzantine period and before the construction of an image of national and religious conformity to the centers of Catholicism (almost “colonial” in its estrangement from the local context), a wide range of Ottoman connections and affiliations can be traced in the use and configuration of Catholic spaces.

OTTOMAN AND EUROPEAN BAROQUE³⁵

The Church of Santa Maria Draperis (fig. 9) was donated to a community of Franciscan Observant friars, present in Constantinople since the fifteenth century, by a member of the Genoese Draperis family in 1585.³⁶

From its original location in Mumhane (near Tophane, approximately on the site of the Cité Française), it was transferred in 1691 to the heights of Pera, where it stands today, after a period of instability following its destruction in the 1659 fire.³⁷ Its present shape—apart from the apartments on the Grand Rue added in 1904—dates roughly from a further reconstruction after it had again burned in the 1767 fire of Pera. In 1642, when the church was still in Mumhane, two of its Observant clerics had converted to Islam, provoking the disdain of Pope Urban VIII, who in 1643 imposed a strict moral reform of the order with the bull “Religionis zelus,” so that the friars have since then been called “reformed” Observants.³⁸ Politically, Santa Maria was protected since 1706 by the representative of the Habsburg Empire in Istanbul. In religious terms, it became a mission with official duties and was attached to Propaganda Fide in November 1702.³⁹

In the archives of Propaganda Fide in Rome, some of the correspondence issued during the post-1767 reconstruction testifies that the enterprise was quite beyond the financial resources of the small Franciscan community. The friars had become so indebted that in January 1769 their prior, Gioacchino da Catania, was ready to go to Vienna, drop on his knees in front of the empress, and implore her to make a donation to the church.⁴⁰ In 1785, the payment of Santa Maria’s debt, amounting to some 250,000 piastres, was to be managed by the Habsburg ambassador, or *internuntius*, Baron Herbert Ratkeal, who sponsored a particularly advantageous loan and thus prevented the church from being sold for debts to the “schismatic” Armenians.⁴¹

Compared with Catholic architecture in Istanbul from the first half of the eighteenth century,⁴² Santa Maria actually displays a greater investment in materials, dimensions, and decorative program. Rather exceptionally, the friars obtained permission to use masonry even in the construction of the convent (fig. 10) and vaulting of the roof, which allowed the complex to survive the great fire of Pera in 1831 almost without damage, while all of the other Catholic churches were destroyed.⁴³ In decoration and interior layout, the most striking elements of the prayer hall are the altar and chancel area (fig. 11), conceived in a decidedly Roman Catholic, late Baroque mode, with marble imported from Italy and worked by the Roman sculptor Lorenzo Cerotti.⁴⁴ Completed in 1772, it was donated to the church by the Habsburg *internuntius* and the notables of the Catholic communities, although



Fig. 9. Santa Maria Draperis, interior.

a local chronicle states that in the end it largely had to be paid for by the friars, who allegedly had never desired it.⁴⁵ But if we move from the liturgical apparatus to the more intimate and domestic space of the convent, a sudden anomaly challenges our feeling of conformity with the visual character of any Catholic architecture. An inner wall of the present parish office of Santa Maria, constructed later than the eighteenth-century building phase, contains and fills three bays of an originally open arcade with an unmistakable “Ottoman Baroque” appearance (fig. 12). Its multi-centered arches, slender quadrangular columns on high plinths with torus moldings clad in metallic collars (Ottoman: *lâzime-i dokmeci*), and fluted palmette capitals (figs. 13–14)⁴⁶ share the stylistic features of many coeval Ottoman structures, from the Madrasa of Seyyid Hasan Pasha, built in 1745 (fig. 15),⁴⁷ to the small *külliye* (complex) of Beşir Ağa of the same period, and even to some parts of the complex of

Nuruosmaniye (fig. 16),⁴⁸ completed only twelve years before the construction of this church.

These aspects of eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture are usually described as westernized—a product of French, Italian, or Central European Baroque and Rococo influence.⁴⁹ A process of stylistic redefinition and renovation begun in Ahmet III’s era (the so-called *Lâle Devri* or Tulip Period) had reached maturity by the first half of the eighteenth century, supplanting almost completely the classical Ottoman vocabulary of the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the time Santa Maria was being rebuilt, the landmarks of this new sensibility had been disseminated in the Ottoman capital in the form of fountains, *sebils* (fountain kiosks), libraries, schools, and imperial mosques. Although the label of Ottoman Baroque and Rococo may still be useful for describing some aspects of this evolution, recent interpretations, including those of Maurice M. Cerasi⁵⁰ and Shirine Hamadeh⁵¹ (as well



Fig. 10. Santa Maria Draperis, corridor in the upper story of the convent.



Fig. 11. Santa Maria Draperis, chancel area and altar by Lorenzo Cerotti, 1769–72.



Fig. 12. Santa Maria Draperis, arcade in the present parish office.

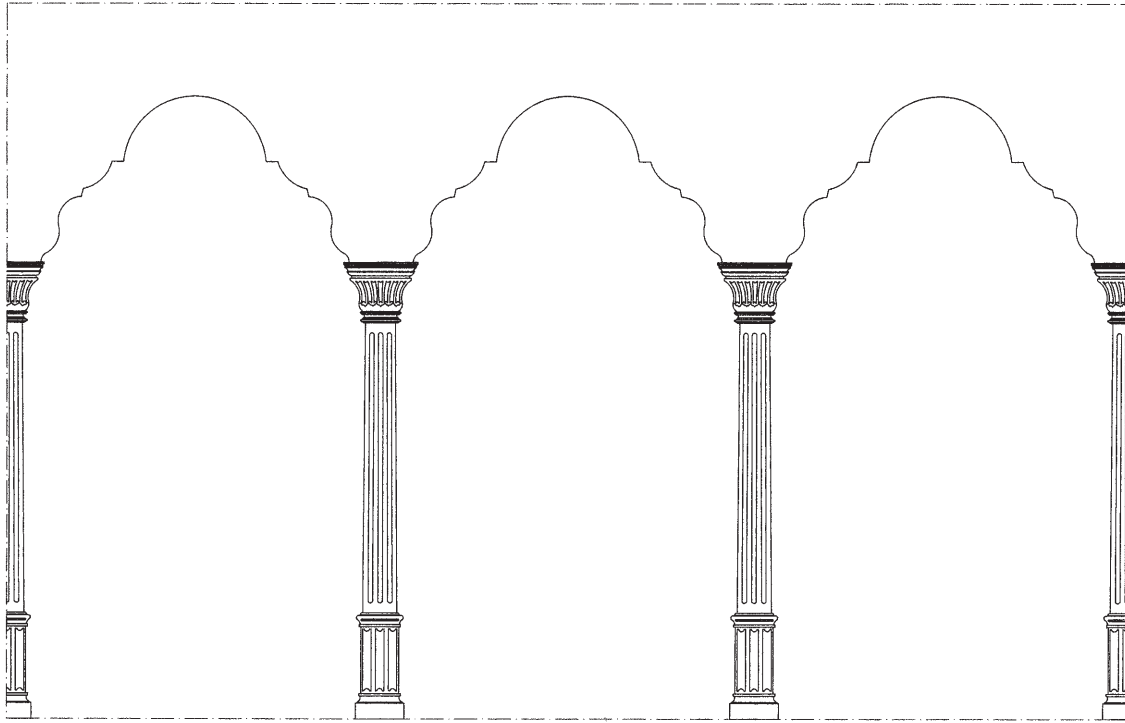


Fig. 13. Santa Maria Draperis, drawing of the arcade shown in fig. 12.

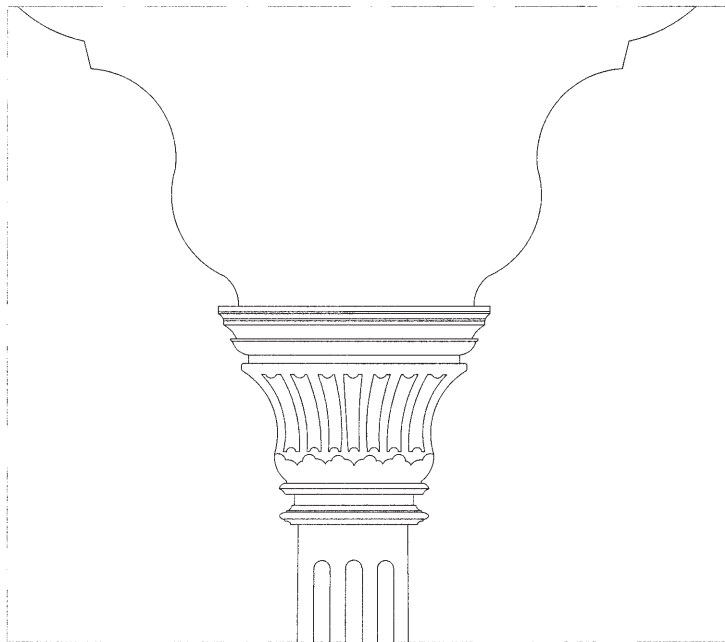


Fig. 14. Santa Maria Draperis, drawing of a detail of the arcade shown in fig. 12.



Fig. 15. A capital in the *revak* (arcade) of the Madrasa of Seyid Ahmed Pasha.



Fig. 16. Mosque of Nuruosmaniye, detail.

as the general historiographical reassessment of the Ottoman eighteenth century), have revised significantly the unilateral and reductive paradigm of westernization as a framework of this process of change.

At any rate, the arcade I am concerned with is not a structure that could have been conceived and realized by a designer or a workshop coming from Italy. Whoever commissioned this part of the building—probably Gioacchino da Catania's predecessor⁵²—was conscious of making an Ottomanist choice of a rather fashionable character in the context of the period. And it is

interesting to note that the space containing the arcade was originally the refectory of the convent. For obvious chronological reasons, the presence of these forms in a building officially representing Catholic religious identity in an Islamic capital does not point to an Italian influence on the Ottoman architectural culture but rather testifies to the reverse trend.⁵³ The windows of the convent are also influenced by recent Ottoman forms, while in the prayer hall proper, a spolium of the liturgical apparatus—a niche originally containing ritual oil—is shaped according to Ottoman classical proportional standards (fig. 17). These choices were not bound to material or legal constraints and can be explained only by reference to a broad network of cultural and social interactions. In particular, the emergence in eighteenth-century Istanbul of a large social group that can be considered both Ottoman and Catholic—namely, the Armenian Catholic community—is one of the crucial agents in the blurring or redefinition of cultural boundaries.

Since the end of the seventeenth century, under the influence of Italian and French missionary activity, a growing portion of Ottoman Armenians had begun to adopt the religious dogmas of Rome, reestablishing a “union” broken since the sixth century.⁵⁴ Until 1830, the existence of this liminal community was acknowledged by Rome but not by the Porte or the Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul. An Ottoman community with an official religious leader in a foreign country could not be tolerated easily, and in 1722 Ahmet III prohibited members of the Ottoman *millet*s from converting to Catholicism.⁵⁵ In 1740, in accordance with Rome, a Catholic Armenian Patriarchate was established at Bzommar, Lebanon, but its function and jurisdiction were not acknowledged by the Porte, who until 1830 continued to consider only the Gregorian or “national” (and, from a Catholic point of view, “schismatic”) Patriarch in Istanbul as the representative of all Armenians.⁵⁶ Missionary activity had to use “infinite prudence, ability, and caution” in order not to provoke denunciation to the Ottoman authorities by the official Armenian and Greek Patriarchs, “our most implacable and smartest enemies,” in the words of the apostolic vicar Biagio Pauli, writing in 1760.⁵⁷ Episodic persecutions, alternating with periods of relative entente, lasted until the recognition of a separate Armenian Catholic *millet* by Mahmut II in 1830—a decision largely determined by pressure from the Catholic powers, mainly France and Austria⁵⁸—only two years after the prominent families of the commu-



Fig. 17. Santa Maria Draperis, niche originally containing ritual oil.

nity had been exiled to central Anatolia. In the same period the Christian population of Aleppo underwent an even more widespread shift from Eastern rites to Catholicism,⁵⁹ and the connection between the Syrian and Istanbul phenomena is attested by the presence of a growing Syrian-Catholic community in Pera in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶⁰ By the mid-eighteenth century, however, Armenian Catholics who actually worshipped in the Latin churches already were several thousand strong and definitely outnumbered the “Frankish”—Latin or Western—Catholic population of the Empire.⁶¹ Whereas in previous periods apostolic visitors had considered the three parish churches of Istanbul excessive in relation to the small number of parishioners,⁶² the very existence of these Armenian Catholics represented a major *raison d’être* for the Catholic establishments of Istanbul and

an encouragement to invest in the future of the Catholic community.

In the late eighteenth century, the increasing construction and patronage of Catholic churches, in contrast to the decline epitomized by the replacement of Saint Francis with the Yeni Valide Mosque in 1697, is surely connected with this new social context, which also explains the stylistic divergence observable in Santa Maria Draperis. Although less drastic a religious choice than conversion from Islam to Christianity and vice versa,⁶³ the adoption of Catholicism by an Armenian Gregorian can be seen as the crossing of a cultural and social frontier. Retrospectively, we may easily ascribe motivation for this shift to easier access to Western connections, but it should be noted that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the process of westernization was by no means an evident goal. The complexity of the Armenian Catholic identity at an individual level and in an intellectual dimension is attested by the author of the *Tableau général de l’Empire ottoman*, Muradja d’Ohsson,⁶⁴ as well as by Cosimo C. de Carbognano, who described and depicted Istanbul at the end of the eighteenth century from a point of view that can be considered both local and foreign.⁶⁵ In the social topography of Istanbul, this process of transculturation is reflected by the fact that in 1828, when Armenian Catholics denounced as disloyal subjects by the Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul were exiled to central Anatolia by Mahmut II, all the confiscated properties of the community (except one in Kandilli) were located in Pera and Galata, the traditional districts of the Latin Catholics.⁶⁶ (In origin, the Istanbul Armenian population of any denomination had lived on both sides of the Golden Horn.)⁶⁷ This relocation was also motivated by the ban, stubbornly applied from Rome, on the “*communicatio in sacris*” with the schismatics, i.e., the prohibition of sharing liturgical practices and spaces with non-Catholic former co-religionists.

The shift from the authority of a Patriarch residing in Istanbul since the fifteenth century to that of the Pope in Rome in itself implies a dramatic change in identity and behavior, a form of assumed alienation and partial estrangement from communal ties.⁶⁸ Considering Santa Maria from the perspective of its Armenian Catholic users, rather than from the official viewpoint of the Latin presence in Istanbul, allows us to see the coexistence of Italian and Ottoman architectural idioms in relation to the complex psychology of conversion. When the Armenian who had been attracted

for whatever reasons to the Catholic creed crossed the threshold of the Church of Santa Maria Draperis, he or she must have had the feeling of entering an alien space, constructed according to the customs and liturgical standards of a distant authority which, by the way, forbade him or her to attend Mass in the churches of the so-called schismatics. When the same Armenian was received in what we may call the backstage of the church for a closer contact with the friars—and we have evidence that such contacts existed—an altogether more familiar physical environment would reassure him or her that, after all, one could be at the same time Catholic and Ottoman, Catholic and Armenian. In Charles Frazee's view, "The *millet* system, which registered every Ottoman citizen into the nationality of his birth and continued throughout his lifetime to determine the rules which affected his life, did not and could not provide for converts to Catholicism and still function."⁶⁹ The friars of Santa Maria seem to have contradicted this view by appropriating an Ottoman stylistic feature in the construction of their convent, showing a remarkable proximity and sensitivity to the local environment. And we may recall that, as already mentioned, the truly Italian Baroque altar and baluster by Lorenzo Cerotti was an imposition of the Austrian ambassador rather than a choice of the local friars.

ETHNIC AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS IN SAINT ANTHONY (1762–1836)

That the main reason for building or rebuilding a church in Istanbul in the second part of the eighteenth century was to serve the growing number of Catholic Armenians rather than the exiguous community of European and Levantine residents is confirmed by the history of the other Franciscan church of Pera, the Saint Anthony that replaced the complex of Saint Francis in Galata destroyed in 1696. The Franciscan Conventuals, ancestors of the community that would manage the monumental project of the new Saint Anthony around the turn of the twentieth century, were sheltered after the loss of Saint Francis in an old, modest dependency of the complex, a house with a chapel on the premises of the French Embassy.⁷⁰ On this site they would remain until the realization of Mongeri's building.

In 1721, in order to facilitate the construction of a new church, Romilli, the general minister of the Franciscan order, officially accepted the protection of the

community by France (replacing Venice).⁷¹ Subsequently, the French ambassador de Bonnac obtained a firman authorizing the transformation of a small existing chapel into a wooden church of some size; this was completed in 1724. In the following year the apostolic vicar Pier Battista Mauri established the territorial boundaries of the three parish churches of Galata. According to his decision, inspired by the will to facilitate control of the parishioners and end quarrels among parish priests on the right to administer Catholic sacraments to the most influential families, the Dominican Saints Peter and Paul was to be the parish church of the district of Galata *intra muros* and of the entire historic peninsula beyond the Golden Horn; Saint Anthony and Santa Maria Draperis would be assigned respectively to the south and north side of Pera as divided by the "strada di Pera" (present İstiklâl Caddesi).⁷² This codification in the Catholic topography of Istanbul represents a major change from the seventeenth century, when the three parishes, without territorial boundaries, were concentrated within the walls of Galata. The transfer of the Franciscans from Galata to the heights of Pera followed the same kind of relocation as had occurred for Santa Maria Draperis in 1691 and corresponded to an important urban trend. The heights of Pera outside the walls were in fact acquiring an increasingly foreign character, stressed by the concentration and growing monumentality of European embassies, while Galata experienced a partial Islamicization, especially of its lower sections.⁷³ The culmination of this trend in terms of Catholic topography was the establishment of a Catholic cathedral on the Grand Rue—the Holy Trinity, built in 1802, replacing an older church burned in 1799 (fig. 18).⁷⁴

When the wooden Saint Anthony built in 1724 was destroyed by fire in 1762, the French ambassador Vergennes, guaranteeing among other things that rebelling Christian prisoners of a Turkish galleon anchored in Malta would give up their mutiny,⁷⁵ obtained permission to rebuild the church and the convent in masonry. The work was completed in 1763 with the employment of a local *kalfa* (foreman) using local materials and techniques.⁷⁶ The layout of the new church, documented in a 1769 report to Propaganda Fide (fig. 19), seems to match many features of the building that would replace it in 1835, after the fire of August 1831, and be used until the beginning of the twentieth century. As mentioned earlier, instead of an entrance filtered by a courtyard, the facade bor-



Fig. 18. Catholic cores established along the Grand Rue de Pera between the late seventeenth century and 1802, from the insurance map by E. Goad, 1904–5. “Ste. Trinité” is the former Latin Cathedral, established in 1802 and sold to the Armenian Catholics in 1857.

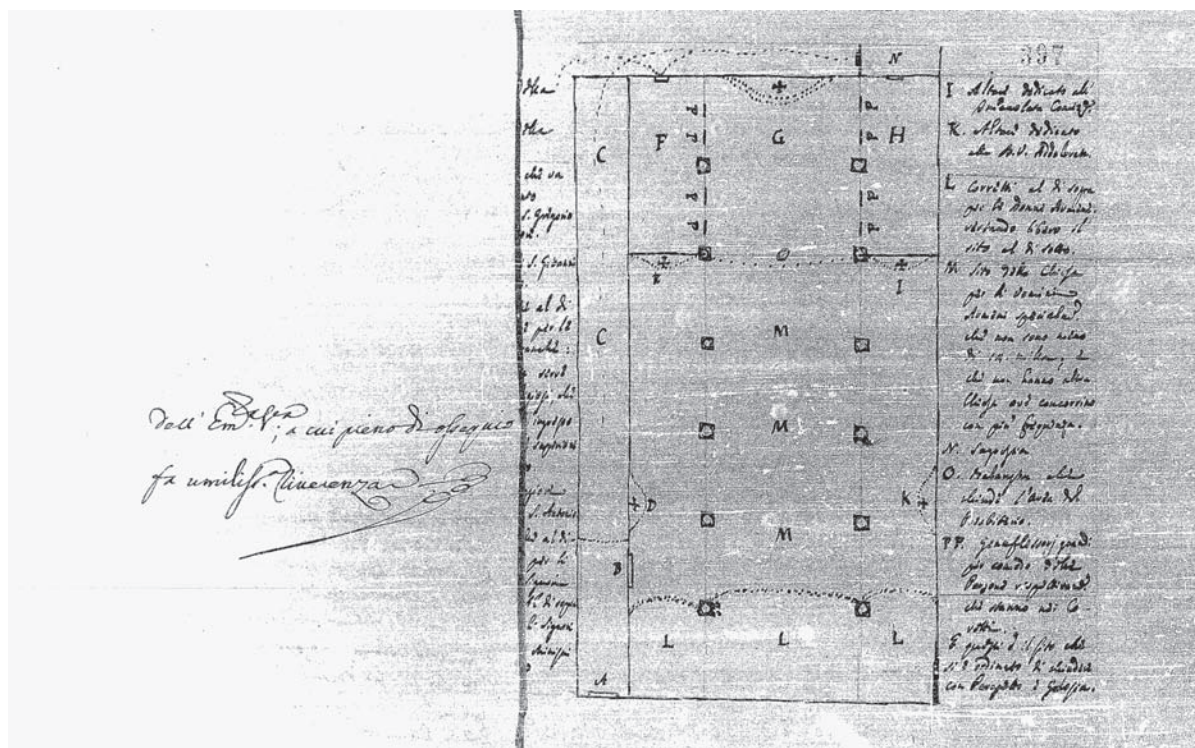


Fig. 19. Plan of Saint Anthony in a sketch from the archives of Propaganda Fide.



Fig. 20. View of Saint Anthony at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by an anonymous Greek painter. (After C. Pick, ed. and comp., *Embassy to Constantinople: The Travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* [New York: Amsterdam Books, 1988]).

dered the main street (fig. 20), but the prayer hall had no access from it. A lateral corridor led both to the prayer hall and to the convent and sacristy, housed behind the church in a single building. The twelve columns of “oriental granite” mentioned in a report on the 1831 destruction by fire, and by other authors,⁷⁷ divided the prayer hall into three small naves.

The letter addressed to Propaganda by the Procurator of the Franciscan Conventuali, accompanied by the already-mentioned drawing (March 4, 1769),⁷⁸ reveals that the interior layout and use of the recently rebuilt church did not correspond to Roman liturgical standards in its internal subdivision of space according to ethnicity, gender, and status. A schematic plan (fig. 19) with a detailed legend included in the letter also illustrates that the main spaces of the church—the central nave (labeled *M*) and the tribune opposite the altar (*L*)—were reserved respectively for Armenian men and women, whose number was estimated at around 14,000, and who allegedly used the Church of Saint Anthony more than any other.⁷⁹ An altar dedicated to Saint Gregory the Illuminator (*D*), patron saint and spiritual father of the Armenian nation, was quite in keeping with this reality. On the left side of the choir, a lodge (*F*) was reserved for the “Frankish ladies” on the ground floor and for the friars on the upper story, accessible from the convent; a symmetrical structure on the right side (*H*) served Frankish people and notables (“uomini e signori Franchi”) on the ground floor and the ambassador on the upper level.

Liturgically, the main problem was caused not so much by the presence of different ethnic groups as by the proximity of women to the most sacred area. The superior of the mission, Father Riccardini, was to be removed from his duty because he had allowed such an abuse. But the Procurator, the author of the letter, argued that “not all the canons of the Church fit all times and places,” and that even in Rome, with so many churches available, some practices did not obey all ritual prescriptions; he concluded that the unorthodox asset of Saint Anthony could be tolerated on condition that the space reserved for the Frankish ladies be screened with appropriate latticeworks. After all, he wrote, these women “cannot and do not want to mingle...with Armenian men.” As we have seen, the old Church of Saint Francis featured a women’s gallery described as a local element; in actuality, the Catholic churches of Istanbul would continue to adopt this feature until the late nineteenth century.

An indication that almost sixty years later the Church and Convent of Saint Anthony were still open to a multi-ethnic crowd comes from an 1828 account regarding three young Christian apostates hidden in the convent and wanted by Ottoman authorities on the charge of having first converted to Islam and then decided to return to their original faith.⁸⁰ For the capture of one of them, who came from the Aegean island of Tinos and was employed as a servant by a Turkish *ağa*, there was a reward of 1,000 piastres.⁸¹ The prior of the convent, Father Giancarlo Magni, feared that the price could entice the avidity not only of the “infidels” but possibly even of “some of our Frankish” (“qualche nostro Franco”), as he still called the Latin Catholics, according to local use of the term). Considering that the convent where the boy was hidden communicated with the church, which was open to a flux of “Turks, Armenians, Greeks, and any kind of people,” the prior decided to send him to the residence of the Sardinian minister Trucchi. The representative of the Savoia housed him in the legation for about a month and finally secured his return to Tinos.⁸² To cover the travel expenses of the other two apostates, the Franciscan mission raised funds from the Catholic families of Pera and Galata, including Federico De Chirico, interpreter for the Sardinian Legation (and great-grandfather of the painter Giorgio De Chirico),⁸³ who contributed 200 piastres.

This masonry church, having survived the 1767 fire, was not spared by the catastrophe of August 2, 1831, which destroyed a large portion of the residential fabric of Pera. As Father Giancarlo Magni, prior of the church, wrote to Propaganda Fide in November 1831:

Only those who have seen the fire of the Basilica of Saint Paul there [in Rome] can have an idea of what our Church of Saint Anthony has become, the most beautiful and devout of our churches, parish of the largest and most populous region of the country, now reduced to a shapeless heap of ruins: even the walls and the columns of oriental granite have been turned to lime, rubble, and ashes.⁸⁴

After the reconstruction in 1835, a perspective view of the complex with a plan of the upper floor was sent to Propaganda; it represents an excellent source for knowledge of a pre-Tanzimat Catholic complex of Istanbul (fig. 21). The document also includes a detailed expense account for the completion of the top floor of the convent, shedding light on the

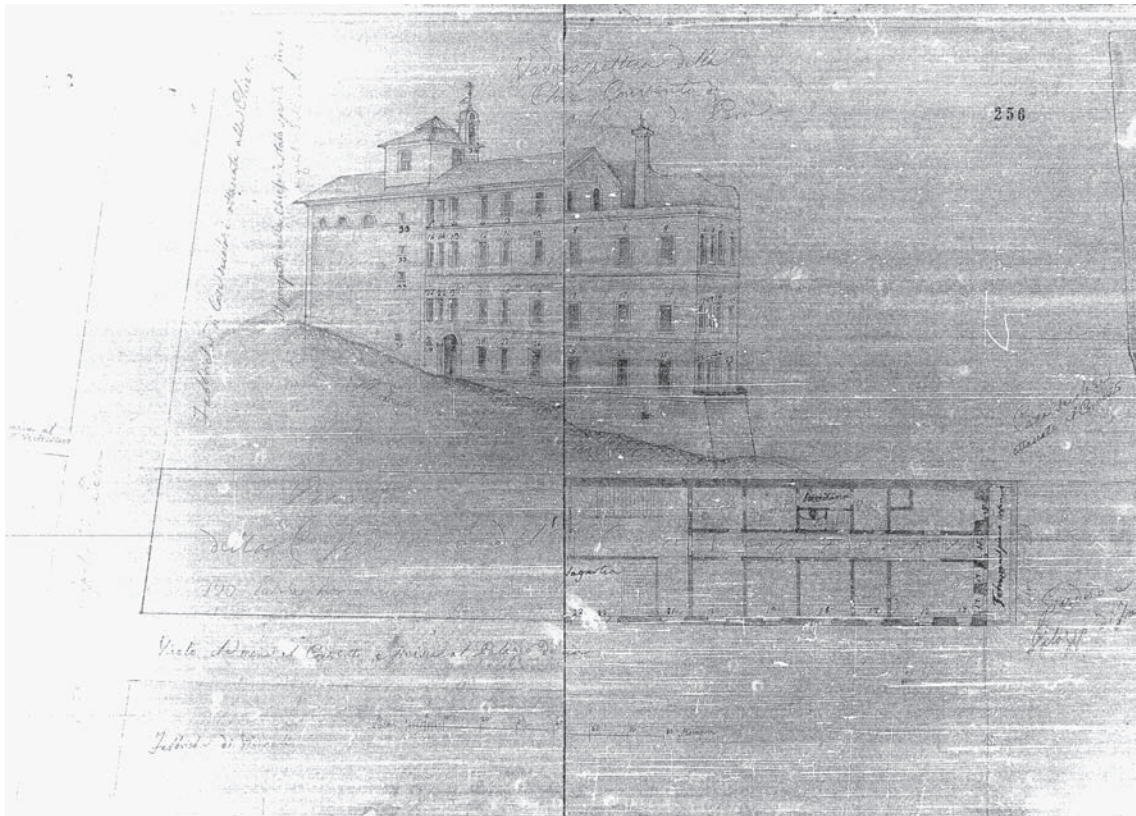


Fig. 21. Perspective view of Saint Anthony, from the archives of Propaganda Fide, 1836.

price of materials and wages of the building sector in the 1830s.⁸⁵ The legend mentions rooms for priests belonging to different communities: Armenian, Latin, and Syrian (“Aleppino”). Notwithstanding the official recognition of a separate Armenian Catholic *millet* in 1830, Saint Anthony still functioned as an intercommunal institution.

CATHOLIC NATIONALISM: THE NEW SAINT ANTHONY IN PERA

The middle decades of the nineteenth century are characterized by a rapid emancipation of the Christian buildings of Istanbul from the visual and material constraints dominant in the eighteenth century. Besides the construction of new houses of worship for the Armenian Catholic community,⁸⁶ we witness a monumentalizing of Greek Orthodox and Armenian Gregorian churches, often expressed in high visibility and the use of masonry vaulting, domes, and bell

towers. In 1846 the already-mentioned Church of Saint Esprit was built as a new parish serving the Catholic population of the developing districts of Pangaltı (Pancaldi), Feriköy, and Şişli. The short-lived new Catholic Cathedral of Saint John Chrysostome in Beyoğlu, between Galatasaray and Taksim, was completed in 1854 and destroyed in the fire of June 5, 1870. Since 1876, the Church of Saint Esprit has been the Catholic Cathedral of Istanbul.

According to Belin, the apostolic vicar Paolo Brunoni (1858–69) was a prolific builder of churches, and under his administration the greatest number of those visible in Belin’s time were erected: “In 1860 the fathers Riformati built the church of Prinkipo; in 1863 the Dominicans that of Makri-keui; and the Capuchins that of San Stefano; in 1866, the Conventuals that of Büyükdere.”⁸⁷ But while in these cases the vicar mainly provided external support and backing, two enterprises were directly sponsored and managed by Brunoni: the reconstruction of the Church of Saint Esprit (fig. 3)

and the construction of the Church of the Assumption in Kadıköy, begun in 1859 (fig. 4).

The symbolic location of this latter building on the site where the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedony had condemned monophysism, the heresy of the “schismatic” Armenians, seems to have been Brunoni’s central concern in the call to raise funds for the construction of the church, an Italian-French text addressed to the Catholic notables of Istanbul.⁸⁸ Here only marginal relevance was given to the growing Catholic population in that area, while the message focused on the symbolic links between past, present, and future, and on the importance of the site where, in 451, “the defenders of the Faith proclaimed and acknowledged the primacy of the Roman Church.”⁸⁹ The imprint of Rome tended to overshadow the signs of a localized, Ottomanized Catholicism: this is evidenced not only by the increasing conformity of the architectural features of the new churches (both Latin and Armenian Catholic) to Italian standards, but also by the gradual replacement of a hierarchy of Eastern Mediterranean origin with clerics from Italy and France.⁹⁰ The conflict between indigenous identity and central authority was also expressed in the internal schism of the Armenian Catholic community in the 1860s.⁹¹ One of the many architectural reflections of central authority was the Armenian Catholic Church of Saint John Chrysostome (still existing and not to be confused with the homonymous Latin cathedral that burned in 1870), near Taksim. It was designed in 1860 by Garabet Tulbentchian, whose brother Andon, also an architect, had been trained in Rome in 1856–57;⁹² he completed the work after Garabet’s death in 1861. In its interior space the church follows the layout of Antonio da Sangallo’s Santa Maria di Loreto in Rome (1507), although the oversimplified exterior does not show this relationship. The lack of correspondence between exterior volumes and interior space remained a local feature of non-Muslim architecture in the late Ottoman period: rich interior articulation often relied on the use of vernacular construction techniques in timber, independent of the restrained shelter. The “dome” visible from the interior of this church is in fact a false intrados structure realized in the local *bağdâdi* technique. The major patron of this building, the Armenian Catholic banker Hagop Koçoğlu (1820–93),⁹³ later had his own mansion built on the Grand Rue de Pera with direct references to another, secular landmark of the Roman Renaissance, namely, the Palazzo Farnese. We should not forget that most of the Arme-

nian patrons who contributed to the transformation of Beyoğlu in the final decades of the nineteenth century were Catholics.

After the unification of Italy in 1861, a new political actor—a potential rival of France as protector of the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire—entered the stage. The project for the most popular and monumental Catholic church of Istanbul, Saint Anthony on İstiklâl Caddesi, illustrates the changing situation. Around 1890 the Franciscan friars of the church, rebuilt after the 1831 fire, faced a drastic choice: their church encroached some 7.5 meters on the Grand Rue de Pera, which was being enlarged after the 1870 fire, and under pressure from the municipality they had to either demolish one fourth of a prayer hall already considered too small or choose a new site. Since the French Embassy that still protected them did not seem willing to support the second alternative, they decided to ask for Italian aid, and the issue acquired an overwhelming political dimension. In May 1895, an Italian ambassador to the Porte wrote the following to Alberto Blanc, a minister of foreign affairs who was well acquainted with the importance of national symbols in the Ottoman capital:⁹⁴

Whatever will be the politics of the Royal Government towards the Vatican, we always have to distinguish between Italian politics in Italy and Italian politics in the Orient. Those who evaluate the latter according to the same criteria usually applied to the Roman Question have never been to the Ottoman Empire. As to the influence of religion, we are here as in the time of the Crusades. Nations are religions. Now, placing under Italian protection the most important church of Pera, so far protected by France, would be to gain over the latter a diplomatic victory whose importance is inferior only to a victory of the army.⁹⁵

That a diplomat was interceding in favor of a religious initiative is perfectly in keeping with the history of the Catholic presence in the Ottoman Empire. Tommaso Catalani, the author of the letter, was one of the few Italian ambassadors in Istanbul to be affiliated with the Ottoman environment not only professionally but also privately. In the late 1860s, long before his appointment as ambassador to the Porte on June 17, 1894, he had been attaché of legation in Athens and Istanbul and had married Cassandra Musurus, daughter of Constatinos and member of a prominent Greek-Ottoman family who played a central role in Ottoman diplomacy.⁹⁶ The idea of an essential differ-

ence between religious policies at home and in the East is a trait common to French attitudes towards the Eastern Mediterranean since Napoleon's Egyptian campaign.⁹⁷ And Catalani's assumption that nothing had changed in the region since the time of the Crusades is not simply the sign of an "Orientalist" perception denying historicity and internal evolution to an Eastern socio-political reality. It should be seen in the framework of a revival of the idea and image of the "Latin Orient," which resonated with several initiatives and projects connected with Western penetration in the Empire. The construction of a new Saint Anthony was also announced in a major organ of this historiographical reassessment, the *Revue de l'Orient latin*, and illustrated in *Bessarione*, a Catholic periodical officially representing the unionist policies of the Vatican towards the Christian Orient.

Protecting the new, monumental Franciscan Church of Saint Anthony in Pera, the district of European diplomacy and the area where most of the Catholic population of Istanbul resided, would consolidate Italy's position in several respects. Rome had been annexed to the newborn Italian kingdom only twenty-five years before and the Pope deprived of all residual temporal power. The "Roman Question" to which Catalani refers, which caused endless trouble not only between the Papacy and the Savoia "usurpers" but also between Italy and France (who would revive on several occasions its traditional role of defender of the Papacy) was far from solved. Catalani died in Istanbul only a few months after pleading for Italian sponsorship of the project. But the new Franciscan Church of Saint Anthony was constructed, more than ten years later, under Italian protection—a circumstance rhetorically exalted by a contemporary chronicler, who saw the event as a triumphal, modern Italian accomplishment in an old tradition symbolized by the Genoese Tower of Galata.⁹⁸ We should note here that a few years later a pamphlet on the possible roles of Italy in the "Eastern Question" also legitimated Italian claims over parts of the disintegrating Ottoman Empire on the grounds of the Venetian and Genoese medieval presence and heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is not surprising, then, that the architectural program of Saint Anthony did not follow the Roman image of the churches of Saint Esprit and the Assumption, but rather adopted a Gothic revival idiom with explicit references to the Venetian past. At the Academy of Brera in Milan, its architect, Giulio Mongeri, had been a pupil of Camillo Boito, the fore-

most restorer and theorist of a medievalist version of the Italian national style in the debate that followed the unification of Italy.⁹⁹

The recently constituted Italian state thus increased its visibility in the Ottoman capital by sponsoring a landmark of Catholic nationalism, challenging the traditional role of France as protector of the Catholics in the Near East, and at the same time gaining some credit in the troublesome question of relations with the Vatican.¹⁰⁰ In the years following official recognition of Italian protection of Saint Anthony, several Catholic establishments of the empire passed from French to Italian protection.

The new Saint Anthony belongs to a late phase of European-Ottoman relations in which Western presence in the major centers of the empire was expressed through unequivocal symbols and images. Its position is unprecedented in size, visibility, and monumental impact, and it highlights the process of emancipation from the traditional restrictions controlling non-Muslim architecture in the Ottoman Empire. It is built on a new site; it is not attached to an embassy (as was the previous Saint Anthony); and it has a bell tower and a prominent apse on imposing substructures, visible from the sea and affecting the cityscape. It covers a surface area approximately seven times as large as the lot of the old church, a space obtained by purchasing about fifty estates surrounding a theater (figs. 22–23).¹⁰¹ The Italian population of Istanbul to which it might communicate a national message was in the range of 15,000, according to the estimation of Father Caneve,¹⁰² who managed the project as the representative of the Conventuals. In the background of this de-Ottomanized church we see the emergence of nationally defined architectural idioms, as well as the increasing effectiveness of institutional borders between different communities living in the empire.

Yet even in this national monument a residual influence of local tradition can be traced in the accessibility of the church through a courtyard closed off from the Grand Rue by residential structures. According to Ernesto Schiaparelli, an Italian archeologist who administered the charity Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i Missionari Italiani in Oriente, this layout was motivated by economic factors. The apartments were in fact built before the church, on the most valuable part of the lot, and belonged officially to the Associazione, which sponsored the mortgage for the entire project. But the existence of a local Catholic typology, clearly influential as late as the mid-nine-



Fig. 22. Properties on the area where the new Saint Anthony was built in 1905–13, from the E. Goad insurance map of 1904–5.



Fig 23. The lot of the new Saint Anthony, from an anonymous map drawn around 1915. (Courtesy, German Archeological Institute, Istanbul)

teenth century in the churches of Saint Esprit and the Assumption, cannot be considered entirely inconsequential in this decision, and Saint Anthony would surely look different had it been built outside the complex set of historical and political circumstances we have attempted to outline.

AN OPEN CONCLUSION

The contribution of Ottoman non-Muslim subjects, in official and unofficial ways, to the production of a common culture is an obvious aspect of Ottoman imperial identity. Less obvious are the role and the place of a liminal presence like the Catholic one in this environment. This preliminary overview helps us gain a more nuanced perception of the interplay of communal relationships, cultural borrowings, power balances, and diplomatic initiatives that concurred to produce Catholic spaces in a multiethnic and multicultural context. It shows how reductive and misleading can be the notion of a direct, “natural” correspondence between visual idioms and ethnic or religious identities, while challenging the conventional notion of “Latinity” in Constantinople, a notion constructed largely by nineteenth-century historiography, with the tendency to project the medieval phase of intense Western influence in the Eastern Mediterranean over the contemporary dynamics of European penetration in the Middle East.

Far from continuing a traditional pre-Ottoman presence, Catholic patronage in Istanbul before the Tanzimat period was a complex strategy of survival and proselytism in which negotiation, dialogue, emulation, and conflict played their part according to the different meanings that Catholicism could acquire in different situations. The history of Santa Maria illustrates this complexity well. The church and convent had a reduced visibility, but, at the same time, they were comparable in size to a small or average Islamic foundation of the eighteenth century, and the materials and techniques employed in their construction were of the same kind as those used by the dominant architectural culture. In interior layout, apart from the local element of a women’s gallery above the entrance, we have analyzed the dichotomy between official liturgy and intimate, domestic environment. The Habsburg *intemuntius*, obviously attached to a conventional idea of Catholicism, imposed in the prayer hall an architectural symbol of Roman allegiance, shaped by an Italian artist. The domestic space of the refectory, in

contrast, was probably the work of an Armenian *kalfa* with experience in the construction of Islamic buildings of the new, post-classical style. We may ask at this point why the output of the Armenian connection in shaping parts of the spaces that the Catholic community produced and used resulted not in a reference to the architectural symbols of the great medieval Armenian tradition, but in an unconstrained, almost ironic adoption of the most fashionable trends in contemporary Ottoman architectural culture. The revivalist option would have been possible, at least in theory, as is shown by provincial examples from Jerusalem to the Balkans, and we know too little about the physical appearance of Armenian churches in eighteenth-century Istanbul to exclude *a priori* this possibility. The fact that it was not chosen even for an interior space not exposed to the scrutiny of the dominant Muslim establishment should be an object of further investigation, supported by comparisons with contemporary non-Muslim architecture of Istanbul. This Ottomanist choice shows, however, that the new idiom could function as a signifier of plural and non-Islamic affiliations. It was part of the dialogue that missionaries had to pursue in order to achieve their objectives. A linguistic parallel can illuminate the reasons and meanings of this choice: the Catholic missionaries who aimed at converting Armenians to Catholicism used Ottoman Turkish, not Armenian, as the language of communication and persuasion. Masses and confessions for Armenian converts were performed in Turkish, and the already-mentioned Cosimo C. de Carbognano was also the author of an Ottoman Turkish grammar “ad uso dei missionari apostolici in Costantinopoli.” Communication and persuasion should also be seen as central in the decision to “speak Turkish” architecturally—to shape the refectory of the convent according to what an Armenian audience could perceive as a pleasant, novel image of its own culture and city. In this sense, the revivalist option would likely have been far less effective.

In the old Saint Anthony rebuilt in 1763, we likewise observed proximity to the local environment in the use of materials and techniques. But the interior layout shows the limits of inter-ethnic exchange even within the same confessional group: the obvious goal of the interior division of the church was to avoid contact between Armenians and Franks. On one hand, the new religious identity was influential enough to create a fracture between Orthodox and Catholic Armenians. On the other, conversion to Catholi-

cism was not enough to overcome the socio-cultural gap between Latins and Armenians. Besides the ethnic question, the history of the church may suggest a reflection on the urban character and influence of the Catholic establishments of Istanbul. Images showing the building in its urban context and in its recently reconstructed shape allow us to assume that Saint Anthony introduced in the cityscape a sign of difference and estrangement. The loose residential fabric of Pera was dominated in the late eighteenth century by the same timber structures that characterized Muslim and *reaya* districts of the city. This residential type had only recently achieved cohesiveness, but its influence was such that, until the great fire of Pera in 1831, even the embassies of the European powers adopted the local timber construction system and often a local or hybrid architectural language. In this environment, Saint Anthony stands out as a rather compact masonry volume with few apertures, occupying entirely its lot of land, in sharp contrast with the overhanging volumes, rich plasticity, and openness of the houses surrounding it. Can we consider Catholic structures like Saint Anthony as prototypes of a different urban order—the order that would produce, almost a century later, the image of Beyoğlu to which we are accustomed? Answering such a question would require separate research, but in the documents of Propaganda Fide there is at least fragmentary evidence that some of the urban processes of change usually associated with Tanzimat initiatives, such as the shift from timber to masonry in reconstruction after the great fires, had had a preliminary test in the management of residential structures belonging to Catholic foundations since the late eighteenth century. In this respect, I believe that a critical and comparative study of Catholic and non-Muslim architecture in late Ottoman Istanbul may contribute to revising the image of sudden change in the fabric and layout of the city, change engendered “from above” through the Tanzimat autocratic process of reform after 1839. Many aspects of that change had probably begun to surface much earlier.

A comparative study of the more recent establishments (beginning with the Church of Saint Esprit) may also shed light on the links between pre- and post-Tanzimat developments, giving us an opportunity to better understand the scopes and values of the process of estrangement I have described in relation to the new Saint Anthony by Mongeri. It is clear that the Catholic buildings realized after Saint Esprit dis-

play a closer and more direct dependence on Italian prototypes, but this should not impede us from investigating the different function of signs and meanings in the Tanzimat context. The increased visibility and unequivocally foreign stylistic references we observed are still inscribed within a late Ottoman or European-Ottoman cultural dynamic, and our study has, we hope, shown with enough clarity that the meaning of a Renaissance or Gothic Revival church in Istanbul is completely different from that of a similar structure in Italy or elsewhere.

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NOTES

Author's note: I wish to dedicate this study to the memory of Paolo Cuneo, who died ten years ago; with his encouragement and friendship I undertook my research on the architecture of the Italian community of Istanbul. I am grateful to Father Claudio Ceccherelli (O.F.M., Prior of the Church of Santa Maria Draperis), Father Lorenzo Piretto (O.P., Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Galata), and Msgr. Hovhannes J. Tcholakian (Archbishop of Istanbul) for their help and assistance. Special thanks go as well to the Department of Architectural History of the Istanbul Technical University, and to Ahmet Ersoy, who read earlier versions of this paper and provided valuable suggestions and criticism. I am also indebted to my wife Miyuki Aoki. Other acknowledgments on more specific issues will be given in the notes.

1. Although historically these topographical labels were not unequivocal, I will refer here to Galata as the settlement within the Genoese walls that existed until 1864, and to Pera as the expansion outside the walls, along the so-called Grand Rue de Pera (present-day İstiklâl Caddesi). In the Genoese sources, the designation “Pera” (with its “Magnifica Comunità”) indicated the colony *intra muros*, but the distinction I have adopted was common in nineteenth-century European and Levantine perception. More recently, it has been followed by Paolo Cuneo, “Galata e Pera: Introduzione allo studio dei quartieri ‘latini’ di Istanbul,” *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, n.s., 1–10 (1983–87): 113–22, a pioneering study on the complex, interwoven layers of this urban environment. See also his “Recenti studi italiani sull'architettura di Galata,” *Quaderni dell'Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Istanbul* (Rome, 1989): 49–64, as well as Nur Akin, *19. Yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Galata ve Pera* (Istanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 1998), a survey of the space and life of the districts based on Istanbul foreign press accounts of the second half of the nineteenth century. A general, useful introduction to the topography and architecture of Galata is Semavi Eyice, *Galata ve Kulesi = Galata and Its Tower* (Istanbul, 1969). Among the innumerable recent publications on Pera and Beyoğlu in general is Mustafa Cezar, *XIX. yüzyıl Beyoğlusu* (Istanbul, 1992), and the collection of essays *Geçmişten günümüze Beyoğlu* (Istanbul: TAÇ Vakfı, 2004).
2. The first project of the church, commissioned by the apostolic vicar Hillerau (in charge between 1833 and 1855), is attrib-

- uted to the Swiss-Italian Giuseppe Fossati, younger brother and collaborator of the more famous Gaspare (1809–83), during the latter's work in Istanbul: Tito Lacchia, *I Fossati, architetti del Sultano di Turchia* (Rome, 1943). Other authors consider this church a work of Gaspare himself. That he had actually shown an interest in early Christian typology, particularly in the reconstruction of the burned Basilica of Saint Paul in Rome during the 1820s and 30s, is argued by Lucia Pedrini Stanga and Rosella Grassi in *Gaspare Fossati*, catalogue of a 1992 exhibition at Pinacoteca Züst (Lugano: Fidia Edizioni d'Arte, 1992), 115. On the reconstruction planned by Pietro Vitalis, a Catholic from Tinos, and the developments that followed, see Sezim Sezer Sevinç, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e İstanbul'da Latin Katolik kiliseleri," PhD diss., Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1997, 248–51.
3. Its architect, G. B. Barborini (1820–91), was a political exile and a supporter of Italian unification who, like others, escaped to Istanbul after fighting against the Austrian and pontifical armies, on the side of the Roman Republic, at Cornuda in 1848. He also designed a Protestant building, the neoclassical German Evangelist Church on the slopes of Tarlabası. See Paolo Girardelli and Cengiz Can, "Giovanni Battista Barborini à Istanbul," *Observatoire urbain d'Istanbul, lettre d'information* 8 (1995): 2–7.
 4. On Saint Anthony and Giulio Mongeri, see the following text of this article. Gothic Revival architecture of higher quality had been introduced in Istanbul by a protagonist of Victorian architectural culture, George Edmund Street, in his design of the Anglican Crimean Memorial Church, completed in 1868: see Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 136–66.
 5. Louis Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata: 1453–1682," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, 1 (1979): 71–91. On Galata in its transition from the late Byzantine to the Ottoman context, see, among others, Paolo Stringa, *Genova e la Liguria nel Mediterraneo: Insediamenti e culture urbane* (Genoa, 1982); Geo Pistarino, "The Genoese in Pera-Turkish Galata," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986); Halil İnalçık, "Ottoman Galata, 1453–1553," in Edhem Eldem, ed., *Première rencontre internationale sur l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie moderne* (Istanbul: Isis, 1991), containing innovative and well-documented contributions on the social history of Galata; Michel Balard, "La société pérote aux XIVe–XVe siècles: Autour des Demerode et des Draperio," in Nevra Necipoğlu, ed., *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2001), 299–311.
 6. Among the various manuscript illustrations of Buondelmonti's work, Ms. Urb. Lat. 459 in the Vatican Library and Ms. Lat. XIV 45 (4595) in the Marciana Library in Venice emphasize the prevalence of domed structures in the historic peninsula as opposed to the pitched roofs of the churches of Galata.
 7. Ottoman masonry work can also be found in the older parts of the convent of Saints Peter and Paul, dating to the eighteenth century, and in the Armenian Catholic Cathedral of Saint Savior (1834).
 8. The apostolic visitor Pietro Demarchis, in Istanbul during October and November 1622, mentions the old and beautiful mosaics on the interior walls of the Jesuit Church of Saint Benedict, representing "sacri misteri della vita et passione di Gesu' Cristo," as well as mosaics Franciscan in subject in the Church of Saint Francis (Propaganda Fide, Visite, 122r–125r, in Georg Hofmann, S.J., *Il vicariato apostolico di Costantinopoli, 1453–1830* (Rome, 1935), vol. 103: *Orientalia Christiana analecta*, 43, 50). In the more recent Dominican Saints Peter and Paul, he only observes frescoes "alla moderna" (*ibid.*, 53).
 9. G. Matteucci, *Un glorioso convento francescano sulle rive del Bosforo, il S. Francesco di Galata in Costantinopoli, c. 1230–1697* (Florence: Studi Francescani, 1967).
 10. See Demarchis's report, cited in n. 8, above.
 11. The most famous case of conversion into a mosque of a Latin church is that of the Dominican Saint Paul, turned into Arap Cami in 1475. See Benedetto Palazzo, *L'Arap-djami ou église Saint-Paul à Galata* (Istanbul: Hachette, 1946).
 12. For a complete survey, see Sevinç, *Latin Katolik kiliseleri*, 77–259.
 13. The old and the new Saint Anthony actually coexisted for about two decades.
 14. The existing literature and documentation on the Catholic architecture of Istanbul is by no means complete. The principal studies of ecclesiastical character are: A. Belin, *Histoire de la latinité de Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (Paris: A. Picard, 1894), and Hofmann, *Il vicariato* (see n. 8, above). The relations between the Holy See and the Ottoman Empire are analyzed by Charles Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). A survey of the Ottoman sources on the non-Muslims, including the Latins, is Halil İnalçık, "Ottoman Archival Materials on Millets," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 vols. (New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982), vol. 1, 437–49. From the topographical point of view, various articles by Eugene Dalleggio d'Alessio published in *Echos de l'Orient*, as well as Raymond Janin, "Les Sanctuaires du Quartier de Pera," *Echos de l'Orient* 31 (1936), significantly complement and integrate Belin's work. The only comprehensive study of the subject to have a primarily architectural scope is the already-mentioned PhD thesis, Sevinç, "Latin Katolik kiliseleri," a detailed and mostly descriptive survey based on local archival material, both Ottoman and Latin. The Armenian Catholic churches of Istanbul have been surveyed by the present archbishop of the community, Msgr. Hovhannes J. Tcholakian, *L'église arménienne catholique en Turquie* (Istanbul, 1998), with photographs by Ara Güler. For the political and national meanings of the Latin churches, the diplomatic archives of the countries protecting Catholic communities represent a major source of knowledge. In this study we refer to the Archivio storico-diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Rome (hereafter AsdMAE), but further research in the French and Austrian archives (as well as in the files of the pre-Unitarian Italian capitals, especially Venice, Turin, and Naples) is likely to produce important results. The social context of the Catholic churches and their relation to the central authority can be better analyzed with the documents in the archives of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome (hereafter Propaganda), the institution established in 1622 to promote, centralize, and coordinate Catholic missionary activity in both Christian and non-Christian countries. A significant but minimal part of this rich documentation is published in

- Hofmann, *Il vicariato*. An inventory of the correspondence from the missions of the Maghreb ("Barberia") is published in Federico Cresti, ed., *Documenti sul Maghreb dal XVII al XIX secolo: Archivio storico della Congregazione "De Propaganda Fide": Scritture riferite nei congressi-Barbaria*, Fonti e studi italiani per la storia dell'Africa, vol. 2 (Perugia: Università degli Studi, Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, 1988).
15. G. Péliissié du Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations dans l'Empire ottoman*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Rousseau, 1902), vol. 1, p. 201. More recently, Machiel Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period* (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1985) 191, has pointed to the same issue. For Ottoman attitudes towards the *dhimmis* (protected subjects, in the central lands of the Empire mostly Greek Orthodox, Gregorian Armenians, and Sephardic Jews, organized into relatively separate *milletts* or "nations"), see Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*. A synthesizing account of intercommunal relations in the late Ottoman period is given by Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 172–91. Among other works more focused on cultural history are: Suraiya Faroqhi, "Borders and Those Who Crossed Them," chap. 5 of idem, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 80–100; Esther Juasz, ed., *Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Aspects of Material Culture*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Israel Museum, May–Oct. 1989, and the Jewish Museum, New York, spring 1990 (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1990); Richard Clogg, *Anatolica: Studies in the Greek East in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Aldershot, England, and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996). Kevork Pamukciyan's erudite biographical, topographical, and socio-cultural writings on the Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic have been collected in *Ermeni kaynaklarından tarihe katkılar*, 4 vols. (Istanbul: Aras, 2002–3). Other specific sources on the *milletts* will be mentioned in the following notes.
 16. According to Rinaldo Marmara, *Précis historique de la communauté latin de Constantinople et de son église* (Istanbul, 2003), p. 60, in the sixteenth century, forty-four percent of the Latin community of Istanbul was composed of Latin Ottoman subjects. The share of foreigners would increase dramatically with nineteenth-century immigration from Europe. Marmara's publication is an abridged version (without bibliography) of his doctoral thesis, "De l'Empire byzantin à la République turque, la formation, l'apogée et le déclin de la communauté levantine de Constantinople," Université Montpellier III: Paul Valéry, 2003.
 17. Kiel, *Art and Society*, 143–205; Maurice M. Cerasi, *La città del Levante: Civiltà urbana e architettura sotto gli Ottomani nei secoli XVIII–XIX* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1986), 71–74, 133–8.
 18. Quoted in François Rey, *De la protection diplomatique et consulaire dans les échelles du Levant et de Barbarie* (Paris: L. Larose, 1899).
 19. Rossitsa Gradeva, "Ottoman Policy towards Christian Church Buildings," *Études balkaniques* 4 (1994): 14–36 (with a main focus on the Balkans, but addressing general questions of right and practice).
 20. The following points attempt to synthesize in a schematic fashion the basic characteristics emerging from the sources cited in n. 14, above. They refer mostly to the situation observable in Istanbul. For provincial contexts, and for towns with an overwhelming Christian majority—where restrictions were applied more loosely and often managed at a local level—see Gradeva, "Ottoman Policy," and Kiel, *Art and Society*.
 21. Besides examples from the literature mentioned in the previous notes, the archives of the Dominican Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Galata preserve several firmans regarding not only permissions for repair and reconstruction but also issues like the conversion of *vakıf* (endowment) into *mülk* (private) properties, or the entrustment of the church to different Catholic communities, e.g., to the Dominican friars vs. the Latin Ottoman subjects in a controversy of 1799–1800, which was solved with the final recognition by Selim III in favor of the friars. The inventory of these archives, compiled by G. Palazzo in the 1950s, has recently been published: Arturo Bernal Palacios, "Fr. Benedetto Giovanni Palazzo O[rdo] P[ro]p[ri]etario (1892–1955) and His Catalogue of the Conventual Archives of Saint Peter in Galata (Istanbul)," *Dominican History Newsletter* 11 (2002): 215–50, and 12 (2003): 157–86.
 22. A witness by the Jesuit father Braconnier on the reconstruction of Saint Benedict after the 1696 fire states that "...un firman fut rendu à la fin de Chaban, 1108=1697, adressé à Ibrahim-pacha, caïmacam de CP. [Constantinople], lui ordonnant de laisser rebatir notre église dans les proportions indiquées par le dit firman." (Quoted in Belin, *Latinité*, 264.)
 23. Article 35 of the French Capitulations of 1740 contains the most explicit reference to particular churches: "Les deux ordres des religieux français qui sont à Galata, savoir les jésuites et les capucins, y ayant deux églises qu'ils ont entre leurs mains *ab antiquo*, ces églises resteront encore entre leurs mains, et ils en auront la possession et la jouissance. Et comme l'une des ces églises a été brulée, elle sera rebatie avec permission de la justice." (Quoted in Péliissié, *Capitulations*, 198.)
 24. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 102. According to Tcholakian, when the construction *ex novo* of the first Catholic Armenian church was authorized by Mahmut II in 1831, a fatwa of Şeyhülislam Mekkezade (Tcholakian's text has "Mehkezade") Mustafa Efendi on the compatibility of the issue with Islamic law was pronounced before the firman could be released (Tcholakian, *L'église arménienne*, 74).
 25. In 1712, a report by the Jesuit father Tarillon on the Church of Saint Benedict, rebuilt after the fire of 1696, proudly mentions its vault and domes clad with lead, and comments, "c'est le privilège des seules mosquées" (Belin, *Latinité*, 264). A local non-Muslim source, the Armenian Catholic dragoman C. C. de Carbognano, observes that the Armenian Church of Saint Gregory the Illuminator in Galata (replaced in the 1960s by the present revivalist building on Kemeraltı Avenue) had the prerogative of being covered by a vault with a lead revetment, "in the fashion of public buildings" ("a guisa di pubbliche fabbriche"): Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Costantinopoli arricchita di figure* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1992, orig. pub. Bassano, 1794), p. 62. On the old Saint Gregory, see Vagarsag Seropyan, "Krikor Lusavoriç (Surp) kilisesi," in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (hereafter *DBIA*) (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993, 1994), vol. 5, 106–8.
 26. Propaganda, S. C., Romania, Costantinopoli, vol. 28, 253–56, January 14, 1836.

27. Propaganda, *Scritture riferite*, vol. 278. Since Saint Roch was also used by prisoners, it seems that permission to use the bells was given to churches that were not integrated in urban life.
28. See the Ottoman documentation in Sevinç, "Latin Katolik kiliseleri," Ek 2.
29. A descriptive survey of the Greek Orthodox churches is Zafer Karaca, *İstanbul'da Osmanlı dönemi Rum kiliseleri* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995). For the Armenian churches, see Pars Tuğlacı, *Ermeni kiliseleri* (Istanbul, 1992).
30. Zeynep Kuban, "Considerations on the Definition of Ottoman Architecture in the 19th Century," *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 4 (2001): *Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Turkish Art, Utrecht, The Netherlands, August 23–28, 1999*, ed. M. Kiel, N. Landman, and H. Theunissen: article no. 28, 1–20.
31. In Karaca, *Rum kiliseleri*, the obvious example of Byzantine revival is the church of Hagia Kiryake in Kumkapı (191–95), whose present shape apparently dates from the reconstruction after the 1894 earthquake. Other cases, not featured in this study, may be the Church of Hagia Triada in Kadıköy, mentioned in Aurelio Palmieri, "L'antica e la nuova Calcedonia," *Bessarione* 25–26, 4th year (1898): 221–41, and the Theological School of Chalkis (Heybeliada), designed by the architect P. Fotiades in 1894 and published in Vassilis S. Colonas, "Production of Public and Private Space by the Non-Muslim Communities in the Urban Centres of the Ottoman Empire, a Case Study: Greek Architects and Commissioning Agents in Istanbul at the Turn of the 19th Century," in N. Akın, A. Batur, and S. Batur, *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: A Supra-National Heritage*, proceedings of an international congress held at Istanbul Technical University, Nov. 25–27, 1999 (Istanbul: YEM Yayınları, n.d.), 404–11.
32. On the meanings of the Ottoman revival, see Ahmet Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': Architectural Revival and Its Discourse during the Abdülaziz Era (1861–1876)," PhD diss., Harvard University, June 2000.
33. By contrast, a Byzantine revivalist idiom had been construed as signifier of a nationalized religious identity in Athens as early as 1846, when a competition was held in order to modify Teophil Hansen's Romanesque-Gothic design for the new cathedral under construction into a "Greek-Byzantine" type. See E. Bastea, *The Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 161–65.
34. *New Julfa: The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968). For an architectural study of some Catholic missions in Safavid Iran, see Eugenio Galdieri, "Le residenze dei missionari cattolici presso la corte safavide: nuovi dati sulle case di Isfahan," *ISMEO Serie orientale* 16, 2 (1987) (Festschrift entitled *Orientalia Josephi Tucci memoriae dicata*): 459–74.
35. This part of the article is based on my paper "Challenging the Borders: Ottoman Features in the Church of Santa Maria Draperis," presented at the Twelfth International Congress of Turkish Art, University of Amman, Oct. 2003. I am grateful to John Carswell and Stefan Weber for their comments during the discussion that followed my presentation.
36. Belin, *Latinité*, 271–72. "Un sieur Luchino Draperis est mentionné dans le traité entre le podestat de Galata et Jean Paléologue. Un autre, François Draperis, négociant de Galata, créancier des chiotes, fut cause de la prise de Chio par sultan Mehmet II. Des membres de cette famille figurèrent dans la 'Comunità di Pera,' et l'un d'eux en était prieur en 1675" (ibid., n. 1). A detailed account of the donation, along with a transcription of the original document, is given in Gualberto Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli*, 2 vols. (Florence: Edizioni Studi Francescani, 1971–75), vol. 2, 301–19. On the Draperis, see also Balard, *La société pérote*.
37. The date given by Belin (*Latinité*, 274) and by Matteucci (*La missione francescana*, vol. 2, 387) is 1660 (in the same fire Saint Francis was also destroyed). But a chronicle preserved in the archives of the church refers to a fire in 1659. See Claudio Ceccherelli, "Breve cronistoria della chiesa di Santa Maria Draperis a Costantinopoli (Istanbul) ricavata dalle memorie del medesimo convento, nel 50. mo anniversario della sua assegnazione alla Provincia dei Frati Minori di Toscana," in *La missione dei Frati Minori in Turchia e in Grecia: Numero unico nel cinquantesimo anniversario del passaggio alla provincia toscana 1930–1980* (Florence, n.d.) 17–35. The report of the apostolic vicar Gerolamo Bona, dated 1748, also accepts the date of 1659 (Propaganda, *Scritture non riferite*, Romania, vol. 8, quoted in Hoffman, *Il vicariato*, 106). The events leading to the relocation in Pera and the following vicissitudes (fires of 1697 and 1700, earthquake in 1727) are reported in Belin, *Latinité*, 265–81.
38. Belin, *Latinité*, 273–74.
39. Matteucci, *La missione francescana*, 138–47.
40. Propaganda, S. C., vol. 11, fol. 382, letter by Gioacchino da Catania to the Congregation, dated January 14, 1769. It seems that the projected trip never materialized.
41. Carbognano, *Descrizione*, 63–64, including the Latin text of the inscription that commemorates Ratkeal's intervention, still visible in the facade of the church. Catholic sources usually refer to the Apostolic (Orthodox, Gregorian, or pre-Chalcedonian) Armenian as "Schismatic."
42. E.g., the reconstruction of the Dominican Saints Peter and Paul after the 1700 fire, or that of Saint Anthony in 1724.
43. The 1831 fire is described in a letter to Propaganda, cited in the text of this article, before n. 84.
44. Ceccherelli, "Breve cronistoria," 29.
45. Ibid.
46. On the coexistence in Istanbul of new and "classical" Ottoman capitals around the mid-eighteenth century, see Selcuk Mulayim, "Tarih kitabeli bir mukarnas başlık," in S. Mülayim, Z. Sönmez, and A. Altun, eds., *Aslanapa armağanı* (Istanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1996), 151–62.
47. Doğan Yavaş, "Seyyid Hasan Pasa Külliyesi," *DBIA*, 543–44.
48. The role of columns and pilasters in the decorative program of the mosque of Nuruosmaniye is analyzed by Semra Ogel, "Nuruosmaniye Külliyesi dekorunda sütunlar," *Sanat Tarihi Dergi* 1 (1996): 35–54.
49. The first critical study of this stylistic development is Dogan Kuban, *Türk barok mimarisi hakkında bir deneme* (Istanbul: Pulhan Maatbası, 1954), emphasizing mostly the French influence and connection. A possible Italian origin of certain Ottoman Baroque forms is hypothesized by Ogel, *Nuruosmaniye*, and by Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci yüzyıl İstanbul mimarisinde batılılaşma süreci* (Istanbul: İ. T. Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975). Godfrey Goodwin has dealt with the

- question in *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 368–404.
50. See especially his “Città e architettura nel Settecento,” *Rassegna* 72 (Istanbul, Costantinopoli, Bisanzio) (1997): 37–51.
 51. “Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul,” *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 123–48.
 52. In the letter to Propaganda quoted in the text before n. 41, Gioacchino mentioned generically his predecessors as responsible for the ambitious project that financially ruined the mission of Santa Maria. He states that when he took control of the situation the construction was already too advanced to cut expenses.
 53. A case of genuine transfer of Italian Baroque forms to an Ottoman Islamic context was studied by Ayda Arel, “Gothic Towers and Baroque Mihrabs: The Post-Classical Architecture of Aegean Anatolia in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 212–18.
 54. For a synthesizing account of the relations between “national” Gregorian, Uniate Catholic, and “moderate” Mekhitarist trends within the Armenian community at large, see Leone Zechian, “Affinità elettive: Gli armeni e Venezia,” in idem, *L’Armenia e gli armeni: Polis lacerata e patria spirituale: La sfida di una sopravvivenza* (Venice: Guerini e associati, 2000), 103–28, first published in B. Bertoli, ed., *La chiesa di Venezia nel Settecento*, Contributi alla Storia della Chiesa Veneziana, 6 (Venezia: Edizioni Studium cattolico veneziano, 1993), with the title “Il monachismo mekhitarista a San Lazzaro e la rinascita armena del Settecento,” 221–48. For the effects of such divergences in the Ottoman context, see Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 178–89.
 55. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 155.
 56. *Ibid.*, 178–89; Tcholakian, *L’eglise arménienne*, 15–17.
 57. Hofmann, *Il vicariato*, 140.
 58. Kemal Beydilli, *II. Mahmud devri’nde Katolik Ermeni cemâati ve kilisesi’nin tanınması (1830)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1995).
 59. Bruce Masters, “Aleppo: The Ottoman Empire’s Caravan City,” in E. Eldem, D. Goffman, and B. Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 53–62.
 60. A document from 1766 in Propaganda (S. C., Romania Costantinopoli, vol. 11, fols. 152–94) refers to a long quarrel between Santa Maria and the nearby Saint Anthony over the administration of sacraments to a group of 400 Catholics from Aleppo.
 61. In a report to Propaganda dated June 1760, the apostolic vicar Pauli observed that his dioceses included Catholics of several “nations” (nazioni) that could be divided into two basic groups: the “Frank” and the “Oriental” nations. To the first group belonged “subjects of different Christian rulers scattered in all the Orient of my pertinence, like Frenchmen, Germans, Poles, Hungarians, a few Saxons, Italians, Ragusans, and those Catholics born in Pera and Galata, all of whom follow the Roman Catholic rite. The second is composed of Armenian Catholics scattered through all my Oriental jurisdiction and subject of this Porte.” The vicar then underlines that only the first part of his jurisdiction is officially authorized by the Ottoman government. (Propaganda, Scritture riferite, vol. 788, in Hofmann, *Il vicariato*, 136 and 139.)
 62. In 1622 the three parish churches, all within the walls of Galata, were Saint Francis, staffed by the Minori Conventuali branch of the Franciscans, the old Santa Maria Draperis in Mumhane, and Saints Peter and Paul of the Dominicans, the only church now remaining on the same site. According to the apostolic visitor Pietro Demarchis, one parish church would have been enough for a resident community of only 590 people. (Visita apostolica a Costantinopoli, Propaganda, Visite, 1, in Hofmann, *Il vicariato*, 42–66.)
 63. On the social and political implications of apostasy and reconciliation in the Ottoman Empire, see Selim Deringil, “There Is No Compulsion in Religion’: On Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire: 1839–1856,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, 3 (2000): 547–75.
 64. Carter V. Findley, “Mouradgea D’Ohsson (1740–1807): Liminality and Cosmopolitanism in the Author of the *Tableau général de l’Empire ottoman*,” *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 22, 1 (Spring 1998): 21–35. This scholar and diplomat had “the air of a Muslim,” according to one of his Parisian literary acquaintances (Findley, “Mouradgea,” 23). But he was also described as a “bon français” by the French ambassador to Istanbul, Albert du Bayet, in 1796 (*ibid.*, 31). He was an Easterner with a Swedish passport who also held the post of Swedish ambassador to the Porte for some years while keeping an obvious allegiance with Rome in his Catholic identity.
 65. *Descrizione topografica* (see n. 25, above). I have dealt briefly with the hybrid aspect of Carbognano’s work in “Italian Interpretations of Ottoman Architecture,” in Akin et al., *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture*, 66–71.
 66. Beydilli, *Katolik Ermeni cemâati*, 17. The topographical dimension of the religious affiliation was so effective that the houses of the converts who abjured the Catholic creed and returned to Armenian Orthodoxy were also confiscated. Their owners, though spared from exile, were compelled to move to the districts inhabited by the Armenian Gregorian population.
 67. In 1765, Biagio Pauli recorded that both Catholic and “heretic” Armenians lived in the districts of “Samatia, Ulanga, Balatà, Ejub, Cumcapù, Topkapu, Settetorri, Galata, Pera, ed in alcune ville situate per il lungo Canale del Mar Nero, o sia Bosforo Tracio” (Hofmann, *Il vicariato*, 190).
 68. Lucette Valensi, “Inter-Communal Relations and Changes in Religious Affiliation in the Middle East (Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries),” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, 2 (April 1997): 251–69.
 69. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 155.
 70. On March 28, 1721, the Latin patriarchal vicar G. B. Mauri described Saint Anthony as a chapel on the second floor of the house inhabited by five friars (Hofmann, *Il vicariato*, 97).
 71. Fr. Giorgio Montico, *La provincia d’oriente dei Frati Minori Conventuali e il suo bel S. Antonio nel venticinquesimo anno di vita* (Rome, 1938), 33.
 72. A French translation (with some inaccuracies, especially in the toponomastics) of the document establishing parochial boundaries is included in Belin, *Latinité*. A copy of the original Italian text is preserved in the archives of Saints Peter and Paul in Galata.
 73. Ethem Eldem, “The Ethnic Structure of Galata,” *Biannual Istanbul* 1 (1993): 28–33.

74. This church was sold to the Armenian Catholic community in 1857, after the erection of the new monumental Catholic Cathedral of Saint John Chrysostome near Galatasaray (1854). See Tcholakian, *L'église arménienne*, 149–64.
75. Church of Santi Apostoli, Rome, Archives of the Franciscan Order, copy of an anonymous manuscript report on the construction of the 1763 church.
76. Ibid. The use of “Khurasan” mortar is mentioned in this chronicle.
77. E.g., Carbognano, *Descrizione*, 66: the report on the 1831 fire is mentioned.
78. Propaganda, S. C., Romania, Costantinopoli, vol. 11, 396–400.
79. According to the report of the apostolic vicar Biagio Pauli dated August 20, 1765 (Hofmann, *Il vicariato*, 170ff.), Santa Maria in Draperis also had a gallery opposite the altar reserved exclusively for Armenian women. The same report does not mention the altar of Saint Gregory the Illuminator in the Church of Saint Anthony, or the presence of so many Armenians. It might well be that the situation changed following the “strategic” erection of an altar of Saint Gregory here—an operation that had to have been devotionally motivated (for instance through the acquisition of relics) and approved from Rome. The two parish churches were in fact in constant competition to increase the number of faithful attached to each, as is documented in the files of Propaganda. Pauli observed in Saint Anthony a semicircular lodge above the altar, “assai ben lavorato, e con intagli, che serve di non picciol ornamento alla chiesa.”
80. “Si eran presentati da noi circa due mesi fa a dimandare asilo tre giovani apostati, che da Cattolici eransi fatti Turchi, e poi pentiti dell'errore commesso cercavano nella fuga la via di ripararvi. Due di essi erano ascritti alla milizia regolare, l'uno Spagnuolo di circa ventisei anni, Damasceno l'altro non più avanzato di anni sedici; il terzo poi Tiniotto di patria, d'anni diecisette, delicato ed avvenente anzi che no, si trovava al servizio d'un ricco signore....” Propaganda., S. C., Romania, Costantinopoli, vol. 27, 112r: a letter from Father Giancarlo Magni to Propaganda Fide, from Pera, dated October 25, 1828.
81. “Passata una ventina di giorni, ne giunge all'orecchio che l'Agà del terzo, dopo averlo fatto ricercare in vano e lungamente per tutta Cos[tantino]poli, avea pubblicato un taglione di mille piastre per chi riescisse a scoprire ove mai si tenesse nascosto costui....”: ibid., 112r–112v.
82. Ibid., 112v: “...lasciamo stare che l'avidità del denaro poteva tentare anche qualche nostro Franco privo di timor di Dio, la nostra Chiesa comunica in varie parti col Convento, ed alla Chiesa è libero l'ingresso a chicchessia, ne viene che bene spesso abbiamo (...) un flusso e riflusso di Turchi, Armeni, Greci, e d'ogni razza di gente.” Trucchi is presented as a benefactor of the Catholic community in other documents of Propaganda. According to Magni, “ha avuto la carità di prenderlo nel Palazzo, e dopo un rifugio di circa un mese, vestitolo decentemente, lo ha mandato a sue spese in grembo della di lui famiglia.” This diplomat's popularity in the foreign community of Istanbul is also indicated by the fact that Lamartine was his guest in the Sardinian summer residence in Büyükdere.
83. See Mihail-Dimitri Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des grand familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople* (Paris: M.-D. Sturdza, 1983), 576.
84. Propaganda, S. C., Romania, Costantinopoli, vol. 27.
85. Ibid.: “Danari spesi per l'ultimo piano del convento e pel muraglione posteriore
- | | |
|---|---------------|
| Per 110.000 mattoni a p(iastr)e 50 il 1000 | pe. 5500 |
| Per mattone pesto per fare il cemento | pe. 4200 |
| Per legnami di diverse qualita' | pe. 8500 |
| Per 32 batelli di calce, a pe. 320 | pe. 10240 |
| Per le pietre che formano il quadrato delle finestre compresa la mano d'opera | pe. 3000 |
| 480 giornate di falegnami, a pe. 12 | pe. 5760 |
| 620 giornate di muratori a pe. 10 . 11 . 12 | pe. 6820 |
| 620 giornate ai (o facchini) a pe. 5 | pe. 3100 |
| 620 giornate ai ragazzi (o manuali) a pe. 4 | pe. 2480....” |
86. Between 1834, the year of the inauguration of the first Armenian Catholic church (Saint Savior in Galata) and 1911, when Saint Levon in Kadiköy was completed, twelve new churches officially serving this community were constructed; one of them, the Holy Trinity in Galatasaray, was actually purchased from the Latin community (see n. 74). Except for the Immaculate Conception of Samatya, they are all located outside the historical peninsula. See Tcholakian, *L'église arménienne*, 69.
87. Belin, *Latinité*, 369–70.
88. Propaganda, S. C., Romania, Costantinopoli, vol. 28, 661r–661v.
89. The same attraction for Kadiköy as “New Chalcedony” is witnessed some forty years later by Palmieri, in “L'antica e la nuova Calcedonia.”
90. Leonhard Lemmens, *Hierarchia latina Orientis, 1622–1922*, Orientalia Christiana, vol. 2, no. 4 (1924), 265–313.
91. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 264–69.
92. Records of Andon Tulbentchian's Roman period of study are preserved in the files of the School of Engineering of the Archiginnasio (Pontifical University), today in the Archivio di Stato di Roma.
93. Tcholakian, *L'église arménienne*, 211–22. On Hagop Koçoğlu (“Guetcheyan” in the Europeanized Armenian form used by Tcholakian), see also the biographical profile by Pamukciyan, *Biografileriyle Ermeniler (Ermeni kaynaklar, IV)*, 286.
94. In 1889 Blanc built at his own expense a residence in Gümüşsuyu, next to the German Embassy, in order to mend the embarrassing gap between the grand diplomatic seats of the European powers and the house in Tepebaşı (present seat of the Italian Cultural Institute) that was used as the Italian Embassy. See my doctoral thesis, “Istanbul e l'Italia, 1837–1908: Confronto e interpretazioni reciproche di due tradizioni architettoniche,” Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, VI ciclo (1995), 109–19.
95. AsdMAE, fondo Ambasciata d'Italia in Turchia, Serie politica P, posizione 293. I have mentioned Catalani's letter in the catalogue of Mongeri's drawings for Saint Anthony: Cengiz Can and Paolo Girardelli, “Beyoğlu'nda bir Latin amıdı = Un monumento latino a Beyoğlu,” in *Yaşayan Çizgiler = Segni essenziali*, catalogue of an exhibition at Yapı Kredi Vedat Nedim Tör Müzesi, Istanbul, Nov.–Dec. 1996 (Istanbul: Istituto Italiano di Cultura and Yapı Kredi Kültür Merkezi, 1996), 13–30.
96. See s.v. “Tommaso Catalani,” in *La formazione della diplomazia nazionale, 1861–1915: Repertorio bio-bibliografico dei funzio-*

- nari del Ministero degli Affari Esteri* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1987).
97. Eyüp Özveren, "Beirut," *Review* [Fernand Braudel Center] 16, 4 (Fall 1993): 467–97 (from an entire issue subtitled "Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean, 1800–1914").
 98. "And all these difficulties, all this waste of time, these considerable expenses thrown into the depths of the earth, the promoters of the idea had to bear for the sake of building the church in the beautiful district of Pera, on its most beautiful street, in its highest and most central section, so that the cross would rise above where no other symbol ever reached or will reach. A sublime idea, thanks to which rises the major Catholic church of the city, the desired end constructed by modern Italians, not just competing with but definitely surpassing the historical tower of Galata, raised into the warm blue sky by Genoese merchants, warriors, navigators...." (A. Buonaiuti, "Dati sulla costruzione della nuova basilica di S. Antonio," *Rassegna Nazionale* (June 1907), repr. in Montico, *La provincia d'oriente*, 70–71. Buonaiuti is referring to the technical difficulties encountered during the laying of the church foundations. See Can and Girardelli, "Un monumento latino.")
 99. On Boito, see G. Zucconi, *L'invenzione del passato: Camillo Boito e l'architettura neomedievale* (Venice: Marsilio, 1997).
 100. The shift from French to Italian protection also required the Pope's approval, which Catalani was confident of obtaining through the mediation of the Franciscans. R. J. B. Bosworth recalls that during the First World War and the dispute over Palestine, "...it was believed that Franciscan missionaries could be relied on to be 'eminently patriotic Italians': "Italy and the End of the Ottoman Empire," in Marian Kent, ed., *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire* (London and Boston: G. Allen and Unwin, 1984), 52–75.
 101. Father Giuseppe Caneve, manuscript report on the construction of the new Saint Anthony, in the archives of the church.
 102. *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that Caneve included in his estimate some 5,000 Jewish Italians.