

A HISTORICAL PANORAMA OF AN ISTANBUL NEIGHBORHOOD:
CIHANGIR FROM THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE 2000s

by

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This study can be seen as a contribution to the history of a cosmopolitan Istanbul neighborhood, Cihangir, where Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Levantines, Turks, and other Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants lived in harmony for centuries. Based on oral history narratives by older and new inhabitants of the neighborhood as well as primary sources identified by the author, the present study aims to shed light on its cosmopolitan fabric and the changes it has undergone throughout the republican history of Turkey. It reflects its author's perspective which situates the story of Cihangir within the framework of the story of the decline of cosmopolitan Istanbul due to the Turkification policies of the nationalist state. After a series of regrettable events like the notorious Wealth Tax of 1942, the 6-7 September riots in 1955, and the 1964 decree for the deportation of Greek nationals, Cihangir lost its original human fabric with the gradual departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants, specifically the Greeks, who were the main population in the neighborhood. It also presents the cosmopolitan mahalle life in Cihangir, especially in the 1950s and the 1960s. After a period of *déclassement*, however, Cihangir was reinvented in a globalizing metropolis, Istanbul. This study also discusses the process of gentrification in Cihangir and its effects on the neighborhood and the daily mahalle life there. Present day Cihangir is a culturally heterogeneous but ethnically less mixed neighborhood embracing the few remaining Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Levantines. However, it is a neighborhood still living together with its past.

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Başlık: Bir İstanbul Semti'nin Tarihsel Panoraması: On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl Sonundan 2000'lere Cihangir

Bu çalışma yüzyıllardır Rum, Ermeni, Musevi, Levanten, Türk ve diğer Müslüman ve gayrimüslim unsurların bir arada uyum içinde yaşadıkları kozmopolit bir İstanbul semti olan Cihangir'in tarihine bir katkı olarak görülebilir. Eski ve yeni Cihangirli'lere ait sözlü tarih anlatıları ve yazar tarafından ortaya çıkarılan birincil kaynaklara dayanan bu çalışma semtin kozmopolit dokusuna ve onun Cumhuriyet tarihi boyunca geçirdiği dönüşümlere bir ışık tutmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu çalışma Cihangir'in hikayesini milliyetçi devletin Türkleştirme politikaları ile ilintili olarak kozmopolit İstanbul'un düşüş hikayesi içerisinde yerleştiren yazarının perspektifini yansıtmaktadır. 1942 Varlık Vergisi, 6-7 Eylül 1955 olayları, 1964'te Yunan tebaalılarının sınır dışı edilmesine yol açan kararname gibi bir dizi üzücü olay sonrasında Cihangir gayrimüslim, özellikle de semtin ağırlıklı nüfusu olan Rum sakinlerinin zaman içerisinde ayrılması sonucunda orijinal insan dokusunu kaybetmiştir. Çalışma aynı zamanda özellikle 1950'ler ve 1960'ların Cihangirindeki kozmopolit mahalle hayatını da yansıtmaktadır. Bununla birlikte Cihangir bir dönem geçirdiği sınıfsal düşüşün ardından küreselleşen bir metropol olan İstanbul'da yeniden keşfedilmiştir. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda Cihangir'de mutenalaşma sürecini ve onun semt ve oradaki mahalle hayatı üzerindeki etkilerini tartışmaktadır. Günümüzde Cihangir kültürel anlamda heterojen ama etnik olarak daha az karışık fakat hala az sayıdaki Rum, Ermeni, Musevi ve Levanten sakinlerini kucaklayan ve her şeye rağmen bugünü dünü ile birlikte yaşayan bir semttir.

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for my family and for the history of Cihangir...

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SURRENDERING TO THE AURA OF AN ISTANBUL NEIGHBORHOOD

*Cihangir was a select neighborhood in those days.
People were more civilized, more cultivated.
Those were the good days.
We miss them, but they shall never come again.*

Yannis Y., a 75 year-old Cihangirli

*Cihangir was cosmopolitan.
This is incontrovertible.
Rums, Armenians, Jews, and of course, Levantines...
French and Germans, who were the officials at
consulates and the teachers in the schools nearby...*

Feridun D., a Cihangirli for 72 years

*Cihangir is still beautiful. Cihangir is old,
beautiful.
But its people have changed.
Old people do not exist anymore.*

Yervant M., a Cihangirli

But the neighborhoods are essentially made up of people.

Andrew M. Greeley, 1977

Only a few Istanbul neighborhoods today constitute the surviving historic quarters of the old city even though they have lost many of their original characteristics, which made them genuinely old Istanbul neighborhoods. No doubt, these characteristics were those reflecting the spirit of Istanbul's past, a past that has already faded away. What remains for sure today is, to me, the soundness of an idea

that in fact the story of each such neighborhood may well be the story of cosmopolitan Istanbul, a summary of the changes it has gone through, the times through which it has lived. From their human fabric to their special historic landscapes, the characteristics of these old quarters of Istanbul have always reflected the city's epochs, whether *belle* or not.

Following is the story of such an old (though relatively not so old) Istanbul neighborhood, which since its inception has been ascribed uniqueness and owned a reputation not only for its special geographic situation on top of one of Istanbul's hills with several of the most beautiful panoramic views of the historic city and the Bosphorus, but also due to its reputation as a "select" neighborhood of the city. What you will read below is the story of Cihangir.¹ Situated near Pera (Beyoğlu), the historic multi-religious and multi-lingual district, which was the first to be westernized in the city of Istanbul in the nineteenth century, Cihangir was renowned as a neighborhood of the Istanbul Greeks, the *Rums*.² However, there used to live in Cihangir other non-Muslims as well. Armenians, Jews, mostly Italian origin Levantines, French, Germans, and Turks were all living side by side in the neighborhood. Thus, besides its physical location, the still-existing reputation of Cihangir in fact derived from its being a neighborhood of select non-Muslim families. As Yannis Kalamaris, director of the secondary section of the Zappeion

¹ In Turkish, the words *mutena* or *kalburüstü* are used for neighborhoods that have a higher status. Above, I use the word "select" to indicate that Cihangir was known as such an Istanbul neighborhood.

² The term *Rum* in Turkish is used to denote the Greek-speaking Christian Orthodox community living in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey. The Istanbul Greeks believed they were descendants of the citizens of Romano-Byzantine Constantinople, so they call/ed themselves *Romioi*. Under the Ottoman administration based on the *millet* system, the Greek-speaking Christian Orthodox community living in Asia Minor, thus, was called *Millet-i Rum* or *Rum Milleti*. The term *Rum*; however, began to be used to indicate the difference between an Ottoman Greek and a *Yunanlı*, the citizen of the independent Greek state, after 1821. Thus, the term *Rum* and the term *Yunanlı*, the Greek (Hellene), who is a citizen of Greece, have different connotations. In modern Turkey, *Rum* is largely used to refer to the Greek Orthodox community who are Turkish nationals, while Hellenic Greeks, who are Greek nationals, are called *Yunanlı*. Throughout this study, I will use both terms flexibly and I will use the term "Rum" to refer the established Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul.

lycée, the renowned Rum school close to Cihangir in Beyoğlu, said, “There used to reside *kalburüstü ekalliyet* (minority) families in Cihangir. Akarsu Street, for example... Cihangir was such a Cihangir at that time. A very beautiful neighborhood, very clean... As far as I remember... It is because I used to pass through there when going to Beyoğlu.”³

To what extent Cihangir could be described as a cosmopolitan neighborhood in itself is open to debate since the Rums constituted the majority of the neighborhood’s population; however, one may unhesitatingly say that Cihangir has always been a part of cosmopolitan Istanbul, even more truly, one of the parts of the city providing and/or enriching its cosmopolitan fabric. As the backyard of cosmopolitan Pera, Cihangir evolved as a residential area, where non-Muslims of Istanbul used to live, since the nineteenth century. However, it lost almost all of its original demographic fabric decades ago with the gradual departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants.

In contemporary Istanbul, however, Cihangir remains the subject of a commercialized nostalgia for a past cosmopolitan urban fabric. As said above, Cihangir’s population was constituted mainly by the Rums, but following a series of events causing the Rums to leave Istanbul, Cihangir witnessed gradual depopulation, leading much of its original character to disappear. After the foundation of the Turkish nation-state in 1923, nationalist projects by the Republican state caused the non-Muslims of Istanbul to leave the country. In the case of the Rums, specifically the 1950s and the 1960s were problematic decades that saw regrettable events against the Rum denizens of Istanbul. Indeed, major changes that forced the non-Muslims of Istanbul to emigrate began during the final years of World War II. The

³ Talk with Yannis Kalamaris in *Beyoğlu’nda Beyoğlu’nu Konuşmak, Salı Toplantıları 2000-2001* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), p.24.

notorious Wealth Tax of 1942, which was most heavily imposed on Istanbul's non-Muslims, was a breaking point in Istanbul's loss of its cosmopolitan fabric because many Jews, Armenians and Rums left the country after this event. On 6-7 September, 1955, Istanbul's Rum community was victimized in government-instigated riots by Turkish mobs. Rum properties were destroyed by massive attacks by Turkish mobs. After the Events of 6-7 September, thousands of Rums left Istanbul. In 1964, Rums were again the victims of Turkish-Greek relations related to Cyprus. Turkey unilaterally cancelled the 1930 Turkish-Greek convention that enabled Greeks citizens to reside in Istanbul. With a governmental decree on 17 March 1964, residents of Istanbul with Greek citizenship were expelled from the country. These events in the case of Cihangir triggered a serious depopulation spread over the ensuing decades in the neighborhood as they did in other non-Muslim neighborhoods of Istanbul.

Yet Cihangir, whose destiny has always been determined by that of Pera/Beyoğlu, continued to be a distinct neighborhood both representing and differing from the many patterns of change Istanbul has undergone throughout its history.

Thus, this thesis aims to shed light on Cihangir's past within the framework of Istanbul's cosmopolitanism, which has already "faded away" as a result of nationalist policies, to problematize this cosmopolitanism with reference to the Turkification process in Istanbul during the Republican decades and to provide an overall portrait of the neighborhood throughout its history including its status today. This thesis may well be seen as an effort to situate the story of Cihangir inside the story of the decline of cosmopolitan Istanbul and how its cosmopolitanism was replaced by a cosmopolitanism of a new type today. In other words, this study

reflects my interpretation of the history of a neighborhood. It is about how I read a neighborhood's historical transformation within the framework of the overall transformation of Istanbul though it has a place peculiar to itself on Istanbul's multi-layered urban fabric. It is the product of how I relate the story of a cosmopolitan neighborhood as a historic unit to the story of a whole city until the 1980s since the two stories were in fact the summary of one true story: The decline of cosmopolitan Istanbul.

Cihangir: *Semt* or *Mahalle*?

Istanbul's denizens used to have a localized life, especially before the nineteenth century. Cem Behar, who has conducted a study on a neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul, says that the *mahalle* (neighborhood) has been the historic unit making up the urban fabric of the residential areas in Istanbul since the early sixteenth century.⁴ However, it is not possible to find any archival sources on mahalles before the nineteenth century. This was a crucial difficulty for me in attempting to write on Cihangir's past. Thus, all I could do was to search for secondary sources about the neighborhood and its past. However, secondary sources on Cihangir's past were also scarce. Nevertheless, one can examine Cihangir on the mahalle and *sem*t (neighborhood) axis.

The mahalle, the basic unit of space in Istanbul, was a small sized area in the city's overall landscape. Similarly, its population was small in number. Behar indicates that the Istanbul mahalles had an average population of about fifteen

⁴ Cem Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).

hundred people just before World War I.⁵ Often situated side by side and constituting Istanbul's multi-layered topography, the mahalles were formed on ethnic and religious grounds. However, they were not completely homogeneous in terms of ethnicity and religion. Even, most of the time a rich religious and ethnic diversity characterized Istanbul's residential mahalles as well as those throughout the Middle East. The Istanbul mahalles were made up of a few streets surrounding a square or a mosque, a church or a synagogue.

Behar notes that although the Istanbul mahalles did not have distinct borders, they still served as units confiding households. Thus, the mahalle was the only functioning unit creating a sense of belonging to a certain space and a local identity. The sense of belonging to a mahalle was, without a doubt, a primary source of acquiring identity for the inhabitants of that mahalle since the mahalles were the main shapers of local identity. For example, those who were/are living in Cihangir were/are *Cihangirlis*.⁶ As Behar indicates, traditional Istanbul mahalles were units of differing income groups and classes as well as social statuses. However, there were also a considerable number of ethnically and religiously heterogeneous mahalles. Thus, mahalle life was cosmopolitan in many neighborhoods of Istanbul in the nineteenth century. Cihangir also emerged as such a neighborhood towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century.

Behar stresses the distinction between a semt and a mahalle.

Accordingly, a semt is an area which has no official description or borders, and

⁵ Ibid., p.4.

⁶ In Turkish the suffix “-li” or “-lu”, when attached to the name of any particular place, refers to someone from that place. Thus, a *Cihangirli* is someone from Cihangir. In Turkey, originally being from a certain place is ascribed more sociological meanings. Most of the time, individuals utter the names of places where they are from as part of their identity. Thus, being from somewhere creates a sense of belonging to that certain place and it becomes an indicator of identity. In the case of Istanbul neighborhoods, belonging to any particular neighborhood most of the time is a signifier of identity and status. Thus, being from Cihangir, for example, connotes a set of meanings that are different from those of any other neighborhoods.

refers to a wider area than a mahalle does.⁷ The semt may also take its name from a certain place in the area. In the case of Cihangir, it was a mosque, around which the whole neighborhood began to take its shape.

When compared in terms of their familiarity for the denizens of Istanbul, semts are better known or have better reputations than mahalles. Both the semt and the mahalle have roles in shaping local identity; however, as Behar indicates, the sense of belonging to a semt rather than belonging to a mahalle connotes more than simply being a local identity but some sort of more prestigious status, differentiating itself from the other denizens of the city: “A residential semt could be more or less prestigious than another and there could be a-real or imagined- hierarchy of semts, but not of mahalles.”⁸

While Cihangir legally refers to a mahalle in Istanbul, it has been defined mostly as a semt. Thus, when the name is uttered, Cihangir connotes a larger area than simply a mahalle and being a Cihangirli is something providing a status to an inhabitant defining herself/himself as someone from that semt.

In almost all sources, Cihangir is defined as a semt within the borders of Pera/Beyoğlu district, the old center in the European section of Istanbul. In the north, it starts from between Siraselviler Street, on which the German Hospital was built between the 1840s and the 1870s, and Kazancıbaşı Yokuşu (hill). In the south, it reaches down to Tophane, Salıpazarı and Fındıklı quarters on the European shore of the lower Bosphorus. In other words, Cihangir is located in the Galata-Beyoğlu-Tophane triangle. However, the main mahalles which constitute the real Cihangir are

⁷ Behar, 2003, p.5.

⁸ Ibid., p.6.

Cihangir Mahalle and the Pürtelaş Mahalle. These two mahalles are also shown as constituting Cihangir as a semt in the official Istanbul City Guide published in 1934.⁹ On the other hand, some streets of the surrounding Firuzağa, Kılıç Ali Paşa, and Kuloğlu Mahalles are also considered as streets of Cihangir as a semt. Thus, what I try to express is that a semt is something that is not bounded by administrative borders but by mental ones. Although there is only one mahalle that is called Cihangir Mahalle, what constitutes Cihangir as a semt is a wider area, including Pürtelaş Mahalle and many streets of Firuzağa, Kılıç Ali Paşa, and Kuloğlu mahalles. Present day Cihangir Mahalle is composed of twenty-two streets.¹⁰ However, for example, although officially placed within the borders of Kılıç Ali Paşa Mahalle, some streets like Susam, Akarsu, Anahtar, Coşkun, Altın Bilezik, Batarya, Tüfekçi Salih, Enli Yokuşu, and İlyas Çelebi are also well-known streets of Cihangir. Similarly, the famous Defterdar Yokuşu, officially located within the borders of Firuzağa Mahalle, is considered a part of Cihangir as a semt.

Thus, the answer for the question of whether Cihangir is a mahalle or a semt is that it is the latter. Rather than administrative boundaries, it is mental ones that determine a semt. Thus, rather than by which streets Cihangir as an administrative unit is bounded, the perception of it by its inhabitants is more determining since it is a matter of a sense of belonging to a certain locality. As Behar stresses, the distinction between the semt and the mahalle is important for perceiving the urban space and placing the local identities.¹¹

⁹ See appendix for a map of Cihangir taken from the Istanbul City Guide 1934.

¹⁰ These streets are Akyol (Tavukuçmaz), Cihangir, Siraselviler, Alçakdam, Aslan Yatağı, Bakraç, Güneşli, Havyar, Kazancı Yokuşu, Kumrulu Yokuşu, Lenger, Matara, Mebusan, Oba, Pürtelaş, Sağıroğlu, Seyit Ahmet Çıkmazı, Sirkeci Mescit, Soğancı, Somuncu, Başkurt (Sormagir), and Yeni Yuva.

¹¹ Behar, p.5.

Finally, Cihangir has several of the best and the most unique views of Istanbul, thanks to its position on one of the hills of Istanbul. From different angles and even unexpected corners of the neighborhood, one may encounter surprising panoramas of the silhouette of Istanbul of both Ottoman and Byzantine times. It is possible to see the historic peninsula with Topkapı Palace, Hagia Sophia, the Maiden Tower on the Marmara Sea, the entrance of the Bosphorus and an area from Selimiye Barracks to Kuzguncuk on the Anatolian shore of Istanbul. One may even see the Princess Islands in fine weather.¹² Cihangir also presents a wonderful view of Üsküdar district on the Anatolian shore of the Bosphorus. The following verses of a poem by Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, a neo-classical Turkish poet, whose poems on Istanbul are well-known, are a good expression of the neighborhood's unique position.

“Go and look across from Cihangir in this season during the sunset!
And give yourself to the dream across for a little while!”¹³

This study is my debt to my semt, Cihangir, where I was born, went to school, grew up, and feel I belong to. Above all, it is a dedication to follow the traces of a lost human fabric in an Istanbul neighborhood. With the most humble state of being, it is an endeavor to remain as a tiny note on history with an aim to shed light on a neighborhood's past and present

Studying Cihangir or, in other words, reading, remembering and interpreting both the past and current experiences of this distinct Istanbul neighborhood initially appeared in my mind when I clearly began to see the changes it was undergoing during the 2000s.

¹² Behzat Üsdiken, “Cihangir,” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 2 (1993), p.430.

¹³ These are the opening verses of Beyatlı's poem titled the *Hayal Şehir* (Dream City). Translated by me. Below is Turkish version of the verses:

*Git bu mevsimde gurub vakti Cihangir'den bak!
Bir zaman kendini karşıdaki rü'yaya bırak!*

At the beginning of this study, I was stuck between historicizing and sociologizing, in other words, writing the history or making the sociology of Cihangir, because I was a sociology graduate and a master's student of Turkish History. In Cihangir the changes were tremendous. New cafés were being opened and old houses were being renovated. It was as if a new make up was being applied on Cihangir's face. All these changes; however, were making Cihangir more artificial and fake in my eye. Like an inverse proportion, the more Cihangir was undergoing transformation, the more it was losing its "authenticity," which also had been lost in great part after the departure of the Rums.

One of the reasons why I chose to study my neighborhood other than personal reasons related to my cultural identity was that Cihangir, which has a unique history, though not much written, has also been undergoing a remarkable transformation within the larger metropolis, Istanbul, due to the effects of the march of global capitalism. On the one hand, it is subjected to a process of a rapid gentrification, while on the other hand a consciousness of belonging to a semt at the local level is increasing among its inhabitants while globalization transforms the metropolis with its uneven effects. Cihangir today is a highly complex cosmos with its locals, who have remained while other residents have "faded away" in the neighborhood's space, its newcomers, new spaces, new meanings, and new sites of consumption. It has been turned into a commodity and is being consumed day by day. On the other hand, there are many intellectual people who live/have lived there watching all the changes with eyes that are city-aware. For some the neighborhood is recovering yet for others it is getting degenerated day by day. Thus, in the middle of all these changes, I felt this social change should be analyzed not only with reference to the dynamics of our day but also by recalling and recycling the neighborhood's past.

What prompted me to conduct a study on Cihangir was also the fact that there are very few printed sources on the history and current situation of Cihangir. Therefore, my study is a modest attempt both to tell about the past of Cihangir from a different perspective focusing on the neighborhood's multi-religious and multi-ethnic human fabric based on primary sources as much as possible together with oral history methods. My study can be seen as presenting a historical panorama of a neighborhood situated in the general framework of the social history of Istanbul. It focuses on the demographic shifts in the neighborhood and relates them to the shifts in the ethnic composition of Istanbul throughout the Republican history. In this sense, this thesis also wishes to be fruitful for further studies on the neighborhood.

Another reason for me to decide on writing about the past of Cihangir was that Cihangir's past gives us clues regarding the situation of the non-Muslims of Istanbul within the last half century. At the micro level in Cihangir, the changes, specifically the gradual but considerable decrease in the number of the Rums and other non-Muslims throughout the last fifty years and even more is an indicator of the decline of multi-ethnic coexistence in Istanbul. I tried to formulate my chapter on Cihangir's history in terms of the above issues. I believed that remembering Cihangir's past could be achieved through listening, presenting and analyzing the narratives of the remaining old Cihangirlis as well as the new inhabitants of the neighborhood because I was aware of the fact that Cihangir was a neighborhood where oral history studies should already have been conducted in order to shed light on its past. One of my aims before starting this study was also to find out as many primary sources as possible regarding the neighborhood's history, therefore to contribute to the existing limited information about it. Another aim of this study is also to portray the everyday life in a cosmopolitan mahalle sphere that made up

Cihangir during the decades when the multi-ethnic coexistence was not destroyed in Istanbul.

The possible contributions of this study are that it presents a body of oral history interviews with the old and new inhabitants of Cihangir; that is to say, it can be described as an ethnographic study on the neighborhood. Second, the narratives collected are supported by archival documents studied for the first time. The result of my scanning of five official telephone directories for Istanbul related to the years 1929, 1933, 1942, 1950, and 1966 provided me with an important source on the neighborhood's history. I reached the names and the addresses of inhabitants of Cihangir in those years as well as the names of the apartments in the neighborhood. The lists I created after scanning the telephone directories are a considerable source of information about who lived in Cihangir in those years. Similarly, my examination of what are called the *Annuaire Orientals* of the years 1881, 1883-84, 1909, and 1921 helped me identify the inhabitants of Cihangir of those years name by name and street by street. The resulting data also constitute a significant source on the neighborhood's history. Again, my study of the church records to find out the situation of the Rum population in Cihangir after both the Events of 6-7 September 1955 and the 1964 decree for the deportation of the people who had Greek citizenship enabled me to show the tremendous decline in the Rum population in the neighborhood. This is the first such study of Cihangir's ethnic composition has been conducted. Although they may be eclectic, I find it necessary to present my sources together in this study since I believe they fill gaps in the neighborhood's history.

I should also mention the importance of Çağlar Keyder's article "A Tale of Two Neighborhoods" for my work, where he explores the changes in two neighborhoods, Laleli and Arnavutköy, in Istanbul, a metropolis "between the global

and the local.”¹⁴ His work was a source of inspiration for me in studying contemporary Cihangir and is a pioneer study on gentrification in Istanbul. I also reviewed the other studies related to gentrification in Cihangir. Cemile Nil Uzun’s diagnostic study, which analyzes gentrification in Istanbul, looks at Kuzguncuk and Cihangir, two Istanbul neighborhoods which have been remarkably affected by the process.¹⁵ Indeed, literature on gentrification in Turkey recently has been emerging. However, printed studies on the issue are very few. Another one of these sources was published by the Istanbul Bilgi University in 2006.¹⁶ It also presents studies on gentrification in different neighborhoods in Istanbul and argues that Cihangir is a good example of the process in the city. However, these two sources are not ones directly written only on Cihangir, they also study other parts of the city and other issues related to gentrification. On the other hand, because the issue they deal with is gentrification, which is a process that has appeared in Istanbul in the global context, they do not provide a historical perspective on the neighborhoods. In this sense, I argue that my thesis on Cihangir is a different one aiming to study its history through a double methodology consisting of ethnographic work and primary sources as well as secondary sources.

Theoretical Concerns

This thesis can be considered as a study within the framework of urban history and microhistory with the help of oral history. It scrutinizes an Istanbul

¹⁴ Çağlar Keyder, “A Tale of Two Neighborhoods,” in Çağlar Keyder (ed.), *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, (Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), pp.173-186.

¹⁵ Cemile Nil Uzun, *Gentrification in Istanbul: A Diagnostic Study* (Nederlandse Geografische Studies, No. 285, Utrecht, 2001).

¹⁶ David Behar, Tolga İslam (ed.), *İstanbul’da “Soylulaştırma:” Eski Kentin Yeni Sakinleri* (İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006).

neighborhood which has always been a place peculiar to itself in the urban history of Istanbul, and its changing social and urban fabric from the late nineteenth century to the present. As Suzanne Keller wrote the “neighborhood unit” was to function to,

(1) introduce a principle of physical order into the chaotic, fragmented urban aggregate, (2) reintroduce local, face-to-face types of contacts into the anonymous urban society, thereby helping to regain some sense of community, (3) encourage the formation of local loyalties and attachments and thereby offset the impact of extensive social and residential mobility, (4) stimulate feelings of identity, security, stability, and rootedness in a world threatening such feelings on all sides, and (5) provide a local training ground for the development of larger loyalties to city and nation.¹⁷

Cihangir, in this sense, has been a place, where locals have a mahalle life with face-to-face relations and the sense of belonging to the neighborhood has always been something, which has been going hand in hand with a feeling of “rootedness.”

Peter Burke writes that in the 1970s, some of the social historians “turned from the telescope to the microscope.”¹⁸ He gives examples of the *Montaillou* by the French historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and *The Cheese and the Worms* by the Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg as “two famous studies” that “did much to put microhistory on the map”.¹⁹

Burke continues that the tendency towards the microhistory derived from historians’ “discovery” of what the social anthropologists studied.²⁰ He explains that the microhistorical approach have paved the way for a shift from large-scale to small-scale studies. “Microhistory as a practice is essentially based on the reduction of the scale of observation, on a microscoping analysis and an intensive study of the documentary material,” also says Giovanni Levi, who has a microhistorical

¹⁷ Suzanne Keller, *The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective* (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 126.

¹⁸ Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 38.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 39.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 40.

approach.²¹ Thus, to study a neighborhood in the city of Istanbul can be seen as an endeavor to make a microsocial and microhistorical analysis.

As Burke points out, criticisms often raised against the microhistorians are that they either deal with biographies of ordinary people or focus on small scale communities like villages, towns, or neighborhoods. However, he continues that microhistorians intend to reach general statements through local data. In the case of studying Cihangir; however, one might ask whether the story of Cihangir can represent the development of any other neighborhood in Istanbul. Or can Cihangir be a typical Istanbul neighborhood? The answer to these questions is certainly “no.” Cihangir has always been a unique neighborhood. If we look at the development of Istanbul neighborhoods, we see many differences in them partly deriving from their earlier status as well as the social, political, cultural, and economic factors that determine their current status. Thus, while conducting a study at the micro level on the neighborhood of Cihangir, my claim is not that Cihangir is a typical of an ordinary Istanbul neighborhood. However, what I propose in the second chapter of this thesis is that what Cihangir has witnessed throughout its cosmopolitan past can give us clues of the social, political, cultural, economic, and demographic changes regarding the non-Muslims of Istanbul of the period. Thus, connections between an in depth study and another one at the macro level can exist. Accordingly, gradual demographic changes, which caused Cihangir to lose its original character throughout the decades following the second part of the 1950s and reaching today, can also tell us about the experiences of a whole city, Istanbul, during the same period. For instance, the gradual loss of Cihangir’s Rum inhabitants is the result of the process of Turkification occurred in the country after the foundation of the

²¹ Giovanni Levi, “On Microhistory,” in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), p. 99.

republic of Turkey. The multi-ethnic coexistence of Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Turks and other ethnic communities in Istanbul was declining as a result of this process and Cihangir's story was being shaped and re-shaped by it.

On the other hand, my work appreciates the value of oral sources in reconstructing the past. Since there are very few sources written on Cihangir and its past, the narratives I collected from both the former and the current inhabitants of Cihangir about the past and the present experiences of the neighborhood are of importance as much as primary sources.

There are certainly oppositions to oral history among historians. Paul Thompson, who pioneered the use of oral history in social research, criticizes the historians opposing oral history in his work titled *The Voice of the Past* that

the opposition to oral evidence is as much founded on feelings as on principle. The older generation of historians who hold the Chairs and the purse-strings are instinctively apprehensive about the advent of a new method. It implies that they no longer command all the techniques of their profession. Hence the disparaging comments about young men tramping the streets with tape-recorders.²²

However, although I have used oral data to reconstruct Cihangir's past, I also tried to base my work on archival primary sources as well. Thus, both the oral and the documentary sources are supportive of each other in this thesis. For instance, in addition to my informant's narrations of Cihangir's cosmopolitan past with reference to the Armenians, Jews, Levantines, Rums, and Turks, the Istanbul official telephone directories, which I used as documentary sources, also reflect the multi-religious and multi-ethnic fabric of Cihangir in the past.

Another theoretical concern of this thesis is related to its use of the concept of cosmopolitanism. I situate the story of Cihangir within the story of the dramatic change of the ethnic composition of Istanbul due to the process of Turkification in

²² Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p.63.

the Republic of Turkey. My focus here is that the centuries-old coexistence of the Muslims and non-Muslims in Istanbul, the capital of the multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural Ottoman Empire, the administrative system of which is called the millet system, began to ‘fade away’ with the rise of Turkish nationalism in the Republican era and due to events like the Wealth Tax of 1942, the Events of 6-7 September and the 1964 decree for deportation of Greeks, which caused non-Muslims to leave the country. As Keyder points out,

The Republican state was nationalist, but it was ambiguous in defining the constituent coordinates of nationhood. Mostly it veered toward an ethnic definition rather than a constitutional one, and when ideological propping was required, religion was brought in as a defining element despite the state’s avowed secularism. Thus, wartime measures led to the departure of non-Muslims after 1945; in 1955 there was a government-instigated riot destroying Greek property; in 1964 there were demonstrations against Istanbul Greeks and a legislation requiring those with Greek citizenship to leave the city. By the 1980s the Greek population had dwindled to less than two thousand, Armenians to fifty thousand, and Jews to twenty-five thousand. Istanbul came to reflect the ethnic balances of Turkey as a whole, where the population is said to be more than 99 percent Muslim.²³

Hence, in the case of Cihangir, the departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants, mostly the Rums, reflected the process of the diminishing of the multi-ethnic coexistence in Istanbul. My reference to Cihangir’s past as one with a cosmopolitan character and my argument that that type of cosmopolitanism has undergone changes not only in Cihangir but also in Istanbul overall is based on the historical transformation of Istanbul’s ethnic composition. Regarding the process Keyder writes that,

For the old city, the second half of the 1950s spelled the end of multiethnic coexistence. The number of Greeks (those declaring their mother tongue as Greek in the census) declined from sixty-five to thirty-five thousand between 1955 and 1965, or from 5.2 percent to 2.0 percent of Istanbul’s population (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü 1958, 1968). By 1965, non-Muslims living in the old city were a rarity.²⁴

²³ Çağlar Keyder, “The Setting”, in Çağlar Keyder (ed.), *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local* (Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999), p. 11.

²⁴ Keyder, “A Tale of Two Neighborhoods”, p.175.

Benton Jay Komins, who studied the question of cosmopolitanism in Istanbul, also argues that Istanbul became “less ethnically diverse” after the 1950s.²⁵ Komins argues that Istanbul’s cosmopolitan character faced a “structural transformation” during the following decades. Accordingly, the cosmopolitanism of Istanbul has taken a new form after the immigration of many Anatolian Turks to the city and the departure of many of its non-Muslim denizens. Since the 1980s, fragmentation and cultural diversity have marked the city. The impacts of globalization have been re-shaping Istanbul, its urban form, human fabric and cultural identity. A new Istanbul has appeared. A new type of cosmopolitanism has replaced the former one. This was reflected in various forms of cultural encounters in the city. Ayşe Öncü describes this situation as the following,

In the 1980s, when the inhabitants of Istanbul were introduced to McDonald hamburgers, Toblerone chocolate and Italian pizzas, they also got to know *hamsili kebab*, the taste of Kayseri *mantı*, black cabbage, and the distinctive flavours of Urfa, Antep, and Bursa kebaps. They adopted the image of an Istanbul that linked past and present, opening its arms to the various cultures of the last 1500 years.²⁶

In the case of Cihangir, both the departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants and arrival of its new inhabitants from Anatolia have defined and re-defined the composition of population in the neighborhood. The 1980s reflected this process in its peak. On the other hand, Cihangir today is a highly heterogeneous neighborhood both in terms ethnicity and culture. As Zafer Toprak writes,

If asked where the most “global” neighborhood of Istanbul is, the answer of this is Cihangir. Cihangir is a multicultural neighborhood. If left aside the negative inferences in nationalistic discourse, it is a “cosmopolitan” residential area. Cihangir is a neighborhood, where various elements

²⁵ Benton Jay Komins, “Cosmopolitanism Depopulated: The Cultures of Integration, Concealment, and Evacuation in Istanbul,” *Comparative Literature Studies*, Vol. 39, no.4 (2002), p. 361.

²⁶ Ayşe Öncü, “Understanding Istanbul,” *İstanbul* (English Language edition), 1, 2 (1993), p. 75.

coexisted; tolerance was dominant without distinction of religion, language, and sect for centuries.²⁷

Thus, in the global context of Cihangir, there is a new type of cosmopolitanism, which, I argue however, is lacking a considerable number of its former elements, namely and specifically the Rums. That's why my study can be seen as an effort in search for the vestiges of a "lost local" on the multi-layered fabric of this special neighborhood.

On the other hand, I examine the process of gentrification related to the globalizing context of Istanbul in the third chapter of this thesis. Since the literature on gentrification in Istanbul shares a great deal on Cihangir because it is one of the best examples of the process in the city, I will largely rely upon the work of writers on the issue. As explained above, Uzun's study and the book edited by David Behar and Tolga İslam and published by Istanbul Bilgi University are two significant sources referred in this thesis. However, I also observe that gentrification in Cihangir has not fully occurred yet. Cihangir is still a neighborhood of inhabitants from various social and economic levels. There are still many houses that have not been renovated. Another aspect of the process is that it has caused the relatively lower income inhabitants to leave the neighborhood. In other words, a process of displacement or exclusion has taken place as a result of the so-called gentrification of the neighborhood. The interviews with my informants regarding Cihangir's present situation related to gentrification are also helpful in understanding the nature of the process in the neighborhood.

²⁷ Zafer Toprak, "Cihangir Semt Tarihi Yazılıyor," in *Cihangir Postası* 19 (2003), p. 13.

Methodology and Sources

As expressed above, the aim of this study is to present a historical panorama of a unique Istanbul neighborhood, Cihangir, from a different perspective based on primary sources as much as possible. Since secondary sources on Cihangir are very few and primary sources wait to be discovered, this attempt or effort, would, without a doubt, face many difficulties. However, regardless of my disappointment resulting from not finding any corpus of sources satisfactory enough on Cihangir's history, I decided to go beyond the existing limits and conduct a new research on the neighborhood, its history, and current status based not only on secondary sources but also on primary ones. I call it a "Cihangir project."

An important aspect of this study is that it aims to explore the demographic shifts in Cihangir throughout its history. Indeed, it is impossible to write a history of Cihangir without referring to demographic changes it has witnessed. As explained at the beginning of this thesis, Cihangir was a neighborhood where non-Muslims made up the majority of the population. Thanks to the neighborhood's unique position in the backyard of Pera, it has always been home to foreigners who work in the consulates, embassies, foreign banks and schools in Pera. Also, the doctors and officials who work in the German and Italian hospitals in Cihangir live in the neighborhood. In addition to these inhabitants, Cihangir has been home to established non-Muslim citizens of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. Among them, however, the Rum community had a great importance, like many other parts of Pera. Thus, my indirect aim for this study was to find out the number of the Rum population in Cihangir from the late nineteenth century, when the neighborhood appeared as a residential area, until present.

The reason I was interested in the Rum population in Cihangir was that it underwent dramatic changes after the second half of the 1950s and especially after 1964, when those who held Greek passports were deported by state as a result of the Cyprus question. Thus, I searched for the Rum population in Cihangir belonging to many decades from the 1950s to the 1960s, 1970s and the 2000s in order to make a comparison and show the dramatic decline in number until present. First of all, I applied to the muhtars of the mahalles that made up the neighborhood. The first muhtar I contacted was the muhtar of the Cihangir Mahalle. However, she told me that they did not have any records belonging before the year 1996 and the only data regarding the population of Cihangir Mahalle she could submit me was what she has in her computer. Still, thanks to the muhtar of Cihangir mahalle, I was provided the information about the population of the Mahalle, which is composed of the main streets forming Cihangir as a semt, between the years 1996 and 2006. I was also submitted the religious division of the population of the current Cihangir Mahalle thanks to the muhtar records. The other muhtars that I talked to were those of Firuzaga Mahalle and Kılıç Ali Paşa Mahalle. They provided me the current populations of their mahalles, but not their ethnic or religious divisions. As for Pürtelaş Mahalle, again, I could only learn how many people live there but not how many Rums, Armenians, Jews or Levantines, if any have remained.

The second step I took was to access the records at the Beyoğlu Civil Registry Office. Unfortunately, I again was provided only the present total population of Cihangir Mahalle for the years 1990, 1997 and 2000, not for the previous years or decades. Similarly, my attempts to receive any information and statistical data regarding Cihangir's Rum population or any information about Cihangir's population composition belonging especially to the 1960s and earlier

from the Beyoğlu Municipality, the Istanbul Office of the State Institute of Statistics, and the Greek Consulate failed because of the lack of information about the ethnic division of the population of Cihangir for decades such as the 1950s and the 1960s or either before or after those decades at these institutions as they told me.

On the other hand, the fact that written sources on Cihangir are very scarce led me to seek other ways to conduct my research. I was and still am highly concerned about writing the history of Cihangir from a perspective which focuses on its human fabric, the changes in its demographic structure and cosmopolitan atmosphere as well as in its landscape. So, how was I going to formulate my study? How was I going to narrate Cihangir's past with just a little written information in hand? The answer to these questions lay in oral history methods and doing archival research on the neighborhood.

First of all, I shall present my oral history methodology here. It appeared that Cihangir's history could be best written based on the narrations of people still living there and those who had already left it. Unfortunately, circumstances were not available for me to go and find former Cihangirlis who live in other countries, for example in Greece; however, other inhabitants of the neighborhood were still there.

Thus, for this study to come to life as a master's thesis, I followed a double-methodology since I believe that the patterns and the dynamics of the topic I have been studying cannot be understood merely through the attributions to the literature on it. I believe that "self" is an important image alongside with the whole image of Istanbul therefore I used ethnographic data, based on interviews, through which I believe the specific social history of the "self" herself/himself has spoken out throughout this thesis.

I therefore paid ongoing visits to Cihangir between September 2005 and July 2006 specifically for my thesis. My visits were to local shops and cafés as well as the houses of my informants. Indeed, the fact that I was born and have spent twenty years of my life in Cihangir in addition to the fact that my family was also from Cihangir and that we still have a house and a lot of relatives living there already helped me during my study. My ethnographic methodology was then based on participant observation and focused or in-depth interviews. As Tim May writes, unstructured or focused interviews have an open-ended character, which provides a qualitative depth thanks to interviewees' narrating their experiences "in terms of their own frames of reference."²⁸ In this way, the researcher can understand how her/his interviewees attach certain meanings to events or topics they talk about. Thus, oral history interviews are a part of the technique of focused interview. The number of all the interviews I conducted for this thesis in total was twenty-five. They included old non-Muslim and Muslim Cihangirlis as well as new Cihangirlis and business owners in the neighborhood. At first, I was confused about how to formulate my questions without making my informants feel sad about the past since some issues were sensitive and asking them for their memories could have change their attitudes towards me. However, as I said before, my identity as a former Cihangirli and my knowledge about the bittersweet experiences lived in the neighborhood in the past helped me to communicate with my informants. Although not perceived as an insider completely, I was not seen as an outsider either. Yet, I was a female researcher from a respected university in Istanbul and aiming to prepare an academic work on "our" "beautiful" Cihangir and its past, so I can say that I was even welcomed. Thus, what May calls as the issue of *rapport*, which means constructing a mutual trust between

²⁸ Tim May, *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process* (Buckingham, Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1998), p. 112.

the researcher and the interviewee, was established.²⁹ They even liked the idea that a study was being conducted on Cihangir and a thesis would be written on it. The stories I collected certainly can be qualified as oral histories since they are based on self experiences as well as testimonies of their narrators. During my interviews, I used a tape recorder when my informants allowed me to do. However, a few of them did not prefer our conversations to be recorded, so I took notes. The disadvantage of note taking was that it inhibited me to probe my informant to speak more on the topic since note taking requires more attention and ability to write fast therefore leading the interview become less fruitful.

Another aspect of the qualitative research I have conducted was that specifically my old Cihangirli informants were glad to be part of such a study on Cihangir and even said the neighborhood had already deserved to be searched. They were all narrating the neighborhood's past with nostalgia, expressing that they missed the good old days, the neighborly relations and the multi-religious coexistence. When doing the narrative analysis of the stories I gathered, I noticed that either all my interviewees, Rum and Armenian or Turk, referred to the cosmopolitan and specifically non-Muslim/Rum history of Cihangir while narrating it. The peaceful coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims in the neighborhood was mostly cited as the main characteristic of it.

Other than oral history interviews, muhtar records, though not belonging to years before 1997, some issues of the *Cihangir Postası*, the local newspaper, published in Cihangir since February 2001, were helpful. In addition to these, sources on the Internet about Cihangir, since it is also a very popular neighborhood in media, and my visits to the *Cihangir Güzelleştirme Derneği* (Cihangir

²⁹ Ibid. 117.

Beautification Foundation) as well as my talks with the president of it were fruitful for my study.

In addition to oral history interviews, one of the most important components of my thesis are my archival findings regarding Cihangir and its ethnic composition belonging to decades starting from the late nineteenth century up until the late 1960s. As expressed before, there is only a small amount of information about Cihangir's history written so far. The first category of these primary sources that I accessed was old official telephone directories of Istanbul at The Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre located on the historic Bankalar Street of Karaköy, Istanbul. Since the aim of this thesis was to shed light on Cihangir's past from a perspective which focuses on the neighborhood's human fabric and cosmopolitan atmosphere as well as the demographic changes it has undergone, I thought that the only possible and perhaps the best way to learn who lived in the neighborhood in the earlier decades was to search for the old telephone directories of Istanbul. At the Center's specialized library, I had the chance to search thoroughly those directories. I selected five official telephone directories for Istanbul belonging to dates determined by me. They are the 1929 directory, which is the earliest one I found, and those for the years 1933, 1942, 1950, and 1966. My preference of these dates derives from my concern to reflect Cihangir's multi-ethnic character but mainly Rum character in each decade starting compulsorily from the year 1929 and ending in the second half of the 1960s because I took the series of events like the 6-7 September and the 1964 decree, which caused the Rum population to decrease in Istanbul and naturally in Cihangir into account therefore to provide a general picture of the neighborhood's demographic situation. As seen in the appendixes, a thorough scanning of the five official telephone directories resulted in discovery of all the names and the addresses in

Cihangir, bringing to light the approximate numbers of residents, who lived on which street of Cihangir in what year. Certainly, such an effort required a considerable amount of time, which I never hesitated or refrained to spend since my thesis would be the first to provide such a data regarding Cihangir's human fabric. It should be noted that a disadvantage of scanning the telephone directories was that, as understood from their titles, these catalogues include only the names and the addresses of the subscribers and should not be forgotten that telephone usage in Istanbul were at very low levels before the 1980s. Given this fact, the number of the inhabitants of Cihangir was certainly more than the number of those recorded in telephone directories selected for this study.

Another part of my archival research is composed of Rum Orthodox church records, the *kalamazoos*, for Cihangir for the year 1968. During the process of oral history interviews, I had the chance to meet Dr. Yorgi Petridis, president of the *Beyoğlu Rum Ortodoks Cemaati Kiliseleri ve Mektepleri Vakfı* (The Foundation of the Rum Orthodox Community Churches and Schools). Mr. Petridis provided me with the Foundation's records, the *kalamazoos* for the year 1968, a date which comes after both the Events of 6-7 September 1955 and 1964 decree for the deportation of the *Yunan tebaalıs*, people who had Greek passports. After a week of scanning seven huge *kalamazoos*, thanks to Mr. Petridis, we counted all the households and the number of their members on the streets of Cihangir for the year 1968 therefore we had the number of the Rum population in the neighborhood after the said events in 1955 and 1964 since they caused a considerable depopulation in the neighborhood. The work carried out by Mr. Petridis and myself is a significant one because it both provides a concrete number for the Rum population in Cihangir in the late 1960s and does so for the first time for Cihangir. It also gave me the opportunity to compare our

findings with what the muhtar of the Cihangir Mahalle provided me as the number of Christian population in the neighborhood today and therefore to show the dramatic decline in time. However, the scanning of the kalamazoos was limited only with those belonging to the year 1968, not only because it took a lot of time including Mr. Petridis's valuable hours after office during many days but also they were physically the most reachable ones for my study on Cihangir. Still, further study should be conducted on more church records for the earlier decades.

Another significant constituent of the primary sources this thesis presents is the information obtained from a meticulous study of the *Annuaire Orientals*, the commercial almanacs published in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey between the years 1868 and 1945. When scanned, these almanacs though focus on commercial activities of the Empire and later Turkey, appear as unique sources for those who study micro history. For me, they were useful in the sense that some of them included the names of the streets of Pera, the lists of the apartment buildings there as well as the names and the occupations of inhabitants of these streets. The first almanac I scanned was called the *Indicateur Ottoman Illustré* belonging to the year 1881. Between 1891 and 1930, these commercial almanacs were titled *Annuaire Oriental*. I also scanned those belonging to the years 1893-94, 1909, and 1921. As a result of my study on these sources, I have found out who lived on some streets in Cihangir in the above years. The *Annuaire Oriental* of the year 1909 also provides a list of the apartment buildings in Istanbul. Based on this list, I selected all the apartment buildings in Cihangir. The lists are attached in the appendixes of this thesis and reflect not only the multi-ethnic character of the neighborhood but also the social and economic atmosphere of their time. Again, my study of the *Annuaire Orientals* took place at the The Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Center. Both

my examinations of the official Istanbul telephone directories and the *Annuaire Orientals* at the Center occurred between March and July 2006.

In addition to the sources mentioned above, this thesis provides visual materials regarding the neighborhood of Cihangir. Not only do the Cihangir section of the large map by Pervititch drawn in 1926 and the one published in the 1934 official Istanbul city guide, but also the pictures of Cihangir from the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut's* (German Archaeological Institute) archive and photos taken by the author of this thesis constitute the visual part of this thesis.

As for secondary sources, Reşat Ekrem Koçu's *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul Encyclopedia) and the *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of Istanbul from Past to Present) by The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey were two crucial sources on Cihangir as well as Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* (travel book), a seventeenth century classic. Many other secondary sources also contributed in shaping this thesis.

This study is a modest first work on Cihangir's history both in terms of the methodology and the sources it used and the perspective it looks from this unique neighborhood's cosmopolitan past. Yet, Cihangir's history needed and still does need more focused research. This thesis is also an effort at opening such a path towards remembering and writing Cihangir's history as well as including its present place in globalizing Istanbul. Cihangir has already deserved it.

The following chapters of this thesis tell the story of Cihangir both related to its cosmopolitan past and its globalizing present. Cihangir as a semt always has undergone changes in its social and urban fabric. This thesis tries to explore these changes that have spread over more than a century from the late nineteenth century to the present. Chapter II specifically examines the historical changes in Cihangir

beginning from its emergence as a settlement in the Ottoman times, touches upon its genesis as a residential area within the borders of cosmopolitan Pera in Istanbul as a significant port city during the nineteenth century globalization and the Ottoman Empire's peripheralization process, explains its situation during the early twentieth century, and continues to describe the shifts in its demographic structure caused by Turkification policies of the nationalist state specifically in the 1950s and the 1960s as well as by mass immigration from Anatolia to Istanbul beginning from the 1950s and gained momentum in the 1970s and the 1980s. Chronologically, the first chapter ends in the mid-1990s, when Cihangir began to face tremendous changes both in its human fabric and landscape in the global era.

The aim of Chapter II is to situate Cihangir's cosmopolitan past within the decline of the cosmopolitan Istanbul as a result of Turkification process during the high Republican period (1923-1950), the 1950s and the 1960s. Cihangir had been a multi-ethnic and multi-religious neighborhood beginning from its rise as a residential area in the late nineteenth century until the second half of the 1970s. In Chapter II, I relate the story of Cihangir's loss of its non-Muslim inhabitants, especially the Rums, to the decline of the cosmopolitan Istanbul. I argue that the Events of 6-7 September in 1955 and the 1964 decree for the deportation of the people who had Greek passports shaped the neighborhood's history by causing considerable depopulation in the Rum community of the neighborhood since these two events have already caused Istanbul in general to lose almost all of its Rum population. Thus, Chapter II looks at the history of Cihangir from a perspective which situates it within the general framework of the decline of cosmopolitan Istanbul. In the 1970s and the 1980s, Cihangir lost its character of being a non-Muslim neighborhood, faced a mass immigration from the rural sides of the country and became a lower class area as

with the entire Pera/Beyoğlu. Its déclassé during the 1970s, the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s was followed by its revival, which emerged in the latter part of the 1990s and increasingly continued in the 2000s.

Chapter II as well as the entire thesis presents my informants' narratives of Cihangir, of both its past and present. The stories told by old Cihangirlis, either non-Muslim or Muslim, reflect their testimonies to the events that shaped the neighborhood's destiny.

On the other hand, the second chapter is the one where I mostly use the findings of my research on documentary primary sources. In this chapter, I also try to portray the patterns of the daily cosmopolitan mahalle life in Cihangir in the 1950s, the 1960s and the 1970s. Neighborly relations, celebrations of religious festivals of both the non-Muslims and Muslims and street vendors as well as local grocers were all parts of this localized mahalle life in Cihangir as mentioned in the narratives of my interviewees. Nostalgia is a common characteristic of all the narratives regarding the past of Cihangir. Thus, this chapter can be seen an attempt to search for the vestiges of the local in Cihangir. By local, I mean both the people who made up the multi-layered fabric of the neighborhood, as well as the patterns of a cosmopolitan mahalle life. This search for a lost past was, then, mediated through the narratives of the current locals, who are remnants of a missed localized life idealized as in the 1950s and the 1960s in a modest Istanbul neighborhood, Cihangir.

Another aspect of this chapter is that it tries to explore the changes in Cihangir's landscape. From wooden mansions razed in several fires in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century to brick and stone apartments mostly built in the 1930s, the chapter explains how the present physical fabric of the

neighborhood was formed. Here, I refer to the Pervititch maps of the 1926, which shows important streets of the neighborhood of Cihangir under construction.

Chapter III, on the other hand, is an endeavor towards reading Cihangir in a globalizing metropolis, Istanbul. Globalization has uneven effects in economic, political and cultural realms in Istanbul since the 1980s. The impact of globalization also showed itself in the sense that neighborhoods have been reinvented in this era. Cihangir is an example of them in Istanbul. Specifically, Chapter III demonstrates that Cihangir has been reinvented since the latter part of the 1990s. It has been undergoing a process called gentrification since the second half of the 1990s. An important aspect of the developments in the urban form and spatial organization in Istanbul in the global era is gentrification, which is observed as a process of movement of the middle or upper-middle classes into lower class neighborhoods.³⁰ In addition to neighborhoods like Kuzguncuk and Galata, Cihangir is seen as one of the best examples of the gentrification process in Istanbul. The main characteristic of this process is that all these neighborhoods were historic ones, where there used to live intensively the non-Muslims of Istanbul before they left the city. In the case of Cihangir, it had faced a *déclassement* in the 1970s and the 1980s after its non-Muslim inhabitants left. However, beginning from the second part of the 1990s, Cihangir has been revived. Thus, Chapter III asks what changes occurred in the neighborhood, and why and how have these changes taken place in the global era?

Cihangir has recently become the bohemian downtown neighborhood of the city and highly popular among the upper-middle classes. The bohemian and the bourgeois are all mixed up on the neighborhood space. The neighborhood has reappeared as a *mahalle* where hybrid social and cultural identities and lifestyles have

³⁰ Uzun, p.12.

contributed to unique character of the neighborhood. The particularities and minutiae of the neighborhood can give an account of the process of uneven globalization in Istanbul. Social identities constructing their living and symbolic spaces in the web of power constellations, constraints and opportunities are generated by interaction and articulation of the global and the local. Chapter III also argues that just as physical space is fragmented, so the social space is also fragmented. There is differentiation by age, ethnicity, income, values, and lifestyles. This heterogeneous ethos is what embraces Cihangir in the 2000s. Throughout the third chapter, how Cihangir is perceived by its residents as a genuine mahalle is explored. I seek for answers to questions of “what meanings are ascribed to the neighborhood space?” “In what ways it has become to be internalized as a fetish?” “How do residents of the neighborhood perceive each other?” “How do residents perceive the change in Cihangir?” and “why has it begun to be called the Republic of Cihangir?” Chapter III also tries to grasp the process of how Cihangir itself became a “commodity” and to analyze it meticulously in terms of a large spectrum of issues from real estate prices to how neighborhood space is consumed in bohemian coffeehouses.

Chapter IV or the conclusion chapter is about my own observations and arguments regarding Cihangir’s history and current status. The possible problems and the lacking points are defined related to this study. The final chapter also includes my further suggestions on studying Cihangir in detail as a subject of micro history.

CHAPTER II
REFLECTIONS OF COSMOPOLITAN CIHANGIR: RECONSTRUCTING THE
NEIGHBORHOOD'S PAST

*“New lands you will not find, you will not find other seas.
The city will follow you. You will roam the same streets.
And you will age in the same neighborhoods;
in these same houses you will grow gray.
Always you will arrive in this city.”*

From *The City*, Constantine P. Cavafy, 1910

Cihangir in Ottoman Times

There is little historical information about Cihangir in pre-Ottoman times. It is known that the settlement in the area began in the sixteenth century. The earliest historical record regarding the neighborhood in the Ottoman period dates back to 1563. According to this record, which is in the Topkapı Palace's archives, some indecent women and men used to live in the settlement.³¹ However, some ruins were found in the neighborhood that are assumed to be the remnants of either an ancient pagan temple, which Evliya Çelebi defines as an ancient temple named Alexandra or an early Byzantine monastery.³² Evliya Çelebi reports an apocryphal story about the

³¹ Üsdiken, p.430.

³² Evliya Çelebi (1611-c. 1680), also known as Derviş Mehmed Zilli, was a famous Ottoman traveler and chronicler, who traveled throughout the Ottoman Empire and the neighboring lands over a period of forty years. His famous ten volume work called *Seyahatname* (Book of Travels) is composed of his collection of notes of all his travels. He traveled throughout the city of Istanbul before 1640 and wrote

ancient temple on the hill, where the Tophane and the Cihangir Mosque were later built.

In Tophane in the time of the Christians, there was a convent, which was situated in the middle of a forest and was dedicated to *İskender-i Rumi* (Alexander). Today, the Cihangir Mosque has been built on the place of that church. As it was called “Hagia Alexander,” infidels used to visit it once a year. *İskender-i Zülkarneyn* (Alexander the Great) made the Yajooj/Gog wall, brought some bogeys/ghouls, some huge white giants, magician gluttons of the Alburz Mountain in Circassia, and witches from the Sadsha mountains in Abaza land to the city of Constantinople, and enchained them in a big pit at Tophane....Those who visited the Alexander’s Convent in Cihangir once in a year used to watch these bogeys, giants, magicians, and the witches....Thus, the initial building in Tophane was that of Alexander.³³

Thus, Cihangir took its name from a mosque built on top of this steep hill, where the ruins of the ancient temple or monastery had been found. This mosque was built by the great Ottoman Architect Sinan in 1559-1560 for the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent and his wife Hürrem Sultan, who dedicated it to the memory of their son Prince Cihangir. The prince had been born physically disabled and had a great interest in poetry and aesthetics. He had loved the area, which would later begin to be called with his name. It was said that Prince Cihangir had died very young, out of sorrow for his brother Prince Mustafa, who had been executed by their father Süleyman based on the suspicion of having attempted to usurp the throne.³⁴

With the construction of a dervish lodge and a *sıbyan mektebi* (Ottoman elementary school) near the Cihangir Mosque, a quarter started to be shaped at the site.³⁵ The Cihangir Mosque, then, gave its name to the surrounding quarter.

However, the area had not yet evolved into a settlement that could be defined as a

about the markets, social and cultural aspects of everyday life in Istanbul in the 17th century Ottoman Empire.

³³ Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı, eds. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: İstanbul*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), pp.395-396. Translation of the quotation by Binnaz Tuğba Sasanlar.

³⁴ Murat Belge, *İstanbul Gezi Rehberi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004), p.266.

³⁵ Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 7 (Istanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat Kollektif Şirketi, 1965), p.3564.

neighborhood at that time. More than a hundred marble steps carved in the rocky slope from the shore up to the Cihangir Mosque prove that the regular visitors to the mosque were people from other parts of the city, who came to Fındıklı either by *caique* or by horse-drawn carriages and then ascended these steps to reach the mosque.³⁶ Evliya Çelebi also mentioned about the Cihangir Mosque.

Sultan Cihangir Mosque: Sultan Süleyman (Süleyman the Magnificent) had it built on the spot, where Alexander's Convent used to stand, and dedicated it to the memory of his son (Prince) Cihangir...The Cihangir Mosque is ascended by a hundred steps from the steep way on the edge of the mosque of Mehmet Ağa. It is a very narrow way and it takes an hour by walking...It has a minaret, a dervish lodge, a hostel for pilgrims, and a courtyard, which is adorned with tall plane trees. In the afternoon, all companions and friends come together there and look at the ships on the sea. It is a work of the great architect Sinan.³⁷

However, the original Cihangir Mosque built by Sinan was damaged in many fires, the first one in 1719 and several others in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, so the mosque was re-built several times.³⁸ The presently construction was built by Sarkis Balyan, a member of the famous Armenian family of architects in the Ottoman Empire, in 1890 during the period of Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamit II (1876-1909).

Some other historical information regarding Cihangir in the Ottoman period indicates that the first observatory in Istanbul was built there during the period of

³⁶ Üsdiken, p. 430.

³⁷ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: İstanbul*, pp.402-403. Translation of the quotation by Binnaz Tuğba Sasanlar.

³⁸ Üsdiken, p.431. A total of five fires damaged the mosque after its construction. The first fire occurred in Fındıklı in 1719, the second is called the Cihangir fire in 1765, the third is called the Çivici Limanı fire in 1771, the fourth erupted in Tophane in 1823, and the fifth happened in Tophane and Cihangir in 1874. The fires in and around the neighborhood also led its *tulumbacı*s, members of traditional Ottoman fire brigades, to become popular and be subject of some folk rhymes such as the following one:

“*Hendek ile Cihangir, bir de Topçular, bunlar en iyi tulumbacılar...*” (Hendek and Cihangir and also the Topçular (artillerymen), these are the best tulumbacıs...)

Ottoman Sultan Murat III; however, it was destroyed in 1579.³⁹ It is also known that a library was found by Mahmud Bey in Cihangir Mosque in 1593 and another one, which included books only on astronomy, was formed in the observatory during the period of Murat III.⁴⁰

Thus, around Cihangir Mosque, Cihangir emerged as a small settlement on the periphery of Pera in the second half of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, the settlement started to acquire liveliness thanks to the increasing activity of the dervish lodge near the mosque. Some more dervish lodges as well as fountains and other mosques were built in Cihangir during the following periods.⁴¹ However, as said above, as the number of settlement units increased, the area faced big fires. Indeed, the fires posed a great threat to the wooden houses that constituted the urban fabric of most of the neighborhoods of Istanbul. However, while Cihangir was devastated by several fires, the damage was less compared to fires in other neighborhoods in Istanbul because of the low population density in the area. According to Koçu, the 1765 fire lasted for ten hours and razed almost the entire Cihangir. Üsdiken also writes another fire that broke out in Firuzağa in the southeast of Cihangir in 1823 spread to Sormagir, which is a renowned street of the

³⁹ Urungu Akgül, "Osmanlı'nın Uzaya Bakan Gözü Takıyuddin ve İstanbul Rasathanesi," *Bilim ve Teknik*, no. 351 (February 1997), p.34.

⁴⁰ *Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu*, National Library of Turkey. Available [online]: <http://www.mkutup.gov.tr> [11 January 2006].

⁴¹ According to information obtained from the Cihangir Beautification Foundation, almost all dervish lodges in Cihangir were burnt to the ground due to the big fire towards the end of the nineteenth century. Some of these dervish lodges were *Gülşenihane*, *Sakabaşı (Tatar Osman Efendi) Tekkesi*, *Paşa Baba Tekkesi*, and *Cihangiri Tekkesi*. Also the historic *Kadirihane*, a dervish lodge on one of Firuzağa's hills sloping down to Tophane, was burnt down in an unexpected fire in 1997. As Cihangir Beautification Foundation explains, this historic complex had been constructed upon ruins of a Byzantine monastery in the seventeenth century. On the other side, the Foundation says that a total of 21 fountains were built in Cihangir since the construction of the Cihangir Mosque. Only 17 of these fountains have survived to present. Some of them are *Hafız Ahmed Paşa Çeşmesi* (Fountain), *Paşa Baba Tekkesi Çeşmesi*, *Mahmud Efendi Çeşmesi*, *Defter Emini Çeşmesi*, *Cihangir Camii* (Mosque) *Çeşmesi*, *Saliha Sultan Çeşmesi*, and *Kadirihane Çeşmesi*. In addition to these, other historic mosques in Cihangir are Defterdar Mosque, İlyas Çelebi Mosque, Kazancı Mosque, and Firuzağa Mosque.

neighborhood (known as Başkurt Street today). Again, another fire in Sormagir in 1863 burned forty-two houses.⁴²

In 1869, 1875, and 1890, the neighborhood faced relatively small fires. In another fire in 1916, however, all of the wooden houses in Cihangir were burned down and several of the stone buildings were seriously damaged. A total of 1,325 houses were burned down in Tophane and Cihangir in 1916.⁴³ No more wooden houses were built in the neighborhood after this devastation.⁴⁴ Hence, wooden mansions were the typical residential units in Cihangir in the nineteenth century before several fires razed them to the ground. For example, as Murat Belge writes, there was the mansion of Polish-origin Sadık Pasha in Cihangir.⁴⁵ Mikhail Chaikovski, who is also known as Mehmed Sadık Pasha, was a Polish-origin man and was one of the founders of the Polonezköy, the Polish Village, a district of Istanbul, where Polish immigrants settled in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁶ The Polish-origin Sadık Pasha's mansion in Cihangir is a beautiful example of wooden mansions in the neighborhood and still stands on its place today. The mansion began to be used as the official building of a school called the American Language and Arts in 1911. The school, where I also attended English courses in 1991 and 1992, later moved to its current place in Akyol Street in Cihangir in the following few years. The same mansion also served as the Japan Consulate for some time.⁴⁷ It is relevant to note here that Cihangir's wooden mansions were also encountered in the works of literary men in Turkey. The novel *Kiralık Konak* by Yakup Kadri, who was a novelist, poet, diplomat and senator and lived between 1889 and 1974, tells the

⁴² Koçu, p.3568.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Usdiken, 1993.

⁴⁵ Belge, p.266

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 350.

⁴⁷ Ibid. P. 266.

story of the encounter of Westernization and traditional values, differences between life styles and their perceptions between generations in the context of Istanbul during the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Main characters of the novel include Naim Bey, a Muslim gentleman, who is the son of an Ottoman pasha and is bound to Ottoman traditions. Naim Bey is the owner of tired off mansion in Cihangir and lives there with his family in 1914.⁴⁸ In the early twentieth century, Cihangir's wooden mansions started to disappear and to be replaced by stone houses with new architectural styles.

On the other hand, there is very limited information about the population of Cihangir in the nineteenth century in secondary sources. Thanks to Sedat Bingöl, who conducted a research on 1829 census records regarding the population of eight mahalles in the town of Tophane in Galata and presented them in a book, we see that one of these eight mahalles was called the Cihangir Mahalle.⁴⁹ According to Bingöl, the 1829 census was the first 'modern' census conducted in the Ottoman Empire. As he wrote, the records he has reached show the male Muslim population in eight mahalles in Galata as of September 1829. Accordingly, these mahalles were Cihangir, Sehil Bey, Perizat, Muhiddin, Tam Tam and Avni Efendi mahalles in the town of Tophane and Ayaz Paşa and Molla Çelebi mahalles in the town of Fındıklı.⁵⁰ As it is understood from Bingöl's work, the area called Cihangir Mahalle in 1829 was in the borders of the town of Tophane, which means in my opinion that it did not refer to the inner and especially the upper streets of present day Cihangir, which are close to Sıraselvi Street and Taksim. Bingöl explains that the names of the household heads, who were males, first were recorded and then the names of other male

⁴⁸ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 36th Edition, October 2005).

⁴⁹ Sedat Bingöl, *1829 İstanbul Nüfus Sayımı ve Tophane Kasabası*, (Eskişehir: T. C. Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, no. 1596, Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, no. 17, 2004), p. V. 1.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

household members come in the records showing the entire Muslim male inhabitants of the said eight mahalles. The records also include the origins, physical appearances, ages, occupations and other characteristics of the inhabitants of the mahalles.

Bingöl argues that Muslim mahalles were more in number in Tophane and Fındıklı in contrast with Galata and the existence of a couple of mosques including the Cihangir Mosque also showed it.⁵¹ He continues that the presence of the Ottoman Cannon Foundry in Tophane (the neighborhood's name comes from the cannon foundry) also shaped the demographic composition of the surrounding mahalles and led small shops like greengrocers to be opened around. He stresses that the occupations of the male Muslim inhabitants of these mahalles also proved that because they were mostly people working in Tophane or *Tersane-i Amire*, the naval yard, which is close to the neighborhood.⁵² Hence, according to Bingöl's work, which is based on Ottoman archives, the total Muslim male population in the Cihangir mahalle in the town of Tophane was 403.⁵³ Many of these inhabitants were either craftsmen working in Tophane and the naval yard or artisans and small traders.

Today, some streets in the lower part of Cihangir, the ones close to Tophane and Fırzuğa have names like Batarya (battery) and Tüfekçi Salih (gunsmith Salih). These sounds like names deriving from these places' being close to the cannon foundry.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. XVI.

⁵² Ibid., pp.XVI-XVII.

⁵³ Ibid., pp.1-29.

Cosmopolitan Pera and the Rise of Cihangir as a Residential Area during the Nineteenth Century Globalization in Istanbul

As Keyder writes Istanbul has always been a *world city*.⁵⁴ It has always been a multiethnic and multi-religious imperial capital, in which Muslims, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians as well as Levantines from all parts of Europe have lived together.

In the nineteenth century, during the Ottoman Empire's peripheralization process, which saw its integration with the capitalistic world economy, Istanbul also emerged as a port-city. Indeed, port-cities in the periphery developed as points of contact with the world capitalist economy.⁵⁵ Keyder defines Istanbul as a genuine port city during the decline of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century and indicates that the city was crowded with Levantines from the Mediterranean and Western Europe as well as Turkic, Tatar and other ethnic groups from the Russian empire.⁵⁶ The reason why these groups were in Istanbul was the fact that Istanbul, as a port city, was witnessing an increase in its economic activity, a high volume of trade and foreign investment in the nineteenth century. Thanks to its increasing commercial role in the region as well as its specific location as an imperial capital between the East and West, nineteenth century Istanbul was, then, enabling the Ottoman economy to integrate with the capitalistic world economy. According to Toprak, the population of Istanbul was around one million at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Keyder, "The Setting", p.3.

⁵⁵ Çağlar Keyder, Y.Eyüp Özveren and Donald Quataert, "Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire, Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives," *Review*, 16, no. 4, (Fall 1993), pp.519-58.

⁵⁶ Keyder, "The Setting," p.4.

⁵⁷ Zafer Toprak, "Modernization and Commercialization in the Tanzimat Period: 1838-1875," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 7, (Spring 1992), pp.57-70.

During the commercialization and globalization process in Istanbul in the nineteenth century, economic, social and cultural environment became vibrant, specifically in Galata and Pera, the districts inhabited mostly by non-Muslims. In 1849, there were 6,120 Greeks, 1,029 French, 1,581 Austrians, 1,983 British, 657 Iranians, 182 Belgians, 35 Portuguese, 405 Sardinians, 144 Prussians, 27 Dutch, 297 Neapolitans, 122 Swedish, 24 Americans, 293 Tuscans, 48 Spanish, 926 Russians, and 47 Danes in Pera.⁵⁸ Pera of the second half of the nineteenth century was, then, the first modernized and Westernized Istanbul district with foreign banks, embassies, consulates, office buildings, cafés, restaurants, hotels, department stores and bazaars.

In such a milieu, Cihangir also grew in the periphery of Pera and became a relatively dense residential area, especially with the spread of embassies and consulates in Pera. Many of the officials who worked in these institutions as well as foreigners, who taught in French or Italian schools or worked in German or Italian hospitals in the region, lived in Cihangir. In addition to expatriates from Europe or other parts of the world, Levantines and Rums, Armenians, and Jews, who were the non-Muslim citizens of the Ottoman Empire constituted the majority of the population in Cihangir during this period. In other words, its proximity to the historic Pera, the Bankalar Street, Yüksekaldırım, and the Cadde-i Kebir, shaped the neighborhood's destiny. As part of cosmopolitan Pera, the composition of population in Cihangir also looked like a mosaic consisting of Rum tradesmen, Jewish bankers, who actually concentrated in Yüksekaldırım, Armenian artisans, Levantines, Turks as well as German, French and other officials of various nationalities, who work in the schools, hospitals, consulates, embassies, and foreign banks near the neighborhood and in Pera. Hence, it can be argued that Cihangir emerged as a

⁵⁸ Data is taken from Giovanni Scognamillo's unpublished study titled *Beyoğlu Yazıları*.

cosmopolitan neighborhood especially with upper streets like Sıraselvi, Soğancı, Somuncu, Araslar, Firuzağa, and Defterdar Yokuşu thanks to its position adjacent to cosmopolitan Pera, the global, commercial, cultural, and economic center of Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the Rums constituted the majority among the non-Muslim inhabitants of Cihangir. The Rum character of the neighborhood was dominant especially during the Republican decades. In addition to many minority schools in Pera and Galata, the two Rum schools, the Zappeion *lycée* for girls in Meşelik (Rum Kabristan) Street and the Zographeon *lycée* for boys are the ones, which are closest to Cihangir. The Zappeion was the largest Greek *lycée* for girls and was founded in 1857.⁵⁹ The Zographeon was founded in 1890.⁶⁰ On the other hand, among the Rum Orthodox churches in Pera, the Ayia Trias, which was built by Rum architect Kampanaki towards the end of the nineteenth century, is a significant Rum Orthodox church on Meşelik Street, which is again near Cihangir. Meşelik Street is also home to the Armenian Esayan high school for girls.

Some volumes of the *Annuaire Orientals*, which were commercial almanacs published between 1868 and 1945, reflect this ethnic composition of the neighborhood, which certainly and naturally reflected the cosmopolitan fabric of Pera of the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. According to the *l'Indicateur Ottoman Illustré* published in 1881, many addresses and streets in Pera are recorded. Among these streets, the Pervouz Agha (Firuzağa) Street and the Syra-Selvi (Sıraselvi) Street are two streets, which can be accepted as border streets of Cihangir. Today, there is no street called Pervouz Agha in Cihangir. However, it is noticed that the Pervouz Agha Street recorded in the *l'Indicateur Ottoman Illustré* of 1881 refers to the street, which is known as Sıraselviler Street today. Also the Syra-

⁵⁹ Alexis Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations: 1918-1974* (Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), p. 47.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Selvi (Sıraselvi) Street is defined as the street from Kichla Djaddesi (Kışla Street) to the *Quartier Turc* in the same source.⁶¹ Thus, it can be said that the lower part of the present Sıraselviler Street was called the Pervouz Agha Street. As stated before, Firuzağa is the name of a mahalle which is adjacent to Cihangir and which even has some streets making up Cihangir as a neighborhood today. On the other hand, I was surprised by the expression ‘Quartier Turc’, which is uttered as the lower border of Syra-Selvi Street. This may imply that the lower part of Cihangir, specifically the area close to Tophane, was a Turkish and Muslim quarter. However, I will not be able to present any information about this in this study because I could not reach any source about it. Hence, if the names and the occupations of the inhabitants recorded in two streets in the *l’Indicateur Ottoman Illustré* of 1881 are observed, they provide us significant clues about who lived in upper parts of Cihangir, which is close to Taksim. In Pervouz Agha Street, for example, M. Caravokyros, a pharmacist, Alex Theodorides, a collector, and Michel Bey, a doctor, are the inhabitants recorded in 1881.⁶² Also the names recorded in Syra-Selvi Street are H. A. Hadjian, a banker, Hayder Ibrahim, former ambassador of Turkey to Vienna, and Georges Le Chevalier, an attorney.⁶³

Also in the *Annuaire Oriental* of the 1893-94, the following streets, which are parts of Cihangir, are recorded: The Defterdar Yocouchou (Yokuşu), where the *Hopital Royal Italien* (Italian Hospital) and the *Hopital Municipal* (Municipal Hospital) stand/ed, the Pervouz Agha Street, The Soandji (Soğancı) Street, and the

⁶¹ *L’Indicateur Ottoman Illustré, Annuaire Almanach du Commerce de l’Industrie, de l’Administration et de la Magistrature*, Deuxieme Annee 1881, Hegire 1298, Cree par Raphael C. Cervati et Publié par Cervati Frères & D. Fatzea, pp. 406-408.

⁶² See Appendix H for the entire list of names and adresses of the inhabitants recorded in some streets of Cihangir in 1881.

⁶³ See Appendix H.

Syra Selvi Street.⁶⁴ It is noticed that there were apartment buildings called *Maison Gravier*, *Maison Georgiadés*, *Maison Criticos*, and *Maison Apostolidés* recorded in the Pervouz Agha Street, which was located from Defterdar Yochouchou to the Syra Selvi Street.⁶⁵ The *Annuaire Oriental* of the 1893-94 also describes the Soandji Street, the Soğancı Street of present day Cihangir, as between the Pervouz Agha Street and the *Djean Kir* Street, which is the Cihangir Street.⁶⁶ Because the *Annaaires* were written in French, the name Cihangir appeared as Djean Kir, spelled as it is pronounced in French. The names, mostly non-Muslim, and the occupations of the inhabitants of these streets represent the ethnic composition as well as the economic level in the area. However, it should not be forgotten that these almanacs are commercial records therefore the names and the streets appeared in them are the ones related to commercial activities in the Ottoman capital Istanbul. For example, many of those individuals are merchants, bankers, brokers, and shop owners like pharmacists or employees in various banks including the Ottoman Bank.

As explained above, the *Annuaire Orientals* were yearbooks published in the Ottoman Empire and in modern Turkey between the years 1868 and 1945 to introduce the commercial centers and commercial activities in these centers within the territorial boundaries of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey to both domestic and foreign investors and entrepreneurs. However, only some of them include the addresses and streets in commercial districts like Pera, Galata and Eminönü. The 1909 almanac was also one of them. As a result of my scanning of the addresses and the streets of Pera as recorded in this almanac, I have encountered the following streets, which are again some streets of Cihangir: Araslar Street, the

⁶⁴ *Annuaire Oriental du Commerce de l'Industrie de l'Administration et de la Magistrature*, 12me Annee, 1893-94, pp. 694-719.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.715. See Appendix I for a list of the entire names and adresses of the inhabitants recorded in some streets of Cihangir in 1893 and 1894.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 718.

Defterdar Yocouchou, the Kazandji (Kazancı) Street, the Ouroudjilar (Urucular) Street, the Pervouz Agha Street, the Soandji Street, the Somoundjou Street, the Syra-Selvi Street, and the Tchechme (Çeşme) Yocouchou.⁶⁷ The Araclar Street is the Aslanyatağı Street of present day Cihangir. It is the street situated just before the German Hospital on the left side of the Siraselviler Street when walking down to Cihangir from the Taksim Square. The Rizzo Apartment and the Jones Apartment are two apartment buildings, which are two of the early examples of stone apartment houses built as residential units in Pera in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century. Beyoğlu A.Ş., a private company, which is located in Cihangir and aims to restore and renovate historic buildings in Istanbul in line with their original architectural characteristics, restored the Rizzo Apartment between 2004 and 2006. According to the information obtained from the official website of the company, the Rizzo Apartment was a house with a garden.⁶⁸

Located on this street (Aslanyatağı) and neighbor to Henri de Wilson house and garden and sometimes to Ali Çavuş and Faik Bey and Abdi Efendi Bey house and gardens on the one side and to W. J. Jones house and garden on the two other sides, this house with a garden with the door number 38, which was owned by Andonaki, son of Dimitri, who is a member of the Rum *millet* (nation) of the Ottoman Empire, an inhabitant of Bebek Village, and an employee of the *Fener İdaresi* (Administration), was bought by Marianne Rizzo, who is John Francis Rizzo's spouse, on 8 May 1894.⁶⁹

Upon death of John Francis Rizzo in 1910, the Rizzo Apartment was inherited to his spouse Marianne and their children Edgar V. Rizzo, Egbert Rizzo, Alfred Rizzo, and Rozina Georgevich. All the shares of five parcels of land, two in

⁶⁷ *Annuaire Oriental du Commerce de l'Industrie, de l'Administration et de la Magistrature*, publié par la The Annuaire Oriental & Printing Company Limited, 21 Rue de Pologne, Péra, Constantinople, 29me Année, 1909, pp. 1347-1453.

⁶⁸ *Rizzo Apartmanı*. Available [online]: <http://www.beyogluas.com> [6 June 2006]. According to the information broadcast on this website, the Rizzo family was an Italian-origin, Maltese and British Levantine family, who lived in Istanbul between 1883 and 1953. John Francis Rizzo was a businessman and merchant. Alfred Rizzo and he also published the *Annuaire Orientals* between the years 1921 and 1930. The family also owned a publication company, which published many books in Istanbul. The architectural style of the Rizzo Apartment has eclectic characteristics with mannerist, empiric, neo-classic, baroque, Art Nouveau elements and very few Ottoman ornaments.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

the Somuncuoğlu Street and three in the Saatçi Street, which surround the Rizzo Apartment, were also transferred to Mrs. Rizzo after the sale that took place on 8 May 1894.⁷⁰ According to the *Annuaire Oriental* for 1909, a banker, a consultant at the British Embassy, a representative at the Dette Publique Ottomane, General Debt Management Office of the Ottoman Empire (*Düyun-u Umumiye*), an engineer, and a merchant were the residents of the Rizzo Apartment.⁷¹

According to the CEO of the Beyoğlu A.Ş., who currently lives in Cihangir, the tenants of Rizzo Apartment included the vice-secretary of the German Embassy, the vice-president of the Ottoman Bank, the undersecretary of British Embassy, the CEO of the Deutsche Bank, merchants, bankers, and doctors in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century and the architect of the apartment could possibly have been Ohannes Aznavour, an Armenian architect of the period.⁷² The Rizzo Apartment has been determined as a first-degree historic work of art by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Turkey.⁷³ Another important apartment building in the Araslar Street recorded in the *Annuaire Oriental* of 1909 was the Jones Apartment. Its residents also included engineers, attorneys, officials working in maritime lines as well as in Romanian Legation and German Embassy.⁷⁴

As with the former *Annuaire Orientals*, almost all the denizens recorded in the streets of Cihangir in 1909 almanac are non-Muslims both because these almanacs are commercial sources therefore recorded names related to commercial activities and because the non-Muslims constitute the bourgeoisie of the Empire's capital Istanbul. The 1909 *Annuaire Oriental* also included lists of *maisons* and

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ See Appendix J for the entire list of names and addresses that appeared in some streets of Cihangir in 1909.

⁷² *Radikal*, 25 October 2004.

⁷³ Available [online]: <http://www.arkitera.com/v1/haberler/2004/10/09/tarihi.htm> [16 June 2006].

⁷⁴ See Appendix J.

appartements in the streets of Péra, Pancaldi, and Galata, significant commercial districts. Among the apartment buildings in Pera, Apostolidés, Chryssoverghi, Criticos, Georgiadés, and Gravier Apartments on the Syra Selvi Street; Apostolidés, Hamid Bey, Mavroudis, Photiadés, and Sterio Calfa Apartments on the Soandji Street; Dimakis and Poulissi et Calloghéra Apartments on the Somoundjou Street; Yazidji Zadé Apartment on Defterdar Yocouchou; and Bay Apartment on Pervouz Agha Street are the ones in Cihangir in addition to the Jones and Rizzo Apartments on the Araslar Street.⁷⁵ These buildings are early examples of a shift from mansions to stone apartment buildings as residential units in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century.

The *Annuaire Oriental* for 1921 also includes the same streets of Cihangir in the *Annuaire Oriental* for the year 1909.⁷⁶ It is noticed that the number of inhabitants and apartment houses of these streets had increased as shown in this almanac. In addition to the former ones, apartments like Stouca, Loukianos, Tchelik Zade Ali Bey, Caraviotis Const., Crespi, Constant., Gheorgopoulos, Constantinidis, Marino, Stephan Effendi, Mavridis Frères, Pappadopoulos, Capsali, Souvadjioglu, Héraclée, Alexiadis, Kehayaoglou, Stamboulion, and Ioakimopoulos are the new ones in Cihangir as recorded in 1921.⁷⁷

Hence, the *Annuaire Orientals* selected for this study reflect the physical and social fabric of some streets of Cihangir in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century as much as they do inform us about the streets of Pera and Galata and Istanbul in general. An analysis of them has provided a considerable amount of

⁷⁵ See Appendix K.

⁷⁶ *Annuaire Oriental*, Oriental Directory Lait Hollandia Grandes Brasseries la Haye Biere, L.H.B. Marque le Lion, Teolin, Amidonroyal Remy. Cacao Van Houten, Agents Generaux Societe Commerciale Neerlandaise, 1921, pp. 974-1192.

⁷⁷ See Appendix L for an entire list of names and addresses recorded in some streets in Cihangir in 1921.

information about important streets, which constitute Cihangir today, although these almanacs do not include any information about the inner streets of Cihangir or the Cihangir Mahalle, which is the core area of Cihangir as a semt. This stems from the fact that these almanacs were formed as commercial sources therefore they included records of people, addresses and streets related to commercial activities, thus the wealthier segments of the city of Istanbul. Still, they are crucial sources for the current study because they reflect the ethnic composition in the area, who lived on which streets, the occupations, names of the apartments, which are important in terms of representing the way of life and the changes in the landscape of the area, as well as the names of the streets in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century. Thus, the appendices attached at the end of this study are primary sources, which contribute reconstructing Cihangir's history, an aim of this thesis.

As stated above, the genesis of Cihangir as a settlement dates back to the sixteenth century, but the area could not be described as a neighborhood at that time. It grew slowly and gradually throughout the following three centuries and became a relatively dense and cosmopolitan residential area specifically in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its architectural fabric also underwent changes in line with the new styles in Pera. Barillari, who has studied the transformation of Istanbul's architectural style between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the World War I, has explored meticulously the development of art nouveau architecture in Pera.⁷⁸ Uğur Tanyeli, who analyzes the architectural transformation of Pera in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, indicates, however, that Pera's

⁷⁸ Diana Barillari, *Istanbul 1900: Art Nouveau Architecture and its Interiors* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996).

architectural layout underwent a significant change with the penetration of the art nouveau style into Istanbul.⁷⁹

According to Tanyeli, the pioneers of the change in architecture in Pera were Greeks and Levantines. Art nouveau was a style that was demanded mostly by the bourgeoisie, specifically the newly rising bourgeois groups in Pera. Thus, Tanyeli argues that while Pera was turned into an art nouveau museum just at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was almost impossible to encounter any art nouveau buildings in other relatively poor Rum neighborhoods, such as Samatya (Ipsomatheion), Kumkapı or Fener(Phanar). Thus, art nouveau was a style that was mostly seen in areas where Levantines and upper-class Rums lived. In this case, Cihangir, which was a part of cosmopolitan Pera and a residential area, where Rums constitute a considerable part of the inhabitants, represents the architectural change in overall Pera. In the neighborhood, a number of art nouveau and art deco style apartment buildings were built by Greek and Italian architects, who used to work in Pera in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth centuries. A characteristic of these buildings is that they carry the signatures of their architects. One can still encounter art nouveau and art deco buildings and the examples of the first national architecture styles in today's Cihangir. Some of the streets with the best examples of such buildings are Akarsu Street, Coşkun Street, Altın Bilezik Street, Tüfekçi Salih Street, Oba Street, Lenger Street, Yeni Yuva Street, Susam Street, Güneşli Street, and Cihangir Street.⁸⁰

Hence, if we look at Pera in globalizing Istanbul as a port city in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century we see that Cihangir,

⁷⁹ Uğur Tanyeli. 6 July 2005. *Pera Mimarisinin Doğumu ve Ölümü (The Birth and Death of Pera's Architecture)*. Activities-Galata Tales at the Ottoman Bank Museum. Available [online]: http://www.obarsiv.com/guncel_ugur_tanyeli.html [20 December 2006].

⁸⁰ Information obtained from the Cihangir Beautification Foundation.

specifically the streets like Siraselvi, Firuzağa, Somuncu, Soğancı, Araslar, and Defterdar Yokuşu, which form the upper parts of the neighborhood, reflected the changes in social and economic ethos of Pera. It also resembled the changes in the landscape. New stone apartment buildings with new architectural styles formed a new urban fabric, one different from a landscape, which was covered with wooden mansions and houses. Thus, cosmopolitanization and the shift to stone apartment buildings as residential units emerged in Cihangir in the late nineteenth century. The *Annuaire Orientals* published in the period are also significant sources reflecting the ethnic composition, the cosmopolitan flavor, and the changes in the landscape on streets of Pera and of course in Cihangir.

When the development of Cihangir is from its emergence as a small settlement around the Cihangir Mosque in the sixteenth century to its rise as a relatively dense residential area in the backyard of Pera, it can be argued that the neighborhood had Muslim and Turkish characteristics in its lower parts, which were close to Tophane. As Bingöl's work indicates, the Cihangir Mahalle and other mahalles of Tophane town mostly were inhabited by Muslims in the early nineteenth century. Cihangir's was being formed around a mosque and having wooden houses as urban fabric also imply that the area close to Tophane was Muslim and Turk. The dervish lodge and the Islamic elementary school within the mosque complex were also Muslim elements. However, we know that the area we know as real Cihangir today and its upper streets close to Taksim; the streets like Siraselvi and the streets on its left constituted the neighborhood as a cosmopolitan residential area in the second half of the nineteenth century as part of cosmopolitan Pera.

Cihangir in Republican Turkey

Near the end of the nineteenth century and in the first quarter of the twentieth century, Cihangir became a relatively dense residential area thanks to the construction of stone buildings and big apartment buildings. Added to its non-Muslim constituencies, Cihangir welcomed another population in the 1920s: White Russian refugees.

Istanbul was under occupation by the British, French and the Italians during the Turkish-Greek War until 1922. In this context, it witnessed an influx of White Russian refugees, who escaped from Russia after the Bolshevik revolution. Between 150,000 and 200,000 White Russians, who fled to Istanbul, were concentrated in Pera.⁸¹ Especially White Russian ladies, namely the *Harashos*, meaning “beautiful” in Russian, altered the character of Pera, introducing new forms of entertainment and fashion as well as prostitution and gambling.⁸² A considerable number of these newcomers settled in Cihangir throughout the 1920s. Even the commanders of the occupying powers took up residence in Cihangir during the occupation of Istanbul. Westernized Turks were also a part of the neighborhood’s population. Thus, population growth in Cihangir continued in the 1920s as well.

The construction and evolution of Cihangir continued after the foundation of the Republic. Following the big fire of 1916, which razed almost all of the wooden structures and damaged many stone buildings, no more wooden houses were built in Cihangir. Thus, in the first quarter of the twentieth century, Cihangir took on a new look, thanks to newly built brick (*kagir*) houses or apartment buildings in new

⁸¹ Jack Deleon, *Beyoglu’nda Beyaz Ruslar (1920-1990)* (Istanbul: Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı İstanbul Kütüphanesi Yayınları, 1990).

⁸² Zafer Toprak, “İstanbul’da Rusya’nın Armağanları: Haraşolar,” *Istanbul*, 1 (1992), pp.72-79.

architectural styles. In the mid-1920s, Cihangir was evolving on a topography surrounded by Fındıklı and the Cihangir Mosque on the south and city's newly emerging city-center, Taksim Square.

As said above, Istanbul's urban fabric has been damaged by several fires throughout its history. During the nineteenth century, when the modernization process gathered momentum in Istanbul, some foreign insurance companies opened branches in the city and raised the need for many maps of the city to be drawn. Croatian-origin Jacques Pervititch, who was a student at Saint-Joseph, a distinguished French high school in Istanbul, was the second person, who drew maps of Istanbul between 1922 and 1945, following insurance maps firstly drawn by Charles Edward Goad between 1904 and 1906.⁸³ Insurance maps drawn by Pervititch covered Istanbul's districts of Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş, Beyazıt, Üsküdar, Eminönü, Kadıköy, and Taksim. Thanks to Pervititch's *Plan Cadastral d'Assurances* of Djihanghir-Foundoukli (Cihangir-Fındıklı) and of Pervouz-Agha-Sali Bazar (Firuzağa-Salıpazarı) drawn in 1926 and of Péra-Sıra-Selvi (Pera-Sıraselvi) drawn in 1927, it is possible to examine the urban fabric of Cihangir with newly built stone apartments as well as the places and the names of the streets constituting them.⁸⁴ For example, the plan of Djihanghir-Foundoukli with section number 31 shows Cihangir Street and Güneşli Street, the two streets which unite Cihangir and Pürtelaş Hasan Efendi Mahalles today, as under construction, and the Cihangir Street as a boulevard project.⁸⁵ According to the same plan, Tavukuçmaz (later took the name Akyol) Street seems non-existent as with some other inner streets of present day Cihangir. However, Sormagir, Soğancı, and Somuncu Streets with apartment buildings are

⁸³ Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi. *Dönemin Topoğraf ve Haritacılarına Dair*. Available [online]: http://www.obarsiv.com/dokumantasyon/planlar/topograf_haritacilar.html [6 June 2006].

⁸⁴ Jacques Pervititch *Sigorta Haritalarında İstanbul* (Istanbul: Axa Oyak, 2000).

⁸⁵ Ibid., p.105.

apparent in the plan. In the plan for Pervouz-Agha-Salı Bazar, the section number of which is 33, it is seen that the area, which is called Havyar Street in Cihangir today, was named the Terlikdji (Terlikçi) Street.⁸⁶

According to the same plan, current Akarsu Street and Susam Street, which follows it, was called Djihangir Djaddesi (Cihangir Street. Also the plan for Péra-Sıra-Selvi, the section number of which is 35, provides the landscape of the street in 1927 with the apartment buildings and other constructions such as hospitals standing on it.⁸⁷ All the apartment buildings in Cihangir, many of the names of which have been provided in previous pages of this study as they have been identified through an examination of the *Annuaire Orientals* and the Istanbul telephone directories, are shown on these three Pervititch plans. Together with the enlargement of the residential area, Cihangir Mahalle and Pürtelaş Hasan Efendi Mahalle, two separate regions constituting Cihangir as a semt, unified gradually in the early twentieth century. According to the municipal city guide dated 1934, Cihangir Mahalle, officially within the borders of Taksim district and the Pürtelaş Hasan Efendi Mahalle of the Galata district as well as some streets of Firuzağa Mahalle of Beyoğlu district and of Kılıç Ali Paşa Mahalle of Galata district made up Cihangir as a semt.⁸⁸

As a result of the examination of Pervititch maps and the official Istanbul telephone directories of 1929 and 1933, and even 1942, it is possible to say that many streets like Yeni Yuva, Oba, Akarsu, Kumrulu, Emanetçi, Havyar, Susam, and Cihangir, were shown in these maps as either not shaped yet or under construction, thus, relatively empty when compared with streets like Soğancı or Somuncu or the Sıraselviler and Firuzağa. Thus, it can be argued that the urban fabric of these inner

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 107.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 109.

⁸⁸ *İstanbul Şehri Rehberi* (Istanbul: İstanbul Belediyesi, 1934).

streets with stone apartment buildings we see in Cihangir today were created in the 1920s and the 1930s, the early Republican years in Turkey.

The stone apartment buildings built between 1925 and 1935 were constructed mostly by Rum architects.⁸⁹ Osman Cemal Kaygılı, a writer and lover of Istanbul, described the change in Cihangir in terms of its building stock and landscape in a collection of his writings on Istanbul in 1931. According to Kaygılı, the newly built stone houses and apartment buildings that were replacing Cihangir's wooden houses changed the neighborhood's look and social status when compared to the other upper-class neighborhoods of Istanbul.

A spick and span (brand new) Cihangir in the form of stone buildings and almost all in the shape of apartment buildings have been and is being established from end to end in the place of old wooden Cihangir. How much do these huge and perfect buildings that have been constructed and are being constructed befit this high airy quarter, which looks on the one side to the Marmara (Sea) ...and on the other side to the Bosphorus...? This new look of the old wooden Cihangir possibly seems to freeze Şişli and Nişantaşı out more than it will appear as the most glorious part of Beyoğlu in the near future.⁹⁰

One may find in Kaygılı's description of Cihangir in the early twentieth century the vestiges of the old green areas of the neighborhood as well. He mentions four public gardens established side by side in Cihangir. In these gardens, movies were shown at nights, as well as plays, *kantos* (light art music songs in the nineteenth century, early twentieth century), varieties, and traditional puppet shows were performed. Kaygılı also describes the daily social atmosphere in these gardens. Portraying the characters, the frequenters of these beautiful places, Kaygılı also

⁸⁹ Information obtained from the Cihangir Beautification Foundation.

⁹⁰ Osman Cemal Kaygılı, "Yeniden Kurulan Bir Semt: Cihangir" (A Newly Constructed Neighborhood: Cihangir), *Köşe Bucak İstanbul* (Istanbul: Selis Kitapları, 2004), p.253. Şişli and Nişantaşı are two elite neighborhoods of Istanbul. Translation belongs to me.

draws a picture of Cihangir's old inhabitants: Greek *madames*, *mademoiselles*, other non-Muslim ladies and gentlemen as well as Muslim *beys* (gentlemen).⁹¹

During my research conducted for this thesis on Cihangir, the official telephone directories for Istanbul for the years 1929, 1933, 1942, 1950, and 1966 were scanned to reach former inhabitants of Cihangir street by street, address by address, and even name by name. As a result of my meticulous examination of the directories, which took many days of work at the Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Center, I have created lists of Cihangir's former inhabitants, who lived in the neighborhood in the years stated above. The common characteristic of these five lists was that they reflected the cosmopolitan flavor of Cihangir. The majority of its inhabitants, as the telephone directories showed, were non-Muslims until the 1970s. The lists in the appendices of this thesis are created by me to show that Cihangir was a truly cosmopolitan neighborhood, especially the Rums constituted a large part of the population of the neighborhood. I also believe that the lists of names and addresses recorded in Cihangir in these telephone directories for the years selected provide the opportunity to make a comparison between Cihangir's past and present in terms of the ethnic composition of the neighborhood as well as demographic shifts it has witnessed throughout the republican history.

In the first official telephone directory for Istanbul published in 1929, the names of citizens or institutions settled in or around Cihangir shows that Siraselvi Street (currently known as Siraselviler), a major artery uniting Cihangir to Taksim/Beyoğlu, was a dense and cosmopolitan street with many apartments and

⁹¹ Ibid., pp.250-253. These characters are an old non-Muslim *madame*, *mademoiselles* with Japanese umbrellas, a Karamanlis Greek *madame*, a French teacher, an operator doctor, a commodity exchange inspector, an harbor dues clerk, and other residents of Cihangir. These characters reflect general picture of Cihangir's inhabitants, their social statuses as well as ethnic backgrounds. As it is understood, Cihangir was an upper middle class neighborhood in Istanbul in the early twentieth century.

official buildings such as embassies and consulates.⁹² The Belgian Embassy, for example, still stands on the same street today. As a result, I identified 115 addresses on Siraselvi Street, Firuzağa, and other parts of Cihangir.⁹³ However, most of the addresses were on Siraselvi Street. The reason for this might be the fact that the inner streets of Cihangir were mostly a residential area composed of modest households and telephone usage was presumably at lower levels in 1929. The addresses recorded in Cihangir in this telephone directory also provide the names of apartments in the neighborhood.

On the other hand, an important dimension of my research is that out of 115 addresses, only 22 belonged to Muslim and Turkish names. The remaining addresses belong to non-Muslim inhabitants, foreign consulate buildings, attachés or for example, institutions like the Italian Hospital on the Defterdar Yokuşu. This picture is both an indicator of the multi-ethnic composition of the population in Cihangir and the position of Siraselviler Street as a dense place as part of cosmopolitan Pera with many foreign offices and consulates in the late 1920s. The records in the directory have provided not only the names of the significant apartments on Siraselvi and Firuzağa Streets and on other streets of Cihangir but also the names of their residents in 1929. In addition to the apartment buildings we have identified after a study of the *Annuaire Orientals* and the Pervititch Maps, the records in the 1929 telephone directory also inform us about some other stone apartment buildings in the neighborhood. These include apartment buildings named Callivopoulos (Kallivopulos) and Calyonopoulos (Kalyonopulo) on Terlikçi Street (present day

⁹² *İstanbul Telefon Türk Anonim Şirketi 16ıncı Tab'ı Telefon Rehberi-Guide Téléphonique* (Istanbul Telephone Directory), September 1929.

⁹³ See Appendix B for a list of names and addresses identified by the author in Cihangir in the official telephone directory for Istanbul for the year 1929. Added to Rum, Armenian, Levantine, Jewish, and Turkish residents, cosmopolitan Cihangir was also home to foreign officials or correspondents like the American P.A. correspondent, who lived in Tevfik Bey apartment building in firuzağa in 1929.

Havyar Street of Cihangir), Ahmet Cevdet Bey, Köseoğlu, Galitzi on Sıraselvi Street, the Saadet Apartment in Sakabaşı, Kasapian and Cihangir Palas on Soğancı Street, and the apartment buildings named Huriye Hanım, Tevfik Bey, Haydar Bey, and Housep in Firuzaga.⁹⁴ The Mehmet Ali Paşa Konağı on Tulumba Aralık Yokuşu, which was shown on the Pervititch maps and recorded in the 1929 telephone directory, is also an example of mansion houses in Cihangir.

As Kaygılı's impressions on Cihangir indicate, the 1930s were the decade, when the neighborhood's landscape underwent changes thanks to construction of new stone apartment buildings. This is also apparent if the 1933 Istanbul telephone directory is scanned to have the addresses recorded in Cihangir. I have identified a total of 116 addresses recorded in Cihangir in the 1933 telephone directory.⁹⁵ These addresses included names of many new apartment buildings on inner streets of Cihangir as well. The Melek Apartment on Susam Street, the Mesadet Apartment in Sakabaşı, apartment buildings named Aslan, Hilmi Bey, Hulusi Bey, Yeni Hayat, and Çokşükür on Sıraselvi Street were some of them.⁹⁶ A difference between the addresses in Cihangir in the 1929 telephone directory and the ones in the 1933 directory was that the latter included addresses recorded in other streets of Cihangir like Susam, Havyar, Akarsu, Güneşli, Lenger, and Bakraç. The Terlikçi Street, which we encountered on the Pervititch maps and the 1929 telephone directory, was recorded as Havyar Street in 1933. The 1933 Istanbul telephone directory also included apartment buildings named Mühürdaroğlu on Güneşli Street, Şenyurt on Havyar Street, Morfiades on Akarsu Street, and Kurtelli on Bakraç Street as well as an apartment building called Ciyano, all in Cihangir, reflecting the developments in

⁹⁴ See Appendix B.

⁹⁵ *İstanbul Telefon Türk Anonim Şirketi Telefon Rehberi*, 20inci Tab'ı, Teşrinevvel 1933 (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat T. A. Ş.)

⁹⁶ See Appendix C.

physical and demographic fabric in the neighborhood. Another detail is that Cihangir's famous Ege Bahçesi (Garden) was also recorded as belonging to Alexandros Agaroglu and Anastas Theodoridis on Susam Street in the 1933 telephone directory.⁹⁷ Both the 1929 and 1933 Istanbul telephone directories portray Cihangir of the period with its cosmopolitan character as well as changing architectural layout.⁹⁸

Cihangir was a neighborhood where those, who worked in the entertainment places in Beyoğlu lived, and brothels existed not far from the homes of a wealthy segment of society in their luxury apartment buildings, side by side with a large number of the city's well-known doctor's and dentist's offices, special dispensaries, and polyclinics during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s.⁹⁹

During the 1930s and the 1940s, in the high Republican period, Cihangir reflected the general social, economic and cultural ethos as well as the demographic structure in Istanbul. After the establishment of the Republic, the foundation of Turkey as a nation-state, and Ankara's rise as the new capital of the Republic, Istanbul lost its earlier powerful status. As Keyder indicates, Ankara's elite started to impose on Istanbul a nationalist project and the most significant dimension of this project was an inclination to homogenize the citizens of the new Turkish nation-state in order to construct a new citizenship based on Turkishness. Thus, the composition of Istanbul's population underwent a dramatic change. Its cosmopolitanism started to disappear. What occurred in Istanbul in general certainly was seen in Cihangir, too.

⁹⁷ See Appendix C.

⁹⁸ Some of the names and addresses were attached with occupations thus enabled us to have an idea on economic and cultural level of the inhabitants. Grocery stores were integral elements of the localized life in many mahalles or semts of Istanbul. Grocery stores owned by the Rums were also a part of Cihangir's cosmopolitan mahalle life. I have identified three of them in the 1933 Istanbul telephone directory. On the other hand, guilds and small traders with their shops, other significant elements of the local mahalle life in Cihangir, were mostly the Rums and Armenians in the neighborhood, as can be seen in Appendix C.

⁹⁹ Üsdiken, p.430.

Also the increasing political and economic pressures that accelerated due to the effects of World War II in the 1940s played a significant role in Istanbul and in Cihangir as well.

As said above, the 1942 official Istanbul telephone directory also was scanned for this thesis to reach the demographic and physical structure of Cihangir in that period. A total of 186 addresses recorded in Cihangir were identified in the directory of 1942.¹⁰⁰ Again, this telephone directory shows that new apartment buildings were being built and therefore more streets of Cihangir were becoming denser. It also reflected the cosmopolitan character of the neighborhood as with the former ones. Cihangir has always been a semt, where expatriates preferred to live. It has always been home to European researchers or travelers, who visited Istanbul and decided to settle there. It was not a surprise for me to encounter the name of Ernest Mamboury, famous Swiss researcher, who left his country where he used to teach art in Lausanne and came to Istanbul in 1909, recorded as a resident of Cihan Palas Apartment on Susam Street in Cihangir in the 1942 official telephone directory of Istanbul.¹⁰¹ As an artist and topographer, Mamboury contributed the works of archeologists in Turkey, drew some plans and building surveys for them before he became famous as writer of city guides for Istanbul and Ankara, and taught at Lycée de Galatasaray, the renowned French high school in Pera.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ T. C. Münakalat Vekaleti P. T. T. U. M. İstanbul Telefon Müdürlüğü *İstanbul Telefon Rehberi*, 25inci Baskı, (İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1942).

¹⁰¹ See Appendix D.

¹⁰² Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi. *Dönemin Topoğraf ve Haritacılarına Dair*. Available [online]: http://www.obarsiv.com/dokumantasyon/planlar/topograf_haritacilar.html [6 June 2006].

Turkification Process

When the new Turkish Republic was founded as a nation-state in 1923, it was inherited an ethnically and religiously mixed population after the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The new Republic sought to be a culturally, ethnically, religiously, and linguistically unified body within its new boundaries, thus, employed a series of Turkification policies, which included not only the homogenization of population and language but also of political, cultural, and economic spheres. Thus, the new Republic wanted to define itself as ethnically Turk and religiously Muslim.

The Turkification policies implemented by the new Turkish nation-state during the early Republican years turned into discriminatory attitudes towards the non-Muslims of the country. However, Istanbul was highly affected by Turkification process because it was the centuries-old cosmopolitan capital of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Ottoman Empire with its Muslim and non-Muslim or Greek, Armenian, Jew, Levantine, and other constituencies. Its deep-rooted cosmopolitan status was accompanied with its holding of the economic power of the Empire.

As Keyder wrote, one out of every five people living in the current boundaries of Turkey before the World War I was non-Muslim; however, this proportion dramatically decreased and one out of every four people was non-Muslim after the war.¹⁰³ During negotiations in Lausanne, Turkey and Greece agreed on a compulsory exchange of populations in 1922, which caused relocation of 1,200,000 Greeks from Anatolia to Greece and 450,000 Muslims from Greece to Turkey.¹⁰⁴ Again as Keyder wrote, while the Christian population was about 450,000 in 1914 in

¹⁰³ Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 112.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p.99

Istanbul, it decreased to 240,000 in 1927 as the total population also declined from one million to 700,000.¹⁰⁵

The authorities of the new nation-state also aimed to Turkify the economy. Trade and economic activities were mostly carried out by the non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire. They were the bourgeoisie of the Empire. During the early Republican years, Ankara's elites also attempted to increase the Muslim and Turkish participation in economy. On the other hand, as Rifat Bali Turkification continued in language as well. A campaign called *Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş!* (Citizen Speak Turkish!) was initiated in 1928, which forced non-Muslims to speak Turkish.¹⁰⁶

Thus, as Aktar wrote, Turkification policies of the early Republican years were at the same time a series of anti-minority and discriminative policies.¹⁰⁷ He continues that Wealth Tax of the 1942 was an important "breaking point" in Turkification process.¹⁰⁸ It caused many non-Muslims to leave the country. About 30,000 Jews left for Israel after the discriminative property tax.¹⁰⁹ He continues that it was not only Jews, who left the country as a result of Turkification policies, a comparative analysis of population census figures in terms of non-Muslims showed that a serious erosion occurred in the overall non-Muslim population between 1927 and 1955.¹¹⁰ Bali also wrote by quoting from Bozkurt Güvenç that in 1945, native language of 88 percent of the population in Turkey was Turkish, 98 percent were Muslim, and 75 percent lived in rural areas while 25 percent lived in urban areas.¹¹¹

Following the notorious Wealth Tax, the Events of 6-7 September against the Greeks of Istanbul, which was orchestrated by the government and the legislation of

¹⁰⁵ Keyder, "The Setting," p. 10.

¹⁰⁶ Rifat Bali, *Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni 1923-1945* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), p.135.

¹⁰⁷ Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), p. 102.

¹⁰⁸ Ayhan Aktar, "Varlık Vergisi ve İstanbul", *Toplum ve Bilim* 71, (Winter 1996), p.143.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Bali, *Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni*, p.555.

a decree in 1964 forcing Greek citizens to leave Istanbul were other steps within the framework of Turkification process. Hence, as Keyder explained, when reached to the 1980s, the number of Greeks was less than two thousand, Armenians were fifty thousand, and Jews were twenty-five thousand.¹¹²

The Wealth Tax

The Wealth Tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) of 1942 reflects the character of relations between Turkish nation-state and its non-Muslim population during the severe World War II years. The nationalist Republican state was ideologically formed around the conceptualization of “I” and “other” based on ethnic definitions. Accordingly, “I” was defined as those who had ethnic identities as Turks and “other” represented those who were not ethnic Turks, namely, the non-Muslim minorities. As Keyder notes, in the case of Istanbul, where the bourgeoisie of the country was concentrated, and the composition of the population underwent a considerable loss and change during the high Republican period of 1923-1950 and significant changes began to occur towards the end of World War II.¹¹³ The *Varlık Vergisi* was, without a doubt, a turning point that paved the way for these major changes.

Turkey had remained neutral in World War II, but it took severe wartime measures that later caused many of the non-Muslims of Istanbul to leave the city. For Keyder, Istanbul was deprived of a large number of its businessmen, merchants, artisans, and shopkeepers as a result of the changing composition of Istanbul’s population, specifically during the first two decades of the Republican period.¹¹⁴ The

¹¹² Keyder, “The Setting,” p.11.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

Varlık Vergisi of 1942 was a wartime measure taken by the Turkish government. World War II had severe effects on the standard of living in Turkey. The war years meant shortages for many citizens. However, some groups exploited the wartime conditions and benefited from the black market and these shortages. Thus, the Turkish government introduced Law No. 4304 on capital property, namely the Varlık Vergisi on November 11, 1942, as a reaction against the wartime profiteers.¹¹⁵ Called “war-rich” (*harp zenginleri*), some agents, wholesalers and retailers as well as those dealing with imports and exports benefited from the black market and accumulated considerable amounts of wealth in a very short time in the big cities. Although in official declarations the aim of the Varlık Vergisi was stated as to tax the speculative profits during the extraordinary conditions of the war II, Ayhan Aktar argues that the wartime tax was an important implementation because it had not only economic but also political and cultural dimensions.¹¹⁶ Described by Keyder as a “xenophobic move”, the imposition of the Varlık Vergisi by Turkish government heavily on non-Muslims caused a large number of Jews and Greek businessmen to leave the country.¹¹⁷ As part of the general economic, political and cultural Turkification process in Turkey and specifically in Istanbul, the Varlık Vergisi was an example of nationalist policies against non-Muslims in the Single Party Era (1923-1950) in Turkey.¹¹⁸ Aktar also stresses that the Varlık Vergisi showed the severest impacts in Istanbul. Seventy percent of the whole Varlık Vergisi was paid by Istanbul.¹¹⁹

In 1942, three committees were formed in Istanbul to determine amounts of tax. The committees subjectively determined non-Muslim groups according to their

¹¹⁵ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd Publishers, 1998), p.208.

¹¹⁶ Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları*, p.135.

¹¹⁷ Keyder, “The Setting,” pp.11-12.

¹¹⁸ Aktar, “Varlık Vergisi ve İstanbul,” pp. 97-147.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.100.

surnames and the payments had to be completed within 15 days.¹²⁰ Those, who were unable to pay the tax, were subjected to confiscation of their properties and some of them were sentenced to forced labor and sent to work camps.¹²¹ Thirty-two non-Muslim businessmen, who had a tax debt of 50,000, were accused of not-supporting their country in its hard times and arrested on January 27, 1943.¹²² They were sent to a labor camp in *Aşkale, Erzurum*, in Eastern Anatolia. Following this first group of thirty-two, eleven other groups were also sent to Aşkale, which is a very cold area, during February, March, April, June, and July of 1943.¹²³ According to Faik Ökte, the Istanbul Chamberlain, who managed the implementation of the Varlık Vergisi in Istanbul, non-Muslims were taxed disproportionately compared with the amount of their actual property.¹²⁴

According to Aktar, Muslims paid only the 13 percent of the entire Varlık Vergisi and non-Muslims constituted the 87 percent of total taxpayers.¹²⁵ Thus, there was discrimination between Turks and non-Muslims in collection of the Varlık Vergisi. Many non-Muslims could not pay their taxes and they had to sell their possessions at lower prices than their actual value. Again, properties of some, those who could not pay the tax, were confiscated by the government.¹²⁶ Also, the press of the time had a discourse against the Jews, Armenians, and Greeks of Istanbul, which Aktar mentions as propaganda of the Varlık Vergisi.

As a result of the notorious wealth levy, a large number of Jews, Armenians, and Greeks left Istanbul because the tax was implemented on a discriminative basis

¹²⁰ Ibid., p.106

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Alexandris, p.222.

¹²³ Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları*, p.216.

¹²⁴ Faik Ökte, *Varlık Vergisi Faciası* (Istanbul: Nebioğlu Yayınevi, 1951).

¹²⁵ Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları*, p.154.

¹²⁶ Ibid. Aktar conducted an archival research on property sales to pay the Varlık Vergisi. His research was based on the records in Tapu Sicil Müdürlükleri (Offices of the Register of Title Deeds) in Beyoğlu-Şişli, Eminönü, Kadıköy, Fatih, Adalar districts of Istanbul. Today, it is not possible to reach these records again.

among Turks and the non-Muslims.¹²⁷ Rich Turks were taxed at lower levels than Jews, Armenians and Greeks. Compared with Armenians and Greeks, Jews were the ones who were most heavily affected by the tax. Thus, about 30,000 Jews left for Israel during 1948 and 1949 as a result of the discriminative *Varlık Vergisi*.¹²⁸ The *Varlık Vergisi* also had severe effects on the Greeks in Istanbul. Both the Greek Orthodox Turkish Nationals and the Hellene Greeks, who had important roles in commercial and cultural life in Istanbul, were heavily taxed. As a result of the *Varlık Vergisi*, Greeks' confidence in Turkish state was shaken. Although the *Varlık Vergisi* was abolished later on March 15, 1944, a total amount of 315,000,000 TL had been collected, 280, 000, 00 TL of which had been paid by non-Muslims.¹²⁹ Aktar argues that the *Varlık Vergisi* was a breaking point within the Turkification process that began in the early years of the Republic.

During my ethnographic study, I tried to search for effects of the *Varlık Vergisi* in Cihangir. Although it was shown by Aktar that many non-Muslim businessmen in Beyoğlu were taxed heavily, I have not encountered any information specifically on Cihangir. However, since Cihangir was part of Beyoğlu, and some of the non-Muslims, who had businesses in Beyoğlu were residing in Cihangir, it might be said that some wealthier non-Muslims living in Cihangir might have been affected by the tax. During the interviews with my informants, who are aged more than 70, I specifically asked about the *Varlık Vergisi* but only some of them, those who could remember it, told a few sentences. For example, Mr. Giovanni Scognamillo, a real Istanbulian, a Levantine, who was born in Pera and spent his entire life there, except for the last nine years in Cihangir, told me his father was also taxed for 250 TL,

¹²⁷ *Salkım Hanım'ın Taneleri* (Mrs. Salkım's Necklace), a novel by Yılmaz Karakoyunlu, is about the episode of *Varlık Vergisi* in Turkey between the years 1942 and 1944.

¹²⁸ Aktar, "Varlık Vergisi ve İstanbul," p.143.

¹²⁹ Alexandris, p.233.

which was a considerable amount of money at that time, and one of his relatives had to sell his two-floor villa in order to pay for the tax. “Of course, we experienced the Varlık Vergisi. Some Jewish families, whom we had friendly relationships, were also substantially affected,” Mr. Scognamillo said.¹³⁰ During my interview with Mr. Yannis Y., who is 75, I also asked whether his family was affected by the Varlık Vergisi or he knew of any acquaintances, whom were affected by it. Mr. Y., who is a member of Turkey’s remaining Rum community and a real Cihangirli gentleman, told me in a very kind tone that they were not very rich at that time so the tax did not affected them much but almost all properties were taken from the hands of the non-Muslim businessmen. He continued that he had some acquaintances, who were affected by the tax and added those, who could not pay the tax were sent to camps in Aşkale. Also Mr. Feridun D., who is 72 and has spent his entire life in Cihangir, recalls the period, when the Wealth Tax was implemented as a war time measure and said,

Those who could not pay the Wealth Tax were exiled to Aşkale. There were people, who went there from Cihangir as well but I cannot say ‘that many people went from this or that street’. I heard that people went there from Beyoğlu. Meanwhile, there were those, who could save themselves by selling their buildings for not to go to Aşkale but those, who could not pay broke stones in working camps etc.¹³¹

The 6-7 September Riots and Cihangir: Narratives of Testimony

As Dilek Güven argues the Events of September 6-7 in Turkey should be analyzed as part of Turkish nation-state’s nationalization process of the economic life

¹³⁰ Giovanni Scognamillo, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. *Tabii Varlık Vergisini biz yaşadık. Bizim tanıdık dost Musevi aileleri de vardı. Onlar da etkilendiler oldukça.*

¹³¹ Feridun D., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

and policy of ethnic homogenization within the general framework of a shift from multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire to Turkish nation-state.¹³²

The second half of the 1950s in Turkey was a period that saw the end of the multiethnic coexistence in Istanbul because the 6-7 September riots were a watershed. During the 1950s and the 1960s, the Cyprus question was a prominent problem for Turkey. It had serious impacts on non-Muslims living in Turkey. At the night of September 6, Turkish mobs destroyed and looted both movable and immovable properties of Rums in Istanbul, Izmir and partly in Ankara. As Toprak indicates, the incidents that started as riots against Greece regarding the Cyprus dispute had turned into a merciless antagonism against property and wealth by overweening crowds.¹³³

The rule of Democratic Party (DP) in Turkey towards the middle of the 1950s was faced with economic problems. Both within the DP and in Turkish society, opposition to the government was increasing. The government tried to attract the public opinion's attention to foreign affairs.¹³⁴ Thus, the Cyprus conflict turned into a national clause in Turkey. The island of Cyprus was leased by the Ottoman Empire to Britain in 1878 in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin. In 1914, Cyprus had become a British colony. However; in 1954, Greek government had claimed the island of Cyprus as part of Greece.¹³⁵ Turkey also was claiming the sovereignty of the island back. On the other side, incidents of terror in Cyprus had increased and more Cypriot Turks were being victimized day by day.¹³⁶ As a result, negotiations for the future of Cyprus began in London on 27 August 1955. As negotiations

¹³² Dilek Güven, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları Bağlamında 6-7 Eylül Olayları*, trans. Bahar Şahin (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005), p.3.

¹³³ Zafer Toprak, "Altı-Yedi Eylül Olayları", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 1 (1993), p.213.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ *Enosis*, the Greek word for union, described the Greek government's claim of a union, in which Cyprus was part of Greece.

¹³⁶ Toprak, "Altı-Yedi Eylül Olayları," p.213.

between the Great Britain, Greece and Turkey continued, the 6-7 September riots erupted in Istanbul. Instigated by the reports that a bomb had been exploded near the house of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, in Salonica, Turkish mobs attacked non-Muslim properties in Istanbul. Manipulated by the government, the riots first began as student demonstrations expressing nationalistic feelings regarding the Cyprus issue but they suddenly turned into a pogrom against the Rum properties, businesses, and institutions with vandalistic drives by Turkish mobs.

Indeed, before the Events of 6-7 September in 1955, the political and social atmosphere was manipulated by the Turkish press. Although the Rums of Turkey, who were also Turkish citizens, had no connection with what was happening in Cyprus, the press of the time openly provoked Turks against the Rum citizens of Turkey. Incidents began on 6 September after the second edition of *İstanbul Ekspres*, which was widely known to be the press organ of Menderes government, and *Hürriyet* daily wrote in big fonts in their headlines that Atatürk's house in Salonica was attacked with a bomb. Demonstrations by students were followed by gatherings of several mobs specifically in Taksim towards the evening. Within a few hours, the mobs with staves and stones attacked the shops that belonged to the Rum citizens in Beyoğlu and Karaköy. In addition to plundering and house burning, rapes and attacks against churches and cemeteries also took place. Not only the Rum properties but also all shops belonging to non-Muslims were ruined. All the property inside the shops was looted. İstiklal Street (Grande Rue de Pera), the main shopping street of Istanbul, was pillaged in one night. The next morning, İstiklal Street was covered with pieces of glass, clothes, smashed white goods, rolled down and burned automobiles, and other goods, all were belonging to the wrecked shops on Pera. As

Toprak writes, “Beyoğlu was as if a pillaged enemy mahalle that night.”¹³⁷ Two of each three shops on İstiklal Street were completely ruined.¹³⁸

The Turkish army took the control of the incidents only after the midnight. Martial Law was declared in Istanbul on the night of September 6. As a result, a total of 5,538 shops and houses were attacked, looted, burned and destroyed; two monasteries and 71 churches were devastated; some graves in non-Muslim cemeteries were destroyed; spiritual leaders were threatened, attacked, and one of them was killed.¹³⁹ As Alexandris indicates, some human casualties and rapes occurred in the suburbs along the Bosphorus and other remote parts of Istanbul.¹⁴⁰

The Democratic Party government, which instigated the Events of 6-7 September but refused any involvement, later accused the communists of plotting the whole incident. However, the DP leaders were later found guilty of inciting the Turkish population against the Rums and the other non-Muslims in Turkey during the Cyprus dispute. On the other side, the press of the time had openly provoked the riots.

As Alexandris, who was also born in Cihangir, states, the riots of 6-7 September 1955 and continuation of an anti-Greek campaign signified the beginning of the end of the historic Greek speaking Orthodox community in Turkey. The result was a considerable exodus of Istanbulian Greeks. Many Greeks with Turkish nationality sold their property and left the country.¹⁴¹ It was a considerable exodus. The number of Rums dramatically declined after the Events of 6-7 September 1955.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p.214. *O gece Beyoğlu sanki talan edilmiş bir düşman mahallesiydi.*

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Alexandris, p.257-258.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p.270.

While there were 80,000 Greek-speaking people in Turkey in 1955, the number fell to 65,000 in 1960 and to 48,096 in 1965.¹⁴²

Keyder also wrote that the number of Greeks declined from 5.2 percent to 2.0 percent of Istanbul's population in the second half of the 1950s.¹⁴³ Many Greeks living in Beyoğlu district and around left Turkey after the severe Events of 6-7 September against the non-Muslims of Turkey. It is obvious that Cihangir, which is a neighborhood within the borders of Beyoğlu and was mostly populated by Rums at that time, was also affected by these events that targeted, indeed, non-Muslims of Istanbul as a whole.

The Events of 6-7 September that had first started on İstiklal Caddesi and other streets of Beyoğlu had spread almost all neighborhoods of Istanbul, specifically to all mahalles, where Rums used to reside. All of a sudden, the mobs, which passed through the streets of Cihangir, Fıruağa, Tarlabası, Talimhane, and Karaköy, destroyed the Rum houses and shops there. During my research, I tried to find any written sources and photographs regarding the Events of 6-7 September specifically and directly in Cihangir; however, I failed. I later encountered Orhan Koloğlu's column in *Milliyet* daily newspaper on 3 September 2000 while I was searching about the issue on the Internet. Koloğlu's column was about his eye-witness account of the incidents in Beyoğlu:

When the security forces took control of the situation before dawn, we returned our home by walking on a way, which was covered with clothes/fabrics in bunches, underclothes, furs, and rugs. They were torn down and had got muddy. We were exhausted... When I entered to my flat in Cihangir, I saw that our Rum neighbors had taken refugee with us. Astonishingly, there was a multiplication sign made with soot on their door, which was next to us, but not on ours.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Ibid., p.291.

¹⁴³ Keyder, "A Tale of Two Neighborhoods" p. 175.

¹⁴⁴ Orhan Koloğlu. 9 March 2000. *6/7 Eylül Gecesi Beyoğlu'nda*. Available [Online]: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2000/09/03/yasam/zkologlu.html> [20 December 2006].

Even the above quotation from Koloğlu's column can tell us about the situation and the psychology of the Rum inhabitants in Cihangir as with the other Rum neighborhoods of Istanbul. Other than Koloğlu's experience, I could find some information about what had happened in Cihangir at 6 September 1955 night in Selim İleri's books. İleri, who is a writer and a significant figure in modern Turkish literature, had lived in Cihangir between 1954 and 1964. He recalls the Events of 6-7 September and the resulting damage in Cihangir as well. In some of his books, he narrates what he remembers regarding those terrible days.¹⁴⁵ The following quotation from one of his books also describes the situation in Cihangir after the riots:

...Just then the mob reached our street. They were breaking the windows of the houses, harassing the minority citizens, and even harassing some of the Turks when they attempted to protest. A big panic. My father had attempted to interfere. My mother's cries...we were waiting together with trembles. Finally, the mob left the street. It is a big scandal of the Bayar-Menderes period. When we went out to the street the next day, we saw our butcher Todori was crying in front of a demolished shop...¹⁴⁶

Other than these written experiences, it was difficult for me to reach more written sources on whether or not the houses and the shops of non-Muslims, specifically the Rums, living in Cihangir was damaged during the pogrom on 6-7 September. As for photographs, perhaps, there might have been some photographs of Cihangir taken after the incidents in some family albums but it was people's privacy and the issue was so sensitive. Thus, I applied to secondary sources, which are oral histories. Through in depth-interviews with old Cihangirlis, I was able to collect some stories of eye-witnessing of the events in Cihangir. However, as I said, the issue was a sensitive one and people were sometimes refraining from giving much detail. Still, I believe, the stories my informants told me constitute considerable information and sheds light on what happened in Cihangir on 6-7 September 1955.

¹⁴⁵ See, for example, Selim İleri, *Gramafon Hala Çalıyor* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995).

¹⁴⁶ Selim İleri, *Anılar:Issız ve Yağmurlu*, (Istanbul:Doğan Kitap, 2002), p.22.

For example, Melahat Ü., one of my old Cihangirli informants, told me that during the Events of 6-7 September, some Turks protected their Rum neighbors from the attacks by hiding them in their houses. She said she had helped one of her Rum neighbors in Cihangir during 6 September night: “Madam Sophia was so scared. Her husband was a Turk. Sophia Teyze was old. I told her ‘Sophia Teyze, don’t worry, come and stay with us.’ She had stayed at us that day.”¹⁴⁷

Mihael Vassiliadis, executive editor in chief of Istanbul’s eighty-one year-old Greek newspaper *Apoyevmatini*, also described how Cihangir was damaged during the Events of 6-7 September. Although Mr. Vassiliadis and his family were living in Tarlabası during the incidents, he knows what happened in Cihangir.

Cihangir was highly damaged on 6 September. Of course...If had not the houses were entered and destroyed, their windows and so on were broken from the outside considerably. Of course the mobs that reached there (Cihangir) were not Istanbulians. Our Turkish friends there (Cihangir) helped us. Our neighbors, who were settled in Cihangir, helped us and tried to protect us. But, unfortunately, I do not believe that it was so successful.¹⁴⁸

During my interview with Mr. Vassiliadis, who witnessed and experienced the Events of 6-7 September, he told how their house had been protected by a Turk and how the same person later had been involved in the attacks against the other Rum houses and shops around:

I was living in Tarlabası during the period of 6-7 September. The doorkeeper of our house was so interesting. Mehmet Efendi...We went inside the home and shut the door. He said Mihael, now run and go inside the house etc. I was fifteen or so at that time. He shut the door. He waited in front of the door with a Turkish flag in his hand. He said to those, who came to attack our house, “There are no *gavurs* here, all people here are Muslims,” et cetera. And after all that crowd passed by and our house was rescued, he opened the door, put the flag inside, shut the door and began to crush and smash the Rums houses and shops ahead. Mehmet Efendi, who rescued us...Very strange, isn’t it? In

¹⁴⁷ Melahat Ü., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. Madam Sophia çok korkmuştu. Kocası Türk idi. Yaşlıydı Sofia Teyze. “Sofia Teyze, korkma gel bize,” demiştim. Bizde kalmıştı o gün.

¹⁴⁸ Mihalis Vassiliadis, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 30 March 2006. *Apoyevmatini* Newspaper, Istanbul, Turkey.

fact, it is no strange. Because for Mehmet Efendi, we were people, who he knew; were Mihael and Madam Katina for him. We used to have shopping...he used to make our shopping, take his tip and so forth. He used to know that we were good people so he protected us. But he did not know those living ahead. Those living ahead were only Rums for him. And what Rum meant inside his memory was an enemy that was imposed in his memory. So he faced the enemy. That entire crowd was either people, who were brainwashed, or looters.¹⁴⁹

As is seen in the case of the doorkeeper of the apartment building, where Mr. Vassiliadis used to reside, during the attacks, some Turks helped some Rums, whom they used to know and have neighborly relations with; however, the same Turks might also attack non-Muslims, whom they did not know. However, there were also some neighbors that denounced their non-Muslim neighbors and in this way led the attackers easily find the apartments, where non-Muslims resided.¹⁵⁰

My informant Ms. Aysel Y., who is a Cihangirli for fifty years, had also lived the Events of 6-7 September; however, not in Cihangir but in Tarabya (Therapia). Ms. Y is a Cretan-origin lady and her mother was an Armenian, who was living in Çorbacı Street in Tarlabası. As Ms. Y. told me:

I personally lived through the 6-7 September. I used to reside in *Çorbacı* Street in Tarlabası at that time; however, on the night that incidents took place we were in a summer house in Tarabya (Therapia). The İstiklal Street was covered with clothes from end to end. These are not kind of things that are explainable. The Tarabya Hotel was wooden. They burned it. There was a church near it. The flames rising from the church were forming phosphorescence in the sea...That night was very bad. We used to have a summer house, a wooden house in Tarabya. They came with sticks with fire on top of them. Then we understood that the house we were staying was a priest's house so they came to burn it. My grandfather went out to door and shouted at that crowd. He had already hung a Turkish flag. The owners of the house Madam Olga and her husband were then gratefully prayed for my grandfather.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Mihael Vassiliadis, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 30 March 2006. Apoyevmatini Newspaper, Istanbul, Turkey.

¹⁵⁰ Güven, p.24.

¹⁵¹ Aysel Y., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, March 2006.

Also during my interview with İleri at Hürriyet Newspaper, he also told me his experience of the incidents in Cihangir:

We used to live in an apartment building called *Ümit-Nüvit* in Kumrulu Yokuşu in Cihangir between 1954 and 1964... I remember very clearly. On 6 September night, indeed in the eventide, some incidents erupted inside the city. In fact, there was a tension that had started a few days ago. Reports came that the house that Atatürk was born in Salonica was bombed and this echoed in the press. An indignation occurred. A reaction occurred but although it was a reaction at the political and diplomatic level at the beginning, it suddenly turned out to be highly serious street riots in all around Istanbul in 6 September eventide. And these movements had occurred in Sirkeci when we heard about them; however, we heard that they had soon started to take place in Beyoğlu as well. But they had not spread to Cihangir yet at that moment. Later, it appeared that masses in the form of mobs, vagabond mobs, had marched and disarrayed Beyoğlu. Telephone did not exist at homes in those years. It was not a widespread communication medium as it is today. But we had telephone and our grandmother called us from Kadıköy. Everyone (he refers to his neighbors in Cihangir) came to our house and phoned each other and informed each other etc.¹⁵²

He continued:

I can tell you an anecdote regarding our mahalle, our street. At that time, there used to be an association called as, I am not so sure, *Kıbrıs Türk Cemiyeti* or something like that... That association was issuing a periodical. We had many of that periodical at home. On the cover of the periodical, there was a green island on a red background and a Turkish flag in the middle of the island. Just such an illustration and there was the name of the periodical written on it. My father cut all the covers of these periodicals at home and pasted them on all houses in our street. Especially on the houses of our Rum friends, that's to say to each apartment, next to us, opposite to us... A very old lady used to reside in our opposite apartment building. She was Turkish and Muslim. Only her apartment was not hung a cover page of the periodical. Not on purpose but just she was already a Muslim and a Turk. At a late hour in the evening, after the dinner, like 08:30-09:00, one of those rowdy and unrestrained crowds passed through the entire Cihangir and burned and destroyed every corner of Cihangir. I mean, it is an incredible ravage issue. But our street was extricated. Probably they thought the entire street of us were Turk. However, only the windows of that old lady, the house of that old lady was destroyed, despite the cries of that poor woman and in front of the eyes of the entire mahalle... She was Turk, an old woman, but (the crowd) was so off the rails, it could neither understand the Turk, nor the Rum, the Christian... A mob... That is to say, it was an event reflecting the crooked nature of the human being, the dark side of the human soul.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Selim İleri, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 4 April 2006.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

As İleri told me, the Savoy patisserie, a renowned Rum patisserie in Cihangir, was also damaged by the mobs. İleri's observations and impressions of the looted Savoy patisserie and some streets of Cihangir on 7 September afternoon are as follows:

My personal eye-witnessing occurred when I was taken outside in the afternoon on the next day. It was a patisserie that I favored very much, the Savoy Patisserie...The entire vitrine of it, everything was destroyed. And cream-cakes, creams, ice-creams, they were all thrown on the ground; they had been melted and thawed...It was a terrible picture. I was seeing ice-cream with cherry, which is a very beautiful thing, was bleeding, as if it really was blood. Of course it was not blood but when it is thought together with the incidents, it was something that caused a sense of blood in me. We walked up to Beyoğlu after passing in front of Savoy. Streets in Cihangir were full of bricks, pieces of glass and window frames. Even, some streets were in a state that one could not pass. Not a street anymore but a place of uproar...Think of a photograph of a city that saw bombardment in the World War II, streets of the some part of Cihangir was in such a condition. Except our street...And the main reason that our street was not attacked was those journal covers. Otherwise, our street would also be ruined. And indeed, a house was attacked. However, other houses were destroyed very badly, I mean, it was a dreadful event.¹⁵⁴

Regarding the damage of the Rum properties in Cihangir, many of my informants said the same thing that the mobs passed through the streets of the neighborhood, damaged some shops but they did not attacked the houses. Another interviewee of mine is Mr. Erol İ., who is an old coiffeur in Cihangir. Mr. İ was born in Çukurcuma, a historic quarter adjacent to Cihangir, and spent his entire life in the neighborhood until he moved to Kurtuluş (Tatavla) recently. He has been a well-known coiffeur in Cihangir since the early 1960s and most of his customers were Rum madames, mademoiselles as well as other non-Muslim ladies of the neighborhood in those years. Upon my question whether he remembers what happened in Cihangir during 6 September evening and night, he replied:

They plundered the shops in Beyoğlu. Clothes etc. were all on the ground. It was something directed to non-Muslim tradesmen. My mother had told our

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

neighbor that ‘don’t worry; you can come to us’. That is to say, they were our neighbors. There were those, who came in front of the mahalle but they failed, they could not do much things. I mean they destroyed Beyoğlu. I do not understand, what was the guilt of the Rums here? The majority was Rum here. There were Rums before the time of Mehmet II. Many left after the 6-7 September.¹⁵⁵

Mr. Scognamillo, a Levantine, who was born to an Italian family in Pera in 1929, and has been living in Cihangir for nine years, also said Cihangir was not damaged much during the incidents:

6-7 September did not affect Cihangir much. It affected Beyoğlu and Tarlabası. It affected Rum churches in Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu was an area that was in the hands of foreigners and minorities since its genesis. Let’s say it was a free zone. After the Events of 6-7 September and later the deportation of Rums in 1964, the identity of Beyoğlu and some certain neighborhoods including Cihangir and Tarlabası changed suddenly. We might even date it back to the internal migration. Internal migrations changed the identity not only of Beyoğlu but of the entire Istanbul. When the Events of 6-7 September erupted, I was in the Kallavi (Glavany) Street in Beyoğlu. Even, I walked about the İstiklal Street with my father for a while.¹⁵⁶

Although some of my informants indicated that the attacks against the Rum inhabitants and their property occurred in Cihangir as well, although not as severe as those happened in Pera, some other people, whom I interviewed with were unable to give any information about what had happened in Cihangir at 6 September night because they said they were not there at that time.

Feridun D., who is a Cihangirli for 72 years and the owner of the historic *Üç Yıldız* candy shop, which is open in the historic *Balık Pazarı*, the fish market in Pera/Beyoğlu since 1926, is also one my informants about Cihangir. Mr. Feridun D., who lives in Havyar Street in Cihangir, said Cihangir’s demographic structure was highly affected by the Events of 6-7 September and especially the 1964 decree for

¹⁵⁵ Erol İ., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

¹⁵⁶ Giovanni Scognamillo, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. The Kallavi Street, where Mr. Scognamillo had lived for some years was actually called the Glavany Street. The replacement of Glavany with Kallavi is also an indicator of Turkfication of street and apartment names in Istanbul.

the deportation of the Greeks in Istanbul. He continued that many of their neighbors gradually left the neighborhood after these events. As for the 6 September 1955, he said:

I directly experienced the 6-7 September here (fish market, Beyoğlu). I cannot know what happened in Cihangir on 6 September because I was in my work place. I had to protect my work place although I am a Turk because news came that even we had to close our shop. Of course, we did not close the shop, we waited here, in front of the shop to prevent the looters.¹⁵⁷

Upon my question whether he saw the situation of the streets of Cihangir, Mr.

D. continued:

It is not possible to abstract Cihangir from Beyoğlu. Perhaps, it would be more accurate if we say what was done in Beyoğlu was also done in Cihangir and specifically in whatever neighborhoods, where the Rum citizens lived. They were also attacked in the same way as Beyoğlu was. I closed the shop at around 00:00-01:00 a.m. and went to Cihangir. Of course, I was not much aware of what happened (in Cihangir) in that darkness of the night.¹⁵⁸

However, he continued to describe what he witnessed during the 6 September night in the historic fish market:

There was a sidewalk of about 10 centimeters reaching to the point, where that leakage is seen now (he points to a leakage on the street) in our Balık Pazarı. The center of the way (street) had risen by about half a meter from the sidewalk that day, at 6 September night, towards the midnight. In it (the mess), there were whatever comes to your mind...Olive smell, olive oil smell, cheeses that had turned into a mess...Pickles and so on...Beyoğlu's Balık Pazarı is a prominent market therefore the vibrancy here is more different. I mean, the locals of here are people, who love to eat and drink. Armenians, Jews, Rums or Turks. Generally, select people used to come here for shopping. The shops were also full. Naturally, the shops that were mostly damaged were those owned by non-Muslims here.¹⁵⁹

Some also said that Cihangir was not affected much by the attacks because Cihangir was a residential area and there were not many commercial places or shops in the neighborhood. For example, Şakir P., who has been a Cihangirli for 55 years,

¹⁵⁷ Feridun D., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

said the Events of 6-7 September did not occur in Cihangir because the looters did not come to Cihangir: “What will happen if they had come here, there were no shops hereabouts. Their aim was to take the commodities in the shop windows. That is to say, they looted.”¹⁶⁰

On a rainy February afternoon in 2006, I made a visit to Savoy Patisserie. There, I had the chance to meet with six Istanbulian Rums, three of whom were old Cihangirlis. I learned that those old friends used to come together at Savoy on some days of the week, mostly in the afternoons, and enjoy time together. There, we talked about Cihangir, the Events of 6-7 September, and some other issues as well. I asked Mr. Yannis Y., who is 75 years-old and has been living in Cihangir for about 65 years, whether Cihangir was damaged during the incidents. As he replied: “They did not enter the houses but the shops were looted. However, even rapes occurred in some other places, you know. No such event happened in Cihangir. Only the shops were attacked and messed up, windows were broken, and properties were seized and so on.”¹⁶¹ He continued:

There were, of course, shops in Cihangir. Because trade was mostly carried out by non-Muslims, their shops were looted at that night. Of course, in Cihangir, too. Streets...I cannot say they were like those of Beyoğlu but refrigerators, you know, things inside were outside. There was the Cyprus clause at that time. 6-7 September riots had impact on the departures, of course, but that did not happen all at once. Decreased (number of the Rums in Cihangir and in Istanbul) for years... and we have reached to present day.¹⁶²

Two Rum ladies who also lived through the incidents were sting with us.

They were Cihangirlis but they had witnessed the incidents in different places. Ms.

¹⁶⁰ Şakir P., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, June 2006. *Buraya gelseler ne olacak ki, buralarda dükkan yok. Onların amaçları vitrinlerdeki malları götürmektir. Yani yağma yaptılar.*

¹⁶¹ Yannis Y., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. *Evlere girmediler ama dükkanlar yağmalandı. Ama başka yerlerde tecavüzler de oldu biliyorsun. Cihangirde böyle bir olay olmadı. Yalnız dükkanlara girildi, talan oldu, camlar kırıldı, mallar gasp edildi ve asiret.*

¹⁶² Ibid.

Yoanna Z., who had moved to Cihangir after the Events of 6-7 September, was a teacher at the Rum Zapyon secondary school before. In fact, she was from Arnavutköy, a neighborhood on the Bosphorus where the Greeks of Istanbul also used to reside. Ms. Z. said she had personally lived through the incidents. She had seen how all the windows of famous Odeon store in Beyoğlu were broken. She continues:

We were living in Arnavutköy at that time. That night, my elder brother did not return home. He was in Beşiktaş that day. He had joined that crowd so that no one would understand...In that way, he had protected himself....That night was the worst night in our lives. They attacked our house in Arnavutköy, with sticks in their hands. We had German neighbors. They protected us...I got married in 1956 and moved to Cihangir. My brother left Turkey with his family. But I have stayed.¹⁶³

Another Rum lady at our table was Ms. Yoanna B., who told me that she had been grown up in Cihangir. She said her elder brother was affected by the incidents. As she told me, he son lives in Bulgaria and her daughter lives in Greece today. She had witnessed the incidents in Büyükada, one of the Princess Islands on the Marmara Sea. She said that she had seen the crowds that appeared on the wharf that night.¹⁶⁴

As understood from the testimonies of my informants, Cihangir was not affected by the Events of 6-7 September in the same way as Beyoğlu and Tarlabaşı. However, although the houses were not attacked in the neighborhood, shops that belonged to Rums and other non-Muslim inhabitants were plundered. Thus, as with the other non-Muslim mahalles of Istanbul, Cihangir was also subjected to attacks. Following this regrettable event in modern Turkey's history, many non-Muslims left Turkey. In the case of Cihangir, many Rum families sold their houses at below market prices and left Turkey, if not immediately after the incidents, within the following years. During my interviews, many of my informants referred the Events

¹⁶³ Yoanna Z., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

¹⁶⁴ Yoanna B., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

of 6-7 September as the starting point of Rum families' departure from Cihangir. "People sold their houses at the given price and escaped," said an old Cihangirli.¹⁶⁵ Again Mr. Y, one of the remaining Rums in the neighborhood, said: "Fifty or sixty years ago, non-Muslims constitute the eighty percent in Cihangir. After those incidents, you know, after the Events of 6-7 September, *ekalliyet* (minorities) left...Ninety-nine percent of them left."¹⁶⁶

As Selim İleri expresses, Cihangir's fabric began to change with the departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants, specifically the Rums, after the regrettable Events of 6-7 September:

Of course, a change, a transformation began in the fabric of Cihangir after this event. It did not begin immediately but within a few years three-fourths of our Rum citizens had to leave the country in tears. Not all of them immediately after the incidents but within a few years, gradually, a very small number of Rums remained in Cihangir...My friend Yannis...They were our next-door neighbors. A genuinely sad departure happened. I mean, it has kept its effect on me for years. Today, I still remember that event with the same feeling of sadness. Many people left. Those, who has not left were generally those, who reached an old age and mostly the widowed madams. They had no place to go. Starting a new life...She would go to Athens...However, she was a true born Istanbulian...¹⁶⁷

Today, there are still some abandoned houses in Cihangir. These houses once belonged to the members of Rum community in the neighborhood before they left it. The date 6-7 September 1955 was a watershed that caused many Rums to leave Istanbul gradually in the following years. As Vincent Boland from the Financial Times wrote in report:

Walking the pleasant district of Cihangir in central Istanbul now, where much of the community lived, one sees houses on every other street standing empty even as the neighborhood undergoes rapid gentrification. These are the homes

¹⁶⁵ Aysel Y., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, March 2006.

İnsanlar evlerini yok pahasına satıp kaçtılar.

¹⁶⁶ Yannis Y., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

Şimdi bundan 50 sene yahut 60 sene evvel Cihangirde yüzde 80 gayrimüslimdi. İşte, o olaylardan sonra, biliyorsun, 6-7 Eylül'den sonra ekalliyet gitti.

¹⁶⁷ Selim İleri, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 4 April 2006.

of Greek families who fled after 1955, and that now exist in a kind of legal limbo awaiting some resolution which is not forthcoming.¹⁶⁸

During my research about the effects of 6-7 September riots in Cihangir, I also scanned Fahri Çoker's private photograph archive, which was published as a book.¹⁶⁹ Çoker's archive is composed of photographs taken during and after the incidents and some official documents. I looked for any photographs of Cihangir taken at that time; however, I could not see any. However, I noticed that the name of the neighborhood was noted under two photographs, which show the attackers. The following note was written under one of these two photographs: "X Son of driver Aziz in Cihangir."¹⁷⁰ The word Cihangir also appeared under the other photograph. This time the note was saying: "X Driver Çetin is in the coffehouse-45- on the corner of the way that goes up to Cihangir."¹⁷¹

Thus, based on the narratives of my old Cihangirli informants and the little written information I have found elsewhere, I argue that Cihangir's cosmopolitan history and the demographic shifts it has experienced starting from the second half of the 1950s cannot be understood without referring to the Events of 6-7 September 1955. The 6-7 September riots already constituted a watershed in Republican history and entire Turkey. First of all, they caused non-Muslims of Turkey to feel disappointed about the Republic of Turkey. They lost their trust in the state and felt themselves as if they were not recognized as citizens of Turkey. Second, the mass migration of Orthodox-Greeks, Armenians and Jews from Turkey caused multiethnic and multi-religious fabric to disappear specifically in Istanbul. Still, in the case of

¹⁶⁸ Vincent Boland. 6 September 2005. *Turkey Under Pressure to Reopen Patriarchal Seminary*. Available [online]: <http://www.orthodoxnews.net/firms.com/188/Reopen.htm> [11 October 2006].

¹⁶⁹ *6-7 Eylül Olayları, Fotoğraflar Belgeler, Fahri Çoker Arşivi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75. X Cihangir'de şoför Aziz'in oğlu.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 174. X Şoför Çetin Cihangir'e çıkan yolun penceresindeki kahvede-45-

Cihangir, the effect of the heinous Events of 6-7 September did not cause a dramatic demographic shift when compared to the 1964 decree for the deportation of inhabitants, who had Greek passports. According to the stories I collected from my informants, it is possible to say that some departures occurred in the few years following the events but not all at once. My point regarding Cihangir is that, even though the Events of 6-7 September did not cause a mass immigration of the Rums only from Cihangir as a neighborhood immediately after they erupted, they caused frustration among the non-Muslim residents and triggered the further gradual departures that occurred throughout the following 25 years. As Mr. Y. said, “6-7 September happened. It was a movement against the non-Muslims. After that, the number of non-Muslims decreased but it did not happen all at once...Certainly it cannot happen all at once.”¹⁷²

Cihangir Depopulated: The 1964 Expulsion of the Greeks of Istanbul and Its Effects in Cihangir

The Greeks were one of the major ethnic groups in Istanbul for centuries. Under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, various ethnic groups and religions lived side by side for centuries. This multi-ethnic and multi-religious co-existence was based on an administrative system adopted by the Empire. Thanks to what was called the *millet system*, harmony and co-existence lasted for centuries on Ottoman territory. According to official estimates shown in the work of Alexandris, in 1924, Istanbul’s population was 1,065,866, of whom 656, 281 were Muslims, 279,788 Greeks, 73,

¹⁷² Yannis Y., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. *6-7 Eylül oldu. Gayrimüslimlere karşı bir hareketti. Ondan sonra gayrimüslimlerin sayısı azaldı ama birdenbire olmadı tabii...Birdenbire olmaz tabii.*

407 Armenians, and 56, 390 Jews.¹⁷³ In Republican Turkey, the Rum minorities were given the status of citizens by the Treaty of Lausanne. Articles 37 to 45 of the Treaty of Lausanne, which was signed with the Allies on 24 July 1924, were related to the minorities of the Republic of Turkey. They guarantee all the legal rights of minorities living in Turkey.

However, Ankara, the capital of Turkey, did not refrain to use the Greek minority against Greece whenever the relations between the two countries became problematic throughout the Republican history. Alexandris wrote that while the Greeks in Turkey lived in peace and security during some intervals such as 1930-1940, 1947-1954, 1959-1964, and 1968-1971, they faced hostilities and aggression during periods when Greek-Turkish relations were tense. Thus, whenever the bilateral relations began to deteriorate, they became the victims of such political events. He demonstrates that such periods of “strained Greek-Turkish relations,” however, caused a total of four significant waves of Greek exodus from Istanbul, the first one between 1922 and 1929, the second one between 1955 and 1959, the third one between 1964 and 1967, and the fourth one between 1972 and 1975.¹⁷⁴

The two first breaking points that caused many Greeks to leave Turkey were the exchange of population of the 1923 and the Events of 6-7 September 1955, which explained in the previous section. In 1923, Turkey and Greece exchanged their Muslim and Orthodox populations. 450, 000 Muslims were sent from Greece to Turkey while 150,000 Orthodox Christians were sent from Turkey to Greece as a result of this forced exchange of populations.¹⁷⁵ When the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey was completed in 1924, a total of 1.2 million Greeks had

¹⁷³ Alexandris, p. 142.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 316.

¹⁷⁵ Keyder, *Türkiye’de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, p. 99.

either escaped to Greece or been sent through the exchange of populations to that country.¹⁷⁶

Following the Events of 6-7 September in 1955, which caused many Greeks to leave Turkey, the event that started the third wave of Greek exodus from Istanbul was Turkish government's decision to deport the Greek nationals in Turkey as a result of the tense relations between Greece and Turkey due to the Cyprus issue in 1964.

In 1964, the biggest crisis for Turkey was the Cyprus issue. Following the "Bloody Christmas" massacres of ethnic Turkish Cypriots in December 1963, Turkey's Prime Minister unilaterally abrogated the 1930 friendship agreement between Greece and Turkey and between 30,000 and 40,000 Greeks were expelled from Turkey in 1964.¹⁷⁷ Given this conjuncture, Turkey again used the Istanbul Greek factor against Greece. Upon the reports of Greek Cypriot attacks against Turkish Cypriots, the press in Turkey also prepared the stage for anti-Greek sentiments and measures in the country. Turkey, holding responsible Archbishop Makarios for violating the constitution of 1960 in Cyprus, unilaterally announced the termination of the 1930 Greek-Turkish Convention of Establishment, Commerce and Navigation with a governmental decree on 16 March 1964. The decree annulling the 1930 Turkish-Greek agreement, which was signed between Greek and Turkish leaders, was published in the official gazette in its 17 March 1964 edition.¹⁷⁸ Friendly relations were established between Turkey and Greece thanks to the peaceful attitudes of Greek leader Eleftherios Venizelos and Turkish leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. According to the first article of the Treaty of Ankara of 30 October 1930, the citizens of both countries would be able to freely visit each other's country, travel

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ H. Demir and R. Akar, *İstanbul'un Son Sürgünleri* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), p.12.

¹⁷⁸ T.C. Resmi Gazete (official gazette), 17 March 1964.

and settle in each other's country and leave that country whenever they want.¹⁷⁹ The treaty also granted both Greek and Turkish citizens the right to acquire any kind of movable and immovable properties including buying real estates and to conduct businesses and launch commercial activities in each other's country with the third and the fourth articles.¹⁸⁰

The Turkish government's decree for deportation was for those who were Greek nationals or Hellenes but many of them were married to Rums, who were Turkish citizens. So, in addition to Rums with Greek nationality, many with Turkish citizenship also left the country because most of them had marriage ties with each other. As Alexandris states, according to the official estimates, there were 26.431 Hellenes in Istanbul in 1927.¹⁸¹ Also according to the official population census of 1927, there were 25, 795 males and 34, 463 females whose language was Greek only in Beyoğlu district of Istanbul.¹⁸² In 1935, a total of 125,046 *établis* Greek Orthodox, 17,642 of whom were Hellenic nationals, lived in Istanbul.¹⁸³ The number of Hellenes in Istanbul decreased during the following decades. Alexandris wrote that the number of Hellenes decreased to 13, 598 in 1945, 11, 879 in 1955, and 10, 488 in 1960.¹⁸⁴ He expresses that Turkey's unilateral denouncement of the 1930 convention affected more than 10,000 Constantinopolitan Hellenes, who were the *établis* in the city, whose rights were guaranteed by the Lausanne Treaty and the 1930 convention. If we quote from Alexandris,

Unlike the majority of the Greeks in Turkey, who held Turkish passports, less than a third of the Constantinopolitan Greek *établis* held Greek nationality. Like all the Greek *établis*, they were established in Istanbul prior to October

¹⁷⁹ Demir and Akar, p. 43.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., pp.43-44.

¹⁸¹ Alexandris, p. 281.

¹⁸² *İstanbul Şehri İstatistik Yıllığı* (Statistical Yearbook for İstanbul) , Cilt 2, (İstanbul: İstanbul Belediyesi, 1931-1932), p. 235.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 178.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. p.281

1918, and thus they were allowed to remain in Turkey by virtue of the Lausanne exchange of populations convention of 30 January 1923...Further, in October 1930, the right of the Hellenes to remain in their native city was extended with the signing of a new agreement.¹⁸⁵

He continues,

Together with the Greeks of Turkish nationality, the Constantinopolitan Hellenes comprised a single ethnic group in Turkey. Nor were they any less indigenous than those with Turkish nationality. Many had never even been to Greece. They held the Hellenic nationality because their ancestors had come from the provinces of the Ottoman Empire that were incorporated in the Greek kingdom in 1830.¹⁸⁶

The Rums of Istanbul, either with Turkish or Greek citizenships, were the *établis* in the city. They had been born in Istanbul and many of them had even never been to Greece. But in 1964, due to the Turkish government's unilateral annulment of the 1930 convention, they were faced with exile. They were allowed to take with them only 20 kg of their personal belongings and cash of 22 dollars.¹⁸⁷ An important dimension of Greek's deportation was about what happened to the property they had left behind in Turkey in 1964. Demir and Akar argue that Greek property that had been left empty for ten years was confiscated by Turkish state Treasury (the *Hazine*).¹⁸⁸ As Alexandris writes, they were faced with Article 35 of the Title Deed (*Tapu*) Law, which restricted foreigners' ownership over immovable property.¹⁸⁹ Alexandris also writes that while at first the value of the wealth gone with the Hellenes of Istanbul amounted \$ 5,000,000,000, Turkey later claimed that the total amount of these properties was \$200,000,000. In addition to the confiscation of the properties of those, who were expelled, the Ministry of Finance sent a circular to all the banks in Turkey asking for reporting of the situation of the accounts of all Rums

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Demir and Akar, p.14.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Alexandris, p. 281.

with Greek citizenship.¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, in 1988, Turgut Özal, the prime minister of Turkey, cancelled the 1964 decree meaning return of the Rum properties to their owners; however, it was too late because many of them had died and the legal process to take the properties back was problematic for the Rums.¹⁹¹

The mass exodus of 30,000-40,000 Greeks after the 1964 decree left an Istanbul with less heterogeneity or multi-ethnicity. Again if we quote from Alexandris,

Although they held different passports, the family links which bound them were so close that in practice the expulsion of the Constantinopolitan Hellenes led to the elimination of almost as many members of the Greek minority with Turkish nationality. Sensing their precarious future, the latter too began to leave Istanbul in great numbers.¹⁹²

The number of students in Rum schools as well as the number of those schools in Istanbul also reflected the tremendous decline in the Rum population of Istanbul. While the number of students in Rums schools in 1923 was 15,000, it decreased to 5,000 in 1964, to 3930 in 1970, 1147 in 1978, and 816 in 1980.¹⁹³

The deportation of the Greek nationals constituted a breaking point and many Rums also left the city in the following years and decades.¹⁹⁴ Beyoğlu, as a district having a dense Rum population, also was affected dramatically by the deportation of the Hellenes of Istanbul as well as by the following departures of the Rums. It faced a demographic shift and its multicultural character changed. Although many non-Muslim inhabitants of Cihangir left the neighborhood in the earlier decades, a

¹⁹⁰ Demir and Akar, p. 88. Demir and Akar wrote that this meant blocked accounts for all the Greek nationals in Turkey. As they explain, the money in these accounts was gathered in a fund created at the Central Bank of Turkey and had no fixed terms of interest. The same procedure was implemented on the immovable properties of the Greeks, who were expelled.

¹⁹¹ Demir and Akar, pp.164-168.

¹⁹² Alexandris, p. 286.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 287.

¹⁹⁴ The deportation of the Greeks of Istanbul was reflected in a Greek-Turkish co-product film called *A Touch of Spice*, which was directed by Tassos Boulmetis. The film tells the story of a Greek boy, who had to leave Istanbul with his family but, left his grandfather behind. After 35 years, he returned to Istanbul to see his grandfather again. A detail in the film was that some relatives of the boy were living in Cihangir.

genuine depopulation and loss of cosmopolitanism in Cihangir occurred in the 1964 due to deportation of the Greeks. For Cihangir, being Beyoglu's backyard, the departures of the Rums in great numbers both immediately after the 1964 decree and gradually in the following years and decades meant the death of the original spirit of the neighborhood.¹⁹⁵ Just as the year 1964, the year 1974 also had a specific place in Cihangir's history. On the other hand, Orhan Türker wrote that some Rum families who remained in Turkey despite mass exodus to Greece in the mid 1960s moved to neighborhoods like Cihangir and Kurtuluş, which were closer to the city center.¹⁹⁶ Among the very small number of Rums who remained in the neighborhood after the deportation in the 1964 and the gradual departure of the Rums in the following years, some left Turkey after its military intervention in northern Cyprus in 1974.

The stories I have heard from my informants about the 1964 deportation in Cihangir also reflect the perspective that 1964 was a turning point in the neighborhood's history. The decline of Cihangir within the general framework of the decline of Istanbul in terms of its cosmopolitanism may well be dated back to 1964. Since that date, Cihangir's fabric, which had also dramatically changed after the 6-7 September riots, shifted again. After the exodus, many remaining Greeks also left the neighborhood gradually during the second half of the 1960s and in the early 1970s, and in the following years.

Thus, two turning points, the Events of 6-7 September 1955 and the deportation of the Greeks and the Rums in 1964, had significantly shaped the destiny of Cihangir. In addition to serious depopulation in the neighborhood immediately

¹⁹⁵ Demir and Akar published in their book an interview with Ms. Haroula B., a Greek who was deported from Turkey. In her interview, Ms. Haroula B. told Demir and Akar about her family's experience of the deportation. She says they were living in a large house on Siraselviler Street that was in Cihangir before they were forced into exile. No doubt, stories similar to that of Ms. Haroula B.'s are many.

¹⁹⁶ Orhan Türker, *Therapia'dan Tarabya'ya: Boğaz'ın Diplomatlar Köyünün Hikayesi* (Istanbul, Sel Yayıncılık, 2006), p. 20.

after these events, many remaining Rums and the Greeks with Greek citizenship, who were living in Cihangir, also left the neighborhood gradually. Their departure continued in the 1970s.

During my fieldwork in Cihangir, I tried to collect stories about the exodus of the Rums from the neighborhood. My Turkish interviewees recalled the event as a regrettable one and a turning point in Cihangir's destiny. A seventy-year old Turkish Muslim lady, Melahat Ü., who has been living in Cihangir since she was sixteen and witnessed the departure of the Rums in the neighborhood after 1964, told about those days as follows:

I am against the deportation of the Rums. Why were they deported? There was a Rum family, an acquaintance of ours. They were very rich. They used to reside in a duplex house next to the Ege Bahçesi (Garden). Very rich Rums were living in Cihangir at that time. State deported them and they left. My mother used to work at their house once upon a time. A spouse...They had a son and a daughter. They had a house in Büyükada. Even my mother used to take me to Büyükada. A lot of Rums left Cihangir. Many of the owners of the apartment buildings left. As I heard, the state took the rents of them. Later, as I observed, those houses were restored. There used to live mostly the Rums in Cihangir. French inhabitants were also many.¹⁹⁷

She continues that she bought some furniture from one of the Rum families, who left Cihangir after the 1964:

State deported the Rum *tebaalis* (citizens). To Greece...However, for example, if husband of a Rum woman was Turkish citizen, she could stay here if she wished so...While leaving, they were selling their properties. I also bought a bedroom suit from a family that was leaving. I bought it regretfully. I had thought they would sell in any case. But I really bought it regretfully...They sold their property at a few hands, if they could while they were leaving in 1964. Or they gave them to the junk dealer. There were some rumors that they had taken some of their silver or crystal belongings with them. Of course they would take them, they were their own property.¹⁹⁸

Avni T., a Turkish inhabitant, who has been living in Cihangir since 1963, also refers to the deportation of the Rums as a turning point in the neighborhood's

¹⁹⁷ Melahat Ü., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

history. Mr. T. had a flower shop for 31 years in Cihangir but he changed his shop into a boutique three years ago. During our interview with him, I realized that the way he re-considered his own past and that of the neighborhood's was overlapping.

We came here from Samsun in 1963. I have been here since 1963. I went to school in Beyoğlu as well. This shop was opened in 1969. With the departure of the Rums, Cihangir has completely lost its original character as Cihangir...I am still against the departure of the Rums. It is not only related with the Rums, the same thing happened to the Jews as well. I was also sorry for the departure of the Jews...People, who came from Anatolia, of course we have all come from Anatolia, replaced those, who left. And they were less educated and less cultured...There was a gap between old Istanbulians living here (Cihangir)-they were the Rums, Armenians, Jews, even Italians and Russians, and them. There was a twenty-thirty-year gap between them and the Turks. They were more advanced.¹⁹⁹

Regarding the situation of the properties of the Rums after they left, Mr. T. tells about what he witnessed:

The departure of the Rums after 1964 occurred gradually...More truly; it occurred by "fleeing"...They secretly sold their properties. They even sold them at the half price. They sold them to people they had not ever known so that it would not be understood that they would flee. Just in the meantime, some people gained unearned income...Generally, immigrants from the Eastern Anatolia bought many of them. There were usually doorkeepers etceteras. Their relatives etceteras began to buy them. Of course because they were cheap. Those houses were undersold because they (the Rums) fled, could not sell them to their acquaintances and had to sell them to the others.²⁰⁰

Another Cihangirli, Feridun D. told about the departures of the Rums from Cihangir, his observations about what happened to the houses that were evacuated and who came and settled in these places after the departures as follows:

The evacuated places (houses) were filled immediately...It is only possible by examining the muhtar records to follow that process. However, all that what happened meant to us was the fading away of people with whom we used to be acquaintances...Of course, it was not possible for me to follow exactly who left and who came instead, or from which flats of which apartment buildings cargos were loaded in truck, however, when we looked and saw that some other, stranger people, with whom we never used to be

¹⁹⁹ Avni T., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

familiar, had come to their places, then, we realized that they (the Rums) had left.²⁰¹

What Mr. D. pointed out was that they were mostly not aware of when exactly their Rum neighbors left but later understood that they had gone when they saw some other residents had come and settled in their houses. For those “others,” the newcomers in Cihangir, Mr. D. was uttering the words “people with whom we never used to be familiar” to express they had replaced their Rum neighbors as he defined them as people whom we had known and been acquainted with.

When I asked if there were any occupation of the evacuated houses of the Rums after their departure in Cihangir, Mr. D. replies,

We heard such stories from our customers from here (he means Beyoğlu because he is the owner of a historic candy shop there in the Fish Market) not from Cihangir. For example, a Rum family used to live in a small house in Tarlabası (a lower class Beyoğlu neighborhood, which was a well-known traditional Rum neighborhood once upon a time). We realized in time that they had disappeared. Those, who came into their places, had broken the door of the house and occupied it... Those people, would never suit Tarlabası because we know the periods when Rums lived in Tarlabası. Kalyoncukulluk and Tarlabası were beautiful places. So were Cihangir. However, no such things happened in Cihangir because they could never dare to enter Cihangir in that way. As I said, we know an incident of entering a house by breaking its door in Tarlabası.²⁰²

As expressed by some of my informants, the houses of Cihangirli Rums with Greek citizenship were transferred to the state when they were expelled. However, many Rums with Turkish citizenship, who also left Istanbul gradually throughout decades following the year 1964, sold their houses mostly to Turk and Muslim inhabitants of the neighborhood at lower prices while they were leaving the country.

As Mr. Yannis Y. told me,

The immovable properties of the Greek nationals were confiscated by the state. No selling occurred. When Özal came to power, some of those came and took back their property thanks to a decree issued. Many of them had

²⁰¹ Feridun D., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

²⁰² Ibid.

died, of course. The buildings of those, who did not come back, have been transferred to the Milli Emlak...Of course, there are buildings like that in Cihangir...They have mostly been transferred to Milli Emlak and later it has put them on sale. This is the story.²⁰³

When I listened to Mr. Y. telling about some abandoned houses that had remained to Milli Emlak, the national real estate institute owned by the state, and that it had later put some of them up for sale or rented them, I recalled a visit of mine to such a building. During one of my visits to Cihangir this winter, I had spent some time in a café which was newly opened as I had heard at that time. The café was an old two-storey Rum house, which was rented from Milli Emlak. I was told in the café that the house had been abandoned and therefore decaying when they had signed the leaser, so they had renovated and upgraded the building and turned it into a café. Later on, when I made an interview with the owner of a coffeehouse next to that café, he, who was also a Cihangirli and had lived for years in the same apartment building, of which the ground floor was his coffeehouse, had told me:

Our next door neighbor was a Rum. When he died, his house was transferred to the state. It was in a very ruined condition. Later, a theater actor rented it from the Milli Emlak. In fact, a fashion designer wanted to rent it but it did not happen. Actually, we wanted to buy it but we could not.²⁰⁴

I also talked to Mr. Şakir P., who introduces himself as a Cihangirli for 55 years and as a real estate agent, about Cihangir's past. He had been a coiffeur in Cihangir and after spending many years as a coiffeur, he had decided to open a real estate agency. He narrates the process of 1964 deportation and tells about the deteriorating situation of the houses of the Rums after they left as follows:

In Cihangir, there were many Rums. I am telling of the period after 1965...We lived in such a period...There are only few remained today. They (Rums) were the locals of this place, the locals...İsmet İnönü sent the Greek nationals away...Many houses were rented at very cheap prices to anyone without

²⁰³ Yannis Y., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

²⁰⁴ Adil D., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

asking who they were...There was a house belonging to a highly respected person on Akarsu Street, it later became a brothel.²⁰⁵

The story told by Süheyla P., spouse of Şakir P., also reflects the Cihangir of the 1960 and the 1970s.

I settled in Cihangir in 1966. That period was so beautiful. Cihangir was so beautiful. Because Şakir Bey was coiffeur, almost all of our customers were Rum...However, after the Cyprus conflict, they all gradually left. We witnessed that at least two families were disappearing. They were selling their properties and departing...But we hear that no one is happy there. I mean they still miss Cihangir...They sold their properties and went. They sold them to Turks but privately. That is to say, they hid that they would go. Some settled in Australia and some in Germany but the majority went to Greece...Also, many Rums left after 1974. Because we were coiffeur, their departure was not told us. For example, I lived in Havyar Street. My neighbor, who was our customer...One morning, I saw a furniture mover and I told to myself that cargo would be carried to somewhere very far. She visited us on Friday and we wept together. We were very sad. They were very nice people. Latest news was that they had died in Greece. They were already three old people...Also, for example, there were many Rums from Imbros living in Cihangir. They all left. I was in Imbros last year and came across with a few of our old customers. They had their houses restored there and visit there once a year but as far as I know no one is happy outside. They miss Istanbul very much. Rums from Cihangir had settled in somewhere called Phalero in Greece.²⁰⁶

The Rums and the Turks, and, of course, other non-Muslim inhabitants of Cihangir used to live in harmony before the Events of 6-7 September in Istanbul, and in Cihangir as well. However, as with the decline of the cosmopolitan Istanbul, Cihangir also witnessed a considerable depopulation due to departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants, especially the Rums after two regrettable events against the non-Muslims of Istanbul: the Events of 6-7 September and the 1964 decree for the deportation of the Rums, with Greek citizenship, who were établis in the city.

Mihael Vassiliadis, however, said that he supposed but was not so sure that the decrease in the Rum population after the 6-7 September 1955 might not be felt so deeply in Cihangir in the late 1950s and in the early 1960s because the Rums, who

²⁰⁵ Şakir P., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, June 2006.

²⁰⁶ Süheyla P., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, June 2006.

lived in many other parts of Istanbul, feared to live in the peripheral neighborhoods anymore and a flow towards Beyoğlu began. He continued that some of these people had settled in some cheaper parts of Beyoğlu while many of those, who had already been living in Beyoğlu, had flocked to Cihangir because their social and economic levels were higher. Thus, he expressed, especially the areas which had a view of the sea in Cihangir, had become the settlement areas of the economically well-off Rums.²⁰⁷

Although the history of Cihangir from a perspective which focuses on its cosmopolitan but mostly Rum character and reconstructs its past by referring to the gradual departure of its non-Muslim but mostly Rum inhabitants due to effects of a series of events against the non-Muslims of Istanbul, which marked the Republican history of Turkey, has not been written so far, the stories, which were the testimonies of my informants and constituted oral histories, helped me to shape this thesis. The way many of my informants reconsidered their neighborhood's past was through referring to its cosmopolitan past with the dominance of the Rums and through narrating how that cosmopolitan fabric has faded away. Here is such a narration of the neighborhood's past by Feridun D.,

There were mostly the Rums in Cihangir. There were also Jews and Armenians among our friends in Cihangir but they were less in number. We had mostly Rum and Turk friends. But later, you know, the 6-7 September, more truly, I think first the Wealth Tax that was levied in 1943-44 and then the events on 6-7 September 1955 and in 1964 caused a change (in Cihangir) due to the gradual departure of specifically the Rum citizens, rather than Jews and Armenians, from Turkey by following their coreligionists, although they held Turkish citizenship...Specifically after 1964, in fact gradually after 1955, but after 1964, they left in rapid succession. I am saying it again; Cihangir has undergone a change specifically with the departure of the Rum citizens.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Mihael Vasiliadis, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. Apoyevmatini newspaper, Istanbul, Turkey.

²⁰⁸ Feridun D., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

As one of the remaining few Rums in Cihangir, Mr. Yannis Y. also expressed, Cihangir was almost a Rum neighborhood in the past. Of course, there were Turks, Jews and Armenians as well but mainly the Rums. “But later as time has passed, after the 6-7 September and as a result of 1964...we have reached to the present day. This, of course, has not occurred all at once,” he said.²⁰⁹

During the research conducted for this study on Cihangir, I met Dr. Yorgi Petridis, a leading figure in the Beyoğlu Rum community and the president of the Beyoğlu Rum Ortodoks Cemaati Kilise ve Mektepleri Vakfı, thanks to Mr. Mihael Vasiliadis, who helped me to meet him. Thanks to Mr. Petridis, I had the chance to reach what are called the *kalamazos*, the church records for the Greek speaking Orthodox community in Istanbul for the year 1968. A meticulous scanning of seven huge *kalamazos* together with Mr. Petridis has provided us the number of Greek speaking Orthodox inhabitants, who lived in Cihangir in 1968. For the aim of identifying specifically the number of Rum inhabitants, I selected certain streets that constitute exactly the neighborhood of Cihangir. Only Meşelik Street can be considered as a street very close to Cihangir but the others are exactly those forming the neighborhood. Thus, we identified a total of 1,840 Rum inhabitants living in Cihangir in 1968.²¹⁰

Accordingly, the distribution of the 1,840 Rums in streets of Cihangir was as follows: 112 Rum inhabitants in Akarsu Street, six Rum inhabitants in Altın Bilezik Street, two in Anahtar Street, 70 in Aslanyatağı Street, 65 in Bakraç Street, 273 in Cihangir Street, seven on Defterdar Yokuşu, 14 in Emanetçi Street, 127 in Güneşli Street, 108 in Havyar Street, six on Kazancı Yokuşu, 67 in Kumrulu Street, five in Kumrulu Yokuşu, 53 in Lenger Street, 20 in Liva Street, 53 in Matara Street, 37 in

²⁰⁹ Yannis Y., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

²¹⁰ 1968 Greek Orthodox Church records, the *kalamazos*, at the Beyoğlu Rum Ortodoks Cemaati Kilise ve Mektepleri Vakfı.

Meşelik Street, 111 in Oba Street, 332 in Sıraselviler Street, three in Soğancı Street, four in Somuncu Street, 79 in Sormagir Street, 78 in Susam Street, 91 in Şimşirci Street, one in Tavukuçmaz Street, two in Türkgücü Street, and 114 in Yeni Yuva Street.

Today the number of Christians in Cihangir Mahalle is only 342 and there are also only nine Jew inhabitants while the number of Muslims is 4,207.²¹¹ Although the muhtar of Cihangir Mahalle does not have any statistics about the ethnic division of Cihangir's non-Muslim inhabitants for any historical periods of the neighborhood and for today, the number 342 and the number nine, when compared to the number 1,840 in 1968, illustrates the radical decline in the number of Rum and other non-Muslim inhabitants of Cihangir. Also, as Mr. Petridis told me, the population of the Beyoğlu Rum Orthodox community was about 10,000 in the same period. Thus, Cihangir, with approximately 2,000 Rum Orthodox inhabitants alone had a significant place among all Rum neighborhoods of Beyoğlu in the given year.

Another way to compare cosmopolitan Cihangir of the 1950s and the 1960s with present day Cihangir, where only a small number of Rum ladies and gentlemen, who are over at least fifty, have remained is to look at the official telephone directories for Istanbul published in the years 1950 and 1966. As I have explained in the previous pages of this chapter, I selected five official telephone directories of Istanbul for different decades. The first one belonged to 1929 because it was the first official Istanbul telephone directory published. I later selected the other directories each for the following decades. I have already provided the outcomes of my analysis of the first three directories above and they pictured the multi-ethnic and multi-religious character of Cihangir. Finally, the two directories of the years 1950 and the

²¹¹ Nüfus İstatistiği (Population Statistics) for 1999-2006 obtained from Sündüs Ulaman, the local head of the Cihangir Mahalle.

1966 also helped me to display the cosmopolitan fabric in the neighborhood with its mostly Rum, and than Armenian, Jewish, Levantine, German, French, Turk, and other inhabitants just before the Events of 6-7 September 1955 and after the deportation in 1964.

The 1950 official Istanbul telephone directory includes a total of 451 addresses recorded in Cihangir.²¹² When they are examined, it is possible to see where, specifically on which streets and in which apartment buildings many Rum or other non-Muslim inhabitants, who have possibly left the country later, had lived.²¹³ How many of them are alive today? How many of them have remained in the neighborhood or how many of them have left Istanbul? Where do those alive, if any, live currently? We do not know. Is it possible to follow the vestiges of a genuinely local fabric of any place, any neighborhood after half a century? What I have tried to do was something on this path. I have tried to follow the traces of such a lost fabric and reach people, more truly the names, just the names, who were once the inhabitants of a unique neighborhood. People, whose centuries-old existence not only in any such neighborhoods but in entire Istanbul, have not been forming Istanbul's cosmopolitan atmosphere anymore. Not only Cihangir but many other neighborhoods have lost hundreds of thousands of their real old inhabitants.

The 1966 official telephone directory was also scanned by me to make a list of those, who lived in Cihangir in that year. I have identified a total of 653 names and addresses, all of them, as far as I have identified, are non-Turkish.²¹⁴ Even that number is almost twice the total number of Christians living in the neighborhood today. However, it should not be forgotten that telephone usage was at very low levels in Turkey before the 1980s. Thus, the inhabitants recorded in all five telephone

²¹² *İstanbul Telefon Rehberi*, 28inci Bası (Istanbul, T.C. P.T.T.İ.G.M, 1950).

²¹³ See Appendix E.

²¹⁴ *İstanbul Telefon Rehberi*, 1966.

directories selected for this thesis certainly do not represent the entire population in Cihangir but perhaps only a small part. No doubt, many other inhabitants of the neighborhood were not recorded in these telephone directories in the given years simply because they did not have telephones in their homes. The names and addresses recorded in Cihangir in 1966 telephone directory also show that the Rums were more in number in the neighborhood.²¹⁵ Again, many of the names in this directory, not only the Rums but also the others, might have left the country in the following years.²¹⁶

When I was examining the names in all these directories, I wanted to know the stories of each of them. Then, I tried to relate what I encountered in all these primary sources with other primary sources, the narratives, the stories I have been told by my informants in the neighborhood during my long visits to Cihangir. Hence, this study has emerged both as a collection of stories told by locals of a neighborhood today and as a map aiming to help to follow the vestiges of a lost time, spirit, and fabric on a multi-layered topography in a world city, Istanbul.

Déclassement in Cihangir: 1970s-1990s

In the 1950s, Turkey experienced a process of mass urbanization due to influx of rural populations to the cities. Cihangir also saw the impacts of this mass mobility. Turkish immigrants from Anatolia came and settled in Cihangir. Towards the end of the 1950s, Cihangir started to house low income groups, who worked in the

²¹⁵ See Appendix F.

²¹⁶ However, it is surprising and nice to see, while on a visit, some addresses, which one had already and only seen on a telephone directory page, still standing in Cihangir even after forty years. Among the names and addresses recorded in Cihangir in the 1966 Istanbul telephone directory, Alfred Paluka and Şerikleri Kol. Ş., a private company owned by Paluka, a German origin businessman, and his partners, still stands on Havyar Street in Cihangir today. I even wished to have an interview with its owners but unfortunately they were 'abroad'.

entertainment sector in Beyoğlu. The 1950s was a decade, during which masses emigrated from Anatolia into Istanbul, shaping the social, economic, cultural atmosphere as well as the physical structure of the city. Menderes, a populist politician, prime minister of Turkey between 1950 and 1960 was adored by these immigrants in Istanbul. Although not directly affected by Menderes's reconstruction of Istanbul and the project of creating a millionaire in each quarter, Cihangir also underwent some changes both demographically and physically. Apartment buildings specifically in the south of Cihangir were rebuilt by contractors from the Black Sea region of Anatolia. Almost all the buildings in the northern part of the neighborhood, however, were rebuilt.

Thus, the most dramatic changes in Cihangir in the 1950s were decrease in the number of its Rum inhabitants, the appearance of Turkish immigrants from Anatolia, changes in the physical structure together with the rise of prestigious apartment buildings, and rebuilding of already existing apartment buildings by Anatolian immigrants. As for the changes in Cihangir Giovanni Scognamillo says that, "after the Rums' forced departure in 1964 following the Events of 6-7 September, the characters of Beyoğlu and some certain semts including Cihangir and Tarlabası changed suddenly. We can even date it back to internal migration. Internal migrations have changed the identity of not only Beyoğlu but entire Istanbul."²¹⁷

"CIHANGIR- One of the distinguished quarters of the big city (Istanbul)...In our time, a considerable part of it has been filled by genuinely beautiful and big apartment buildings and it has evolved as a neighborhood, which the majority of its inhabitants are composed of well-off and even rich families."²¹⁸

²¹⁷ Giovanni Scognamillo, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

²¹⁸ Hikmet Şinasi Önel, "Cihangir," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7 (Istanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat Kolektif Şirketi, 1965), p.3564. (Quotation translated by Binnaz Tuğba Sasanlar).

The above description of Cihangir of the 1960s is quoted from the unfinished *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul Encyclopedia) prepared by historian novelist Reşat Ekrem Koçu. Although this excerpt describes a Cihangir, which is different from its status in the earlier decades both in terms of demography and physical structure, the encyclopedia, an important source on social life in Istanbul, continues to describe Cihangir by praising its unique location on the slope of a hill with a panoramic view of the mouth of the Bosphorus and Üsküdar, the neighborhood situated on the Asian shore of Istanbul. On the other side, it is noted in the encyclopedia that the population of Cihangir Mahalle, the main area that constitutes Cihangir neighborhood, was 12,000 in 1963.²¹⁹ There were 632 houses and apartment flats, 71 shops, a *masjid* (small mosque), a bank office, a bakery, a hotel, two inns, a drugstore, and a garage.²²⁰ Indeed, Koçu's encyclopedia and *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* prepared by The History Foundation of Turkey are two crucial sources, from which one can obtain limited but significant information about the history of Cihangir.²²¹

²¹⁹ Hakkı Göktürk, "Cihangir Mahallesi," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* vol. 7 (Istanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi Neşriyat ve Kolektif Şirketi, 1965), p.3568.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ The *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* by Reşad Ekrem Koçu includes some articles about Cihangir and interesting information regarding daily life in the neighborhood in the 1960s. For example a tiny article, which was written in 1963 and describes Cihangir Caddesi (Street), which is the central street of Cihangir *Mahallesi*, informs that there were mostly four-to-six-storey apartment buildings on the street. The article continues that there were a *kolaci* (an old type of Istanbul shop, in which clothes are starched and ironed), a cloth cleaning shop, a *bakkal* (grocery store)-there existed many grocery stores in old Cihangir like in many traditional neighborhoods of old Istanbul-a greengrocer, a shop selling beverages and tobacco, a car repair shop, and a children's playground. Koçu's encyclopedia also includes an article about a murder that happened in Cihangir in 1962 and that the press of the time shared a great deal. Although the article is simply about a murder in an apartment building, it is worth noticing it because of the clues it gives us about multi-ethnic character of Cihangir as well as its building stock. First of all, the incident occurred in an apartment building, which reflects the general resident type in Cihangir. More importantly, the people involved in the event were an Armenian young man and a French ambassador's daughter, who was also married to a non-Muslim businessman. The Armenian man and the elite non-Muslim couple were living in the same apartment building. Even this tiny example shows that Cihangir's inhabitants in the earlier decades (before the 1970s) were mostly the non-Muslims residing in apartment flats, which were characteristic residential units for upper-middle classes in Istanbul during the 1960s. Koçu also wrote about a quarrel of a married couple in Cihangir in the period of Atatürk. His encyclopedia informs us about the famous

Beginning from the second half of the 1960s, specifically after the Rums left, Cihangir's character changed. The 1970s were gloomy years for the neighborhood as they were of Istanbul and Turkey. The central business district shifted to Beşiktaş in Istanbul, causing Beyoğlu and its surrounding area lose its importance in the 1970s. The 1970s also saw the concentration of some sub-cultures in Cihangir. Groups of transvestites and transsexuals started to concentrate in Beyoğlu and especially in Cihangir. Streets like Ülker, Pürtelaş and Sormagir, were the sites of this concentration. Prostitution continued in brothels in some streets of the neighborhood. However, these marginal groups were subjected to social exclusion by other inhabitants of the neighborhood in daily life. Such groups were living in Cihangir until the second part of the 1990s. In one of his essays on flag and nationalism, Orhan Pamuk also gives an example of how nationalism was intertwined with a sort of social exclusion that marginal groups of Cihangir faced:

Until recently, there used to live transvestites in poor and bad apartments of a devious street in Cihangir, Istanbul. This year, the inhabitants of the mahalle started a fight against those transvestites, most of whom were earning their bread by prostitution, because of the crimes, violence and disquiet they brought to the street. Aiming to drive the transvestites out of the street with the support of traditional morals, the press, the public opinion, and the police, the inhabitants of the mahalle also used the Turkish flag as part of their fight; but, in a strange way. First, they took a decision among themselves that "those, who were against the transvestites, would hang Turkish flag to their windows." Thus, the street was decked with Turkish flags from end to end. For the inhabitants of the mahalle, these flags meant that "I don't want the transvestites." However, after the midnight, the flags were actually beginning to signify quite different meanings rather than those I used to know in my childhood. Mostly drunk men, who used to come to the mahalle in the late night hours, were trying to understand in which house there were prostitutes or not by looking at those flags.²²²

Despite many of my informants' stories narrating Cihangir's past as the good old days especially in the 1950s and in the 1960s by referring the neighborhood's

Cihangir dispensary, the Cihangir Primary School, the Cihangir Clinic, the Cihangir Mahalle, and the Cihangir Yokuşu (hill) in 1963.

²²² Orhan Pamuk, *Öteki Renkler* (The Other Colors) (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), p.267.

select cosmopolitan character, the period beginning from the 1970s and reaching until the second half of the 1990s, when it faced a *déclassement* with the departure of its non-Muslims as well as due to the influx of lower income groups, many of whom were immigrants from Anatolia, and due to overall corruption in Beyoğlu, was referred as one blackening the neighborhood's reputation. As part of neglected Beyoğlu, Cihangir was also home to lower income groups, who had to earn their lives as sex workers. As Scognamillo describes the 1970s in Cihangir,

A part of Cihangir, primarily the Kazancı Yokuşu, was not very elite in the 1970s. Strictly speaking, women were sold in taxis at the entry and exit of Cihangir Yokuşu. There were a couple of famous brothels in Cihangir...after İstiklal Street and Beyoğlu were subjected to a good cleaning; Cihangir was also cleaned as a result of this.²²³

During this period, well-known families moved to more upper-class districts of Istanbul like Ataköy or Levent. On the other side, phenomenon of immigration from rural areas to urban areas that started in the 1950s and gained momentum with the impact of populist policies continued in Cihangir in the 1970s, too. The situation of Cihangir during the 1970s and the 1980s was reflected in my other informants' narratives as well. As Mr. Vassiliadis said,

Cihangir gradually lost its former characteristics during the years, when decline in the neighborhood and departures continued rapidly following the events after the 1964 deportation. As far as I know, it became an area where, people who lived as a ghetto and whose sexual preferences were different...But these people were also expelled from there and later Cihangir reached its current situation. But even today, Cihangir is a *semte*, where the Rum community, that is to say those who have remained, like and prefer to settle. That's why the Rums, who have disappeared in some other places, can be seen in Cihangir, although they are very few.²²⁴

According to another narration of the *déclassement* in Cihangir by Feridun D.,

Cihangir was cosmopolitan. This is incontrovertible. The Rums, Armenians, Jews, and of course the Levantines. French and Germans, who were the

²²³ Giovanni Scognamillo, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

²²⁴ Mihael Vasiliadis, interview by author, tape recording, İstanbul, Turkey, February 2006. Apoyevmatini newspaper, Istanbul, Turkey.

officials at consulates and teachers in schools around...Levantine were Italian families, who were settled there...I envisage the period between those days of Cihangir and the 1990s as a period of breathing. What a select community it was in the 1950s with all its inhabitants...Then erosion occurred...After the 1970s...As for the reason of this erosion...All kinds of corruption reached to Cihangir. Those decent places suddenly turned into a mess...Because of some greedy real estate owners, quality level really decreased. The 1970s and the 1980s were such a period of nonsense.²²⁵

Also Yervant M., a Cihangirli for 46 years, described the period as follows,

When the German Hospital was transferred, the Germans left here as well. This is also significant. Not only the Rums or Armenians left. Majority of the Germans also left. After all, Cihangir became corrupt in the 1970s...Some families, thus, fled to Şişli, Topağacı, Levent, Ulus and Etiler because of the corruption here...Cihangir faced an erosion between the 1970 and 1980...Transfer of the German Hospital was also effective in this. The doctors and nurses there, they all left. I mean, let's say they were 100 people, that means 100 households...Similarly, the Italian Hospital...Again, Rums and Armenians left between the 1970 and 1980.²²⁶

During the 1980s, Cihangir continued to be a neighborhood of transvestites, transsexuals and lower income groups as well as Anatolian immigrants, specifically from Sivas and Kastamonu, who were ghettoized in the neighborhood. Briefly, Cihangir turned into a lower-class neighborhood, where marginal groups lived in the 1980s.

The only green site of the neighborhood, Cihangir Park was destroyed and a parking lot was built in its place in the 1980s.²²⁷ In addition to this, the Ege Aile Bahçesi, a public place which the students and the residents of the neighborhood used to go was turned into an open night club.²²⁸ These two developments were also the indicators of the corrosion of Cihangir by some groups, who sought profits from that green area, in the 1980s.

²²⁵ Feridun D., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

²²⁶ Yervant M., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

²²⁷ Üstdiken, p.430.

²²⁸ Ibid.

However, an important dimension was that marginal groups in Cihangir were subjected to social exclusion by other inhabitants of Cihangir. In 1996, for example, the police organized round ups to many houses in Ülker Street, where transvestites and transsexuals concentrated. The social exclusion continued in the name of “cleaning the neighborhood” and most of the transvestites, transsexuals, and other sex workers, who lived mainly in Pürtelaş and Başkurt streets, have been forced to leave the neighborhood towards the end of the 1990s.

The Lost Mahalle Spirit in Cihangir: A Mirror on the Minutiae of Everyday Life

In order to grasp the nature of a place, everyday life lived on that place is a perfect source. Regarding my research on Cihangir’s past, the stories I have listened from my informants prompted me to incorporate the details of past everyday life in Cihangir into this chapter. Cihangir’s past has always been reconsidered and reconstructed through references to everyday mahalle life in the narratives of my informants, who mostly idealized the 1950s and the 1960s of Cihangir as the good old days both because most of the time these decades naturally formed the earliest times that could be best recalled for them. An important aspect of almost all the narratives about the good old days in Cihangir was that they were recalled with nostalgia for a lost local daily life with intimate social relationships based on mutual respect and reciprocal activities. So, how was daily mahalle life in Cihangir in the past? How were the neighborly relations? Did street vendors of my childhood were more in number and a part of everyday life in Cihangir in the 1950s and the 1960s? Who were they? What about the other local artisans and shop owners? And how was

the quality of life in a past, when Istanbul, thus its neighborhoods, was still mixed ethnically and religiously?

“Neighborly relations were close but not overly intimate there was always a social distance kept in these relationships.”²²⁹ Thus spoke a middle-aged lady, who has been a Cihangirli almost for half a century.

On a gloomy March Saturday, I was rushing to Café Susam, which is a newly opened café placed at the intersection of Cihangir’s famous streets Susam, Yeni Yuva and Kumrulu. I would meet with a lady, who is a real Cihangirli, thanks to her daughter Sinem, who kindly accepted my request to have a talk on Cihangir with her and her mother. In Café Susam’s nostalgic atmosphere, Ms. Aysel Y., her daughter Sinem and I found ourselves sipping our Turkish coffees and got lost in minutiae of everyday life in Cihangir of the 1960s. Before starting, I had imagined that we would have a rather systematic interview shaped by my questions about some certain events like the Events of 6-7 September or deportation of Greeks from Istanbul and its effects in Cihangir but Ms. Y. was so much full of memories with hundreds of details about almost every aspect of daily life in Cihangir and began to tell all about them so beautifully that I was lost in stories she was telling, listening her with great appreciation, specifically about the daily mahalle life in Cihangir. All of a sudden, I found myself imagining the daily mahalle life in Cihangir as a set of ceremonial activities, that were sincere but equally in a respectful manner, making a social relationship chic.

Ms. Y. has been residing in the same apartment in Cihangir since she was nine. She is a descendent of a Cretan-origin family. She started telling about Cihangir’s status as a unique neighborhood in Istanbul. “Cihangir of our time was

²²⁹ Aysel Y., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, March 2006.
Komşuluk ilişkileri yakındı ama çok içli dışlı değildi; her zaman bir mesafe vardı.

composed of *münevver* (enlightened) families. There were mostly Rums but also Armenians as well as long-established Turkish families.”²³⁰ Her portrayal of Cihangir of the 1960s was so vivid. Her Cihangir was a neighborhood of Albanian greengrocers, Rum grocers, Bulgarian milkmen, butchers, bakers, mostly non-Muslim tradesmen, tailors, florists, and other artisans, which were all the components of a local life. During my research, I scanned the official telephone directory of Istanbul for the years 1960-61 at the Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Center. Accordingly, I identified four Rum and one Armenian groceries registered in the directory at addresses in Cihangir.²³¹ I also identified two laundries, which belonged to non-Muslim names in Cihangir in 1960-61.²³²

Neighborly relations were always in a respectful manner; visits were made after asking permission, and guests were welcomed in a ceremonial manner. “But daily conversations among women from window to window were also frequent. For example, neighbors used to start talk to each other if they were shopping from itinerant vegetable vendors called *zerzevatçı* by hanging down a basket from the window of an apartment,” Ms. Y. adds, pointing out an informal aspect of daily relations among neighbors. Being an everyday minutiae of the daily mahalle life, hanging down a basket from an apartment window to buy goods from either a street vendor or the local grocer, who was often a Rum, was a characteristic of past mahalle

²³⁰ Aysel Y., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, March 2006.

Bizim zamanımızda Cihangir’de münevver aileler otururdu. En çok Rumlar vardı. Ermeniler ve köklü Türk aileleri vardı.

²³¹ *İstanbul Telefon Rehberi* (Istanbul Telephone Directory), 1960-61. The names of these groceries and the streets, where their shops were located in Cihangir, were Spiro Çiğersizoğlu-Sormagir Street, Eprem Hindamyan-Sıraselviler Street, Dimitris Markis-Lenger Street, Eleni Mazaraki-Sıraselviler Street, and Amelia Todorovich-Karadut Street.

²³² These two laundries were registered in the Istanbul Telephone Directory 1960-61 next to the following names: Ekspres Viran Andoniadis ve Ort.-Oba Street, Cihangir and Siderakis Bird Kol. Ş., Akarsu Street, Cihangir.

life in Cihangir.²³³ As Orhan Pamuk also tells in his book of a collection of essays entitled *Öteki Renkler* (The Other Colors):

Cihangir was densely a Rum *mahalle* during the years that we used to live there, the name of our grocer was Ligor. Everyone used to call him as Ligor and hang down a basket tied to the end of a rope. And you used to utter loudly: “Half a kilo of white cheese, six eggs, and a loaf of bread.” He would weigh them all, put them in your basket; you would pull your basket up, and write them in your notebook²³⁴

As part of everyday life in Cihangir, where Muslims and non-Muslims used to live in harmony throughout the 1950s and the 1960s, the way neighborly relations took place on religious festivals were also symbols of this coexistence. “We used to visit our neighbors in the apartment building on special occasions like Easter and Muslim religious *bayrams* (holidays),” said Ms. Y., referring the quality of neighborly relations in Cihangir. İleri also describes daily life in Cihangir during his childhood with reference to neighborly relations on religious festivals. He portrays Cihangir of his childhood as a neighborhood, the fabric of which was spoilt much after the Events of 6-7 September:

Of course, it was a very different Cihangir than today’s Cihangir. When we look at Cihangir now, today’s Cihangir is a place, where mostly artists, writers and caricaturists, or those, who are interested in art, live; and is a little bit bohemian one. It was not like that in those years. Cihangir was a typical line of a middle-class world throughout those years. It was a quite mixed society because there were Rums, Armenians, White Russians, Jews, and Turks...Except the September 6-7 incidents, this coexistence had never been buffeted, at least in terms of mahalle customs and morals. That is to say, within that mahalle ethics, nobody had behaved offensively against each other’s religion or national characteristics. Only those Events of 6-7 September was a very aggressive and ugly event... For example, let’s say, when the Ramadan festival occurred in March or April... I remember a period when it occurred in March. The Easter came immediately after it and a little later the Passover of Jews came...When you look within the scale of my childhood, a *bayram* (religious feast) was ending and another one was beginning...The Rum madam living in the apartment across the street was a

²³³ Aysel Y., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, March 2006.

Ama karşılıklı pencere muhabbetleri de çoktu. Mesela sepetini sarkıtıp zerzevatçıdan alışveriş yaparken, karşı komşu da aynı şeyi yaptığı için, konuşulurdu karşılıklı.

²³⁴ Orhan Pamuk, *Öteki Renkler* (The Other Colors) (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), p.293. (Translation of the quote belongs to Binnaz Tuğba Sasanlar)

tailor. She would always visit us for greetings/congratulations on Ramadan and Sacrifice feasts. There was such a mutual respect, understanding and delicacy...²³⁵

He continues that religious feasts in Cihangir were also colorful days for children:

Istanbul had not lose its cosmopolitan (in its positive meaning) characteristics that much yet. For example, the Easter really...In all patisseries in Cihangir; no matter whether the owners of some these patisseries were Rums or Turks. For example, there was the Melek Patisserie on Siraselviler. Owners of it were Turk but when the Easter came, very colorful eggs, rabbits, chocolates...Both Turkish and Rum children used to have a chance to follow some of the delicacies of the two religions.²³⁶

Christmas celebrations, Easters, Passover of the Jews, Ramadan of Muslims...All these holidays were special occasions for neighbors in Cihangir. Every Easter, the Rums used to gather in the street, celebrate each other and together walk up to the church in Beyoğlu.

For Ms. Y., the minutiae of everyday life in Cihangir until the second half of the 1960s reflected the spirit of real Cihangir. By uttering the word “real,” she was referring a neighborhood, where non-Muslims and Muslims lived in harmony, social relations were defined by mutual respect, and authentic local life at the mahalle level was still preserved. Patterns of daily life, habits and tastes were different. As she told me, when one of their neighbors visited them, they would first serve to the guest a special kind of sweet called *çevirme*. *Çevirme*, either with vanilla or bergamot aroma, was mostly bought from Mr. Feridun D., the owner of the *Üç Yıldız* (Three Star), the eighty-year old candy shop in Pera. After the *çevirme* or *lahok*, which was served in silver colored sleeves and meant “welcome and take a breath,” it was Turkish coffee’s turn. The coffee was served on a silver tray, which a lacework is placed on. During the following hours, home-made cherry or cornelian cherry

²³⁵ Selim İleri, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 4 April 2006.

²³⁶ Ibid.

liqueurs were served with chocolate bought from *İnci* (Pearl), the historic patisserie, still run by a non-Muslim Istanbulian in Pera.

For Ms. Y., all these details of local everyday life including these almost ceremonial procedures of guest welcoming were part of a culture in the old days of Cihangir.

As Selim İleri expresses, with the departure of non-Muslims of Istanbul, rich food culture of the city has also been lost. There was an art of eating thanks to diversity of cuisine, which was a very significant characteristic of cosmopolitan Istanbul; however, following the departure of Rums and other non-Muslims, rich food culture of Istanbul represented both at the mahalle level and in many restaurants or patisseries run by Rums and other non-Muslims has faded away with the decline of cosmopolitan Istanbul since the late 1950s and the 1960s. For İleri, departure of Rums from Cihangir was an important example of the loss in food culture of the city:

This fabric in Cihangir was really a different environment. Specifically with the departure of the Rums, a very big characteristic of the city of Istanbul has faded away. What was it? It was especially a very good art of cuisine or art of eating. With their presence, it...That's to say, the way they used to serve, welcome the guest or the customer...All that included great manners. We were treated as if we were "lords". That atmosphere disappeared all of a sudden. Of course, reflections of it came until today since the 1950s. I have never thought this was something good for culture of Istanbul, that's to say the culture of the country since Istanbul is a big city, which in a way represents the whole country.²³⁷

As for the mahalle life and neighborly relations in Cihangir, İleri describes the second half of the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s as the following:

Neighborly relations in Cihangir were profoundly intensive. We used to have close relations that had almost turned into kinship with both the next-door neighbors and those, who lived in the opposite doors. Other than that, something that does not exist today was women's *kaful* (reception) days or guest days. Each lady used to have a certain day of the month...Women used to come together and they used to bring their kids as well, of course if they

²³⁷ Ibid.

were small enough....On the reception day of a woman, various food and drinks used to be served. Biscuits and special foods that were made at home...There were very chic patisseries like Savoy or Melek in the neighborhood but no matter how rich you were, you should not buy food from the patisserie on such occasions. They had to be prepared absolutely at home; this was a sign of delicacy, politeness. On the other side, there were evening visits. A part of them were after-dinner visits, especially on Friday or Saturday nights....Sometimes there were evening meetings with dinner. Neighbors, who were closer to each other, used to visit each other at their homes and eat dinner together. A dinner table used to be set, drinks, and the radio...Those years were the ones, when the radio was crucial. Some entertainment programs on the Istanbul radio used to be listened together....It was a plain life. That's is to say, there was a very different life style than today's wastage society- I should say not consumption but wastage- in either Cihangir or in another neighborhood of Istanbul at that time.²³⁸

Another symbol of the “good old days” in Cihangir was the Ege Bahçesi (garden), which was closed during the 1980s. Ms. Y. mentions how much she misses the days that going to Ege Bahçesi was a daily pattern in Cihangir, especially in the afternoons. Ege Bahçesi was an important symbol for my old Cihangirli informants in picturing Cihangir's past but only with its situation in the 1950s and even before because it began to lose its original character later, especially in the 1970s and the 1980s. Similarly, the Cihan Park, the present day Cihangir Park as a green area was a place, where children used to play games, a public space for the inhabitants of mahalle. As Feridun D. describes them,

I take for the Ege Bahçesi as belonging to the period before 1955. It was like the lung of Cihangir in those days, albeit Cihangir itself has always functioned as lung (He means the fresh air in the neighborhood). There were many vacant lots in Cihangir in our childhood. There were nettles near Cihan Park...The Cihan Park, where we used to play football until 1950, is now the Cihangir Park.²³⁹

Erol İ.'s memories of childhood in Cihangir also sounded like the lyrics of the same nostalgic melody:

Friendships of the Rum and Turk children were very good. There was Aleko, for example, son of the wine seller. They used to have a wine shop. They were very good friends. There were so many Rums. My present customers are

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Feridun D., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

also old Rum madams...We used to have a park in Cihangir. We used to play football when we were children. It has become the Cihangir Park now.²⁴⁰

The historic Roma Bahçesi, which people used to call the “fire place” once upon a time, also set the stage for daily local entertainment activities of the past. Just like Erol Bey pictured:

We used to call the place above the Tophane Museum as fire place; I mean the place of the Roma Bahçesi. *Cambazhane*, tightropes used to be set up there. Peg leg would come. Something like a circus would be set up. There were tightrope acrobats, variety shows...I do remember them from my childhood.²⁴¹

“Cihangir experienced the worst period throughout its history between 1965 and 1975,” she continued.²⁴² “Rums went and those from Rize, Erzincan and Sivas (Anatolian cities) parceled Cihangir.”²⁴³ The story of how old Cihangir was replaced by another one was again being told. Ms. Y. began talking how the Events of 6-7 September and the 1964 decree for deportation of Greeks affected Cihangir.

People sold their houses at giveaway prices and left. Besides, when İsmet İnönü expelled the Greeks, that time Cihangir was plundered. When the Rums left after 1964, many houses were blocked...people, who had come to Cihangir from Anatolia and been working as doorkeepers, saved their money and bought houses in Cihangir. Today, many real estate owners in Cihangir are those, who were doorkeepers in Cihangir once upon a time.²⁴⁴

In Café Susam, we did not understand how time had passed so quickly. While narrating the past local life in Cihangir, my informant was often referring to the quality of relations among the inhabitants of the neighborhood: “...at those times, there were good manners, decency and civility, they disappeared now...”²⁴⁵ For her, after 1965, with the departure of Cihangir’s non-Muslim inhabitants, aesthetic look

²⁴⁰ Erol İ., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Aysel Y., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, March 2006.

1965-1975 arası Cihangir en kötü dönemini yaşadı.

²⁴³ Aysel Y., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, March 2006. *Rumlar gitti, Rizeliler, Erzincanlılar, Sivahlılar parselledi Cihangiri.*

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid....görgü vardı, terbiye vardı...şimdi yok oldu...

of the neighborhood had also changed because the way its people dressed had changed: “After 1965, those wearing slippers invaded Cihangir.”²⁴⁶ “Clothing revolution in Cihangir!” ironically added Sinem, her daughter.²⁴⁷

During my ethnographic work, Ms. Melahat Ü., another informant of mine, a 70 year-old Cihangirli lady also misses the days during the 1950s and the 1960s in Cihangir. In line with what Ms. Y. pointed out, Ms. Ü. said real Cihangirlis were understood from their outward appearances, how they were dressed:

There were both old non-Muslim and Muslim Turkish *hanımefendis* (ladies) in Cihangir. That is to say old Istanbulian *hanımefendis*...when they went out and walked on the streets, the shoes of their spouses, the *beyefendis* (gentlemen) were very clean. We ladies were also wearing high-heeled shoes. The way people walked on the street showed they were real *beyefendis* and *hanımefendis*.²⁴⁸

Street vendors were a significant part of the daily life in Istanbul before the 1970s. They were even existent during the 1970s and the 1980s, but they were less in number and different from those of the 1950s and the 1960s. They used to appear on the streets of the mahalle everyday almost at the same hours and cry their own name such as “*Zerzevatçuu!*” or “*Kalaycı!* (Tinner)” or the name of what they were selling. Inhabitants of the *mahalle* used to know, which street vendor, either for example a vegetable vendor (*zerzevatçı*), a yoghurt seller (*yoğurtçu*) or a tinner (*kalaycı*) would pass through the street at what hour of the day, so they even used to guess the time thanks their regular passage at the same times everyday. Pamuk, who portraits the street vendors of Istanbul in his book *Öteki Renkler* (The Other Colors), also tells about a memory of his childhood in Cihangir in 1962:

²⁴⁶ Ibid. 65'ten sonra çarıkçılar bastı Cihangiri.

²⁴⁷ Cihangir'de kıyafet devrimi!

²⁴⁸ Melahat Ü., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

Cihangir'de hem gayrimüslim hem de Türk hanımefendiler vardı. Eski İstanbul hanımefendileri yani...dışarı sokağa çıktıklarında eşlerinin, yani beyefendilerin ayakkabıları gıcır gıcır olurdu. Biz kadınlar da 16 pont yüksek topuklu ayakkabı giyinirdik. İnsanların yürüyüşünden hanımefendi, beyefendi oldukları belli olurdu.

...We used to live in Cihangir, a semt, which was close to the center of Istanbul but away from the traffic noise, and it was the year 1962, when the city hubble bubble had not become so heavy. But...even a minute of ours was passing without being interrupted by the shout of a street vendor.²⁴⁹

In those decades, like also in the 1970s and partly in the 1980s, bulk buying were not existent, thus, inhabitants of a mahalle used to buy their foods daily either from local grocery stores (*bakkals*), the bakeries, the butchers, or the street vendors would bring what they needed to their door everyday.

In Cihangir today, almost all old Cihangirlis, whom I interviewed with, recall the street vendors of old Cihangir with nostalgia because these people were also a part of the fabric and the daily life in Cihangir.

Rum, Turk and Armenian children playing on the streets of Cihangir were also a part of daily mahalle life in the neighborhood in the 1950s and the 1960s. The neighborhood space was a common playground for them and their friendship was purged of any kind of animosities based on ethnic divergence. As for friendships among Rum and Turkish children, İleri tells a memory of him:

The friendship patterns among Turkish and Rum children before or after the September 6-7 were so much interesting. Yannis and his family were living in our next apartment building. Yannis's age was equal to mine. On the third floor of their apartment building-by the way, a White Russian lady was residing on the second floor-an old Rum madam was living...²⁵⁰

He continues that his friends and he, both Turkish and Rum children, used to go to the backyard of the apartment building, where that old Rum lady was residing, and start to make fun of her by saying inappropriate words loudly and annoying her in a childish way.

²⁴⁹ Pamuk, *Öteki Renkler*, p.301.

²⁵⁰ Selim İleri, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 4 April 2006.

Days of childhood in Cihangir made up some of my informants' best memories regarding Cihangir. Mr. D., who was born in Cihangir 72 years ago and has spent his entire life there, was saying:

As part of my childhood years, I recall Cihangir almost since the 1940 or 1942. Of course, in those days, neither traffic was as heavy as it is now nor people were as bad as they are now. We used to play on the street beginning from early ages, even while attending the first year of the primary school. Whenever we come home from the school, we used to throw our bags into the house at the door and go and play...together with all the children of the mahalle.²⁵¹

A New Type of Cosmopolitanism in Present Day Cihangir

One evening, at the sixty year old Savoy *Pastane* (Patisserie) in Cihangir, I was interviewing Şafak, 35, who is the son of the current owner (a Muslim Turk) of the patisserie and also a Cihangirli himself. Şafak's father has been the owner of Savoy for thirty years. The main points of our conversation were Cihangir both during Şafak's childhood and today and the story of Savoy, its place in Cihangir as an old patisserie, where once most of its customers were Greeks of Cihangir as well as other real old Cihangirlis and relations between the owner of the patisserie and his customers were beyond a simple customer-shop owner relation but more neighborly, even like kindred because neighborly ties were alive at those times. The first owner of the Savoy was a Greek and Savoy was his daughter's name. The second owner of it was a Jew. Şafak told me that his father is the third owner of the patisserie.

Although Şafak is a young Cihangirli and all he could remember is Cihangir of the 1980s, the stories he told me about both Cihangir and Savoy of his childhood reflected a kind of nostalgia. He said he was happy with the new Cihangir but still

²⁵¹ Feridun D., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

missing the old Cihangir: “When I go back to my childhood, I could remember the 1980s. What I recall very clearly and miss so much is that we used to play football with the friends on this street (Sıraselviler Street, the busiest one in Cihangir) on Sundays.”²⁵²

“Today Cihangir has become cosmopolitan,” said my informant Mr. Yannis Y., an old Cihangirli, of course an old Istanbulian Greek or Rum as he called himself so.²⁵³ What Mr. Y. told me was the other side of the story. What he pointed out was an indicator of the fact that there existed no single or unilateral history but histories of everyone, every group, every self. Thus, what prompted me to write about or to problematize Cihangir’s cosmopolitanism was first of all what I had listened from Mr. Y. and his friends, other real old Rum Cihangirlis. For them, today’s Cihangir was cosmopolitan, and of course today’s Istanbul as well. This was what confirmed my ideas about cosmopolitanism and the so-called cosmopolitan Cihangir of the past.

Cihangir today is a Muslim and Turkish neighborhood. Its already lost cosmopolitanism is now something tried to be revived but the result is a pseudo cosmopolitanism or an imagined one. However, there is a new type of cosmopolitanism in Cihangir today. As part of an Istanbul, which is between the global and the local, contemporary Cihangir is a place, where various groups of different origins, backgrounds, and cultures ghettoized. According to official population statistics, the population of Cihangir Mahalle is 4,557 today.²⁵⁴ However,

²⁵² Şafak T., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. *Çocukluğuma dödüğümde, 1980’leri hatırlayabiliyorum. Çok net hatırladığım ve çok özlediğim bir şey, biz arkadaşlarla bu caddenin üstünde futbol oynardık Pazar günleri.*

²⁵³ Yannis Y., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

Bugün Cihangir kozmopolit oldu.

²⁵⁴ Data taken from Sündüs Ulaman, current *muhtar* (the elected neighborhood administrator) of Cihangir

it was 5,509 in 1990 and 4,399 in 1997.²⁵⁵ Today, only 342 of the inhabitants of Cihangir Mahalle are Christians, only nine are Jewish, and 4,207 are Muslims. That is to say, only 7.50 percent of it is Christian while Jews constitute only 0.20 percent. On the other hand, Muslims constitute 92.30 percent.²⁵⁶ Women constitute the 50.12 percent of the neighborhood's population while men constitute the 49.88 percent. An important aspect of demographic statistics for present day Cihangir is that single people constitute 54 percent of the population. Although Cihangir used to be a neighborhood, where families in households were the basic units in the 1960s, 1970s, and even in the 1980s. Today's Cihangir in globalizing Istanbul; however, has turned into a place, where the family has disappeared and singles pursue different life styles. On the other side, only 37 percent of the inhabitants are university graduates. On the other hand, the population of Pürtelaş Mahalle, which is also a part of Cihangir as a semt, is 1800.²⁵⁷ However, again the majority of the inhabitants of this mahalle are Muslim and Turk. The same situation is valid for the Kılıç Ali Paşa Mahalle, whose population is around 8,000 and Firuzağa Mahalle, whose population was around 6,500.²⁵⁸ When I talked to the muhtar of Firuzağa Mahalle, he told me there were only few Rum, Armenian and Italian families left. He also said people from Eastern and Southeastern parts of Anatolia, especially from cities such as Siirt, Bitlis and Erzincan, constitute a great part of the population in the mahalle.

Hence, Cihangir's ethnic composition has witnessed significant shifts throughout its history. Due to departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants, specifically the Rums, and influx of new inhabitants from Anatolian cities, the neighborhood attained mostly a Muslim character. Due to departure of the Rums, Armenians, Jews,

²⁵⁵ Data taken from the director of Beyoğlu Nüfus Müdürlüğü (Beyoğlu Civil Registry Office).

²⁵⁶ Percentages are also given by the *muhtar* of Cihangir Mahalle.

²⁵⁷ Information by *muhtar* of the Cihangir Mahalle.

²⁵⁸ Information by muhtars of the Kılıç Ali Paşa and Firuzağa mahalles.

Levantines, and Germans, it became less ethnically heterogeneous, although a new type of cosmopolitanism replaced the former one with Turks, Kurds and other ethnic groups in the neighborhood. As it is understood from the words of Mr. Y., who said Cihangir has become cosmopolitan today, a new type of heterogeneity dominated on the neighborhood's space. Thus, what he referred to was the new economic, cultural, social, and ethnic heterogeneity, although not religious, in Cihangir. However, this heterogeneous fabric lacks many of its ethnic elements in Cihangir today. As old Cihangirli Mr. D. expressed,

There is a cosmopolitanism the percentage of which lacks in today's Cihangir. That is to say Turks are the majority. Still, there are officials working in consulates and foreign teachers. Again, people, who came to Turkey or to Istanbul from abroad to carry out commercial activities, fill the stage as people of Cihangir. If only it (Cihangir) were cosmopolitan. It might be said that Cihangir became cosmopolitan in terms of people, who flow there thanks to opening of modern businesses such as bars and cafés. But they are never the genuine locals of there... What we understand from the concept of cosmopolitan is discussable. I mean the context of life in those days, when people breathed the same atmosphere together, in a mixed way. Today, it has faded away. For example, in our Havyar Street, there are either three or five families, who have been living there for a long time and have survived until today like us.²⁵⁹

According to Scognamillo, who was born to an Italian-origin Levantine family in Pera, who has spent his entire life in Beyoğlu, and has been living in Cihangir only for nine years, Cihangir's cosmopolitanism today is a little bit questionable. Although he says that he did not have much relation with Cihangir in the past, he commented that as part of cosmopolitan Pera, Cihangir was also a cosmopolitan neighborhood but this cosmopolitanism has changed in time. For present day cosmopolitanism in Cihangir, he emphasized that if there is a cosmopolitan flavor in Cihangir today, it should be proved by statistical figures. "Cihangir Beautification Foundation should conduct a research on this issue. If such

²⁵⁹ Feridun D., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

figures do not exist, uttering cosmopolitanism (to the neighborhood) remains in the air. The local head can know these (figures),” he continued.²⁶⁰

A comparison between Cihangir’s cosmopolitanism in the past and in present was also made during our talk with writer Selim İleri on the neighborhood. According to İleri, the point is what we understood from the word cosmopolitan because it is an obscure word in our language. “A cosmopolitan environment is one, where various cultures co-exist and various mosaics emerge as well as one, which approaches to universal humanity. If we consider in this sense, old Cihangir was more cosmopolitan and meaningful place in positive sense,” he commented.²⁶¹

While by calling present day Cihangir as a cosmopolitan neighborhood, my Rum informant referred to its highly heterogeneous character and meant that the neighborhood has been inhabited by people who emigrated from Anatolia intensively since the 1970s, thus, lost its Rum character while also many of its Rum inhabitants migrated in great numbers abroad. While he finds current day Cihangir cosmopolitan, in fact, he referred another type of cosmopolitanism in the neighborhood today because as I stated elsewhere in this thesis Rums nearly constituted the majority of the population in Cihangir before the second half of the 1960s but later immigrants from various regions of Anatolia, such as from the Black Sea Region as well as the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, came and settled in the neighborhood changing its ethnic and religious composition. Mr. Y. has already described Cihangir of the past as a cosmopolitan neighborhood, where there were Rums, Armenians, Jews, Levantines, and Turks but to express it again, what he

²⁶⁰ Giovanni Scognamillo, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. Cihangir Güzelleştirme Derneği bunun araştırmasını yapmalı. Bu doneler yoksa kozmopolit demek havada kalır. Muhtar bilebilir bunları.

²⁶¹ Selim İleri, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 4 April 2006.

Kozmopolit kelimesinden ne anladığımıza bağlı. Kozmopolit bizde muğlak bir kelime. Kozmopolit değişik kültürlerin yan yana olduğu, değişik mozaiklerin ortaya çıktığı evrensel insanlığa yaklaşmakta olan bir ortam. Bu anlamda baktığımız vakit, eski Cihangir olumlu anlamda çok daha kozmopolit, çok daha anlamlı bir yerdi.

referred by saying Cihangir has become cosmopolitan today was in another sense. “In my opinion, if the current cosmopolitanism is civilization, I think it is not. I am 76 and I miss the fifty years ago. Write this like that. I miss that Istanbul, but today’s Istanbul has no relation to that Istanbul,” he stressed, thus, attaching a negative meaning to the so-called new type of cosmopolitanism in Cihangir today.²⁶²

Finally, as it is explored throughout this thesis, Cihangir was a cosmopolitan neighborhood as part of cosmopolitan Istanbul thanks to a co-existence of Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants for centuries, however, it has lost many of its ethnic elements due to a series of events against its non-Muslims that should be considered within the framework of Turkification process in Republican Turkey. In this sense, Cihangir also lost many of its Rum inhabitants as well as other ethnic groups in the 1940s, the 1950s, and especially the 1960s and after. However, this process also continued spontaneously with another one. In line with mass urbanization in Turkey that began in the 1950s, Istanbul was also saw flock of immigrants from different parts of Anatolia. As part of city’s heart Beyoğlu, Cihangir was also affected by this movement. Throughout the following decades, while on the one hand the Rums were disappearing in great numbers on the neighborhood space, many immigrants from other parts of Turkey were appearing as newcomers, especially in the 1970s and the 1980s. During my childhood in Cihangir, in the 1980s, I remember so many Turk, Arab, and Kurd families, who newly moved to the neighborhood. Thus, Cihangir entered to the 1990s with a new heterogeneous population but with its former original elements, mostly the Rums and other non-Muslims lacking. If we look at Cihangir today, it is possible to see a great cultural diversity. Although more than 90 percent of population is Muslim, there are various ethnic groups like Turks, Kurds,

²⁶² Yannis Y., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. *Bana göre bugün kozmopolit medeniyetse değil. Valla ben 76 yaşındayım. 50 sene öncesini özliyorum. Öyle yazarsın. O İstanbul’u özliyorum. Ama bugün o İstanbul’la alakası yok.*

Arabs, as well as the remaining few Rums, Armenians, Jews, Levantines, and other non-Muslims. Also, Cihangir is still a neighborhood, where expatriates mostly prefer to live in. Even due to the effects of economic globalization in Istanbul, I have been seeing people from countries like China, Taiwan or Thailand selling cheap manufactures on the streets of neighborhood. Another impression of mine is that the increasing number of Japanese expatriates in Cihangir. Thus, today's Cihangir is a highly heterogeneous place, if not religiously or ethnically, but culturally. Lastly, I would like to quote from a friend of mine, who is an Australian expatriate living in the neighborhood for six years: "I like how Cihangir is a little more cosmopolitan than many areas of Turkey; it has the old and new, and the best and the worst of Turkey."²⁶³

²⁶³ Deanne D., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

CHAPTER III
REDISCOVERING, REDEFINING AND REMAPPING CIHANGIR
AS A MAHALLE IN THE GLOBAL ERA

But whose city? I ask. And whose culture?

Sharon Zukin, 1995:47

Istanbul Globalizing?

At some level, however, the city remains “soft” and malleable, accommodating all the materially, culturally, and politically differentiated constituencies; tensions dissipate and interaction occurs. There is polarization of space but also co-habitation of heterogeneous populations. There is negotiation over cultural heritage, not outright war. Battles are waged, but compromises are also reached.²⁶⁴

Myriad brilliant examinations and elucidation have been proliferating on the subject of the city regarding the transformations it has gone through in the economic, social, political and cultural realms in the epoch we have entered, contemporary globalization. A part of the huge corpus of sociological literature and urban studies focuses on the material aspects of globalization, providing elaboration on and theorization of the formation of global cities within the current phase of global capitalism. Another part of the studies include accounts of global/ local encounters, cosmopolitanism, cultural fragmentation, identity politics, space, power, and consumption patterns.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Keyder, “The Setting” in *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, p. 26.

²⁶⁵ Since Friedman’s “world city hypothesis” (1986), global city analyses have gathered momentum. Castells (1996) and Sassen (1991, 1994, 1998) together with Abu-Lughod (1999) are some of the

My aim, however, in this chapter is not to introduce the above studies. Instead, I would like to present, discuss, and evaluate some of the theoretical analyses on Istanbul, a transforming city which was described as a Third World metropolis until the 1980s and has been the object of cliché definitions based on its position as a “bridge” uniting East/ West, Islam/Secularism and modern/traditional binaries. This section seeks to portray the vivid, humdrum experience of the city of Istanbul from the perspectives of the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres under the impact of globalization after the 1980s. As Keyder has indicated, unlike other global cities, Istanbul has always been a “world city.”²⁶⁶ From 330 AD, the year Constantine founded the Eastern Roman Empire, to 1924, when Ankara became the capital of the new Turkish Republic, Istanbul maintained its status as the imperial capital of two great empires: the Byzantine and the Ottoman. Thus, as a multi-ethnic and multi-religious capital, Istanbul has always been a cosmopolitan city.

During the nineteenth century, its cosmopolitanism was enhanced by its new role as a commercial center and a nodal point on the interception of trade networks. A historical and sociological analysis of nineteenth century globalization and the incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into this process reveal that in the second half of the nineteenth century Istanbul became a metropolis and a port city, functioning in a global role within the world system due mostly to its location at the intersection of two civilizations.²⁶⁷ The vibrant economic life found its reflections in the social and cultural life of the historical moment as well. Moreover, the architectural layout of the city around specific districts, such as Pera and Galata, symbolized the bourgeois

most influential scholars describing the characteristics of the networks of cities and their hierarchical connectedness on the global scale. On the other hand, Zukin (1996) and Öncü and Weyland (1997) are just some of the social scientists working in the cultural field among the scholarship on global/globalizing cities.

²⁶⁶ Keyder, “The Setting,” p. 3.

²⁶⁷ Ç. Keyder, E. Özveren and D. Quataert, *Doğu Akdeniz’de Liman Kentleri 1800-1914* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994).

accumulation and the plurality of styles as resonating with the historical context. The cosmopolitanism of the era, with reference to the *pittoresque* daily life experienced in the public space, specifically the cosmopolitan crowds in the market place (*çarşı*), were also narrated in accounts of Istanbul.²⁶⁸

This global role of Istanbul, however, was challenged with the formation of the nation-state, and the move of the capital of the new nation-state to Ankara in Central Anatolia. The marginalization of Istanbul by the Republican elite was due mostly to the perception of the process of Westernization/Modernization in Istanbul as experienced by the non-Muslim population of the Empire, not the local constituencies of the newly appearing nation.²⁶⁹ Thus, until the 1970s, when Istanbul's economic role was recognized again, the national developmentalist decades passed with an inward-looking, caustic mood, which neglected Istanbul.

Istanbul since the 1980s: The Impact of Economic Globalization

As stated above, although the notions of “global city” or “world city” have been discussed in the literature since the 1980s, Istanbul has always been a world city. However, the importance of the 1980s derives from the marking of the end of an era. On the global scale, the domination of nation-states over their own economies and populations has been dissolving since the 1980s, parallel to the rise of global cities in an era where these cities sustain the national economies rather than vice-versa. The terrain of the nation-state, of course, has not disappeared, but we have entered the epoch of globalization, accelerated by the internationalization of capital.

²⁶⁸For example, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, a crucial figure in Turkish literature, and a lover of Istanbul, describes the city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in his book *Beş Şehir* (Five Cities).

²⁶⁹ Keyder, “The Setting,” p. 10.

The so-called post-industrial, post-Fordist, post-modern era yielded the global logic of capitalism. This economic globalization has necessitated the inclusion of cities in the analysis of the current capitalist restructuring because cities have become the places where the duality of national-global takes place, at times the latter gaining power over the former. To use Sassen's terms, the global economy paved the way for "new geographies of centrality and marginality," which are the major international financial and business centers, such as New York, London, and Tokyo.²⁷⁰

When we shift the analytical axis to Istanbul, leaving the global panorama behind, what we observe is a cloudy atmosphere, in which the city has undergone great transformations through the impact of globalization. Related to Turkey's experiment of economic liberalization following the coup of 1980, specifically with Özal's export-oriented, outward-looking political economy, Istanbul once again attained its functional role deriving mostly from its location. In order to achieve structural adjustment, liberalization, and privatization, Turkey implemented policies recommended by the International Monetary Fund. All these efforts aimed at reducing the role of the state sector, and at placing the Turkish economy within global capitalism. This, of course, necessitated positioning Istanbul as a global city, which led to establishing regional projects in order to place Istanbul as a center in terms of international flows. During this phase, Istanbul, for the first time in Republican history, received a large amount of state funding.²⁷¹

Due to transformations deriving from both the impact of economic globalization and Turkey's political attitude inside, Istanbul has regained its regional role, which had been forgotten, as not only the key point for opening up the domestic

²⁷⁰ Saskia Sassen, "Whose City is it? Globalization and the Formation of New Claims" in *Globalization and Its Discontents*, Saskia Sassen (New York: The New Press, 1998).

²⁷¹ Ç. Keyder and A. Öncü, *Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities* (Istanbul: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 1993).

market in Turkey, but also to the large market that includes the Middle East, the Black Sea Region, the Caucasians and the Balkans. Relations with the Arab world developed in this period; hence, Istanbul became both a tourism and finance sector for Middle Easterners.

The economic transformation of the time occurred mostly in terms of the finance sector. As an outcome of the liberalization, numerous branch offices of foreign banks, leasing and insurance companies were opened. The rising headquarters of these new banks contributed to the emergence of Istanbul as an international finance sector.²⁷² In addition to these new international banks and trading companies, numerous luxurious, five-star hotels were opened.²⁷³ Next to office buildings and five-star hotels, there appeared shopping centers, restaurants and malls, world standard boutiques, satisfying the luxury consumption drives of the newly emerging global upper classes. In the case of exports, once again, Istanbul performed the primary role among the other cities of Turkey. During the 1980s, Istanbul's share in the GNP of Turkey was 23.30%.²⁷⁴

One crucial aspect of Istanbul's evolution is, as Keyder argues, that it cannot be understood merely from the perspective of global-city, nor can the transformations be grasped without reference to the global-city model.²⁷⁵ Although Istanbul does not function totally as a global city, still it is quite vigorous in terms of economic activities. In the economic sense, the answer lies in the intensification of an alternative pattern of transnational material flows. It is informal globalization that has taken place in the case of Istanbul, where illegal flows and illicit activities

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Keyder and Öncü give a list of the international banks opened in Istanbul during the 1980s as well as a list of luxurious and five-star hotels opened in the early 1990s.

²⁷⁴ Mustafa Sönmez, *İstanbul'un İki Yüzyü: 1980'den 2000'e Değişim* (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 1996). See Sönmez for statistical data especially on economic and demographic changes between 1980 and 2000 in Istanbul.

²⁷⁵ Keyder, "Synopsis," in *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, Çağlar Keyder (ed), (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999), pp.187-199.

constitute a major part in Turkey's exports and Istanbul's share in the national income. Thus, Istanbul has appeared as a major center amidst the flows of activities such as money laundering and the drug trade. On the other hand, the so-called suitcase trade with Russia and Eastern Europe has constituted much of the informal economic activity in Istanbul. In the case of a neighborhood, Laleli, for example, the shifts in the economic life have paved the way for a reinvention of the neighborhood as a regional market where this trade dominates as an informal economic activity.²⁷⁶ Istanbul's new role in the world economy was then shaped by these modes of international flows where the city reacted to them as an uncontrolled body growing amorphously in all directions independent from the national authority.

The Political Ethos of a Globalizing City

Although Istanbul has been experiencing the impact of globalization in terms of transnational flows of money, capital, people, ideas, signs and information, as Keyder argues, it is not becoming a *global city* as depicted in the global-city model.²⁷⁷ This is because of the political constraints jeopardizing the city's potential to function as a global city better integrated into the world system, hence, evenly affected by the economic globalization. During the 1980s the politics at the local level in Istanbul, with the municipality's efforts to market Istanbul as a global city, especially during the administration of Mayor Bedrettin Dalan, failed to reach this goal. Dalan, a liberal mayor who insisted on a private-entrepreneur-based reformation of Istanbul in order to properly market the city in the global arena, neglected the majority, who were newly arrived in the city. Their political will,

²⁷⁶ Keyder, "A Tale of Two Neighborhoods," pp.173-187.

²⁷⁷ Keyder, "Synopsis," p. 188.

which was shaped by the populist claims of Nurettin Sözen, who was to be the new mayor after Dalan, marked the new period after the municipal elections of 1989. During Sözen's tenure, populist policies constituted much of the local politics. The spread of shantytowns in all directions in Istanbul took place during this period. Istanbul remained passive in terms of the activities to market it as a global city.

With the 1994 elections, however, Tayyip Erdoğan from the Welfare Party became the new mayor of Istanbul, marking the beginning of a new mentality regarding the marketing of Istanbul as a global city. This new mentality sought to praise globalization, but in a rather different way, paving the way for alternative global city dreams of political Islam.²⁷⁸ This time, struggles emerged over which Istanbul to globalize. The struggles usually revolved around identity politics. As Bora indicates, whether the Istanbul of the Conqueror or else was to be accommodated in the global-city project went parallel with the polarization of cityscape, hence, brought to risks in terms of mass support. Therefore, as Keyder argues, Istanbul is not becoming a global city as in the model theorized after the 1980s because of “the continuation of populist politics and the reluctance to institute a liberal framework at the national level, and the lack of coherent and unifying entrepreneurial vision at the local level which limit its chances.”²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Tanıl Bora, “Istanbul of the Conqueror: The ‘Alternative Global City’ Dreams of Political Islam” in Çağlar Keyder (ed.) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, (Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), pp.47-58.

²⁷⁹ Keyder, “The Setting”, p. 23.

Changing Urban Form

Istanbul's evolution both in terms of population and housing patterns coincided with the beginning of the post-WWII era. Before that, or during the period following the First World War to 1945, the urban population had been stable. In the pre-war times, furthermore, Istanbul's urban fabric always presented sparseness when compared to the within-the-walls density of pre-modern European cities, and this was noted by many travelers.²⁸⁰

Istanbul's population growth dates back to the 1950s, when Turkey experienced the largest rate of urbanization in Republican history. In 1950, the population of Istanbul was over one million. It reached three million in 1970, four million in 1975, six million in 1985, and nine million in 1995. Today it is over twelve million. This explosion in population was due to mass immigration from the countryside. Thus, illegal squatter housing (*gecekondu*) emerged as the outcome of this new mass immigration. Uzun writes that "the first *gecekondu* settlements had sprung up by the end of the 1940s in Istanbul, alongside apartment houses of four to six stories, which were being built for the new rich- the city's bourgeois and technocrat class."²⁸¹ During the 1950s, 1960s, and the 1970s, *gecekondu* settlements continued to spread around the city, transforming Istanbul into an amorphous body writ large. In this early stage of Istanbul's evolution after the Second World War, the main pattern was the invasion of Istanbul by rural immigrants, increasing illegal housing first in the old urban core of the city, and later on its periphery. Istanbul gradually took on the appearance of a patch-work where in the wealthiest neighborhoods of the city *gecekondu* settlements were interspersed among the villas

²⁸⁰ Keyder, "The Housing Market from Informal to Global" in Çağlar Keyder (ed) *İstanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, (Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), pp.143-161.

²⁸¹ Uzun, p.78.

and luxurious flats, therefore, paving way to the coexistence of legal and illegal housing in Istanbul's urban geography.

In the 1960s and the 1970s, during the national development period based on import substitution, parallel with Istanbul's improvement in terms of increases in incomes, middle classes, due to the changes in the consumption patterns, began to take up residence in the legal areas of the city. Therefore, contrary to the heterogeneous fabric of the neighborhoods of the earlier stage where illegal and legal housing coexisted, more homogeneous neighborhoods emerged responding to middle-class demands. This newly emerged middle class habitation in itself presenting residential differentiation in Istanbul's urban ecology, however, was characterized by buildings of poor quality both in terms of construction materials and style.

After the 1980s, spatial organization and housing patterns in Istanbul were shaped by the impacts of globalization. Space was created this time through capitalist enterprise in housing according to the global logic of economic liberalism. Contrary to the *müteahhits* (contractors) of the 1960s and the 1970s, large construction firms performed as space creators. The most important development during the 1980s was the proliferation of real estate as the highest profit sector in Istanbul. Parallel with the internationalization of the economy in the era of global capitalism, Istanbul's urban geography began to be occupied by high office buildings, five-star hotels and shopping malls.

Middle-class residential patterns also became differentiated in this era. Due to the affects of globalization, the polarization of the middle-classes was an inescapable reality. Newly emerged professionals and businessmen with their new lifestyles affected by the global tendencies expressed new residential preferences. Thus, the

large construction companies responded to these newly emerged middle-class demands, and became involved in residential creation processes for them.

In the elite's case, also, the spatial distribution of the residences presented a versatile trend. In the 1960s and the 1970s, the elite of Istanbul had begun to escape from the complexities of the city center, moving to luxury apartments. From the mid-1980s onwards, however, as a bourgeois residence, the "villa," with large gardens surrounded by walls became widespread on the hills overlooking the Bosphorus.²⁸² An example of the occupation of the hills of the Bosphorous with such villas and sites was Arnavutköy, a neighborhood "discovered" by the yuppified professionals, bank vice-presidents or others of the upper class strata during the 1980s and the 1990s.²⁸³

On the other hand, the 1980s saw an increase in population density in the shantytowns leading to "peripheral slummification."²⁸⁴ Different from the immigrants of the 1960s and the 1970s, the newcomers in the 1980s and the 1990s from Anatolia were driven out of their own habitats by economic and political crises, especially the war in eastern and southeastern Anatolia. For those immigrants, the only possible alternative was to find a place to survive in the city in minimum conditions, albeit, receiving physical assistance through any networks. The only solution for them was to settle in the poorest shantytowns, which gradually led to increases in the density of these areas. The excessive growth of Istanbul as Turkey's most important metropolitan center from the 1980s to the present, therefore, coincided with the emerging process of globalization. The changes in the economic realm have been reflected in the use of space. There have been struggles over the space both in the center and the peripheral areas. Suburbanization has taken place in

²⁸² See Keyder and Öncü, *Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities*.

²⁸³ Keyder, "A Tale of Two Neighborhoods," p.182.

²⁸⁴ Keyder, "The Housing Market from Informal to Global," pp.143-159.

diverse forms. The upper income groups have preferred to escape from the complexities of the city and moved to spatially separated, luxurious locations in the periphery or constructed “ghettos” themselves on the hills of the Bosphorus, while the middle classes also have chosen to live in the periphery, although their residential patterns have remained limited to cooperatives or mass housing. On the other hand, the *gecekondu* neighborhoods in the periphery have increased in density, while the old *gecekondu* neighborhoods in the inner city have been transformed into lower-middle class or middle class residential areas.²⁸⁵ An important aspect of the developments in the urban form and spatial organization in Istanbul after the 1980s has been the process called gentrification.²⁸⁶ In Istanbul, it usually has taken the form of the conquest of some lower class neighborhoods by the middle or upper classes.

As Uzun’s research results indicate, gentrification in Istanbul has focused on inner-city neighborhoods close to the city center. The gentrifiers are usually middle-aged, well-educated, nuclear families in professional, managerial, bureaucratic, or artistic occupations. In two case studies on Cihangir and Kuzguncuk, two old neighborhoods in Istanbul, Uzun emphasizes the emergence of a new life style and changes in the dwelling stock of the neighborhoods to some extent.

Aksoy and Robins, on the other hand, state that during the 1980s and the 1990s, the impact of globalization and the capitalistic development were reflected in the division of Istanbul’s urban geography in terms of functions.²⁸⁷ Thus, zoned areas for different functions began to characterize a divided city. Some areas became separated for working, some for shopping, yet others for living and entertainment. Aksoy and Robins add that the zoning of functions and activities was not only

²⁸⁵ Uzun, p.84.

²⁸⁶ Uzun writes that the term gentrification was originally used by Glass in 1964.

²⁸⁷ Ahu Aksoy and Kevin Robins, “Istanbul Between the Civilization and Discontent”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 10 (1994), pp.57-74.

economic in its nature, but had cultural implications as well. As the culture and identity of Istanbul were also transformed, a divided city was born.

We have entered into an epoch where various theories have been formulated on states carrying the prefix “post” (post-modernism, post-industrialism, and post-Fordism). However, keeping in mind Turkey has not participated in any of these processes in an equal way like some other parts of the world clarifies the uniqueness of the Turkish context. Thus, in Turkish social scientific analyses, there have emerged some critiques of modernity in Turkey. The eclectic patterns of the Turkish experience since the 1920s now can be observed in myriad forms of hybridities, social and cultural fragmentation and differentiation, especially in the era called globalization. Istanbul’s current picture is emblematic of this fragmentation and differentiation. After the 1980s, Istanbul left behind its status as that of a Third World metropolis, yet, at the same time, it was not fully a global city, and hence, it shifted between the global and the local. In the social and cultural realm, its cosmology has been shaped by dividedness on a multi-cultural, multi-layered urban fabric.

The unevenness of development appears to be reflected in cultural conflicts, but still there is coexistence among the constituencies, forming a pastiche. The disparities in income, lifestyles, tastes, and consumption patterns are both apparent, and separated, but at the same time intertwined like intercepting or nested circles. As Keyder depicts the quotidian in Istanbul:

In some neighborhoods residents wait in line to buy bread that is a few pennies cheaper; in others all the glitzy displays of wealth can be found. Luxury sedans proliferate while homeless children become more visible on the streets. There are sections of the city where a photographer could frame a crowd scene and pretend it to be from Kabul; others could stand in for any modern neighborhood from a European city.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁸ Keyder, “Synopsis,” p. 195.

The above picture is the outcome of inclusion into and exclusion from the flows of a global economic order. While a certain segment of the population has been incorporated into the dynamics of world economic order, others have been excluded with no benefit from the same dynamics. Hence, while on the one hand bankers, professionals, knowledge-workers and such have been defining and redefining new lifestyles for themselves with diverse consumption patterns and distinct tastes, the middle and lower segments of the urban mosaic have been left behind on their own capacity to move. However, each segment of the population has experienced mutations. The power of the global cycles is so big that even the middle classes have developed changing consumption patterns in their own way. Given the impacts of globalization, then, each segment of the population in Istanbul has experienced transformations in all dimensions. The social differentiation based on class behaviors has been shaping the consumption patterns as reflected in the daily habits of all the strata. At the cultural level, class cultures have been redefined through the medium of consumption patterns. Residential space also reflects the nature of social differentiation and cultural fragmentation. Given this panorama, Istanbul could be thought of not as a “dual city” but as a “divided city”.²⁸⁹

However, alongside the economic polarization and social and cultural differentiation and fragmentation, despite the conflicts deriving from encounters, still there is a coexistence and cohabitation of the heterogeneous parts, which is the most definitive characteristic of the quotidian in Istanbul. This aspect of the city, perhaps, is the one, which makes it unique.

²⁸⁹ Keyder, “The Setting,” p.25.

On the other hand, the definition of a genuine Istanbulian has also become complex in the global era. Öncü asks a striking question: Who is an Istanbulite? She, then, answers it: The true Istanbulite is a “myth.”²⁹⁰ In her definition of a myth she follows Barthes. Thus, her Istanbulite is a myth in the Barthian sense. It is impossible not to agree with this diagnosis. In fact, on the shifting grounds of belonging, being an Istanbulite in Istanbul has lost its connections with time and space. What we observe in Istanbul, the city of immigrants, is a cohabitation of heterogeneous populations. This heterogeneity brings with it the intermingling of diverse cultures. In a city of immigrants, a metropolis of fluctuating cultural boundaries, there seems to appear contrasts rather than uniformity. Yet Öncü’s interest in the phenomenon of an Istanbulite derives from the dynamics of the present. In other words, she focuses on the everyday existence shaped by various cultural flows from different parts of the world. Here, she touches upon the existence of glocalized icons, images, sounds and such intertwined in Istanbul.

Then, it becomes clear in the unique landscape of Istanbul after the 1980s that shifting patterns of cultural hierarchies alongside the signs and images each defining an identity are emblematic of the glocalization Robertson defines above. Amidst the fluctuating pluralities and shifting identities, the discursive construct of an Istanbulite, on the other hand, becomes something, acquiring meaning and content when travels across the boundaries of diverse *habituses*. Öncü grounds her discussion on an analysis of the processes of “othering” “that are hidden in the trivia of everyday life” and tries to reach “an exploration of how multiple and changing typifications of ‘others’ operate in different textual contexts.”²⁹¹ Through an analysis

²⁹⁰ Ayşe Öncü, “Istanbulites and Others: The Cultural Cosmology of Being Middle Class in the Era of Globalism”, in Çağlar Keyder (ed) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local* (Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1999), p. 95.

²⁹¹ Öncü, p.96.

of the cartoons of the moment depicting the parodies of refinement and distinction, and belonging and authenticity, she tries to show how the mythology of an Istanbulite is a discursive construct of something only “negates” and “excludes” in her terms, how it operates through the everyday practice of “othering” at the solid line drawn between being an Istanbulite and an immigrant. A crucial aspect of this process of “othering” is explored by Öncü as follows:

But a ‘middle-class way of life’ is not something solid and immutable; it is based on an elaborated system of distinctions and differences that have become increasingly subject to erosion in the era of globalizm. Hence, the construction of the immigrant as the absolute other in the neo-liberal ethos of Istanbul is part of an ongoing struggle to redefine the boundaries of middle sectors or classes.²⁹²

As understood from Öncü’s work, Istanbul’s current social-cultural map can only be interpreted with the awareness that its landscape is the arena on which cultural hierarchies fluctuate, the shifting boundaries between the middle-classes and the others or Istanbulites and the immigrants are drawn and redrawn with reference to typifications of the “other” in the everyday minutiae.

The Redefinition of the Local

Globalization has changed the political and cultural ethos in Istanbul since the 1980s. The local, or the real authentic, thus, has been redefined according to the global positioning of the city. In the light of this statement emerges the ongoing conflict over the ownership of the real authentic. In the case of Istanbul, this particularly has taken the form of conflict over the old quarters of the city. On this issue, Bartu asks who owns the old quarters. Her study describes the struggles over

²⁹² Ibid., p.98.

the unique historical district of Istanbul, Pera, and through her analysis, she clarifies how cultural heritage and preservation of it have become “contested domains through which the past, present, and future are (re) worked and (re) formulated.”²⁹³ For each group in their political thoughts shaped by their perception of the past, Beyoğlu/Pera has different connotations. Bartu continues that in the Islamist imagination, however, Pera, as the symbol of Westernizing lifestyles at the urban level is “the place where the old harmony was first corrupted.”²⁹⁴ After the elections of 1994, the proposal of mayor Erdoğan to build a mosque in Taksim Square located in Pera again reflected the disparities in the imagining of the city by different political groups. Thus, as Bartu states, “the struggle over Beyoğlu brings up the issues of ‘who we are/who we were’. What it means to be Turkish, European, ‘modern’; what becomes ‘local’ and ‘global’ are negotiated and contested around this built environment.”²⁹⁵

On the neighborhoods level, another crucial development in globalizing Istanbul is that some neighborhoods have been discovered and reinvented through the impact of globalization. Keyder’s analysis of the transformation of two neighborhoods of Istanbul reveals this fact. In the cases of Laleli and Arnavutköy, two old neighborhoods, each has been redefined and reshaped according to their characteristics and historical evolution. Whereas Laleli has become an informal market area, Arnavutköy has remained a residential area, but its so-called “discovery” as a real old Istanbul neighborhood itself is a phenomenon which can be understood with reference to the impacts of globalization on Istanbul, its urban ecology and urban fabric.

²⁹³ Ayfer Bartu, “Who Owns the Old Quarters? Rewriting Histories in a Global Era”, in Çağlar Keyder (ed) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local* (Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1999), p.43.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p.39.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p.43.

In this chapter, given the ethos of Istanbul after the 1980s, when the experiences of “contrasts” and “uniformity” on the edges of overlapping circles of the existence of diverse social groups have changed or given way to fluctuations of both “conflict” and “coexistence,” and genres of refinement, taste, and belonging have been defined and redefined, my discussion will be grounded on a “reading” of the traces of change in a neighborhood, Cihangir. Beginning with the 1950s, Cihangir, like any other part of Istanbul, began to be heavily populated by immigrants from Anatolia, but the turning point was 1980, when the impacts of globalization caused various changes in the city as a whole. However, my purpose in the case of Cihangir is to focus on the idea that a recent trend is appearing, which I believe crucial to recognize, that especially the last few years seem to show the flow of a culturally diverse strata to the neighborhood, one with more material and symbolic capital than those who emigrated from Anatolia during the 1970s and the 1980s. Therefore, I would like to shed light, given the changes in the post-modern era, on the newcomers’ lifestyle and how it affects the mahalle life in Cihangir. Beyond questions such as “Who are these newcomers?” and “How are they perceived by the old denizens?”, the multidimensional nature of the processes of acquiring a belonging to a specific space, hence, the making of “self” and the “other” on blurred grounds where the phenomenon of being a Cihangirli is shaped is what should be observed in Cihangir. Through their pseudo-discovery of a “genuine,” “old,” “Istanbul” neighborhood, Cihangir lies in front of the eyes of these newcomers as a place to seed and grow their existence, to give it a form, to present it to the stage on which the global transforms the local, giving birth to fragmentations of culture. This neighborhood has become, then, the proper space for these new, more “bohemian” gentrifier groups to acquire a sense of belonging, and hence to define

and redefine their existence. Also throughout the chapter, I shall try to follow the vestiges of the local in Cihangir as a “newly discovered neighborhood.” I shall also discuss the arguments of gentrification here and give a discussion of the patterns. Another aspect of my discussion is I argue that the neighborhood Cihangir itself has become a “commodity” in present-day Istanbul, the object of bizarre consumption behavior together with rapacious marketing drives.

Reinventing Cihangir in the Global Era

This section argues that Cihangir has been transforming since the late 1990s. Strictly speaking, the neighborhood has been rediscovered and undergoing a process of revival especially from the second half of the 1990s to the present. As I expressed in the previous chapter, two patterns shaped the destiny of Cihangir during the decades preceding the 1990s. First, Cihangir gradually lost its cosmopolitan spirit/atmosphere after departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants. Second, the Anatolian immigrants flocking to Istanbul came and settled in the neighborhood during the 1970s and the 1980s and *déclassement* occurred. On the other side, subcultures like transsexuals and transvestites concentrated in the neighborhood specifically during the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, a development that caused Cihangir to acquire a marginal character.

So what change or changes have occurred in Cihangir since the 1990s? What kind of a transformation has the neighborhood been undergoing during its revival process?

First of all, Cihangir’s destiny was again closely dependent on that of Beyoğlu’s during the 1990s. Here, a brief discussion about the remaking of Beyoğlu during the 1980s and the 1990s is necessary as two developments paved the way for

Cihangir's revival during the 1990s. First, İstiklal Caddesi was turned into a pedestrian artery in the early 1990s.²⁹⁶ Indeed, this was part of a larger project, which aimed to revitalize Beyoğlu through neoliberal policies in order to transform Istanbul into a metropolis and market it as a global city. The neoliberal revitalization projects of the mayor Dalan in the 1980s included opening up a boulevard parallel to İstiklal Caddesi. The attempt caused demolitions of blocks of historic buildings from the nineteenth century that represented the cosmopolitan past of Pera.²⁹⁷ The project aimed to revitalize Beyoğlu/Pera as a cultural and commercial center of Istanbul during the 1980s and the early 1990s. This urban renewal project was based on neoliberal drives to redefine the city as a metropolis and to market it to the world audience in the global era. In line with the rehabilitation of Beyoğlu, Cihangir also became an example of urban renewal. With the development of Beyoğlu as a central business district, new cultural groups or classes also started to appear in Cihangir.

The second turning point was the municipal elections of March 1994. The Islamist Refah (Welfare) Party won the election and struggles between the secularists and the Islamists over Beyoğlu became more apparent.²⁹⁸ Since Cihangir is a part of Beyoğlu, it was obviously affected by the struggles over the identity of the old district. Thus, connoting different things for the Welfare Party, the rehabilitation of Beyoğlu took a different turn. In the case of Cihangir, this resulted in the cleansing of the neighborhood of its subculture groups, meaning male homosexuals, transsexuals, transvestites and female sex workers. In addition to these marginal identities, drug dealers were also removed from Cihangir. In 1996, the police organized round ups in

²⁹⁶ The cosmopolitan, French speaking Grande Rue de Pera of the nineteenth century Istanbul was renamed as İstiklal (Independence) Avenue in 1927, which is an indicator of Turkification process of the urban space in Istanbul.

²⁹⁷ For further information on remaking of Pera in the 1980s, see Ayfer Bartu, "Who Owns the Old Quarters? Rewriting Histories in a Global Era," in Çağlar Keyder (ed), *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1999), pp.31-45.

²⁹⁸ See Bartu for an analysis of struggles over the ownership of Beyoğlu as represented in the discourses of both Islamists and secularists.

several houses in Ülker Street, where a considerable number of apartment houses were residents of transvestites. These subculture groups, who were mostly concentrated in Ülker, Pürtelaş and Sormagir Streets, left Cihangir also because of social pressure by other inhabitants of the neighborhood. They were subjected to degradation in everyday life as well. For instance, they faced restrictions and social pressure when they wanted to shop for groceries in Cihangir. Hence, the marginal identities of Cihangir disappeared during the 1990s and today only a small number of them reside in the neighborhood.

Cihangir's revival in the 1990s occurred in line with the above changes. Under the ethos of Istanbul in the so-called global era, Cihangir was rediscovered by some of the middle and upper middle classes. It has started to be praised for its local character as a mahalle. A local Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) was established and started to publish a local periodical. Transformation was also reflected in the physical structure of the neighborhood. Finally, being the subject of all these changes, Cihangir became a kind of fetish in the eyes of those who live there or desire to do so. Below, I will examine these changes in Cihangir. Related analyses on theoretical bases will appear in detail in the following chapters.

New Strata, New Lifestyles

Cihangir has been witnessing flow of new middle and upper middle classes thanks to its revival and popularization since the 1990s. With the revival of Beyoğlu as the central business district and the heart of culture and arts activities of Istanbul, Cihangir became an attractive neighborhood calling back its old inhabitants. Intellectuals and artists returning to Beyoğlu also have rediscovered Cihangir. Amid

the impacts of globalization in Istanbul at various levels, Cihangir has been welcoming a flow of culturally diverse strata, which have more symbolic capital than those who came from different parts of Anatolia and settled in the neighborhood during the earlier decades.

White-collar professionals, artists, writers, academics, intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals, journalists, caricaturists, they all have been forming the new demographic structure of Cihangir. They also have developed an interest in the historic apartment houses of the neighborhood and started the renovation of these buildings.

Another development has been the rediscovery of Cihangir by so-called bourgeois bohemians, or “bobos”, if we borrow from David Brooks.²⁹⁹ As Brooks wrote:

These are highly educated folk who have one foot in the bohemian world of creativity and another foot in the bourgeois realm of ambition and worldly success. The members of the new information elite are bourgeois bohemians. Or, to take the first to letters of each word, they are Bobos. These Bobos define our age. They are the new establishment. Their hybrid culture is the atmosphere we all breathe.³⁰⁰

Glossy magazines about Istanbul life have also started to talk about the bobos in Cihangir. One of these magazines, a weekly, for example, was describes the newly appearing bobos in Cihangir as the following³⁰¹:

Bourgeois Bohemians, or “bobos” as these thirty- and forty-something business-savvy and successful hipsters are affectionately known, are basically our new cosmopolitan elite, and despite the oxymoronic label, they're essentially bourgeois but ashamed of it. They still have high-powered, high-paying jobs, but they're also in tune with the world, with nature, with poverty and with different cultures. They have incorporated rebellious attitudes into their smug and safe urban lives. They generally live in places like Cihangir, sip on cafe lattes, go to concerts at Babylon, but only when they are not

²⁹⁹ David Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2000).

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.10-11.

³⁰¹ Attila Pelit, Zeynep Erkekli. “The Type Guide”, *Time Out*, 5 November 2001.

managing their advertising firm, their internet company, or making money off the stock market with their inheritance.

Bobos, who are described as the prominent figures and actors of gentrification in Cihangir, have developed an interest in the historic apartment buildings in the neighborhood. They have bought flats in historic apartment buildings and had them renovated.

Apart from bobos, some low income intellectuals and students, who also have rediscovered Cihangir, have moved into the apartment buildings where transsexuals and transvestites used to reside. Besides the above strata, one should also mention the expatriates who prefer to live in Cihangir. As explained in the first section, Cihangir has always been a neighborhood, where foreign nationals have lived. Both the neighborhood's location in the periphery of Beyoğlu and its cosmopolitan past renders it attractive in the eyes of expatriates. On the other hand, the penetration of foreign capital into Turkey as a result of the country's experience of economic liberalization since the 1980s led the officials of multinational corporations coming to Istanbul to prefer Cihangir as a neighborhood during its gentrification. Teachers temporarily coming to work in foreign schools or officials working in embassies and consulates in Beyoğlu have also been living in Cihangir. A friend of mine, who is an expatriate and has lived in Cihangir for the last six years, told me why she prefers to live in Cihangir and how she moved there:

My husband and I moved to Cihangir from Maçka because it was central to Taksim and we loved the area for the buildings, cafés and because of the foreigners, perhaps more “modern” in terms of the people living there. I have been living in Cihangir since 2000, but have recently moved to Beyoğlu, but still spend much time in Cihangir and have many friends living there. We have moved many times around Cihangir...in 6 years we lived in 6 houses. We preferred to live in the older style apartments, but they are often too expensive and usually have many problems, which don't appear until after you have moved in. The main reason we moved so much was simply

financial. As our circumstances changed, apartments became too expensive.³⁰²

She also had considerable information about Cihangir's Rum past. She told me one of her interesting experiences in the neighborhood related to it.

We lived for a time in and renovated an old three storey Rum house, which had been converted into a seven storey house. One day a man arrived outside and started taking photographs. We asked him what he was doing and he said that he was born in the house and later in the 1960s his family had been forced to move back. His mother had taken him back and his father was supposed to join them later, and he never did. It was a sad story. This man finally found his father and met him just a couple of times in his life, he now lives back in Greece, but has no contact with his ex-wife. He knocked on the door of our neighbors, who also lives in one of the old two storey houses in Firuzağa, but they weren't the original owners, and unfortunately couldn't help him to find the people he remember to be living there before. This man would have been in his late 50s early 60s and remembers living in the area before being forced to migrate as a child.³⁰³

Thus, the new folk of today's Cihangir were formed during the late 1990s and the early 2000s and the neighborhood still continues to be shaped. However, this new demography has brought new divisions on the neighborhood space. While bobos including rich Europeans who are mostly French and British, and other upper classes have concentrated in some certain streets of the neighborhood, for example, Cihangir Street and Susam Street, some other streets like Pürtelaş and Başkurt in the north of Cihangir remained relatively poor. Young people as well as the locals, who have not moved to other places due to the impacts of gentrification, constitute the inhabitants of these parts of the neighborhood.

With the flow of these new middling and upper strata in Cihangir, new lifestyles also have started to appear in the neighborhood space. On the other hand, there have always been relatively poor inhabitants of Cihangir. All these strata now

³⁰² Deanne D., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

³⁰³ Ibid.

shape the cosmology of Cihangir. Disparities in income, lifestyles, tastes, and consumption patterns are interrelated and separated like intercepting circles.

An aspect of the overall transformation of Cihangir is that new shops like gourmet shops, pet shops, antique shops, boutiques, wine shops and shops selling things like vegetarian food have emerged in the mahalle space of the neighborhood. These shops, serving the new lifestyles introduced to the neighborhood by its newcomers from the upper-middle strata, also reflect the changing tastes and patterns of consumption on the neighborhood space. For example, with the flow of culturally diverse strata with their pets to the neighborhood, some pet shops have also been opened in the neighborhood. A pet shop owner with whom I talked is Ayşe. She has been living in Cihangir for five years and she said she moved to the neighborhood because it was a more liberal one when compared to the others. “Many people living in Cihangir are single so the level of having pets is quite high, thus, the idea of managing a pet shop here seemed to me a logical and fun one” she explained her reason to open such a shop in the neighborhood.³⁰⁴ She added that the number of pet shops she knows in Cihangir is two while the grocers also sell goods for pets and there are four veterinarians in the neighborhood, all of which have been opened recently.³⁰⁵

Hence, by the end of 1990s, Cihangir became popular as a bohemian downtown neighborhood and entered the new millennium with its multi-cultural cosmology. The bohemian and the bourgeois were all mixed up in the neighborhood space, where hybrid social and cultural identities and lifestyles contributed to the uniqueness of the neighborhood.

³⁰⁴ Ayşe M., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. Cihangir de yasayan insanlar cogunlukla bekar kisiler olduklari icin evcil hayvan besleme orani cok yuksek, burada pet shop isletmek fikri keyifli ve mantikli gorundu bana.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

A Local Initiative: The Cihangir Beautification Foundation

The transformation of Cihangir is also being reflected in the social life in the neighborhood. The rediscovery and revival of Cihangir as a genuine old Istanbul neighborhood under the globalizing ethos of Istanbul during the 1990s also gave birth to a local consciousness among some professionals living in the neighborhood. In 1995, claiming the neighborhood they had been living in for years, they came together and formed a local organization, called *Cihangir Güzelleştirme Derneği* (Cihangir Beautification Foundation). Thus, Cihangir witnessed the formation of a unique type of local initiative that had never been seen in Turkey until that time. The aim of the foundation was beautifying, rehabilitating, reconstructing, and regenerating Cihangir. Celebrating its tenth anniversary in 2005, the Cihangir Beautification Foundation announced its goals as to cooperate with local administrations, public authorities and other NGOs, to form a pressure group in order to take part in the decision-making process for projects regarding Cihangir, to contribute to the production of solutions for issues related to the evolution of the neighborhood and affecting its fabric, environmental problems and the everyday lives of its inhabitants, to preserve its historic and unique architectural riches including Art Nouveau and Art Deco buildings, to protect and rehabilitate its already existing green areas, and to contribute to the development of urban consciousness and communication among its residents through organizing various social and cultural events, festivals, etc. The majority of the members of the Cihangir Beautification Foundation are architects and professionals.

The Cihangir Beautification Foundation is also in the list of NGOs that are affiliated with the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-

HABITAT).³⁰⁶ It has implemented several projects in Cihangir based on volunteer action since the date it was established. It has struggled against illegal construction activities as well as the improvement of green areas in the neighborhood. One of these projects was the revitalization of Cihangir Park, one of the limited green sites in the neighborhood. Cihangir Park had been exploited by some groups and turned into a parking lot by capitalistic drives in the 1980s. However, the Foundation took action in cooperation with the Beyoğlu Municipality in 1995 and re-constructed Cihangir Park as a green area. In 2005, the park was revised under the title of the “Cihangir Park Revision Project” with the help of some local associations and NGOs. The Foundation also prevented the illegal expansion of an old and distinguished hospital in the neighborhood. It filed a lawsuit against the senior officials of the hospital and created public reaction through the media. By these actions, the Cihangir Beautification Foundation stopped further demolition and illegal expansion of historical buildings on the hospital’s land.

Another achievement by the Foundation was to stop construction activity in front of the historical Cihangir Mosque in order to preserve the unique silhouette of Cihangir from the Marmara Sea and to prevent any damage to the foundation of the mosque. It also applied to the official authorities and filed lawsuits against the construction of base stations for cellular phones, which had negative effects on the health of Cihangir’s inhabitants.

In addition to organizing meetings to inform residents of the neighborhood, the Cihangir Beautification Foundation also has conducted studies in cooperation with local administrations on security measures against earthquakes after the great earthquake that hit the Marmara region in Turkey on 17 August 1999.

³⁰⁶ United Nations Human Settlements Program [online]: http://hq.unhabitat.org/ngo/profiles_accredited.asp?q=3 [11 January 2006].

Recently, the Foundation has been holding meetings with the public authorities to provide the rehabilitation of another green area within the borders of Cihangir. Its aim is to revitalize the Roma Bahçesi (Garden), as an archeological park that is open to public.

The above activities carried out by the Cihangir Beautification Foundation have contributed to the revitalization of Cihangir to a great extent. After its establishment, the renovation of historic buildings and rehabilitation of the neighborhood space have started to be undertaken in an organized way by professionals. As a local initiative, it has also played a considerable role in the development of a sense of belonging to Cihangir and a neighborhood consciousness among its residents. Briefly, the Cihangir Beautification Foundation had a significant impact on the regeneration of the neighborhood space and renovation of its building stock. It has also caused environmental concerns to increase among the inhabitants of Cihangir. By organizing social and cultural events like concerts, exhibitions, and festivals, it had worked to construct and reconstruct communication among residents of Cihangir. Emphasizing the importance of volunteer action and claiming the neighborhood, the Cihangir Beautification Foundation has come up with a discourse expressed in the following motto: Big deeds with little contributions.

This study observes the setting up of the Cihangir Beautification Foundation in Cihangir in the mid-1990s as an outcome of the rediscovery and redefinition of the local while the global is transforming it in Istanbul in the 1990s and 2000s. The Foundation was formed to “beautify” the neighborhood. Why did the neighborhood needed to be beautified? Or why has such a need been realized in the global era but not before? The point is that the neighborhood has began to undergo gentrification, which is a trend seen in many globalizing metropolises. Thus, it had been reinvented

as a local mahalle with a cosmopolitan past and historic building stock. Its recreation has been based on its idealized past paving the way for redefinitions of its present day imagined cosmopolitanism or cosmopolitanism of another type. Today, Cihangir is a place, the existence of which is partly based on its nostalgically envisaged past. Although this study perceives the appearance of the Cihangir Beautification Foundation itself as a pattern and a dynamic caused by the transforming effects of globalization in Istanbul, since globalization has led an articulation of the global and the local and a mutual transformation of each other by themselves, it also argues that such a Foundation has helped a sense of belonging to neighborhood increase in a different way while claiming the local character or the locality of it as a genuine Istanbul mahalle. Still though, it should not be forgotten that all these have ironically gone hand in hand with a transformation of this genuine mahalle and its local mahalle life thanks to the uneven effects of gentrification, which is shaped by the effects of globalization in Istanbul. Cihangir as a semt and its mahalle life have been partly commercialized and are being consumed day by day, which is a trend contradicting the essence of an authentic mahalle life. Have you ever seen a mahalle where time and space are being consumed and neighborly relations are eroding?

On the other hand, there are many members of the Foundation from different streets of Cihangir. These members include both new and old Cihangirlis. A distribution of these members in different streets is as the following: Sixteen in Sıraselviler, twenty-seven in Cihangir, twelve in Akarsu, four in Ağa Hamamı, four in Lenger, eighteen in Güneşli, eight in Yeni Yuva, eight in Akyol, eight in Altın Bilezik, eight in Özoğlu, eight in Defterdar, six in Oba, six in İlyas Çelebi, twenty-two in Susam, two in Bakraç, nine in Coşkun, one in Kamacı Usta, eight in Kumrulu, two in Şimşirci, one in Ateş, four in Batarya, four in Çukurcuma, four in Türkgücü,

one in Sormagir, four in Soğancı, one in Meşelik, one in Anahtar, one in Palaska, three in İstiklal, twelve in Başkurt, six in Cihangir Yokuşu, two in Pürtelaş, seven in Havyar, one in Ağa Külhan, one in Turnacıbaşı, one in Kazancı Yokuşu, one in Tüfekçi Salih, one in Emanetçi, two in Ali Kaptan, one in Fındıklı Yokuşu, and twelve members from the outside of Cihangir.³⁰⁷

A Local Newspaper: Cihangir Postası

In 2001, The Cihangir Beautification Foundation began to publish a local periodical, the *Cihangir Postası* (Cihangir Post). As a product of city culture, this local periodical, which is published once in every two months, is completely prepared and published by volunteers. Not because it is a local periodical but a volunteer publication, the *Cihangir Postası* faces some economic problems, such as not having enough money to hire reporters or graphic designers, the most important elements of a newspaper.

As a local periodical, the *Cihangir Postası* informs all about Cihangir and its problems. Mostly the inhabitants of Cihangir write for it. By enabling all inhabitants from all social classes to write articles, the *Cihangir Postası* also preserves its character as a local voice. For example, a professor and a housewife have equal rights to write for it. Shop-owners, housewives, students, and civil servants also contribute to it.³⁰⁸ As its editors say, although many of Cihangir's inhabitants are artists, writers, intellectuals and popular people, this is not directly reflected in the *Cihangir Postası*.³⁰⁹ In this way, the *Cihangir Postası* has created a common ground for the inhabitants of the neighborhood to express themselves. Thus, a sense of

³⁰⁷ *Cihangir Postası*, no. 28, March 2006.

³⁰⁸ *Hürriyet*, 25 January 2001.

³⁰⁹ *Milliyet*, 11 February 2001.

belonging to a certain neighborhood and claiming it has become common theme for all articles published in the *Cihangir Postası*. This may be seen equally in articles written either by an intellectual or a grocer.

Cihangir Postası can also be seen as an indicator of the increasing sense of belonging to the neighborhood in the global era. However, even the dynamics that have prompted such an increase should be analyzed sociologically. Why has the sense of belonging to Cihangir seemingly increased in the neighborhood? Why has it become so important to claim a mahalle in the global era? Does being a Cihangirli mean being a real Istanbulite? The most striking thing is that the increase in the sense of belonging to Cihangir and claiming the neighborhood as “our beautiful Cihangir” has occurred mostly in the newcomers of the neighborhood, which has already lost many of its former inhabitants. Thus, even this increasing sense of belonging to Cihangir is something invented, which I partly relate to the rediscovery of the neighborhood and gentrification of it.

Spatial Transformation

Cihangir, a wonderland of *cul-de-sacs*, steep steps, narrow streets with local grocers, pharmacies, patisseries and small shops of artisans, has also been changing spatially beginning from the early 1990s to the present.

The transformation in the landscape of Cihangir is obviously not unrelated or independent from Cihangir’s changing cosmology. The new middling and upper strata rediscovering the neighborhood also work to rehabilitate the apartment buildings in which they have started to reside. Especially the newcomers with high

incomes and bobos have developed an interest in historic apartment buildings with high ceilings and beautiful views of the sea. Thus, the renovation of old art nouveau and art deco apartment buildings has begun on an individual basis, in other words as a result of personal preferences.

The renovation process in Cihangir took a different turn with the establishment of the Cihangir Beautification Foundation in 1995. Restoration activities began to be held in a more organized way thanks to efforts by the Foundation. Meanwhile, Cihangir was declared a historical site, which is a protected area. Many of its historic buildings reflect the architectural style of the Republican Period. The arrival of foreigners to Cihangir also affected the renovation process of the building stock. Some of the apartment buildings overlooking the sea were demolished and replaced with quite luxurious ones in order to create residences for some upper class foreigners.

My friend Deanne, who is originally from Australia but has been living in Istanbul for eight years, the last six years of which in Cihangir, told me about her experience of residing in an old Cihangir apartment. She said: “I lived in one of the oldest apartments in Cihangir; Arbatlı Apt. We lived on the top floor of the old part of the building. It was partly renovated, and had a sea view from front and back. An attachment to the building was added during the 1960s. It is very plain but has high ceilings.”³¹⁰

However, an important fact is that some historic buildings in Cihangir also have been torn down or destroyed disobeying the law, which has described Cihangir as a historic area and taken it under protection. Thus, while many of the historic buildings have been renovated, some of them have been demolished in Cihangir in

³¹⁰ Deanne D., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

recent times. Another important issue is that, in many cases, even the renovation has taken place only for the facades of the houses or has not been faithful to the original historic character of them. Thus, an important number of the renovated buildings in Cihangir today are ones which have not been upgraded based on a professional restoration activity therefore lost many of their original historic architectural characteristics despite the fact that the neighborhood and its historic buildings are under protection by law. Deanne, as an expatriate in the neighborhood, expresses what she has witnessed in the neighborhood as well.

I like how many of the apartments are being constantly renovated, but I have also been saddened to wake up one day and find old buildings being pulled down. I ask myself how this can happen, but it is like no one cares. So while I think there is hope that buildings will be renovated, people can still get away with destroying the very thing that attracts people to the area.³¹¹

As a result of the great interest in Cihangir, a boom has occurred in real estate prices. Specifically, prices have jumped in the south of Cihangir since the Bobos moved to Cihangir. In line with this pattern, the number of real estate agents has increased in the neighborhood. Many houses are now being rented to foreigners or bobos in dollars.

The metamorphosis of Cihangir's spatial landscape naturally is not limited to the renovation of historic buildings. Arty cafes and plain coffeehouses have emerged almost in every corner of the neighborhood. While some, for example bobos, prefer to sip their café lattes in elegant cafes, others like to meet in one of the local coffeehouses and drink tea. Thus, cafes and coffeehouses in Cihangir have become the new booming trend. Indeed, the number of cafés has increased in Istanbul more than the number of coffeehouses. Frequenters of the chic cafés are not only the new inhabitants of Cihangir. Besides new professional middle class people from other

³¹¹ Ibid.

parts of the city, idlers, popular figures in the media, and young bohemians are also regular customers of these cafés, which have become more popular than those in Nisantası and Bebek, two upper class neighborhoods in the city. Again, popular actors and actresses as well as writers, who live both in Cihangir and other neighborhoods, frequent these cafes, making these places even more popular.

The daily magazines have also started to talk about Cihangir's cafes as a booming trend. One of them once wrote that beauty contests among cats, Go tournaments, brunches lasting for hours were activities that helped a local consciousness and a sense of belonging to Cihangir survive and that these activities were also the reason why these cafes were highly preferred.³¹²

Cihangir has also met with supermarkets as new sites of consumption that appeared in Istanbul after the 1980s. Cihangir's new inhabitants uttering the authenticity of the neighborhood while they praise it also shop from the newly opened supermarkets rather than local groceries, which are steadily disappearing. Besides these, film production companies, casting agencies and some restaurant-bars have increased in Cihangir, making it a commercial center as well. Hence, all these show that the space in Cihangir has been fragmented. On the one hand, there are a few local shops still trying to survive while, on the other hand, cafes, restaurants, bars, supermarkets, offices, and agencies all function as new consumption sites and nodal points of capital flows as well as flows of people and symbols in changing economy of Istanbul in the contemporary age of global capitalism.

³¹² *Sabah*, 22 May 2004.

Genesis of a Fetish: The Republic of Cihangir

The story of Cihangir is one beyond the limits of any ordinary urban tales. In the epoch of hegemonic and uneven globalization, what Cihangir, a neighborhood of a metropolis that is stuck in between the global and the local, has been experiencing or undergoing represents can either be the whole summary of the changes that the metropolis as a whole has been facing or only a tiny aspect of it. There are differing comments and interpretations on the issue but they will not be the subject matter of what will be argued below. Yet, it would not be sociologically inaccurate to assert that Cihangir has been revived, been revitalized, regenerated, rediscovered, and redefined in the contemporary era. Its aura has started to be felt again since the 1990s and the city of Istanbul has entered the new millennium with Cihangir as a fetish.

Cihangir has become popular or “in” or “hip” in the global age of rediscovering new lifestyles and new spaces. It has been resuscitated as a magnet. Going to an arty café or a “local” coffeehouse in this new bohemian downtown of the inner city has become the new mode of behavior. Not only Cihangir itself, but also its reception has become popular.

Cihangir has become so popular thanks to all its new demographic structure, renovated historic buildings, new arty cafes, local coffeehouses, cafe-bar-restaurants full of the nouveau riche frequenters, casting agencies, film production offices, festivals, cultural events, NGOs, and so on. Since bobos, artists, actors, actresses, directors, writers and all other popular identities have become the inhabitants of Cihangir, the media’s interest in the neighborhood is inevitable. Indeed, this is inevitable because many of those working in media have already moved to Cihangir. The popularity and popular reception of Cihangir have formed a cyclical

relationship. Newspaper articles praising Cihangir and columnists inevitably starting their sentences with “When I was in Cihangir...” are now everywhere.

The popularity of Cihangir has gradually turned into a fetishism and not Cihangir itself but those who create Cihangir for themselves separated the neighborhood and themselves from the “others.” These new inhabitants of Cihangir, the new identities of the popular culture, have created their new lifestyles and spaces within the framework of Cihangir. Not only they have differentiated themselves from the “others”, but also they have redefined their new cosmos. And they call it the “Republic of Cihangir.”

According to Murat Belge, the Republic of Cihangir is a discourse that reflects the recent increase in nationalist and fascist sentiments in a symbolic way.

As he explained,

In Turkey...there is a tendency towards some traditional identities. These can be those based on religion or nationality. Naturally in line with this, there are also things like intolerance and excluding others because they are different. It has already been difficult for people, who have a certain understanding of cosmopolitanism and a level of education and world view in line with it, to feel comfortable in traditional mahalles. Some metaphors like black Turk and white Turk just express this situation. The Republic of Cihangir is also a metaphoric place produced by them.³¹³

The so-called Republic of Cihangir is a genuine mahalle in their eyes. Indeed, it is pseudo emulation and an artificial search for the local. As a result of all this, a pseudo-consciousness has appeared, that is, since Cihangir is an old genuine Istanbul neighborhood, living there and claiming it has become a symbol of being an urban identity, even an Istanbulian.

Finally, the case of Cihangir has turned into a phenomenon. The Republic of Cihangir is something created because the neighborhood itself is recreated. In other words, or strictly speaking, a fetish has been created. And it all has happened not in a

³¹³ Murat Belge, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, July 2006.

half-forgotten past but just very recently, by the end of the 1990s and in the first half of the 2000s.

Gentrification Transforms Cihangir

Journalists, fashion designers, professors, writers, caricaturists, film makers, musicians, painters, Italians, Britons, Germans, and those former minorities although few in number...Cihangir, which has survived...still a 'mahalle as a true mahalle'. From its taxi driver to green grocer and grocer to coffeehouse owner, it is a quite different world in itself. And what's more are expressions like 'the Republic of Cihangir', which have recently appeared, and Cihangir, which becomes more and more popular with its new places. Whereas, if we go back to 10 or 15 years ago, not many more, Cihangir was not that much popular. The rents had not increased that much and 'being a Cihangirli' was not so much in fashion.³¹⁴

Cihangir, Galata, Asmalimescit, Balat...It is remarkable in recent times that the houses lined on both sides of the narrow streets of these historic neighborhoods have either been restored or wait to be restored. Those, who were afraid of stepping into these neighborhoods not much but fifteen years ago are now ready to pay quite high amounts of money to become real estate owners in these places.³¹⁵

If the above quotations, the first of which was taken from a glossy weekly and the latter from the supplementary of a popular daily newspaper, give you a sense of what has been going on in Cihangir nowadays, so welcome to our "global" and "gentrified" neighborhood! As I have explained in the previous section of this chapter, all the changes Cihangir has been undergoing since the second half of the 1990s at the earliest but mostly since the beginning of the 2000s have come to signify a single but multi-dimensional trend in some neighborhoods of globalizing Istanbul: Gentrification.

Below, I shall briefly introduce the existing but very limited literature on gentrification in Istanbul. Mainly two printed sources printed sources have helped me

³¹⁴ *Beton Bloklara İnat Mahalle Gibi Mahalle: Cihangir Cumhuriyeti*. Available [online]: http://www.tempodergisi.com.tr/life_style/01393/?printerfriendly=yes [16 June 2006].

³¹⁵ *Sabah*, 5 March 2006.

in understanding gentrification in Cihangir. Thus, it is obvious that the process is very new in Istanbul and therefore there is only a very limited literature on it.

Changes in residential patterns have always been a subject matter in theories of urban growth and change. Concepts like urban regeneration and urban revitalization as well as gentrification are all related with the trends and the dynamics of changes in urban areas. However, as Uzun wrote, until the 1970s, gentrification was not paid much attention to in studies of urban change but the issue became more remarkable in the 1970s and especially after the 1980s when the impacts of globalization began to transform metropolises.³¹⁶

As an Anglo-Saxon concept, gentrification generally refers to a process, during which middle and upper classes take up residence in the dilapidated historic residential areas of the inner-city, where low income groups live, and upgrade or renovate the building stock of these neighborhoods, thus, turning them into places available for their life standards.

As explained at the beginning of this chapter, Istanbul also has been undergoing changes due to the uneven impacts of economic globalization. An important aspect of these changes is that some neighborhoods have been reinvented thanks to their changing fabric, urban landscapes, and economic, social, and cultural ethos as shaped by their new inhabitants, who change their status. Thus, it is possible to observe gentrification as a process in metropolises, which are places going under transformations due to the effects of globalization, since the term signifies the flow of people, goods, symbols and ideas etc. As Uzun, who studied the process of gentrification in Kuzguncuk and Cihangir, two historic Istanbul neighborhoods, indicates, the process of gentrification in Istanbul, Turkey's metropolis, "is

³¹⁶ Uzun, p.43.

ultimately driven by globalization.”³¹⁷ According to her, who presents and discusses theories of urban growth and explanations of gentrification in advanced capitalist cities, many of the works in the literature on gentrification are limited to empirical studies of the areas selected for a study of gentrification therefore use statistical data and surveys. She continues,

There is little consensus on what exactly constitutes gentrification and what causes it. This is not surprising, in that gentrification is a global phenomenon that is strongly influenced by local contingencies. Therefore no single method has been embraced by the field as the best way to determine the presence of gentrification in a neighborhood. It is not possible to identify factors in gentrification that would be valid for all cases.³¹⁸

Thus, the process of gentrification in Cihangir has also characteristics peculiar to its own. Also, Uzun wrote that throughout the Republican history, no official statistical data were gathered at the neighborhood level except once in 1990, so it is difficult to conduct a study of gentrification in Istanbul by comparing different periods.³¹⁹ The first step for Uzun was to determine which neighborhoods of Istanbul were most likely to have experienced the process of gentrification. Through using the 1990 general census of population because only it provides a statistical data on neighborhoods and by following a methodology based on a chi square analysis, she identified Cihangir and Çukurcuma and Kuzguncuk and İcadiye as the four possible neighborhoods, where gentrification has occurred. The next step she took was to conduct a field survey. Interviews and questionnaires helped her to identify the characteristics of the process of gentrification in each neighborhoods selected for her study. An important issue Uzun pointed out was that although the head officers of the neighborhoods had records including information about all residents in their neighborhoods, they did not provide any such records which would

³¹⁷ Ibid., p.13.

³¹⁸ Ibid., p. 91.

³¹⁹ Ibid., p.92.

be useful for her study, thus, she had to obtain data regarding gentrification process in especially in Cihangir from the local NGOs.³²⁰ This was also a basic difficulty for me in finding out statistical information related to the former inhabitants of Cihangir, especially about the ethnic composition of the population in numbers for the decades like the 1950s and the 1960s. Specifically, my aim was to find out the Rum population in Cihangir in different historical periods to make a comparison between these periods, but no such records at the neighborhood level existed as the muhtar of Cihangir mahalle and the director of the Beyoğlu Civil Registry Office told me, leading me to conduct research on Istanbul telephone directories and other primary sources such as church records. However, although not for the earlier periods, the muhtar of Cihangir mahalle provided me some statistical data on the population of the mahalle regarding its present day situation but it only helped me to provide in this study limited information. As for the gentrification process in Cihangir, I also contacted people from the Cihangir Beautification Foundation, which is also a prominent actor in the overall process of gentrification in the neighborhood.

Again if we refer to Uzun's work, she wrote that she had selected 232 renovated apartment buildings with a total of 1614 units as a sample for her research on gentrification in Cihangir and its adjacent area Çukurcuma while she explained that according to a sample selected out of these renovated houses, only 42 questionnaires were conducted in Cihangir.³²¹ An important aspect of her study was that the questionnaires were completed only by house owners, who had been living in the neighborhood for less than 20 years. As a result of her study, the author argued that her study provided considerable information about gentrifies and showed that gentrification has really been occurring both in Cihangir and Kuzguncuk.

³²⁰ Ibid., p.97.

³²¹ Ibid.

Another significant information regarding Cihangir during the 1980 and the early 1990s as presented by Uzun that Cihangir's unique apartment buildings, which represent the architectural styles of the Republican period affected by art nouveau and art deco styles, were damaged during that period and this continued until these historic buildings were taken under protection in 1994.³²²

On the other hand, gentrification in Cihangir began among artists and intellectuals with nostalgia for its historic building stock and thanks to its proximity to the city center and wonderful views of the Bosphorus and today, the neighborhood cannot exceed its current physical borders because it is full in all its capacity.³²³

As another source on gentrification in Istanbul demonstrated, gentrification as a new trend has been occurring in some certain historic neighborhoods of Istanbul, namely Galata, Cihangir and Asmalımescit in Beyoğlu; Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy, and Ortaköy in Bosphorus; and Fener and Balat in Golden Horn, Haliç.³²⁴

The main characteristics of these neighborhoods are that they were formerly the neighborhoods where the non-Muslims of Istanbul mostly lived and became places where low income groups began to settle both due to the departure of non-Muslims of Istanbul and due to the impacts of mass immigrations from Anatolia to Istanbul. In the case of Cihangir, as this study has showed, it was formerly an ethnically mixed neighborhood, where non-Muslims and Muslims lived side by side, but where the Rums constituted a great part of the population. It is also possible to argue that the new inhabitants of these neighborhoods have preferred to live in these places with because they had cosmopolitan flavors as well as historic buildings stocks.

³²² Ibid., p.106.

³²³ Ibid., p.107.

³²⁴ David Behar and Tolga İslam (eds.), *İstanbul'da "Soyulaştırma:" Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri*, (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006).

As David Behar and Jean-François Pérouse noted, the concept of gentrification was initially uttered by Ruth Glass to refer to the attitude of British rural aristocracy of claiming the provinces in the late nineteenth century and later to describe the process of invasion of London's central working class neighborhoods by middle classes in the 1960s, thus, signifying an exclusion of lower income groups from historic residential areas.³²⁵ According to them, the term gentrification is also used in different meanings by different researchers; however, the mostly accepted definition reflect that the process has taken place in dilapidated areas, specifically historic parts of inner-city and therefore result in renovation of building stock in these places.³²⁶

The authors also formulate the main issues regarding gentrification in Istanbul around questions like whether any lines can be drawn between the process and localization of urban movements like the establishments of local NGOs in neighborhoods such as Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy and Cihangir; about who the actors who pioneered the process are; whether gentrification as an Anglo-Saxon concept can be applied to the processes, which have been taking place in some neighborhoods of Istanbul or whether it is possible to mention about “micro-gentrifications” that are applicable in some neighborhoods and are peculiar to Istanbul.³²⁷

Tolga İslam, who is also a prominent figure in the literature of gentrification in Istanbul, argues that the process has been experienced in Istanbul since the end of the 1970s; however, there are only few academic studies on the issue. According to him, Keyder's *A Tale of Two Neighborhoods*, where he examines the process of

³²⁵ David Behar and Jean-François Pérouse, “Giriş”, *İstanbul'da “Soylulaştırma:” Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p. 2.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid., pp. 3-7.

change in Arnavutköy, another Istanbul neighborhood, is a pioneer study related to the issue. According to İslam, the process of gentrification occurred in three waves in Istanbul. The first wave occurred in Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy and Ortaköy, the neighborhoods on the two sides of Bosphorus during the early 1980s, the second wave took place in Beyoğlu area, specifically the neighborhoods like Cihangir, Galata and Asmalımesit during the 1990s, and the third wave was observed in Fener and Balat on the Golden Horn during the 2000s.³²⁸ A significant argument made by İslam is that although the process of gentrification, which has been studied for the last thirty years in the Anglo-Saxon world, has been highly criticized by academic circles as well as NGOs there for it has caused exclusion of lower income groups from the gentrified areas and had negative impacts on them, such effects have not been observed or studied in Istanbul yet. Nevertheless, İslam expressed that academic circles in Turkey are also against the process.³²⁹

On the other hand, Nilgün Ergün discusses whether theories of gentrification in the Anglo-Saxon world could be applied to Istanbul.³³⁰ According to her, a process of gentrification has started to be observed since the 1980s in some historic but dilapidated Istanbul neighborhoods, where historic building stock with valuable architectural styles exist but a dilapidation had taken place between 1960 and 1980.³³¹

As this thesis has also presented, Cihangir witnessed a process of déclasserment specifically during the 1970s and the 1980s and even in the early 1990s. According to Ergün, among the examples of gentrification process in

³²⁸ Tolga İslam, “Birinci Bölüm’e Giriş,” in *İstanbul’da “Soylulaştırma:” Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p.11.

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

³³⁰ Nilgün Ergün, “Gentrification Kuramlarının İstanbul’a Uygulanabilirliği,” in *İstanbul’da “Soylulaştırma:” Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p. 21.

³³¹ Ibid., p.22.

Istanbul, the one in Cihangir dating back to the mid-1990s is most similar to the processes of gentrification defined in the international literature.³³² For her, the other neighborhoods have been undergoing slower processes of gentrification when compared to Cihangir. Among the advantages of Cihangir are that its building stock is relatively less dilapidated and it has physical proximity to the some university campuses.³³³

Again according to İslam, who situates the process of gentrification in Cihangir into the second wave of gentrification in Istanbul, residence-based gentrification is more common in Galata and Cihangir, although the two neighborhoods also show different characteristics.³³⁴ He wrote that gentrification in Cihangir has rapidly expanded especially after the mid-1990s and caused big and quick jumps in real estate prices in the neighborhood while turning it into an upper-middle class mahalle.³³⁵ As for the gentrifying forces in Cihangir, İslam argues that each gentrification wave in Istanbul has had different pushing forces behind and it was intensive cultural and entertainment activities in the case of Cihangir, which is an example of the second wave of gentrification in Istanbul due to İstiklal Street's opening to pedestrians, which paved the way for the revitalization of the historic center Beyoğlu/Pera.³³⁶

According to Nuran Yavuz, on the other hand, the difficulties in finding the correspondent of the concept of gentrification in the Turkish language and the introduction of various Turkish words by different writers to correspond to the concept reflect the fact that the process itself has not been internalized by academia

³³² Ibid., p.23.

³³³ Ibid., p.23.

³³⁴ Tolga İslam, "Merkezin Dışında: İstanbul'da Soylulaştırma," in *İstanbul'da "Soylulaştırma: Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p.54.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid., p. 58.

and researchers of the issue yet.³³⁷ She argues that while some upper-middle classes moved to new sites in the periphery of Istanbul to be far away from the chaos of the city since the 1980s, some other middle-class groups, who could not or did not want to move to the periphery, have had to chose what they were offered as an option; to settle in historic neighborhoods in Pera, Haliç and the Bosphorus, which were inhabited by Rums, Armenians, and Jews but had already been evacuated even forced to be evacuated.³³⁸

If we turn back to Uzun's study on Cihangir and Kuzguncuk, she first provides us with the dynamics of urban growth in Istanbul therefore situates a study of gentrification in the general framework of the impacts of globalization in this metropolis. Through conducted field surveys in two neighborhoods as well as in their adjacent areas, Çukurcuma near Cihangir and İcadiye near Kuzguncuk, she observed the different dynamics of the process of gentrification in these two neighborhoods. As she explains, the gentrification is a process which is a product of reconstruction of the inner-city.³³⁹ Both the neighborhoods she studied had been transformed by the changes in Istanbul caused by the influx of immigrants from the rural parts of the country. As this thesis has also presented in the previous chapter, Cihangir also witnessed a remarkable demographic shift beginning from the 1950s, and continued in the 1960s, and reached its peak in the 1970s and the 1980s causing *déclassement* in the neighborhood. During these years, the higher income groups of the neighborhood moved to other middle and upper class neighborhoods of the city. However, since the end of the 1990s young professionals and managerial groups, who are the new middle and upper middle strata of Istanbul under the effects of

³³⁷ Nuran Yavuz, "Gentrification Kavramını Türkçeleştirmekte Neden Zorlanıyoruz?", in *İstanbul'da "Soylulaştırma:" Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p. 59.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³³⁹ Uzun, p.18.

economic globalization, along with artists, writers and intellectuals began to move to Cihangir, which had already been turned into a lower income area. Uzun's work argues that gentrification in Cihangir was initiated by entrepreneurs therefore the building stock in the neighborhood was restored or upgraded while the old housing stock was preserved in Kuzguncuk, where a different type of gentrification occurred. The results of her study on Cihangir also showed that the impacts of economic and social changes in Istanbul were also visible in the neighborhood because of its physical proximity to Beyoğlu, the center of the city.³⁴⁰

According to Uzun, gentrification in Cihangir began as individual renovation activities by artists, writers and academics who began to move to the neighborhood in the 1990s. However, these individual activities became more organized with the establishment of the Cihangir Beautification Foundation in 1995.³⁴¹ The process of gentrification in its initial stage in Cihangir also caused social exclusion of sub-cultures living in some streets of the neighborhood. The transvestites in Ülker and Pürtelaş Streets were examples of such process. Uzun also wrote that entrepreneurs, who saw the increasing demand in the historic building stock in Cihangir, began to come to the neighborhood, thus facilitating the process of gentrification there. On the other hand, the results of her survey conducted in the neighborhood showed that the demographic profile selected as sample for the survey in Cihangir were urban-born nuclear families as well as single male and females while education level were at university level. In terms of economic level, the sample profile in Cihangir had relatively higher incomes. People with white-collar jobs are common in Cihangir.³⁴² On the other hand, she wrote,

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p.19.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 108.

³⁴² Ibid., p.160.

The entire neighborhood of Cihangir was included within the jurisdiction of a first-degree conservation zone in 1990. Prior to that year, the historic housing stock had been renewed or demolished freely. Regardless, construction continued after 1990, when the law came into effect, due to loopholes in the law that entrepreneurs were able to exploit. Nonetheless, the renovated structures had to bear the likeness of the previous historic buildings—at least on the façade. So the light-handed government intervention has given Cihangir's housing stock a rather eclectic appearance.³⁴³

Although the process of gentrification in Cihangir has already been analyzed in the two sources mentioned above, this study also reflects its author's efforts to obtain information about the process in the neighborhood through interviews with people who have provided their points of view regarding the process, and with old and new inhabitants of Cihangir about their observations, impressions and ideas about what has been going on in Cihangir recently. Thus, this chapter on Cihangir in the global era reflects both the already existing literature on gentrification in the neighborhood and reflects my own reading of the changes it has been undergoing.

As part of my research on the reinvention of Cihangir in globalizing Istanbul, I planned to hold an interview with Tülay Konur, the president of the Cihangir Beautification Foundation. However, although I had the chance to discuss my study with Ms. Konur and receive her kind comments and help, she has turned over her presidency to Selçuk Erdoğan. Thus, I conducted an interview with Selçuk Erdoğan, who is an architect and the current president of the Cihangir Beautification Foundation. Erdoğan and his office in Cihangir were also significant figures in the gentrification process in the neighborhood. They had moved to their office to Havyar Street in Cihangir in 2000. He explained that the reason they had preferred Cihangir was that they had already been in search for an architecture office in an area with historic fabric and they had wanted to move their office to Cihangir for many years. As three architects, they had planned to introduce their new office in Havyar

³⁴³ Ibid., p.161.

Street by developing a project for that street and presenting it to Cihangirlis. They had planned to conduct such a project for Cihangir because as he told me they had an understanding of social responsibility and wanted to produce solutions within this framework.

In line with this, we initiated a project for Havyar Street and its opening yards to the other streets. When we saw that we were not going to be able to reach a final point only by doing this, we contacted with the History Foundation and the Cihangir Beautification Foundation. We felt like we needed to conduct a study both on the social and structural fabric of the street. Thus, we began to collect information about who had lived on the street in the past periods.³⁴⁴

He continued saying that they had conducted interview with the inhabitants of Havyar Street within the framework of their project and obtained some historical information like Atatürk's aide had lived on that street at one time, the street had been the first asphalted street in Istanbul in the 1950s, the head cook of an Iraqi king had lived in one of the houses there, and a Rum lady had played her piano everyday at certain hours in the apartment building next to their office. According to the results of Havyar Street Project conducted in 2000 by Erdoğan, Seda Bildik and Zühre Sözeri, like all other apartment buildings in and around Cihangir, the apartment houses in Havyar Street were also possibly built by Italian and Rum constructors.

The three architects also had indicated that the inhabitants had felt unconfident, which was why they replied reluctantly to oral history interviews and participation was also at low levels. However, even the brief stories told by inhabitants of Havyar Street were fruitful to learn about the past fabric of that street. For example, an informant living in Ege Apartment had said that an Italian woman and her daughter had lived on the ground floor but later they had gone. The informant had added she/he did not know where the Italian lady and her daughter had gone but later her ashes had been brought back there, near her spouse.

³⁴⁴ Selçuk Erdoğan, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, July 2006.

A resident of another apartment building had said Atatürk's cavalry man had lived in the same building as well as a Rum lady and his son. Another resident in Mehmet Ali Bey apartment had said that the apartment building had been transferred in 1966 while another, who lived in another apartment building, had said their house had been constructed by his father in 1932. An informant from the Lena Apartment also had said that the owner of the building was registered as Irini Petridis, a Rum lady, in the title deeds records and some bills carrying that name were still being sent to that address. The same informant had also added the name of the apartment building was Lena but some people had later removed it on its door. According to the result of the survey conducted in Havyar Street, fifty percent of the inhabitants are the owners of the apartments they live in. An important finding of the survey is that only thirty-five percent of the current inhabitants of Havyar Street have been living on that street for more than ten years while thirty percent have been living there for three to ten years and the rest have been living there only for one to three years.

The president of the Cihangir Beautification Foundation continued that they had also wanted to develop a project regarding cleanliness, waste problems, sidewalks, and green areas of the street and therefore conducted an architectural project including Havyar Street and its opening yards to other streets. He expressed that they had wanted to announce their project to public after it was completed because their aim had been to become an example for any architecture offices like them or any other offices-like graphic design offices- and persons, to show that such offices should contribute to solution of local problems of the places they move to by having right to speak for local policies in these places.

The architecture office led by the three architects including Erdoğan in Cihangir is called the Projedesign. The office presented their completed project to the

inhabitants of Cihangir with an evening celebration open to Cihangirlis on Havyar Street. A significant aspect of the celebration was that the creators of the project had planned an open air presentation of their work in an atmosphere resembling the past religious holidays, specifically the Easters of Cihangir. Based on the stories they were told about how people celebrated with each other on such special occasions, Erdoğan and his colleagues wanted to organize an evening reflecting the atmosphere when Cihangirlis, non-Muslims and Muslims, used to walk down from the church together until Cihangir with candles in their hands.

When we reached to the point of presenting the project, some of the remaining Rums, who were still living in the street, cooked cakes, pastries...indeed, that later turned into a self-celebration of the street. After that, the mayor of Beyoğlu also claimed that project and tried to provide this project turn into one aiming to rehabilitate the streets of Cihangir by applying it to a larger scale of Cihangir. We shared this with the national press as much as possible...and while we were approaching the end of this process, we rehabilitated and painted all the ground floors of the apartment buildings in our street with our own financial resources. It was not a restoration process but we thought it could be a move triggering restoration...Later, we initiated a process...by saying the people in these apartments that now you can carry on this process. People have internalized that and for the first time the apartment buildings in Havyar Street became organized and people began to paint their buildings. This, of course, triggered some positive things. All the apartment buildings in Cihangir, which had been dilapidated for many years, were involved in a renovation process.³⁴⁵

However, although people painted their buildings, and cleanliness and traffic problems were solved to a certain extent and the streets began to have more green areas thanks to efforts of Cihangir's inhabitants, Erdoğan noted that because all these things continued without a certain process of planning and project in entire Cihangir, they resembled a little bit like a theatre setting. "That is to say, the buildings have not entered a genuine process of restoration; while the façade of a building was painted, its back front has remained in its state of fifty years ago," he

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

stressed.³⁴⁶ According to him, a consciousness of having their apartment buildings restored in a proper way without spoiling their original historic characteristics has not appeared among inhabitants of Cihangir yet. He also pointed out that municipal authorities should guide people in neighborhoods with historic urban fabric therefore prevent people painting the valuable historic buildings with any colors they wish.

Erdoğmuş also argued that Cihangir and other historic neighborhoods have been undergoing a rapid process of gentrification since the return of rich people from luxury gated communities on the periphery of Istanbul to the center in 2003 and 2004. As he explained, upper income groups in Istanbul had moved to luxury communities with villas on the periphery of Istanbul as a way of distancing themselves from lower income groups. These luxury sites like Bahçeşehir, Kemerburgaz and Acarlar were mostly in the suburbs of Istanbul. However, Erdoğmuş continued that those people with really very high economic capital began to return to historic city centers from the suburbs and they had begun to buy residences in neighborhoods like Cihangir, Nişantaşı and Topağacı in 2003 and 2004. Thus, the president of Cihangir Beautification Foundation argued that gentrification in Cihangir occurred in its full sense with the return of rich people from the suburbs to city center in 2003 and 2004.

When the Projedesign opened its office in Havyar Street of Cihangir in 2000, inhabitants of the street were not upper-middle income groups. According to the observations of Erdoğmuş, there were also more old Rum ladies living in the apartments in Havyar Street until 2003 and 2004. He notes that a certain level of urban transformation occurred in the street since the date they had come, but Cihangir was still a place to live because the rents were still at levels that could be

³⁴⁶ Ibid. *Yani yapılar gerçek anlamda bir restorasyon sürecine girmeyip yapının ön cephesi boyanıp arka cephesi hala 50 yıl önceki haliyle kaldı.*

met by middle class people. Until 2004, “Cihangir still had kept its synthesis in economic terms,” he said.³⁴⁷

But an incredibly intensive demand, which I cannot express with words, has begun as of 2004. I link this partly to the intensive process of production of television serials within the last two years. This production process increased economic levels of artists...and provided them to reach a higher economic level. There were foreigners, who have been living here for years, a segment, which is specifically composed of people working in consulates, and also minorities and artists, writers as well as people working in state theatre, who constituted the semt for years. However, for the last two years...due to the popularization process...artists, who have never lived here before, began to have an intensive demand to have residents here.³⁴⁸

According to Erdoğan, the remaining few Rums also left the neighborhood because they had difficulties in paying the increasing rents of the apartments since that process of intensive demand by artists and people from television, cinema, and media. As he told me, five Rum ladies, with whom he had exchanged greetings for years, had had to leave the neighborhood in 2004. There were also two Rums living across the office and two Rum households next to it until a year ago but they also had to leave the neighborhood. As he observed, there is only one Armenian family and a Rum lady who remained in Havyar Street as of 2006.

According to Murat Belge, who lived in Cihangir between 1995 and 2000, gentrification has not fully occurred in Cihangir yet but it seems like the neighborhood is on a path towards gentrification. Belge describes socially and culturally diverse strata in the neighborhood and expresses his ideas about the process of gentrification there as follows:

On the one side, the grocer was having a wedding so bringing drummers and shrill pipes while on the other side Cemil İpekçi (a respected fashion designer in Turkey) and some of my friends were living there. As I have said, the spectrum is quite broad. However, that type of people, whom we call as *dışlayıcı zengin*, excluding rich, did not like there...If a hors d'oeuvre called Gourmet has been opened and Esat, who later turned his supermarket into a wine store, then, it means there is a course towards gentrification. It has not

³⁴⁷ Ibid. *Ekonomik anlamda sentezini korumuştur Cihangir.*

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

completely taken place in Cihangir but it seems there is currently such a path.³⁴⁹

Belge also made a comparison between the processes of gentrification in London and France and in Istanbul. He noted that such a process has occurred in Hackney and Islington in London and it has covered a quite large area. However, he explains, the processes that have taken place in these cities do not exactly resemble the patterns of the so-called gentrification processes in Istanbul. For Belge, because the capital already has solved the problem of housing units in the Anglo-Saxon world, it is possible to see in cities like London, for example, a gentrified street could be covered with identical houses and then these houses could be sold to people. For example, in Hackney, he continued, someone with capital could buy a four-storey house, where four families live, and turn all the four floors into a single house of his own. Thus, instead of four families, only one person begins to reside there. This is followed by a pattern of flow to that street thanks to people who know each other and move near each other.³⁵⁰ Also, he pointed out that the classes involved in the process of gentrification in London or Paris are different from those involved in the process in Istanbul. Nevertheless, the processes have similar characteristics as well, he stressed.

Actually, this is something that happens in all cities. Some places sink while others rise. Mare in Paris, France...It can be a latest example of gentrification. But there, I mean in Mare, for example, many galleries have been opened...it occurred more through culture but for example in London's Maida Vale, which is called as a place forgotten by God, where colored people have densely settled...Today, the British equivalents of those we call yuppies have come and begun to buy real estates there.³⁵¹

He also gave an example of the gentrification process in Istanbul: "In fact, Nişantaşı also witnessed a descent for a moment but then rose again...Whenever the

³⁴⁹ Murat Belge, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, July 2006.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

process of gentrification in Istanbul is mentioned; the first place that comes to my mind is Nişantaşı because it has already reached its target. No more gentrification seems likely there.”³⁵²

Thus, while Erdoğan indicated that gentrification has taken place rapidly in Cihangir especially since 2003 and 2004, Belge noted the neighborhood still preserves its socially, economically, and culturally heterogeneous structure because the process of gentrification has not completely transformed it yet.

As for the actors of gentrification in Cihangir, Uzun argued that the process, although has no clear starting date, was stimulated by some artists’ moving to the neighborhood and upgrading the apartments they began to reside in. She wrote that there are two groups, who prefer Cihangir.³⁵³ The first group includes young urban professionals, writers, architects, artists, and academics, who prefer Cihangir for the architectural styles of the apartment buildings there as well as for the mahalle’s location near the city center and beautiful views. The second group includes entrepreneurs, who buy the houses there, renovate and sell or rent them.

According to Bali, Cihangir is one of the favorite neighborhoods of the new elite and the new intellectuals, who appeared with new life styles as part of social, economic, and cultural changes embracing Istanbul under the impacts of the globalization of economic capitalism. He describes the neighborhood as a place where journalists, artists and writers densely reside and even live as a closed community.³⁵⁴ Bali stresses that not only Cihangir but also Galata and Ortaköy have also become popular neighborhoods among the new upper-middle classes of

³⁵² Ibid. *Aslında Nişantaşı da bir ara düşüğe geçti ama sonra toparladı...İstanbul’da gentrification meselesi bahsedildiği zaman aklıma ilk gelen yer Nişantaşı çünkü tamamen hedefine ulaşmış durumda.Daha fazla olacağı yok.*

³⁵³ Nil Duruöz Uzun, “Cihangir ve Kuzguncuk’ta Sosyal ve Mekansal Yenilenme: Eski Kentte Yeni Konut Dokusu,” *İstanbul Dergisi* 35 (2000), p.57.

³⁵⁴ Rıfat Bali, *Tarz-ıHayat’tan Life Style’a* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p.140.

Istanbul. He maintains these places have become so popular because of a recent trend which romanticizes the “old Istanbul” and was stimulated by discourses of “cultural mosaic” and “tolerance.”³⁵⁵ These neighborhoods are attached those meanings today because the non-Muslims of Istanbul used to live there before.

For İslam, gentrifiers are not a homogenous group. In different stages of gentrification, different groups of gentrifiers appear. He mentions a group of “pioneers”, which he calls “cultural middle classes,” and indicates that these are the people who initiated the process.³⁵⁶ Other actors of the process of gentrification are bourgeois bohemians, NGOs, city planners, media, and entrepreneurs.³⁵⁷ Bali’s approach to the issue of gentrification and its actors; however, take the nostalgia for Pera into account as the primary factor. “Everything started with Beyoğlu or Pera, if we call it in its European name...Later, it continued with Ortaköy, Cihangir, Galata, Asmalımescit, Kuzguncuk, Balat, and Fener, ” he wrote.³⁵⁸

Another important diagnosis made by Bali is that it is not correct to describe the newly emerging upper-middle classes, who are the new inhabitants of neighborhoods like Cihangir and Galata as “bourgeois-bohemians” because he points that these people can be bourgeois but not certainly bohemian. My perspective is similar to that of Bali’s. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Cihangir has become a place where a group of people who are labeled as bobo or entel, which in fact means pseudo-intellectual, distance themselves from the other aggregates in Istanbul and have created places like Cihangir or Galata, where they pursue a community life culturally peculiar to themselves. Thus, although there are genuine

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ “Tartışmalar,” *İstanbul’da “Soylulaştırma:” Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p.163.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.169-203.

³⁵⁸ Rıfat Bali, “Sonuç”, in *İstanbul’da “Soylulaştırma:” Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p. 207. *Her şey önce Beyoğlu veya Frenkçe adıyla Pera ile başladı...Daha sonra Ortaköy, Cihangir, Galata, Asmalımescit, Kuzguncuk, Balat, Fener ile devam etti.*

intellectuals, academics, artists, writers, and bohemians in Cihangir, the neighborhood's new elites mostly appear to be pseudo intellectuals, popular names in television and media, young professionals, who are happy to be called bobos though it is debatable how much bohemian they are.

As for the popularity of Cihangir, Bali writes,

The reason why Cihangir among these new neighborhoods is so popular in the media is quite simple. A considerable number of young people, who have responsible positions in the media and broadcasting sectors, live in Cihangir and for these young people, Cihangir is the capital of the intellectual world. The presence of famous novelists, who also live in this neighborhood, also strengthen this status...It is also quite natural that these young people, who believe that they determine the agenda, always mention the neighborhood, where they live, in magazines or dailies they work for...³⁵⁹

The Neighborhood Consumed and Commercialized: Cihangir as Commodity

The nouveau rich spent their time for a “sophisticated” and “refined” “cultural activity” in the “arty”, “chic” and “hip” and of course “bohemian” cafés of Cihangir. Gentrification in Cihangir has paved the way for new patterns of consumption on a culturally fragmented neighborhood space. Cihangir as a neighborhood began to be consumed and commercialized thanks to changes it has witnessed within the framework of gentrification. The neighborhood itself has become a commodity satisfying the cultural and existential needs of newly emerging middle classes of the city. The cafés are the sites of this new type of consumption and the historic building stock is another site to be consumed. The rents, which have jumped to incredible amounts in the neighborhood and making it more and more desirable, introduce us to the new Cihangir the commodity. A commercial unit sells

³⁵⁹ Ibid., p.208

at \$900 per meter square on average while a residential unit sells at \$1200 per meter square on average in Cihangir.³⁶⁰ The popularity of Cihangir among people who work in media and especially in television and cinema is one of the main reasons why rents in Cihangir have jumped to such high levels. An aspect of this trend is that the rents are mostly in US dollars rather than Turkish lira. The prices for real estate in Cihangir also vary from a real estate agent to agent. As Şakir P., a real estate agent in Cihangir said,

Those who have caused the prices of Cihangir's houses to increase within the last five or six years are mostly people who newly emerged those who act in television serials...I cannot tell you any prices because, for example, if the price of a unit is 10 in my agency, it is 20 in another's. There are no flats for sale below 250-300 billion Turkish liras. Rents are in dollar exchange. A bizarre increase has occurred for the last ten years."³⁶¹

In addition to the "fantastic" prices paid to rent a flat, the increasing number of real estate agencies also tells much about the story of commoditization of Cihangir. During my visits to the neighborhood, I came across at least ten real estate agents only on the inner streets of Cihangir, which I had never seen during my childhood or teenage years in Cihangir. According to Selçuk Erdoğan, there is a supply-demand process in Cihangir in terms of the residential units thanks to the flow of artists, film directors and other figures in film making to the neighborhood. He said,

Due to this supply-demand process, of course, an irrational and illogical jump in the prices of real estates and rents has occurred...It is already impossible to find any empty residential unit. They should first be vacated then people can rent them. Cihangir is currently full in its all capacity. When a place is evacuated, it can be rented again on the following day or even on the same day. Also, when someone wants to sell a house, he/she could sell it immediately if he/she does not ask for such an astronomical price. That is to say, Cihangir has turned into an amazing magnet in terms of real estate. A very concrete example is that we used to be tenants in the street behind,

³⁶⁰ Evren Ozus and Vedia Dokmeci, "Effects of Revitalization in Historical City Center of Istanbul," *International Real Estate Review*, 8, no.1, (2005), pp. 144-159.

³⁶¹ Şakir P., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, June 2006.

Matara Street. We used to pay about 690 million Turkish liras for a flat consisting of a room and a living room when we moved to our own house after completion of its restoration. It was rented for 900 million on the same evening we evacuated the flat. I mean, currently, it is impossible to find out a very small place of 20-25 meter squares for rent below one billion Turkish liras.³⁶²

Cihangir's commercialization also occurred thanks to its numerous cafés scattered around its streets. Today, there are more than thirty cafés in Cihangir.³⁶³ When I still used to live in the neighborhood during the second part of the 1990s, none of these cafés existed. I only remember Kahvedan, which was opened in the late 1990s. Today, it is possible to see Akarsu Street as the one with the most cafés. Of course, the frequenters of these cafés vary in terms of their social, economic and cultural backgrounds. While on the one hand we have bohemian intellectuals, writers and artists, we have pseudo intellectuals, called the *entels*, and people who come from other parts of the city because they are attracted by the popularity of these cafés and Cihangir itself and going to these cafés has become fashionable. The daily newspapers have also begun to share a great deal to the popularity of Cihangir's cafés. As a popular daily wrote the rising trend in Istanbul recently is the cafés of Cihangir.

Cihangir, one of Istanbul's old neighborhoods, is one of the magnets of recent years with its changing look. Cafés opened in quick succession have now turned Cihangir into the meeting point of Istanbul...the neighborhood had been captured by a swirl of decline about thirty years ago...However, the popularity of the neighborhood, which has had a remarkable increasing trend for eight years, has reached its peak with sweet cafés that have been opened in quick succession recently. Neither Bebek nor Nişantaşı, Cihangir's cafés are popular now. People from the most favorite neighborhoods of Istanbul such as Etiler, Şişli and Kadıköy now flock to these attractive cafés thanks to their rich menus, reasonable prices, and comfortable atmosphere, which is away from the chaos of the city. There are also various activities in Cihangir's cafés preferred by many famous people from the world of cinema, theatre and literature. The cafés to help the mahalle consciousness to survive

³⁶² Selçuk Erdoğan, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, July 2006.

³⁶³ Information obtained from the Cihangir Beautification Foundation.

with beauty contests among cats, 'Go' tournaments, brunches lasting for hours are also preferred thanks to these characteristics of them.³⁶⁴

Sipping a drink in cafés like Smyrna, Porte or Leyla together with people, almost all of whom are famous, thus, is the recent trend in Cihangir. An informant of mine is Burçak, a young manager of another café in the neighborhood. She said they opened their café a year ago. She had no special reason to open the café especially in Cihangir, but if she had the chance to make a choice, she would again prefer Cihangir, as she told me. She describes her profile of customers as people who are over twenty-five and are generally scenarists, actors and actresses, writers, and graphic designers plus a considerable number of foreigners. She also emphasized that her customers were new, not former or older Cihangirlis and expressed that she already did not believe that the older Cihangirlis have got used to the newly emerging café environment in the neighborhood or wanted to be a part of it. As for the popularity of their café in newspapers etc., Burçak also said that many dailies have mentioned about them so far and their place has often been used as background for many television serials. For Burçak, who defines herself as a Cihangirli for only nine months, "Cihangir is really getting beautiful day by day and rid of its former dark look."³⁶⁵

An important aspect of the current situation of Cihangir with its numerous cafés is that it reflects the overall revitalization Beyoğlu. As Giovanni Scognamillo also said,

The cafés are not the case only for Cihangir. The transformation has occurred not only in Cihangir but in all of Beyoğlu. I cannot call Cihangir a special case. Cihangir is a part within the general transformation of Beyoğlu. There is no concept like a café which is peculiar to Cihangir. The point is not Leyla or Cihangir. If you opened Leyla in Tozkoparan, they would go there as well.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ *Sabah*, 22 May 2004.

³⁶⁵ Burçak Ü., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

Cihangir gerçekten gitgide güzelleşiyor ve eski karanlık görüntüsünden kurtuluyor.

³⁶⁶ Giovanni Scognamillo, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

On the other hand, Cihangir still has traditional coffeehouses, where males from lower income groups come together. Although there are only few, these places reflect the former social, economic and cultural level of Cihangir before its experience of rapid gentrification. As the owner of one such coffeehouse said,

Only men come to my coffeehouse. Most of them are of Anatolian origin. People from Sivas, Çorum, and Erzincan...I mean a mixed group. They are either door keepers or retirees of this job. Not many young people come here. Those who come are people from Cihangir and the surrounding streets. I would like to turn my coffeehouse into a café in time but it is a matter of having connections (networks) with some circles. Most of the cafés have been present in Cihangir since 2000. The new groups, who came here, are more cultured.³⁶⁷

Interestingly, one of such traditional coffeehouses in Cihangir, where mostly taxi drivers used to go, is now one of the most favorable and popular places in the neighborhood. The Firuzağa Kahvesi (coffeehouse), which is located near the Firuzağa Mosque, is one of the most crowded sites of daily gatherings of the new inhabitants of the neighborhood as well as of those who pay a visit to the neighborhood by traveling from other parts of the city just because they are attracted by the popularity of the place and want to be seen in the highly colorful space of the neighborhood and become a part of its so-called “bohemian” atmosphere. Yet more interestingly, those who drink tea, read their newspapers and books, and get engaged in conversations with their intellectual friends in the Firuzağa Kahve sit at the same time facing a stone on which the coffin is placed during funerals! It is so because the coffeehouse is located under the huge tree of the adjacent mosque. The stone belongs to the mosque and greets the new faces of the lately popular Firuzağa Kahve everyday on its place under the tree.

³⁶⁷ Adil D., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

So, Cihangir is such a place, where you can see such bizarre views like the snapshots of a camera photographing unique details of a locality on the multi-layered, multi-cultural, and fragmented city space. Not much but only five or six years ago, that small coffeehouse facing the coffin stone under the mosque's minaret was a place, I remember very clearly, where I used to see only some men drinking their teas and playing with cards. However, it has become a modest but very popular coffeehouse, where you can see almost all the casts of television serials as well as other famous names in addition to intellectuals today. The owner of the Firuzağa Kahve, who came to the neighborhood 35 years ago, told me both about his impressions of Cihangir during the early 1970s and the current popularity of his coffeehouse.

There were people who emigrated from Anatolia in Cihangir when I came here. There were also the Rums. I sometimes could not find anybody to speak because I did not know their (the Rums') language...Educated theatre and cinema actors and actresses come here even with their pets. There is vibrancy here for five years. Mostly young people come. There were not companies etc. in Cihangir before. Now there are companies. Those, who work there, come here. Those who work in the banks around, also come. There are also those who come from outside. Many of the customers are from the middle class...There were mostly the Rums in Cihangir. They used to gather on the streets of Easters, hug each other, and go to the church. These buildings you see all belonged to them. The Turks had no buildings...Today there are only a few Rums among my customers. Most of them are old. Cihangir has become cosmopolitan now...Our customers were mostly men from around, who were mostly Anatolian immigrants. We even could not take the money for out tea most of the time during that period.³⁶⁸

Cihangir's cafés are like ghettoized places for the intellectuals, artists, actors and actresses, young professionals, and some bohemians, who have discovered the neighborhood as a local, untouched mahalle in the middle of a chaotic metropolis, although I argue that the very being of those people have caused changes in the mahalle character of the neighborhood, turning it into a global and commercialized

³⁶⁸ Mehmet Ali O., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, June 2006.

mahalle. According to Yervant M., who has been a Cihangirli for 46 years and opened a café in the neighborhood five years ago, the cafés of Cihangir are not much visited by outsiders. He said,

There are many cafés in Cihangir but not many people come from outside. Mostly those who live in Cihangir come to these places. Cafés here are not like those in Beyoğlu. People from Çeliktepe or Gültepe (two gecekondu neighborhoods in Istanbul) do not come here. Only in the summers, number of those, who come from outside increases. Most of the customers are those who live in Cihangir but of course, those who settled in Cihangir recently. The average age in Cihangir today is very low. There were older people in the past, the average age of Cihangir's inhabitants were high. The young generations eat their dinner outside at least twice during the week.³⁶⁹

As a result, Cihangir has been commercialized with the opening of companies, most of which are in media and film making sector as well as advertisement and casting agencies, new bank offices, young professionals, who work in these places, increasing supermarkets showing the end of shopping from local *bakkals* (grocers), cafés and many other businesses thanks to its discovery and gentrification in globalizing Istanbul. Not only has the local mahalle life been transformed but also the landscape with historic building stock in Cihangir has become the subject of this new type of consumption of the neighborhood itself. Cihangir has also been partly purchased by a film director, who is also a big investor in cinema and television sector. Realistically speaking, a part of Cihangir is in the hands of Sinan Çetin today. He constantly buys buildings there. His own film studio is in the neighborhood. He also has a café there. In a sense, he has claimed Cihangir partly as an investment. Glossy magazines have even written sarcastically that the neighborhood would be called not Cihangir but 'Sinangir' from now on referring to the name of the film director. Finally, the most important of all, Cihangir has become a commodity, which has been marketed through pseudo idealizations of its past

³⁶⁹ Yervant M., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

cosmopolitanism by prompting a kind of nostalgia and romanticism for a lost past cosmopolitan life. Cihangir has been promoted over its dilapidated and evacuated building stock, where once upon a time belonged to the Rums and other non-Muslims, who have already left Istanbul and Turkey. If we borrow Keyder's term, Cihangir has been turned into a commodity also by some "nostalgia merchants."³⁷⁰

Narrations of a Globalizing Mahalle: How Cihangirlis Perceive the Change

Each Cihangirli, whether a newcomer or an old inhabitant, has a word to say about his or her changing neighborhood in the global era. The in-depth interviews I conducted for this study helped me see the nature of how Cihangir is perceived by its residents as a genuine mahalle. What meanings are ascribed to neighborhood space? In what ways has it come to be internalized as a fetish? How do residents of the neighborhood perceive each other? How do residents perceive the change in Cihangir? Why it has begun to be called the Republic of Cihangir?

First of all, I should say, although Cihangir has been discovered by some newly emerging upper-middle classes who have different tastes and see themselves as representatives of a new lifestyle with a touch of bohemian air and intellectual flavor, as a mahalle, a culturally refined but still locally authentic one, its local characteristics have been defined and redefined due to the articulation of the local and the global in Istanbul since the 1980s due to the uneven impacts of economic globalization. Indeed, Cihangir already had lost its original cosmopolitan mahalle character due to the departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants and began to be populated by culturally diverse lower income groups during the period of its

³⁷⁰ Keyder, "A Tale of Two Neighborhoods," p.183.

déclassement. However, what has been taking place in Cihangir since the beginning of the 2000s is a highly different process. The process of gentrification has been shaping the neighborhood through transforming its mahalle life as well. The neighborhood welcomes a new culturally and economically diverse strata, who see it as a genuine mahalle, but these strata also have paved the way for that so-called genuine mahalle to undergo a metamorphosis. Cihangir as a semt and its mahalle life are being commercialized, consumed, and fragmented. The neighborhood is still a culturally fragmented space because it is still home to a highly heterogeneous population in terms of their cultural and economic backgrounds and because gentrification has not come to its full fruition there yet. Thus, I argue, the mahalle life in Cihangir today only exist in discourse but partly in reality just as the neighborhood's cosmopolitanism. These two concepts, the mahalle life and local cosmopolitan atmosphere, are the ones praised by its new inhabitants with nostalgia for real Istanbul. However, in practice, neither the mahalle life not the cosmopolitanism of present day mahalle reflect the atmosphere those newcomers idealize.

An expatriate my friend Deanne described how she observes the current atmosphere of Cihangir as follows:

Because I have been living here for six years, of course, I see people on a day to day basis, and naturally after years of seeing people, or shopping in their bakkal etc, I say hello. But, I have never really made friends with neighbors, I have said hi to them if I have seen them, but never been to their homes. I have been invited many times, but it is usually the older people that invite me and I feel a bit shy about going and sitting in their homes. I know it is not very neighborly; I'm just a bit lazy. Nearly everyone I meet in Cihangir is nice and they all appear to be very friendly. I have a dog, so that is another way to meet and talk to people. Usually they ask where you live and how long have you been here? I heard many stories about how people come to live in Cihangir. For example, one lady told me how her and her husband when they first married moved to Cihangir, it was only supposed to be short term, but they never left, and have now been living in the area for 40 years. Another lady, eski Rum, she has been living in Cihangir for a long time too,

she has some wonderful stories about how wonderful life used to be back in the 1950 and the 1960s when life seemed more “modern” than perhaps it is now. For example, girls in bikinis swimming in the Bosphorous, etc. She has some great stories as the daughter of one of the areas intellectuals. I have had many neighbors that are foreign, most are the wealthier expats and not being one of them, there was often little occasion to talk to them. They are the groups that tend to frequent the cafes. From my observation, the other major group frequenting the cafes comes from outside Cihangir, the Etiler crowd. In recent years, many new cafes and specialized wine and food stores have opened in the area, rents have become outrageous and I think the feeling of Cihangir has changed from being friendly and community based, to more snobby...people move to the area or visit the area as a way of showing wealth or intellect. There is a core of people that have been in Cihangir their entire lives. What I find interesting is how move one street out of the “center” of Cihangir, and it is like you are in a different world. More “köy” (village) like, children running in the streets, washing carpets in the streets, more noise and activity, more of a “köy” life, people meeting in the streets, etc. It is even possible to see this on street, with one end of the street having rents that could be thousands of dollars while the other end of the street is poor. As a dog owner, I have met many famous people, they tend to wander the streets and speak to everyone like everyone else in Cihangir Cumhuriyet, walking unaffected in the local streets.³⁷¹

Scognamillo observes the current mahalle life in Cihangir as follows: “I cannot see a mahalle atmosphere and a communication between the inhabitants of mahalle. It may exist in the discourse but I cannot see it in reality. Of course you say hello to your neighbors in your apartment building...”³⁷² The current mahalle life is also reflected in the words of one of Cihangir’s remaining few gentlemen:

We do not know anyone now. We used to know what neighborliness meant in the past. We used to come together in the evenings...these things have been lost now...Cihangir was so good, everyone used to know each other and talk to each other. Muslims and non-Muslims had quite friendly relationships. Of course, these have changed in time. Now, you do not know even the man sitting across you. You would know everyone in those days.³⁷³

Mr. Yervant M., who is also an old Cihangirli, also points out the fading away of the old Cihangir.

The old culture in Cihangir has almost faded away. Only the reputation of here exists from now on. When you are asked where you live and when you reply that you live in Cihangir, it is something that is still alive thanks to its

³⁷¹ Deanne D., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

³⁷² Giovanni Scognamillo, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

³⁷³ Yannis Y., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

reputation. The rents have hit the ceiling. People rent the apartments just for the sake of living here but they leave three months later when they cannot pay the price of rent. Cihangir has become a place, which constantly changes its skin.³⁷⁴

The interesting point is that old Cihangirlis mostly described the newcomers as people they are no “familiar” with. As an old Cihangirli shop owner said, “The number of a different type of people, whom we do not know, we are not familiar with, has highly increased...Family patterns and neighborly relations that existed thirty or forty years ago do not exist anymore. We do not know the people who have come here recently.”³⁷⁵

He continued,

They are people whom I do not know...Only very few have remained from the former Rums and they are poor and old. Those newcomers come here with their own cultures and someone, who has been living here for half a century naturally do not like the state of these newcomers but there is nothing to do...Former established Rum families do not exist anymore. The newcomers are people seen in the media.³⁷⁶

As a new Cihangirli, Emrah A. describes present day Cihangir as a place that has become a favorite for thieves as well. The neighborhood has also become an insecure place due to the flow of many people from other parts of the city and because the thieves see the neighborhood as a rich place, where all those famous people in television live, they concentrate here.

I observe three different groups in Cihangir. First group is composed of thieves...The second group are people from cinema, theatre and production worlds. Third, there is the Nişantaşı-Bağdat Street group, those, who want to live in Cihangir because they want such a lifestyle...I have observed these in a short period of time. These are true. This place has an interesting atmosphere...But it can be said that it is getting degenerated day by day.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ Yervant M., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

³⁷⁵ Mehmet A., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006. *Son birkaç sene içinde “tanımadığımız”, değişik tür insanların sayısı oldukça arttı. Bundan 30-40 sene evvelki aile düzeni, komşuluk ilişkileri artık yok. Gelen insanları tanımıyoruz.*

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Emrah A., interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, June 2006.

As reflected in the narratives of old and new Cihangirlis, the neighborhood has turned into a place where neighborly relations have eroded. There is mahalle life, but a rather consumed one with nostalgic drives for the past and the local. However, all of my informants, who are old Cihangirlis, are still happy with the recent changes in the neighborhood when they compare the current period with the earlier one, when the neighborhood faced a *déclassement* and become a gloomy place. As Güler S., a Cihangirli for more than a century, and someone, whose family had immigrated to Istanbul from Salonica as part of the population Exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1922 and settled in Cihangir after they reached to Istanbul, said,

I think Cihangir is still the best place to live today. Although it is not the former Cihangir, it is still one of the best neighborhoods of Istanbul today. Everyone is innocuous, from film directors to managers. There is a coffeeshouse there under the mosque, all actors etcetera, who we see in television serials, gather and sit there in a modest way...Cihangir is still one of the best neighborhoods.³⁷⁸

Hence, Cihangir's recent situation is both criticized and welcomed by its older inhabitants. There are those who are not happy with the newcomers' lifestyles and neighborhood's becoming a so-called "entel ghetto" and a commercialized area while there are also those who find the developments positive when compared with its former lower class status. However, none of my old Cihangirli informants, including the remaining few Rum ladies and gentlemen, believe the current Cihangir can be as select and as beautiful as it was once upon a time. They all recall the Cihangir of their childhood and young age as a place where Muslims and non-Muslims lived in harmony, mahalle life was a modest and sincere one, neighborly relations were close and the cultural level of its inhabitants was higher.

Finally, this chapter has aimed to shed light on present day Cihangir and argued that mahalle life has been transformed thanks to gentrification in the

³⁷⁸ Güler S., interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, July 2006.

neighborhood beginning in the late 1990s and reaching its peak in the first half of 2000s. Last but not least, I will argue that Cihangir's present situation cannot be understood without referring to its past. Today, Cihangir is a place which actually lives thanks to its past.

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSION
CIHANGIR RECONSIDERED

Cihangir has been a unique Istanbul neighborhood throughout its history. Not only its distinct geographic situation near the historic multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural Pera/Beyoğlu and on top of a hill presenting many of the most beautiful panoramic views of the historic city and the Bosphorus, but also its being a select and cosmopolitan neighborhood have provided it this uniqueness. This study has aimed to reconsider and reconstruct this cosmopolitan Istanbul neighborhood's past and present based on primary and secondary sources as well as oral history narratives. It has revisited the neighborhood's history since its emergence as a settlement area in the sixteenth century to the present. The appearance of Cihangir as a relatively dense cosmopolitan residential area dates back to the genesis of cosmopolitan Pera during the nineteenth century globalization and peripheralization of Istanbul as a port city. While Pera, the symbol of Westernization and modernization during the late nineteenth century, was being filled by numerous consulates, embassies, schools, and foreign banks, Cihangir in its backyard also began to be home to those who worked in these places, as well as to the non-Muslims of Istanbul. Streets like Sıraselvi (Ier), Rum Kabristan (Meşelik), Soğancı, Somuncu, Araslar (Aslanyatağı), Firuzzağa, and Defterdar Yokuşu represented densely populated cosmopolitan areas constituting Cihangir from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. New stone apartment buildings with various

architectural styles such as art nouveau or art deco on these streets also represented a shift from wooden mansions to stone apartment buildings as housing units during this period. However, many of the inner streets of the current Cihangir were not formed during that period and until the 1920s as is understood from the Pervititch maps. Greeks, Armenians, Jews, mostly Italian origin Levantines, French, Germans, and Turks formed the elements of this cosmopolitan fabric until the non-Muslims of Istanbul Turkey left the country as a result of a series of events within the framework of the Turkification policies of the new Turkish Republic as a nation-state founded in 1923. However, the Rums constituted a great part of Cihangir's population before some events caused them to leave Istanbul throughout the Republican history.

Cihangir lost almost all of its original human fabric decades ago with the gradual departure of its non-Muslim inhabitants, specifically the Rums. Beginning from the notorious Wealth Tax, the Events of 6-7 September, and the 1964 decree for the deportation of Hellenes of Istanbul were the main steps that caused non-Muslims of Istanbul to leave the country in the Republican era. These events caused tremendous changes in the ethnic composition of Cihangir. With the departure of its non-Muslims especially the Rum inhabitants, Cihangir faced a dramatic decline in its original population. This thesis can be seen as an endeavor to examine the dramatic decline in Cihangir's non-Muslim but specifically the Rum population within the framework of demographic shifts, which the neighborhood witnessed throughout the twentieth century.

Thus, this study sought to reconstruct and situate Cihangir's past or the story of Cihangir inside the overall story of the decline of cosmopolitan Istanbul due to Turkification policies. It presented a reading of the historical changes through demographic shifts in the neighborhood from a perspective focusing on how it lost its

original cosmopolitan character with the loss of its Rum inhabitants. The findings of my primary research also reflect the historical demographic changes in the neighborhood. The names and addresses reached from a meticulous scanning of official Istanbul telephone directories for the years 1929, 1933, 1942, 1950, and 1966 all reflect the cosmopolitan character of the neighborhood throughout the Republican period. I believe these names and addresses, which belong to the former inhabitants of Cihangir, might help people in many different parts of the world, for example in Athens, trace their ancestors, and locate on which street and in which apartment building of Cihangir they lived. The same is also valid for the results of my scanning of the *Annuaire Orientals* of the years 1881, 1893-94, 1909, and 1921. Thus, this thesis provides considerable primary information about who lived in Cihangir, name by name, street by street, and apartment by apartment during periods beginning from 1881 to 1966. The Rums of Cihangir gradually left Istanbul especially after the Event of 6-7 September 1955 and the 1964 decree deportation for the Greek nationals as with most of the Rums and other non-Muslims of Istanbul.

Although it was not possible to reach the entire Rum population of Cihangir related to previous decades, this study presents the Rum population of Cihangir in 1968 based on the church records. There were about 2,000 Rums in Cihangir in 1968, a date which came after both the Events of 6-7 September and the 1964 deportation. Today, the number of all Christians living in Cihangir Mahalle is only 342 while that of Muslims is 4,207 and Jews is only nine. Thus, present day Cihangir is a neighborhood which has lost its earlier cosmopolitan character. However, there is a new type of cosmopolitanism in present day Cihangir. While the non-Muslims, specifically the Rums of Cihangir were leaving the neighborhood, it began to witness an influx of immigrants from Anatolia beginning from the 1950s and continuing until

the 1990s. On the other hand, Cihangir was faced with a *déclassement* especially during the 1970s and the 1980s and became a lower class residential area. Today, Cihangir has a highly mixed and culturally diverse fabric. A new type of cosmopolitanism exists in the neighborhood although there is a very small number of Rums and other non-Muslim inhabitants. They live side by side with Kurds, Arabs, Turks, Laz, and expatriates from Europe and other parts of the world.

This work set out to depict the everyday life in cosmopolitan mahalle sphere making up Cihangir over the decades, when multi-ethnic coexistence was not destroyed in Istanbul. Thanks to oral history interviews, Cihangir's past cosmopolitan mahalle life was also depicted in this study.

Another main argument of this thesis is that Cihangir was rediscovered and redefined in globalizing Istanbul beginning from the late 1990s and in the 2000s. The process of gentrification, which occurred within the context of Istanbul as a metropolis under the uneven impacts of globalization, has transformed the urban and social fabric of Cihangir as well as its daily mahalle life. Cihangir has welcomed culturally diverse strata, newly emerging middle classes thanks to the impacts of economic globalization in Istanbul and new lifestyles have appeared in the culturally fragmented neighborhood space. As part of gentrification process, the historic building stock of Cihangir also has undergone changes. The apartment houses have been renovated and restored and Cihangir has acquired a new look. New cafés have become places, where the new people of Cihangir come together. The neighborhood has become a world of artists, writers, caricaturists, intellectuals, pseudo-intellectuals, bobos, and people working in the media.

On the other hand, many of the *nouveau rich* of Istanbul also have flocked to the neighborhood as a newly discovered genuinely cosmopolitan historic mahalle

near Beyoğlu. Thus, the discourse of Cihangir has overcome real Cihangir itself. The neighborhood has become highly popular, the rents have jumped to striking levels, and the neighborhood has become a place where people lead a communal life within the borders of a mahalle, the Republic of Cihangir, which they have created on their own. However, a significant dimension of the transformation of Cihangir in the global era is that the neighborhood itself has become a commodity to consume. The mahalle life also has been affected by this. Neighborly relations have eroded and even the mahalle as a space has been commercialized.

Also, it should not be forgotten that Cihangir has never represented as a microcosm of Istanbul in the past or in present. Its destiny always has been shaped by that of Pera/Beyoğlu but in terms of neither its demographic structure, social, economic, and cultural atmosphere nor its geographical location, Cihangir can reflect the overall changes in many other neighborhoods of Istanbul.

This work is a modest contribution to the history of Cihangir since written sources related to it are very limited. It also presents some amount of primary data regarding the ethnic composition and population of Cihangir. However, I suggest that research on Cihangir should be continued both on its situation in the Ottoman era based on primary data, for example, population censuses or a research on other archival documents including records on the mahalles of Istanbul. Again, Cihangir's history throughout the Republican Turkey should be further studied. Indeed, more microhistorical studies should be conducted on the neighborhood. As said above, written sources on the history of Cihangir are scarce. Studies on Cihangir should therefore also be formulated around oral history narratives. An important element, which also lacks in this study, is that oral history narratives should be collected from former Cihangirlis, specifically the Rums who have already emigrated abroad. The

stories and memories told by former Cihangirli Rum families, who live Greece, for example, would be the best sources from which to reconstruct Cihangir's history. Also, further research should be conducted on the historic building stock of the neighborhood. Another crucial point is the changes Cihangir has been undergoing in a metropolis which has been subjected to the multiple effects of economic globalization. Patterns of gentrification in Cihangir and its effects on the social, economic and cultural realms in the neighborhood should be analyzed in greater depth. How has the physical and urban fabric changed, in what way and with whose pioneering can be studied in more detail. The situation of those who were excluded in the neighborhood space and had to move to other parts of the city can also be studied. Briefly, both the past and present of Cihangir need more research based on primary sources as well as oral histories. Nevertheless, Cihangir is a neighborhood where the present is still being created on the crystallizations of its past.

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL TEXTS OF PASSAGES THAT APPEAR IN THE TEXT

Page	Note	
19	27	İstanbul'un en "global" semti neresidir diye sorulsa bunun yanıtı Cihangir'dir. Cihangir çok kültürlü bir semt. Ulusal söylemdeki olumsuz çıkarsamaları bir kenara bırakılırsa, "kozmpolit" bir yerleşim alanı. Yüzyıllardır din, dil, mezhep ayrımı gözetmeksizin, değişik unsurların bir arada yaşadığı, hoşgörünün egemen olduğu bir semt Cihangir.
34	33	Önce Tophane şehri: Hıristiyanlar zamanında bir ormanlık içinde İskender-i Rumi'nin bir manastırı vardı. Bugün Cihangir Camii, o kilisenin yerine yapılmıştır. Kefereler onu yılda bir kere, "Aya Aleksandra" diye ziyaret ederlerdi. İskender-i Zülkarneyn ne zaman Yecüc seddini yapıp bir kaç gulyabani, [130b] birkaç adet iri beyaz devleri, Çerkez vilayetinde olan Elburz Dağı'ndaki sihirbaz oburları, Abaza diyarında olan Sadşe dağlarındaki sihirbaz avratları, bu anılan ülkelerden Konstantiniyye şehrine getirerek bu Tophane'de büyük bir çukur içinde el ve ayaklarını sağlam hurma lifi ile bağlayıp hapsetmişti. Allah'ın izniyle tılsım ipler kuvvetiyle hareket edemezlerdi. Yılda bir kere Cihangir'de olan Aleksandra Kilise'sinin ziyaretine gelenler bu Tophane'deki gulyabanileri, devleri, sihirbazları ve sihirci kadınları seyredereklerdi... İşte bu Tophane şehrinin ilk imareti İskender yapısıdır.
35	37	Sultan Cihangir Camii: İskender-i Zülkarneyn'in Aleksandra adlı kilisesinin yerinde Sultan Süleyman Han yapıp sevabını Cihangir'in ruhuna bağışlayıp cihan sevabını kazanmıştır...Deniz kenarındaki Mehmet Ağa Camii dibindeki o dik sokaktan baş yukarı ta Cihangir Camii'ne kadar...yüz basamak taş merdiven ile çıkılır daracık bir yoldur ki insane gücüyle bir saate çıkılır...Bir minaresi, tekkesi, imareti ve avlusu vardır ki yüksek çınarlarla süslüdür. İkindiden sonar bütün ahbablar, dostlar orada toplanıp yüzgeçlik eden bütün gemileri seyrederekler. Cihannüma bir camidir ki Koca Mimar Sinan yapısıdır.
54	90	Eski ahşap Cihangir'in yerine şimdi baştan başa kagir ve hemen hepsi de apartman şeklinde yepyeni bir Cihangir kurulmuş ve bir yandan da kurulmakta. Kurulmuş ve kurulmakta olan bu muazzam ve mükemmel binalar bir taraftan tabak gibi Marmara'ya, bir taraftan çanak gibi Boğaz'ın beri kısmına bakan bu yüksek havadar mevkie ne kadar yaklaşıyorlar? Eski ahşap Cihangir'in bu yeni şekli pek yakın bir

istikbalde, Beyoğlu'nun en şerefli bir yeri olacağına, belki de Şişli'nin, Nişantaşı'nın pabuçlarını dama atacağına benziyor.

- 66 131 Varlık Vergisini ödeyemeyenler Aşkale'ye sürüldü. Cihangir'den
- gidenler de oldu ama ben şu sokaktan şu kişi gitti gibi bir şey söyleyemem. Beyoğlu'ndan gidildiğini duydum. Bu arada Aşkale'ye gitmemek için binalarını satıp kendini kurtaran oldu ama ödeyemeyenler de orada taş kırdı vs.
- 70 144 Sabaha karşı güvenlik güçleri duruma hakim olunca, kat kat kumaşlar, iç çamaşırları, kürkler, halılarla kaplı bir yolda ilerleyerek evlerimize döndük. Yırtılmış, çamurlara bulanmışlardı. Bitkindik... Sadece fiziki açıdan değil, aldığımız büyük yaradan. Cihangir'deki daireme girince Rum olan komşularımızın bize sığınmış olduklarını gördüm. Şaşılacak şekilde, yan yana olan kapılarımızdan onlarınkinde isle yapılmış bir çarpı işareti vardı, bizimkinde yoktu.
- 71 146 Derken grup bizim sokağa geldi. Evlerin camlarını kırıyorlar, azınlık yuttaşlarını tartaklıyorlar, arada Türklerden itiraz eden olursa onları da hırpalıyorlar. Büyük bir panic. Babam müdahale etmeye kalkışmıştı. Annemin yalvarışları...titreyerek bekleyiyorduk. Grup sokaktan nihayet çıkıp gitti. Bayar-Menderes döneminin büyük rezaletidir. Ertesi gün sokağa çıktığımızda, kasabamız Todori'nin yıkık bir dükkan önünde ağladığını gördük.
- 72 148 6 Eylülde Cihangir epey zarar görmüştür. Tabii...Eğer içeri girilip de tahrip edilmediyse evler, dışarıdan şeyleri, camları falan epey kırıldı. Tabii oraya gelen grup İstanbullu değildi ka. Bizim oradaki Türk dostlarımız bize yardımcı oldu. Cihangire yerleşmiş olan bizim komşularımız falan bize epey yardımcı oldu, bizi korumaya çalıştı. Ama maalesef pek başarılı olduğunu zannetmiyorum. Ben 6 Eylül döneminde Tarlabasında oturuyordum daha. Bizim evin kapıcısı çok ilginçti. Mehmet Efendi. Biz içeri girdik, kapattık kapıyı. Eee, hadi Mihailaki dedi koş gir içeri falan. Ben o zaman 15 yaşında falandım, kapattı kapıyı. Elinde bir Türk bayrağı kapıda bekledi. Gelenlere burada gavur yok, burada işte hepsi Müslüman'dır falan dedi. Ve bütün o grup bizi geçip gittikten sonra, bizim ev kurtulduktan sonra açtı kapıyı, bayrağı içeri koydu, kazmasını, küreğini aldı, kapattı kapıyı ve ilerdeki Rum evlerini, dükkanlarını kırmaya ve parçalamaya başladı. Bizi kurtaran Ahmed Efendi.. Çok tuhaf değil mi? Gerçekte hiç tuhaf değil. Çünkü bizler Ahmet Efendi için tanıdığı kişiler idik, Mihalakiydik, Madam Katinaydık, alışverişimiz var, kahvemizi içerdi, bize giderdi alışverişi yapardı gelirdi bahşişini alırdı falan. Bizim iyi kişiler olduğumuzu bilirdi, dolayısıyla bizi korudu. Ama ileridekileri tanımıyordu. İleridekiler onun için Rumdu. Rum demekse onun belleğinde ona bellettikleri düşmandı. Dolayısıyla ...olarak düşmana karşı çıktı. Beyin yıkamasına uğramış kişileri bütün o toplum yahut da çapulcuymdu.

- 73 151 6-7 Eylül'ü bizzat yaşadım.O zaman Tarlabası'nda Çorbacı Sokak'ta oturuyordum ama olayların olduğu gece Tarabya'daki yazlık evdeydik.İstiklal Caddesi baştan başa kumaşla kaplanmıştı. Bunlar anlatılabilecek şeyler değil. Tarabya Oteli ahşaptı.Yaktılar. Yanına bir kilise vardı. Kiliseden yükselen alevler denizde yakamoz oluşturuyordu. O gece gerçekten çok kötüydü. Bizim Tarabya'da ahşap bir yazlık evimiz vardı. Ellerinde ucu alevli odunlarla geldiler. Bizim oturduğumuz ev bir papazın eviymiş meğerse, yakmaya geliyorlarmış. Dedem kapıya çıktı ve kalabalığa bağırdı. Zaten çoktan bir Türk bayrağı asmıştı. Evin sahipleri Madam Olda ve eşi sonra ne çok dua ettiler dedeme.
- 74 152 1954 ile 1964 arası Cihangir'de Kumrulu Yokuşu'nda Ümit-Nüvit apartmanında oturduk. Çok net hatırlıyorum. 6 Eylül gecesi, daha akşamüzeri, şehrin içerisinde bir takım olaylar patlak verdi. Daha doğrusu şöyle diyelim, birkaç gün öncesinden başlayan bir gerilim var. Atatürk'ün Selanik'te doğduğu eve bomba atıldığı ihbarı yapılıyor ve basına aksediyor. Bir infial oluşuyor. Bir tepki hareketi doğuyor ama bu tepki hareketi sadece siyasi planda, diplomatik planda bir tepki hareketiyken 6 Eylül akşamüzeri birden bire bütün İstanbul'da, çeşitli yerlerinde İstanbul'un, çok ciddi sokak hareketleri olmaya başladığı söylendi. Ve bu hareketler aslında daha bizim duyduğumuz vakit Sirkeci köprüünün öteki yakasına ait gibiydi fakat çok geçmeden Beyoğlunda oluşmaya başladıklarını duyduk ama o sırada henüz Cihangir'e sığmamıştı. Sonra kitlelerin güruh hâlinde, serseri bir güruh halinde yürüyüşe geçtikleri, Beyoğlunu tarumar ettikleri ortaya çıktı. O yıllarda evlerde telefon yoktu. Telefon bugünkü kadar yaygın bir kitle iletişim aracı değildi. Ama bizde vardı telefon ve anneanneler Kadıköy'den telefon ettiler. Bizim evden gelip herkes birbirlerine haber verdi filan.
- 74 153 Bizim mahalleyle ilgili bir şey, bizim sokakla ilgili bir anı anlatabilirim. Benim babam o zamanlar Kıbrıs Türk Cemiyeti diye bir cemiyet vardı, ama şimdi o çok yanlış anlatılıyor. Bir dergi çıkarıyordu bu cemiyet. O dergiden çok sayıda evde var. Derginin kapağında da kırmızı bir fon üzerine yeşil bir ada, adanın ortasında Türk bayrağı var. Sadece böyle bir illüstrasyon, üzerinde de işte derginin adı var. Babam bütün bu dergilerin kapaklarını kestiler ve evlere yapıştırdılar. Özellikle Rum ahabplarımızın, yani her apartmana yapıştırıldı, karşımızdaki... Çok da yaşlı bir hanım oturuyordu karşımızda, o Türk ve Müslüman'dı. Ona yapıştırılmadı, yani bir kasıtle değil, zaten Türk ve Müslüman diye. Akşam geç bir saatte, akşam yemeğinin hemen sonrasındaki bir saatte, 20:30-21:00 gibi, o Beyoğlu'ndaki taşkın kalabalıklardan bir tanesi bütün Cihangir'den geçti ve Cihangir'in her tarafını yakıp yıktı. Yani inanılmaz bir yakıp yıkma meselesi bu. Fakat bizim sokak paçayı sıyırdı. Herhalde bizim sokağın hepsini Türk zannettiler. Fakat kırıla kırıla bir tek o yaşlı hanımın, o kadıncağızın çığılıkları arasında, mahallelinin.. Türkü yaşlı bir kadın filan ama, öylesine raydan çıkmış, yoldan çıkmış ki, ne Türkü, ne Rumu, ne Hıristiyan'ı anlayabilecek bir...serseri, onun

içinde bakarsınız fırsattan faydalanan Rum bile olabilir. Yani insan tynetsizliği ile ilgili, insan ruhunun karanlığıyla ilgili bir olaydı bu.

- 75 154 Benim kişisel tanıklığım ertesini gün öğleye doğru sokağa çıkarılmama oldu. Çok sevdiğim bir pastaneydi benim, Savoy Pastanesi, bugünkü yerinde değildi ama henüz, Beyoğlu İlk Yardım Hastanesinin karşısındaki sokaktaydı, onun bütün vitrini, her şeyi yok edilmiş ve sokakta pastalar, kremler, dondurmalar, hepsi yerlere atılmış, onlar erimiş, korkunç bir görüntüydü, yani bir dondurma kadar güzel bir şeyin vişnelisinin kan olarak akıp gittiğini görüyordum adeta. Tabii kan değildi ama olaylarla birleşince bir kan duygusu bırakan bir şeydi. Çok uzun zaman, yani 3-4 ayda ancak Beyoğlu toparlanabildi. Savoyun önünden sonra Beyoğluna çıktık. Cihangir’de sokaklar tuğla, cam parçaları, çerçeve parçaları, yani baştan aşağı doluydu. Yani bazı sokaklar geçilmez hale gelmişti. Artık sokak değil, bir arbede, 2. Dünya Savaşında bombardıman görmüş bir şehir fotoğrafı düşünün, Cihangir’in bir kısmının sokakları o haldeydi. Bizim sokak hariç, bizim sokağa da saldırılmamasının temel sebebi o dergi kapaklarıydı. Yoksa, bizim sokak da hapyutacaktı. Ve nitekim öyle bir ev de oldu. Ama öteki evler filan çok kötü şekilde tahrip edildi, yani korkunç bir olaydı.
- 74-75 155 Dükkanları yağmaladılar. Kumaşlar filan yerlerde. Gayrimüslim esnafa yapılan bir şeydi. Hatta o zaman annem komşumuza demiş ki bize gelebilirsin, korkma. Komşumuzdu onlar yani. Mahallenin önüne gelenler oldu ama pek muvaffak olamadılar, pek bir şey yapamadılar. Yani Beyoğlu’nu mahvettiler. Buradaki Rumların ne suçu vardı ki. Çoğunluk Rumdu burada. Biz aslında gelmişiz, dağdan gelmişiz bağdakini kovmuşuz biraz. Fatih zamanından önce Rumdu.
- 76 156 6-7 Eylül Cihangiri o kadar etkilemedi. Beyoğlu ve Tarlabasını etkiledi. Beyoğlu’ndaki mevcut Rum kiliselerini etkiledi. Kuruluşundan beri Beyoğlu yabancıların, azınlıkların elinde olan bir bölgeydi, serbest bölgeydi diyelim. 6-7 Eylül olaylarından sonra 64’te Rumların zorunlu olarak ayrılmasından sonra Beyoğlu ve belirli semtlerin, Cihangir ve Tarlabası dahil olmak üzere kimliği birden değişti. Hatta iç göçten de başlayabiliriz. Sadece Beyoğlunun değil bütün İstanbul’un kimliğini değiştirdi iç göçler. 6-7 Eylül olayları koptuğunda ben Beyoğlu Kallavi Sokağında idim. Hatta bir süre İstiklal Caddesinde babamla dolaştık.
- 77 157 6-7 Eylül’ü ben burada birebir yaşadım. 6-7 Eylül’de Cihangir’de ne olup bittiğini ben bilemem çünkü ben iş yerimde idim. İş yerimi korumak zorundaydım üstelik Türk olmama karşın. Çünkü bizim dahi dükkanı kapatmamız gerektiği yönünde haberler geldi. Biz tabii dükkanı kapatmadık, burada dükkanın önünde bekledik çapulculara mani olmak için.

- 77 158 Cihangir'i Beyoğlu'ndan soyutlamak mümkün değil. Beyoğlu'nda ne yapıldıysa Cihangir'de, özellikle Rum vatandaşların yaşadığı hangi muhit olursa olsun aynı şekilde tecavüze uğramıştır dersek daha doğru olur çünkü gece saat 00.00-01.00 gibi dükkanı kapatmışım, Cihangir'e gittim. Tabii gecenin o karanlığında ne oldu ne bitti onun pek farkında değildim.
- 77 159 Bizim Balık Pazarındaki sokakta şu akıntının olduğu yere kadar yaklaşık 10 cm yükseklikte bir kaldırım vardı. O gün, 6 Eylül gecesi saat 00.00'a doğru kaldırımdan yaklaşık yarım metre yukarıya çıkmıştı yolun ortası. Bunun içinde aklınıza ne gelirse, zeytin kokusu, zeytinyağı kokusu, peynirler allak bullak olmuş... Turşular falan filan. Beyoğlu Balık Pazarı çok önde gelen bir Pazar. Dolayısıyla buradaki hareket daha başka, yani buranın halkı yemesini içmesini seven kişiler. Ermeni, Musevi, Rum ya da Türk. Genellikle kalbur üstü insanlar gelirdi alışverişe buraya. Dükkanlar da tabii dolu. Haliyle en çok zararı gören de buradaki, özellikle gayrimüslim vatandaşların sahip olduğu dükkanlar oldu.
- 78 162 E Cihangir'de dükkan vardı tabii. Ticareti ekseriyetle gayrimüslimler yaptığı için onların dükkanları yağmalandı o gece. Cihangir'de de tabii. Sokaklar Beyoğlu gibi diyemeyeceğim ama buzdolapları, işte içerdeki şeyler dışarıdaydı tabii. O zaman Kıbrıs davası vardı. 6-7 Eylül gidişleri etkiledi tabii, ama birdenbire olmadı. Senelerce eksildi eksildi işte bu güne geldik.
- 79 163 O zaman Arnavutköy'de oturuyorduk. O gece ağabeyim eve dönmedi. O gün Beşiktaş'taydı. Kimse anlamasın diye o kalabalığın içine karışmış, öyle eve gelmiş. O gece hayatımızdaki en kötü geceydi. Ellerinde sopalarla Arnavutköy'deki evimize saldırdılar. Alman komşularımız vardı, onlar bizi korudu. 1956'da evlendim, Cihangir'e taşındım. Ağabeyim ailesiyle birlikte Türkiye'yi terk etti ama ben kaldım.
- 80 167 Bu olaydan sonra tabii Cihangir'in dokusunda bir değişim bir dönüşüm başladı. Hemen başlamadı ama bir iki yıl içerisinde Rum yurttaşlarımızın dörtte üçü göz yaşları içerisinde memleketten ayrılmak zorunda kaldılar. Hepsi hemen değil ama bir iki yıl içerisinde yavaş yavaş Cihangir'de sayıca çok az Rum kalmaya başladı... arkadaşım Yannis, hatta onu İstanbul kitaplarımdan bir tanesinde yazdım. Onlar mesela bitişik komşularımızdı. Hakikaten çok hüznü bir ayrılış oldu. Yani yıllarca etkisini bende korumuştur. Bugün hala aynı hüznü duyarak anımsıyorum o olayı. Bir çok insan ayrıldı, ayrılmayanlar genelde yaşça belli bir yaşa gelmiş olan ve çoğu dul olan madamlardı. Gidecek yerleri yok, yeni bir yaşam kurmak, Atina'ya gidecek, doğma büyüme İstanbullu...
- 89 197 Ben Rumların gönderilmesine karşıyım. Neden gönderildiler ki? Bir Rum aile vardı tanıdığımız. Çok zengindiler. Ege Bahçesinin yanında dublex bir evde oturuyorlardı. O zamanlar Cihangir'de çok zengin

Rumlar oturuyordu. Devlet onları sınır dışı etti ve gittiler. Annem o zamanlar o evde çalışıyordu. Bir çift... Bir oğulları ve bir kızları vardı. Büyükada'da evleri vardı. Hatta annem de beni Büyükada'ya götürürdü. Cihangir'den bir sürü Rum gitti. Çoğu apartman sahipleri terk ettiler. Duyduğum kadarıyla devlet alıyormuş kirasını buraların. Sonradan da gördüğüm kadarıyla bu evler restore edildi. Cihangir'de çoğunlukla Rumlar yaşıyordu. Fransızlar da oldukça çoktu.

- 89 198 Devlet Rum tebaalılarını sürdürdü. Yunanistan'a... Ama mesela eğer bir Rum kadının kocası Türk vatandaşıysa istiyorsa kalmasına izin verdi. Giderken eşyalarını satıyorlardı. Ben de giden bir aileden bir yatak odası takımı aldım. Pişman olarak almıştım ama zaten nasıl olsa satacaklardı diye düşünmüştüm. Ama gerçekten üzülerek, pişman olarak aldım. Mallarını birkaç elden satabilirlerse sattılar 1964'te giderken ya da eskiciye verdiler. Ama şöyle söylentiler de vardı. Gümüş, kristal gibi bazı eşyalarını götürmüşler diyorlardı. E tabii götürecekleri kendi malları.
- 90 199 Biz Samsun'dan geldik. 1963'te geldik biz buraya. Amcam burada oturuyordu. 63'ten beri de buradayım. Bu dükkân 69'da kuruldu Margarit's olarak. Onların gidişiyle Cihangir Cihangirliğini tamamen yitirdi. Sadece Rumlarla ilgili değil bu, Yahudilerde de aynı şey oldu. Yahudilerin de gitmesine üzülüm. Çünkü Türkiye ekonomisi üzerinde büyük rolleri var, bilhassa Yahudilerin. Yahudilerin de gitmesi beni tedirgin etti. Çünkü onun yerine Anadolu'dan gelen insanlar, tamam hepimiz Anadolu'dan geldik ama yani, daha eğitimsiz ve daha kültürsüz şeklinde düşünün olayı. Şimdi burada yaşayan eski İstanbullularla, ki bunlar Rum, Ermeni, Yahudi, hatta İtalyan'ı vardı, Rus'u vardı, bunların farkı vardı. Bunlarla Türklerin arasında 20-30 senelik fark vardı. Daha gelişmişlerdi.
- 90 200 Onların gidişi aşama aşama oldu. Öyle birden olmadı. Daha doğrusu kaçarak oldu. Mallarını gizli sattılar. Hatta yarı fiyatına sattılar. Hiç tanımadıkları insanlara sattılar ki kaçacakları belli olmasın diye. İşte bu arada da burada bazı kimseler rant sahibi oldu. Uyandılar yani işe... Genellikle Doğudan gelen insanlar aldı çoğunu. Burada genelde kapıcılar filan vardı. Onların tanıdıkları, akrabaları falan filan onlar almaya başladılar. Ucuz olduğu için tabii. Habersiz gittikleri için, tanıdıklarına satamadıkları için, başkalarına satmak zorunda kaldıkları için ucuz ucuz satıldı o evler.
- 90-91 201 Boşalan yerler hemen doldu. O açıdan onu takip etmek ancak muhtar kayıtlarından çıkar ama bize göre o tanıdığımız insanların kayboluşu... benim kim gitti, kim geldi, hangi apartmanın hangi dairesinden kamyonla yük çıktı onu takip etmem mümkün değil ama baktık gördük ki yerlerine bir başka, daha yabancı, hiç tanımadığımız insanlar gelince anlaşıldı ki gitmişler.
- 91 202 Biz onu buradaki müşterilerimizden biliyoruz. Cihangirdekilerden

değil. Mesela Tarlabasında iki göz evde bir Rum aile otururdu. Onların kaybolduğunu zaman içinde anladık. Onların yerine gelenler mantardan bitme ve evin kapısının kırılarak girildiğini haneye tecavüz misali-ve bunlar hala şüphelidir benim için, bunlar Türk müdür, değil midir, Arap mıdır değil midir- fakat hiçbir zaman Tarlabasına yakışacak insanlar değildir. Biz çünkü Tarlabasında Rumların yaşadığı dönemi bildiğimiz için. Tarlabası, Kalyoncukulluk buralar çok daha güzel yerlerdi. Cihangir’de öyleydi. Ama Cihangir’de böyle bir durumla karşılaşmamıştır. Çünkü Cihangir’e bu şekilde girmeye pek cesaret edememişlerdir. Yalnız Tarlabasında dediğim gibi kapı kırılıp içeri girilme olayını biz yaşadık, biliyoruz.

- 92 203 Şimdi buradan giden Rumlar’dan olmuştur. Yunanlılarda el koydu devlet. Satılma olmadı. 20 sene sonra galiba Özal iktidara geldi, bir karamameyle beraber çıktı geldi adamlar ama çoğu ölmüştü tabii. Ekseriyetle Milli Emlak’a kaldı tabii. Ondan sonra da Milli Emlak satışa çıkardı. Dava bu.
- 92 204 Yan komşumuz Rumdu. Ölünce evi devlete kaldı. Çok yıkık dökük haldeydi orası. Sonra tiyatrocü kiraladı Milli Emlaktan. Aslında modacı Cemil İpekçi kiralayacaktı ama olmadı. Aslında biz orayı satın almak istedik ama olmadı.
- 92-93 205 Bakın Cihangir’de, yalnız Cihangir’de çok fazla Rum vardı. 65’ten sonrayı söylüyorum size. Yani bizim ortam öyle devirlerdi. Öyle bir devirde yaşadık biz. Şu an 3 kişi bile yok belki. Onlar yerlisidir adeta buranın. Yerlisidir. İsmet İnönü Yunan uyrukluları gönderdi. O evler boşaldığı vakit ne oldu. Önüne gelene evleri verdiler. Akarsu Caddesi’nde çok saygın birinin evi vardı, randevu evi oldu sonra.
- 93 206 Cihangir eskiden hep konakmış. Tahta konaklar varmış. Ben 66’da Cihangir’e geldim. O devir çok güzeldi anlatamam size. O kadar güzeldi Cihangir. Şakir Bey kuaför olduğu için bütün müşteri camiamız hep Rumdu o yüzden bu 38.000 rakamını biliyor. Bir tane Türk gelmezdi yani. Çok saygıdeğer inanlardı, hatır sever, saygılı, terbiyeli insanlardı. Çırakla bile toka yapan insanlardı. O devir çok güzeldi. Çok Rum vardı ama Kıbrıs harbinden sonra hepsi yavaş yavaş, haftada iki aile görüyorduk yok oluyordu. Satıyorlardı malı mülkü çekip gidiyorlardı. Ama aldığımız bilgiler kimse orada mutlu değil yani. Asla mutlu değiller. İlla ki Cihangiri istiyorlar yani. Ege bahçesini hatırlıyorum. Ege bahçesi benim zamanımda çay bahçesiydi. Sonra lokanta oldu. Sonra Susam Bar olarak işlendi. Şimdi 5 yıldır filan boş. İnşaat yapmayı düşünüyorlar. Onlar satın gittiler. Türklere sattılar. Ama el altından. Gideceklerini gizlediler yani. Sonra nakliyatçı gelince kapıya anladık gidiyorlar. Kimi Avusturalya’ya, kimi İzlanda’ya yerleşti, kimi Almanya’ya, ama çoğunluk Yunanistan’a gitti. 74’ten sonra da giden oldu çok. Kuaför olduğumuz için bize de söylenmiyordu gidecekleri. Mesela ben Havyar Sokağında oturdum. Komşum karşıdan, müşterimizdi, baktım bir sabah nakliyatçı geldi, bu uzak yola giden bir eşyadır dedim. Cuma günü müşterimiz

geldi, hayırdır inşallah apartmandan yine kim gidiyor dedim. Biz gidiyoruz kızım dedi. Ve ağlaştık beraber. Çok çok üzüldük. Çok iyi inanlardı. Son bilgiler ölmüşler Yunanistan'da. Ama 3 tane yaşlıydı. Benim tanıdığım kişiler eski Ankara pazarı sahipleri, Taksim'de, Mavromati meşhur kuyumcu, Golden çikolata fabrikası. Yani hatırlasam çok fazla insan çıkar. Sonra mesela Gökçeada Rum da çok vardı burada. İmrozlu. Hepsi gittiler. Ama geçen yıl İmroz'daydım ben, birkaç müşterimizle karşılaştık. Oradaki evlerini restore etmişler, senede bir geliyorlar ama edindiğim bilgi kimse mutlu değil dışarıda. İstanbul'u çok arıyorlar ve Cihangirli Rumlar hepsi Phalero diye bir yere yerleşmişler Yunanistan'da. Yeşilköy'e benzeyen bir yermiş. Atina'da deniz kenarında Phalero diye bir yere.

- 94 208 Çoğunluk Rumlardı. Çok az bizim Cihangir'de arkadaş olduğumuz Musevi ve Ermeni vardı ama çoğunlukta Rum arkadaşlarımız ve Türk arkadaşlarımız vardı. Ama sonra malum 6-7 Eylül, daha doğrusu zannedirim 43-44'te çıkan Varlık Vergisi, 6-7 Eylül 55, 64'teki hadiseler içinde zamanla özellikle de Musevi ve Ermenilerden ziyade Rum vatandaşların Türk tebaalı olmalarına karşı dindaşlarını bırakmayıp onların peşinden yavaş yavaş Türkiye'yi terk etmiş olmaları değişime yol açmıştır. Tabii 64, özellikle 64'ten sonra, esasında 55'ten itibaren yavaş yavaş ama 64'ten itibaren çorap söküğü gibi. Yine söylüyorum özellikle Rum vatandaşların ayrılmasıyla değişim yaşandı.
- 102 223 Asıl 70li yıllarda başta Kazancı Yokuşu olmak üzere Cihangir'in bir kısmı pek de elit değildi. Cihangir Yokuşunun başında ve sonunda taksilerde kadın pazarlanıyordu, açıkçası. Cihangirde birkaç tane ünlü randevuevi vardı. Fakat ondan sonra İstiklal Caddesi ve Beyoğlu iyi bir temizlikten geçtikten sonra, Cihangir de o vesileyle temizlendi.
- 102 224 Ama 64ten sonraki sınır dışı olaylarından sonra artık çöküş ve gidiş büyük bir hızla devam ettiği yıllarda Cihangir de yavaş yavaş eski özelliğini kaybediyor. Bildiğim kadarıyla özelliği olan kişilerin, böyle getto halinde yaşayan, özellikle cinsel tercihleri değişik olan kişilerin yerleştiği bir alan oluyor. Ahlak hareketleriyle ve cebren bu kişiler oradan kovuluyor ve daha sonra bu Cihangir semti bu günkü durumunu alıyor. Ama bugün de Rum cemaatinin yani kalmış olan Rumların sevdiği, yerleşmek istediği bir semt durumundadır. Onun için başka yerlerden tamamen kaybolmuş olan Rumlar Cihangir semtinde tek tük de olsa görülebiliyor.
- 103 225 Cihangir kozmopolitti. Bu tartışılmaz. Rumlar, Ermeniler, Museviler ve tabii ki Levantenler. Levantenleri unutmamalıyız. Fransızlar, Almanlar gibi konsolosluk erkani ve okul öğretmenleri... Ama Levantenler buraya yerleşmiş İtalyan ailelerdi. Levantenleri unutmayalım. Cihangir'in o günleriyle 1990lı yılları arasındaki dönemi bir nefes alma verme dönemi olarak gözümde canlandırıyorum. 1950lerde ne kadar nezih bir topluluk, tüm halkıyla, sonra bir erozyon, 1970lerden sonrası tarihlerde birden bire arabanın

lastiğinin patlaması ve tekerlerin jant üzerinde hareketlenmesiyle. Sebebine gelince bu erozyonun, İstanbul vilayetinin valisi bunun nedenini çok iyi bilir. Ne kadar pislik varsa Cihangir'e taşı. O nezih yerler birden bire allak bullak oldu. Ama bu arada bazı mal sahiplerini tenzih edeceğim bu konuşacaklarımdan ama paragöz mal sahiplerinin yüzünden hakikaten kalite düşürdü. 1970ler, 1980ler böyle bir abuk subukluk dönemiydi. Ama ondan sonra o mal sahipleri de nasıl olduysa her şeyin para olmadığını anladı ve adam gibi adama kira vermeye başladılar. Adam gibi ailelere. O zaman kendiliğinden Cihangirin kalitesi tekrar yükseldi. Ama kalite derken hiçbir zaman 1950'nin kalitesine ulaşmak mümkün değil. Bunu da noktayla bildirmek lazım.

103 226 Alman Hastanesi el değiştirdi Almanlar buradan gitti. Bu da önemli, sadece Rumlar ya da Ermeniler değil. Almanların çoğunluğu gitti. Peşine 70li yıllarda Cihangir bozuldu. Burada oturanlar insanlar da Şişli, Topağacı, Etiler tarafına kaçtı. Zaten 70li yıllarda buradan, Türkiye'den gidenler çok oldu. Bir kısmı da o 70-80 arasındaki Cihangirin kötü adından dolayı Topağacına, Etilere, Şişliye, Levente, Ulusa gittiler. 70 yılı ile 80 yılı arasında Cihangir erozyona uğradı. Alman Hastanesinin başkası tarafından alınıp yerleştirilmesi de etkili oldu Cihangir'deki erozyona 70 ile 80 yılı arasında. Oradaki Alman hemşireler olsun doktorlar olsun, hep gittiler. Keza İtalyan Hastanesi de öyle. Yine 70 ve 80 arası Türkiye'den Rumlar ve Ermeniler gitti.

107 235 Tabii bugünkü Cihangir'den çok farklı bir Cihangir'di. Şimdi Cihangir'e baktığımız vakit daha çok sanatçıların oturduğu, yazar çizerlerin oturduğu, veya sanata yakın olan kişilerin oturduğu ve biraz bohem yaşanan bir yer bugünkü Cihangir. O yıllar öyle değildi. O yıllar son derece orta halli bir dünyanın tipik çizgisiydi Cihangir. Çok fazla karmaşık bir topluluktaki. Çünkü Rumlar vardı, Ermeniler vardı, Beyaz Ruslar vardı, Museviler vardı ve Türkler vardı. Yani çeşitli değişik uluslardan insanlar değişik dinlerden insanlar hep bir arada yaşıyorlardı. 6-7 Eylül olayı hariç tutulursa bu birliktelik de hiçbir şekilde en azından mahalle töresi olarak hırpalanmamıştı. Yani o mahalle töresi içerisinde kimse kimsenin dinine veya ulusal özelliklerine hiçbir şekilde saldırgan davranmamıştı. Bir tek o 6-7 Eylül olayı çok saldırgan ve çirkin bir olaydı. Ben daha çok küçük yaşta olmama rağmen demek ki 55'ten önce gelmişiz olay çünkü 55'tir, ama onun dışında insanların birbiriyle son derece dostça bir ilişkisi vardı. Şimdi tabii, şu açıdan da çok ilginçti. Mesela Ramazan Bayramı diyelim ki Nisan'a ya da Mart'a rastladıkça, onu hatırlıyorum Mart'a rastladığı bir dönemdi, hemen arkasından Paskalya Bayramı geliyordu ve biraz sonra Musevilerin Hamursuzları geliyordu ve yani benim çocukluğumun skalası içerisinde baktığımız vakit bir bayram bitiyor öteki bayram başlıyordu. Bu tabii çocuklar için çok renkli bir şeydi. Gerek Türk çocukları gerek Rum çocukları iki dinin bir takım inceliklerini takip etme fırsatı buluyorlardı. Anne babalardan hatırlıyorum, karşıımızdaki Rum madam terziydi, o bize Ramazanda, Kurban Bayramında Şeker Bayramında mutlaka tebriğe gelirdi. Böyle

karşılıklı bir saygı, anlayış, incelik vardı. 6-7 Eylül olayı tabii tamimiyle siyasetin yürüttüğü bir olgu olarak karşımıza çıkıyor. Yoksa o İstanbul halkının kendi tavrıyla hiç ilgisi olmayan bir meseledir.

- 104 236 Ve İstanbul henüz bu kadar olumlu anlamıyla kozmopolit özelliklerini yitirmemişti. Mesela Paskalya hakikaten bütün pastanelerde ister pastanelerin bazılarının sahipleri Rum olsun ama bazılarının sahipleri Türktü. Mesela Melek Pastanesi vardı Sıraselviler’de. Onun sahipleri Türktü ama Paskalya geldiği vakit çok renkli yumurtalar işte tavşanlar çikolatalar...mesela çikolatayı açıyorsunuz, rengarenk yıldızlı kağıtlar, yine küçük küçük şekerlemeler vesaire...Mesela çok görsel olarak bir çocuğun yani benim hem iştahımı kabartan hem de görsel olarak beni besleyen bir atmosferi vardı. Yine tabii değişik dinlerin yan yana duruşundan doğan bir şey.
- 109 237 Yani başka bir ortamdı bu doku. Rum, özellikle Rumların ayrılmasıyla birlikte İstanbul kentinin tabii çok büyük bir özelliği bitti. Bu neydi, özellikle iyi bir yeme içme sanatı. O onların varlığıyla, yani onların hizmet şekilleri, müşteriye ağırlama şekilleri, bunların hepsinde çok büyük bir görgü vardı. Adeta bir garson değil, bir lord gibi bizi ağırlarlardı. O ortam bir anda çözüldü. Tabii onun yansımaları 1950lerden bugüne kadar party party geldi. Tabii bunun İstanbul kültürüne, memleket kültürüne-çünkü İstanbul bir anlamda bütün memleketi temsil eden bir büyük kent- hiç hayırlı bir şey olduğunu hiçbir zaman düşünmedim.
- 110 238 Bir defa Cihangirde komşuluk ilişkileri son derece yoğundu. Hem kapı karşı komşularınız hem de bitişik komşularınızla çok yakın bir akrabalığa neredeyse dönüşmüş olan bir yakınlık vardı. Onun dışında bugün olmayan şeylerden biri, hanımların kabul günleri veya misafir günleri. Her hanımın ayın belli bir günü vardı. Mesela annemin her ayın ikinci Pazartesi günüydü. Öyle bir günleri olurdu. Hanımlar kendi aralarında buluşurdu. Çocuklar da küçükse götürülürdü. Akşam saatlerine yakın evin babasının gelmesine yakın herkes çil yavrusu gibi dağılırdı. Tabii yine şehir görgüsü vardı. O gün çok farklı ikramlar yapılırdı. Tuzlu bisküvi ve evde yapılan özel şeyler sunulurdu. İlerde Savoy gibi ya da Melek pastanesi gibi çok şık pastaneler vardı belki ama pastaneden alınmazdı. Mutlaka evde hazırlanmış olmalıydı, bu bir incelikti. Bir de akşam ahbablıkları vardı. Bunların bir kısmı yemek sonrası ahbablıklarıydı. Özellikle Cuma, Cumartesi gibi tatil gecelerine rastlayan, Ayfer Tunç’un kitabının isime koyduğu gibi “Bir maniniz yoksa...” tam öyleydi. Bazen de yemekli akşam toplantıları olurdu. Bu komşuluklar içinde çok yakınlaşmış olanlar birbirlerinin evine yemeğe giderdi. Bir sofraya kurulur, bir şeyler içilir, radyonun hakim olduğu yıllardı. İstanbul radyosunun programları dinlenirdi.

- 110 239 Ege Bahçesini ben 1955'ten önceki dönem olarak alırım. Ege Bahçesi o günlerde Cihangir'in akciğeri idi. Hoş Cihangir her zaman Akciğer vazifesi görmüştür. Bizim küçüklüğümüzde arsalar çoktu. Cihan Parkın orada ısırgan otları vardı.
- 111 240 Rum çocuklar ve Türk çocukların arkadaşlıkları çok iyiydi. Aleko vardı mesela, şarapçının oğlu. Şarap dükkanları vardı onların. Çok iyi arkadaşlardı. Çok Rum vardı. Şimdiki müşterilerim de benim eski Rum madamlar. Cihangir'de parkımız vardı. Top oynardık çocukken. Şimdi Cihangir Parkı oldu.
- 111 241 Burada yangın yeri denilen Tophane Müzesinin üstündeki yere, Roma Bahçesi'nin olduğu yer yani, eskiden yangın yeri diyorduk oraya, oraya cambazhane kurulurdu. Tahta bacaklı gelirdi. Sirk gibi bir şey kurulurdu. Cambazlar vardı varyeteler vardı. Çocukluğumda hatırlıyorum bunları yani.
- 111 244 İnsanlar yok pahasına evlerini satıp kaçtılar. Bir de 65'te İsmet İnönü Yunanlıları sürünce o zaman Cihangir yağma oldu. Çoğu ev bloke oldu. Ne zaman 64'ten sonra Rumlar gitti, Anadoludan gelenler kapıcılık yaparken para biriktirip ev sahibi oldular. Şu an Cihangirde bir çok evin sahibi aslında vaktiyle kapıcılık yaparak ev sahibi olanlar.
- 112 248 Cihangir'de sadece Rumlar, gayrimüslimler değil eski hanımefendi Türkler de vardı. Eski İstanbul hanımefendileri vardı yani. Onlar eşleriyle çıktıklarında sokağa, eşlerinin ayakkabıları gıcırdaydı. Biz kadınlar da 16 punt topuklu ayakkabı giyerdik. İnsanların yürüyüşünden hanımefendi, beyefendi oldukları belli olurdu.
- 113 250 Yani 6-7 Eylül öncesinin veya sonrasında Türk-Rum çocuğu arkadaşlığı o kadar enteresandı ki, bitişimizdeki apartmanda işte Yaniler oturuyor, ben yaşta Yani, onların oturduğu apartmanın 3. Katında da- bu arada 2. Katında da Beyaz Rus bir hanım oturuyor-3. Katta da yaşlı bir Rum madam oturuyor...
- 114 251 Çocukluk yılları olarak yaklaşık 40'lı 42'li yıllarımdan beri hatırlıyorum. Tabii o zamanlar hem trafik bu kadar yoğun değil, hem insanlar bu kadar kötü değildi. Biz küçük yaştan itibaren, ilkokulun birinci sınıfına giderken dahi sokakta oynadık. Okuldan eve gelir gelmez, çantaları evin kapısından içeri atar ve mevsimine göre ne oyun varsa oynardık bütün mahallenin çocuklarıyla beraber.
- 117 259 Bugünün Cihangirinde yüzdesi noksan bir kozmopolitlik var. Yani Türkler çoğunlukta. Yine konsolosluk erkani ve yabancı öğretmenler var. Yine dışarıdan Türkiye'ye yada İstanbul'a ticaret yapmak için gelen kişiler de Cihangir'in halkı olarak sahneyi dolduruyor. Keşke kozmopolit olsa. Cihangir bu modern bar-cafe niteliğinde iş yerlerinin açılmasıyla bu tarz insanların buraya gelmeleriyle onların açısından kozmopolit oldu denebilir. Ama onlar oranın hiçbir zaman gerçek halkı değil. Şimdi kozmopolitten ne anladığımız tartışılır. Ben o

günkü yaşamdaki insanların karışık hep beraber aynı havayı teneffüs etmelerinden kaynaklanan durumu kast ediyorum. Bugün o kalmadı. Mesela bizim Havyar Sokak'ta ya 3 aile vardır ya da 5 aile vardır bizim gibi uzun süreli oturan, bugüne kadar kalabilen.

- 156 313 Türkiye'de genel bir milliyetçileşme falan filan. Bir takım geleneksel kimliklere bu din olabilir, milliyet olabilir, bir çekilme var. Bunun da at başı giden doğal olarak bir hoşgörüsüzlük, kendi gibi olmayanı kabul etmeme gibi falan filan gibi şeyler var. Belli bir kozmopolitizm seviyesine gelmiş, ona göre bir eğitimi olan, ona göre bir dünya görüşü olan insanların öteden beri gücü geleneksel mahallelerde rahat etmeleri filan. Şimdi iyice bir güçleşti. Onun için bir takım hala olabilecek yerlere doğru çekiliyorlar. İşte bu durumu anlatabilecek bir takım metaforlar, işte beyaz türk siyah türk Cihangir Cumhuriyeti gibi ürettikleri yerler oluyor.
- 167 344 Buna bağlı olarak Havyar Sokak ve Havyar Sokak'ın açılımda bulunduğu avluları içine alan bir proje çalışması içerisine girdik. Sadece bunu yapmakla bir noktaya varamayacağımızı gördüğümüz andan itibaren Tarih Vakfı ile temasa geçtik. Cihangir Güzelleştirme Derneği ile temasa geçtik. Sokağın hem sosyal dokusu hem de yapısal dokusu konusunda bir araştırma içerisine girmek durumunda hissettik kendimizi. Buna bağlı olarak Havyar Sokak'ta geçmiş dönemlerde yaşamış olan kişiler konusunda bilgi toplamaya başladık.
- 170 345 Artık o projenin sunumu ve açılış noktasına geldiğimizde hala sokakta oturan Rumlar kimileri kekler yaptı, pastalar, börekler, aslında sokağın bir kendi kendine kutlaması haline dönüştü. Buna bağlı olarak Beyoğlu Belediye başkanı da bu projeyi sahiplendi ve bu projenin Cihangir ölçeğinde yaygınlaşarak, Cihangir sokaklarının rehabilitasyonu anlamında bir proje haline dönüşmesini sağlamaya çalıştı. Bunu mümkün olduğunca da ulusal basınla da paylaştık. Ulusal basın da bu anlamda olumlu bir tepki verdi. Ve o sürecin sonuna gelirken de biz kendi sokağımızda bulunan bütün apartmanların zemin katlarını-aslında bu bir restorasyon değildi ama en azından restorasyonu tetikleyici bir hareket olur diye zemin katları kendi imkanlarımızla elden geçirdik, rehabilite ettik, boyadık. Ve apartmanlara dedik ki biz size bu projeyi hazırladık elimizden geldiğince sponsorlar sayesinde bunları sağlayabildik, arkadaşlarımız ve dostlarımız, bütün apartmanları belli bir kata kadar boyayıp bundan sonrasını da siz devam edin diye bir süreç başlattık. İnsanlar da bunu sahiplendiler ve ilk Havyar Sokak'taki apartmanlar kendi içlerinde örgütlenerek apartmanlarını boyama sürecine girdiler. Tabii bu bir yandan bazı şeyleri olumlu tetikledi. Yıllardır bakımsız kalmış bütün Cihangir'deki apartmanlar belli bir bakım sürecine girmeye başladı. O projede öngörmüş olduğumuz belediyenin de sahiplenmesi sonucu tek yön uygulaması, kaldırımların ve yolların elden geçirilmesi, çöp, yeşil, aydınlatma sorunlarına el atılması sürecini doğurdu ama tabii bunlar belirli bir planlı ve projeli bir süreç içerisinde gelişmediği için biraz da sanki tiyatro dekoru gibi bir sürecin içerisine girdi. Yani yapıların

gerçek anlamda bir restorasyon sürecine girmeyip yapının ön cephesi boyanıp arka cephesi hala 50 yıl önceki haliyle kaldı.

- 171 348 Ama 2004 itibariyle kelimelerle ifade edemeyeceğim kadar yoğun bir talep oluşmaya başladı. Bunu da ben biraz son 2 yıl içerisinde çok yoğun bir yerli dizi televizyonda yapım süreci başladı. Bu yapım süreci yıllardır belli bir standartta yaşayan sanatçı kesimin gelir düzeyini biraz arttırıp ekonomik anlamda üst tabakaya ulaşmasını sağladı. Yıllardır burada oturan yabancılardan oluşan, özellikle konsolosluklarda çalışanlardan oluşan bir kesim vardı, bir azınlıklar vardı ve bir şekilde semti oluşturan yıllardır sanatçı kimliğine sahip kişiler, yazarlar, devlet tiyatrosunda çalışan insanlar da vardı. Ama son iki yıl içerisinde biraz da popüler kelimesini hak eden sürece bağlı olarak dediğim anlamdaki bugüne kadar burada oturmamış ama sanatçı kesimden insanların yoğun bir şekilde burada oturma talebi başladı.
- 172 349 Bakkal düğün yapıyordu, davul zurna getiriyordu, öbür tarafta Cemil İpekçi oturuyordu, işte benim arkadaşım bir takım insanlar bir yandan oturuyordu. Dediğim gibi epeyce bir spectrumu geniş. Ama sonuç olarak bu dışlayıcı zengin falan dediğimiz tipler orayı sevmiyorlardı. Yani Gurme adıyla bir mezeci açılıyorsa, bizim market olarak başlayan Esat şarapçıya çeviriyorsa falan demek ki oraya doğru bir gidiş var. Gentrification Cihangir’de tam olmadı ama o yola girmiş gibi görünüyor şu anda.
- 173 351 Ama bu bütün şehirlerde aslında olan bir şeydir aslında. Bir yerler batır bir yerler çıkar. Fransa’da Mare, Paris’te. Son zamanlarda orası örneği olarak alınabilir gentrificationin olduğu. Ama oralarda mesela, yani Mare’de galeriler açıldı mesela, yani daha böyle bir kültürden giderek oldu ama mesela Londra’da Miada Vale diye bir sürü yerin ortasında kalmış, Allah’ın unuttuğu bir yer dedikleri, işte orada siyahlar yoğun bir şekilde oturuyorlardı. Ama bugün yuppie dediğimiz adamların İngiliz muadilleri gelip orada mülk almaya başladılar. Miada Vale o hale geldi falan.
- 176 361 Şimdi şu 5-6 senenin Cihangir’inin evlerinin fiyatlarını yükseltenler ekseri yeni yetişen, hani bu dizilerde oynayanlar var ya, 300-500 veremiyorlardı, 1 milyar 1.5 milyar veriyorlardı. Oradan fırlıyor işte. Hiçbir fiyat veremem. Çünkü mesela şu bende 10 lira mesela, öbüründe 20 lira. 250-300 milyardan aşağı satılık daire yok. Kiralar dolar üzerinden. Son 10 yılda acayip bir artış başladı. Cihangir yine Cihangir’dir. Biraz abartı.
- 177 362 Bir de bunun yanı sıra, bu sürece bağlı olarak tabii yönetmenlerin, bu tip oluşumun, organizasyonun tepesinde bulunan kişilerin de burada olmasına bağlı olarak çok genç, sanatçı olmaya namzet kitlenin de yoğun bir talebi oldu. Bu arz-talebe bağlı olarak tabii akıl, mantık dışı mülklerde ve kiralarda bir artış meydana geldi. Yani 1’e 3. Yani 1 oda

bir salon. Mekan bulmak zaten mümkün değil. Mekan boşalacak da insanlar kira tutacaklar. Şu an Cihangir full kapasite dolu. Bir yer çıktığı an o yer anında ertesi gün veya aynı gün orası tutulabiliyor. Veya biri bir evi satmak istediği zaman çok fazla beklemeden, çok astronomik rakamlar istemiyorsa anında satılabiliyor. Yani gayrimenkul anlamında korkunç bir cazibe merkezi haline dönüşmüş durumda. Yani çok somut örneği, bir arka sokakta, Matara Sokak'ta biz kirada oturuyorduk. 1 oda 1 salon bir mekanda otururken kendi evimizin restorasyonu tamamlanıp taşındığımız an biz 690 civarında bir kirayla oturuyorduk, çıktığımız günün akşamı 900 küsur milyondan anında kiraya verildi. Yani şu an burada ufacık, 20-25 metre kare bir yeri 1 milyardan aşağı bulmak mümkün değil. Tabii bu da neye sebep olmuş oldu. En yine gözümüzün önündeki fotoğraf Havyar Sokak'ta. Yıllardır merhabalaştığımız benim bildiğim yaklaşık 5 tane gayrimüslim madam burayı terketmek zorunda kaldı. 2004'e kadar madamlar vardı. 2004'e kadar hatta 1 yıl öncesine kadar karşımızdaki apartmanda 2 tane oturan vardı, sağ hemen yandaki apartmanda 2 hane vardı.

- 177 366 Sadece Cihangir'in olayı değil cafeler. Dönüşüm sadece Cihangir'de değil, bütün Beyoğlu. Çok özel bir durum diyemeyeceğim Cihangire. Beyoğlunun genel dönüşümü içerisinde, Cihangir de bunun parçası. Cihangir'e özgü bir cafe diye bir şey yok. Olay Leyla, Cihangir değil. Leyla Tozkoparan da açarsan, oraya da giderler.
- 179 367 Kahveme erkekler geliyor. Anadolu kökenli. Sivas, Çorum, Erzincanlılar. Karma yani. Kapıcı ya da kapıcılıktan emekliler. Pek gençler gelmiyor. Cihangir ve çevre sokaklardan insanlar gelenler. Zamanla cafeye dönüştürmek isterim ama bu iş çevre işi.
- 181 368 Daha evvel sakalar vardı, tenekelerle su satarlardı. Anadolu'dan gelenler vardı. Bekarlar otururdu. Rumlar vardı. Zaman zaman konuşacak adam bile bulunmuyordu. Onların lisanını bilmediğim için. Şimdi tahsilli, tiyatrocü, sinemacılar geliyor. Hayvanları da. 5 senedir burada hareketlilik var. Gençler geliyor genelde. Eskiden şirketler filan yoktu burada. Şimdi şirketler var. Orada çalışanlar geliyor. Bankalarda çalışanlar geliyor. Dışarıdan gelenler de var. Orta halli. Sinemacılar, tiyatrocular. Hastanede çalışanlar.
- 181 369 Yalnız Cihangirde çok café var ama dışarıdan insan gelmez pek. Cihangirde oturanlar gelir. Buranın cafeleri Beyoğlundakiler gibi değil. Buraya Çeliklepeden Gültepeden insanlar gelmiyor mesela. Ancak yazın dışarıdan gelenler çoğalıyor. Burası çok kafesi olan güzel bir yer ama dışarıdan müşterisi olan çok az. Yani müşterilerin çoğu Cihangirde oturanlar. Ama tabii Cihangire sonradan gelenler. Cihangirin şu an yaş ortalaması çok genç, eskiden yaşlılar vardı, Cihangirin sakinlerinin yaş ortalaması daha fazlaydı. Şimdi genç nesil var burada. İnsanlar hiç olmazsa haftanın bir iki günü dışarıda yemek yiyorlar artık. Genellikle yerel insanlar, aynı insanlar.

- 185 373 Şimdi kimseyi tanımıyoruz. Eskiden komşuluğu bilirdik, akşamları buluşurduk, konuşurduk. Onlar yok tabii. Cihangir çok iyiydi, herkes birbirini tanır oturur konuşurdu. Müslim gayrimüslim gayet dostane bir dostlukları vardı. Zamanla tabii değişti. Şimdi karşıdaki adamın kim olduğunu tanımıyorsun. O devirde herkesi tanırdım. Nüfuz azdı.
- 185 374 Maalesef bu kültürler artık Cihangirde kalmadı. Eski kültür Cihangirde hemen hemen yok oldu bitti. Buranın sadece havası var artık. Nerede oturuyorsun denildiğinde Cihangirde oturuyorum denildiğinde havasıyla yaşayan bir şey. Kiralar tavan yaptı. İnsanlar burada oturmuş olmak için kiralyorlar yerleri ama 3 ay sonra ödeyemeyip gidiyorlar. Devamlı kabuk değiştiren bir yer haline geldi Cihangir.
- 186 376 Eski Rumlardan yok denecek kadar az kaldı. Onlar da zaten fakir ve ihtiyar. Yeni gelenler kendi kültürleriyle geliyorlar. Bu yeni gelenlerin hali burada yarım asırdır yaşayan bir adamın hoşuna gitmiyor tabii. Ama yapacak bir şey yok. Burası adeta bir “serbest yer” e dönüştü. Eski köklü Rum aileleri kalmadı. Yeni gelenler medyatik tipler. Filmlerde oynayan figüranlar. Ayrıca burada yabancılar da mülk sahibi oldular.
- 186 377 Üç farklı kesim görüyorum Cihangir’de. Birincisi tinerci grubu. Kapkaççı, hırsız. Buradaki otoparkların da işin içinde olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bu hırsızların evlere de girdiğini çok sıklıkla duyuyorum. İkinci kesim, ki bence en iyi grup bu, sinema, tiyatro, prodüksiyon dünyasından insanlar. Üçüncü olarak da Nişantaşı-Bağdat Caddesi grubu var. Yaşam tarzı, giyim, yani tarz olarak Cihangir’de yaşamak isteyenler.
- 187 378 Şimdi iyi. Çok iyi bence şimdi. Yine en iyi yer. Eski Cihangirli olmasa da yine İstanbul’un en iyi muhitlerinden biri. Herkesin kendi halinde oluşu, rejisöründen menajerine kadar. Şurada camiinin altında salaş bir kahve var, bütün dizilerde gördüğümüz aktörler filan gayet mütevazı orada oturuyorlar. Ben çok iyi buluyorum.

APPENDIX B

WHO LIVED IN CIHANGIR IN 1929?

NAMES AND ADDRESSES RECORDED IN SIRASELVI STREET, FIRUZAGA, AND CIHANGIR IN THE 1929 OFFICIAL ISTANBUL TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

- Aciman Galip. Siraselvi, Yakimopulo Apt. 2
- Ahmet Vefik B. Cihangir 27
- Ali Naci B. Siraselvi. Kahyaoğlu Apt. 1/3
- Arnavut Konsoloshanesi(Albanian Consulate).Siraselvi 12
- Attaché Militaire de Roumanie.Office. Siraselvi 39
- Attaché Naval de l' Ambassade du Japan. Firuzaga 7, Housep Apt. 2
- Barzilay I. Abraham. Siraselvi 144, Apostolides Apt. 3
- Baso Mari Madam. Siraselvi, Cevdet Bey H. 3
- Bay Rafael Madam. Firuzaga, Soğancı St. Marinos Apt. 4
- Belkis Hanımefendi. Siraselvi 104
- Benjamin Pepe. Siraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 3/3
- Beraha Hayim. Siraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 7/3
- Beyoğlu Zükur Hastanesi (Hospital). Firuzaga
- Billiotti Adrien. Siraselvi 127
- Boton Is.(de). Siraselvi, Yakomopulo H. 4
- Castelli Neark Madam. Siraselvi, Aruslar St. Rizzo Apt. 3
- Chiurco Paride de. Rumkabristan St. Hrisovergi Apt. 10
- Consulat Général d' Albanie. Siraselvi
- Danon Robert. Siraselvi, Kahyaoğlu Apt. 10
- Del Medico H. E. Siraselvi 105-109, 2nd Floor
- Eliaska Nikola K. Siraselvi 24
- Emin B. (Mehmet). Siraselvi, Kahyaoğlu Apt.
- Eprem Üzümyemezyan. Siraselvi, Gravier Apt. 2
- Eskenazi Josef. Siraselvi 160, Kritikos Apt. 2
- Farmakides Evantiya. Siraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 40
- Fatma Necmiye Hanım. Siraselvi, Kahyaoğlu Apt. 15
- Fein Iréne. Terzi (Tailor). Siraselvi 38, Hrisovergi Apt. 2
- Feldmad Leon. Siraselvi 133, Yakomopulo Apt. 3
- Fikret ve Refet B. Cihangir, Tulumba Aralık Yokuşu, Mehmet Ali Paşa (Pahsa).
Konağı (Mansion)
- Gabay Robert. Siraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 3
- Gabriyelides Atanas Madam Katerin. Siraselvi, Pulussi Apt. 5
- Garaj Belvü. Cihangir, Soğan Çıkmazı 37-41

Gazyadi Yannis. Sıraselvi, İstanbulyan H. 5 4. Kat
George André. Mühendis (Engineer). Sıraselvi 133, Yakomopulo H. 4
Gindorff Aug. Tramvay ve Tünel Ş. Müdürü (Director of Tramline and Tube).
Sıraselvi 51
Gulbenkyan Apel. Dr. Sıraselvi 6-8
Hopital Hommes de Péra. Firuzağa
Hopital Italien. Defterdar Yokuşu, Salıpazar
Hüsametdin Ahmet B. Cihangir, Sormagir St. 4
İsmail Hakkı B. Asri Kasap(Butcher). Sıraselvi
İsmail Hilmi B. Firuzağa, Haydar B. Apt.
İsmail Memduh B. Firuzağa, Bolulu Mustafa Efendi Apt.
Isobella Roggero. Sıraselvi, Somuncu St. Dimakis Apt. 6
İsviçre (Siyasi Mümessilliği) Sefareti (Swiss Legation). Sıraselvi 6
İtfaiye Müdürlüğü Müdür İhsan B. Firuzağa, Osman Kadri B. Hanesi
İtfaiye İhbar Mahalli. Cihangir, Özoğlu St. 23-25
Japon Ataşe Militeri(Japanese Attaché Militaire). Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, Saadet Apt. 2
Japon Sefareti Ataşe Navali. Sakabaşı, Saadet Apt. 4
Joanides S. Cihangir, Acıçeşme St. 46
Julien-Laferrière L. Sıraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 4
Kallivopulos D. Firuzağa, Terlikçi St. Kallivopulos Apt. 4/4
Kamhi D. R. Sıraselvi, Kahyaoğlu Apt. 130
Kamil B. Dr. and Fuat B. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokuş 4
Kamileris Hristas. Sıraselvi, Soğancı St. Kasapyan Apt. 6-7
Karamauna G. I. Sıraselvi, Kahyaoğlu Apt. 12
Kemalettin B. Hafızağa Z. Firuzağa, Mavridi Apt. 1
King P. E. Tüccar (Tradesman). Sıraselvi 43/1
Kirkü Margaritis. Sıraselvi Pazarı. Sıraselvi 149
Konstantinides Spiro. Sıraselvi, Firuzağa 75, Yorgaki H. 8
Kurdacı Aram. Firuzağa, Krespi Apt. 9
Kutzoğlu Bir. Sıraselvi, Soğancı St. Papadopulos Apt. 19
Lambiki Konstantin. Sıraselvi, Aruslar St. Rizzo Apt.
Légation de Belgique. Sıraselvi 57-59
Légation du Pologne. Sıraselvi 139
Légation du Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes. Sıraselvi 31
Légation (Mission Diplomatique) de Suisse. Sıraselvi 55
Malhasyan. Sıraselvi, Kahyaoğlu Apt. 9
Mango Demetr A. Sıraselvi 126
Mavrodi Yorgi. Firuzağa, Soğancı St. 9, Mavrodi H. 6
Mehmet Burhanettin B. Firuzağa Camiisi Karşısında (Across the Firuzağa Mosque)
18
Mehmet Kamil B. Hacı Şakir Z. Soğancı Çıkmazı, Cihangir Palas
Mothu Francine Madam Dul. Sıraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 4
Nahum Alfred. Sıraselvi 145, İstanbulyan H. 4
Nati Hektor. Firuzağa, Soğancı Çıkmazı, Konstantinidis Apt. 1
Naum George H. Sıraselvi 132-146
Nazım B. Kahyaoğlu H. 8
Necip B. Hrisovergi Apt. 26
Necmettin Molla B. Kışlık İkam.(Winter Domicile). Cihangir, Sabık Japon
Sefarethanesi (Japanese Légation)
Nemli Z. Mithat B. Sıraselvi 33

Neşet Kasım. Soğancı Çıkmaızı, Mavridi Bir Apt. 4
Paralli Mois. Sıraselvi, Ahmet Cevdet B. Apt. 3
Polizoes Perikles. Firuzağa, Huriye Hanım Apt. 3/3
Posancis Alexander. Sıraselvi, Apostolides Apt. 2
Prenses (Princess) Galitzin. Sıraselvi, Aruslar St. Pulisis Apt. 4
Raichlen Henry. Sıraselvi, Almanya Sefarethanesi Kurbunda
Ring Priscilla M. Amerika P. A. Muhabiri (American P. A. Correspondent).
Firuzaga, Tefik B. Apt. 4
Rodier. Cihangir, Terlikçi Çıkmaızı St. Kalyonopulo Apt. 3
Rogers W. H. Sıraselvi, Ahır St. 20
Romanya Ataşe Militeri (Romanian Attaché Militaire). Sıraselvi 39
Sadettin Rifat B. Firuzaga, Sakabaşı, Saadet Apt. 3/3
Salahettin Rifat B. Soğancı St. Cihangir Palas 3
Samatraki T. Efrosini. Sıraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 5
Poste d' Avertissement. Cihangir. Özoğlu St. 23-25
Schede Martin Dr. Dir. Bureau Archaeologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches.
Sıraselvi 100
Scheggi Adolphe. Sıraselvi 122, Graviye Apt. 1
Scheggi R. Firuzaga, Krespi Apt. 6
Sırmıoğlu Nikolas P. Sıraselvi, Somuncu St. Polissi Apt. 6
Siderides Dimitri. Boya Tüccarı (Dye Tradesman). Sıraselvi 11
Sotiryadis Emanuell. Soğancı Çıkmaızı, Papadopulo Apt.
Spandonidu Olga. Sıraselvi, Köseoğlu Apt. 19
Spiridion S. Sıraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 40
Stavridis Nikola. Bakkal (Grocer). Hocazade St. 24
Stavropulos Mina. Cihangir, Kaptan St.
Stavropulo Vasil. Köseoğlu Apt. 3
Steiner Edwin. Sıraselvi, Aruzlar 13, Jones H. 4
Stöckel Richard. Sıraselvi, Soğancı St. Cihangir Palas 4/3
Süleyman Sami B. Sıraselvi 136
Tevfik Remzi B. Firuzaga, İtalyan Hastanesi Karşısı (Across the Italien Hospital),
Mari Apt.
Tripo K. Sofi Madam. Sıraselvi 47
Vahit B. Barut ve Fişek İnhisar Şirketleri Reisi (Head of Gunpowder and Cartridge
Company). Sıraselvi 108, Graviye Apt.
Vitte L. K. Sıraselvi, Aruslar St. Rizzo H. 4
Waugh A. T. Aruzlar St. 3, Rizzo H.
Yovanides Michel. Sıraselvi, Hosepyan H. 3
Terzi (Tailor) Bierstein Ferry Matmazel (Mademoiselle). Hrisovergi Apt.
Legrain Michel. Sıraselvi 4, Galitzi Apt. 4

APPENDIX C

WHO LIVED IN CIHANGIR IN 1933?

NAMES AND ADDRESSES RECORDED IN CIHANGIR IN THE 1933

OFFICIAL ISTANBUL TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

Adosides Alexi. Dr. Rum Kabristan St. Sıracı Apt. 3
Agoroğlu Alexandros. Cihangir, Susam St. 9-11 Melek Apt. 3rd Floor, 4
Agoroğlu Alexandros and Anastas Theodoridis. Ege Bahçe Gazino (Public Garden),
22-26
Ahmed Cevdet B. Sıraselvi St. 8-10, 3rd Floor, 5
Ahmet Vefik B. Cihangir, 27
Alaettin B. Tophane, Eski Salıpazar, Ahmet Fethi Paşa(Pahsa) Konağı (Mansion),
487
Ali Saip B. Molla Hüseyin Zade. Cihangir, Kazancılar, Somuncu St. 19
Alman Hastanesi (German Hospital). Sıraselvi, 100
Ananiadis Constantin. Cihangir, Havyar St. 2
Apikian J. Sıraselvi, Aslanyatağı St. 13 Jones Apt. 4th Floor, 5
Archaeologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches. Sıraselvi St. 100
Aznavour Leon. Sıraselvi St. Cihangir Palas, 2nd Floor, 2
Baha B. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, 2 Mesadet Apt. Ground Floor, 1
Barzilay I. Abraham. Sıraselvi St. 144 Apostolides Apt. 3
Behar Salamon Yeshua. Sıraselvi St. 4 Galiçi Apt. 1st Floor, 2
Behçet B. Oğuzoğlu. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı St. 14 Hacı Orhan B. Apt. 1st Floor, 2
Behiye Asaf H. Sıraselvi St. 13-15 Aslan Apt. 4th Floor, 5
Belgian Legation. Sıraselvi St. 2
Belovich Igor. Sıraselvi St. 141 Hilmi Bey Apt. 3
Besso M. R. S. Sıraselvi St. 144 Hulusi Bey Apt. 1st Floor, 2
Bihzat Nazım B. Sıraselvi St. 130 Hayat Apt. 6th Floor, 15
Blumberg Luici. Cihangir, Lenger St. 15 Strati H. 3rd Floor, 5
Boton Armand. Cihangir, Güneşli St. Mühürdaroğlu Apt. Ground Floor, 1
Burghard P. Manager of Deutsche Bank. Sıraselvi St. 38 Rizzo Apt. 2nd Floor
Castelli Neark Madam. Sıraselvi, Aruslar St. 38 Rizzo Apt. 3rd Floor
Cevat B. Professor of Law. Cihangir, Kaptan St. 42
Jones C. R. Aruslar St. 13 Jones Apt. 2
Jones Wm. J. Cihangir, Aslanyatağı St. 21
Chavidis Hristo. Yıldız Bakkaliyesi (Grocery Shop). Sıraselvi St. 131
Dabas Pandazi. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 12 Cihan Palas 6/7
Danon Robert. Sıraselvi St. Kahyaoglu Apt. 10
Darr Emile. Yeni Meşelik St. 36 Hrisovergi Apt. 3/7
Dilg Hermann. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, Mesadet Apt. 3/5
Dirach Leon. Sıraselvi, 38 Hrisovergi Apt. 4th Floor, 9
Edip Behçet B. Cihangir, Yeniçeşme St. 17 Uğurlu Apt. 3rd Floor, 3
Ege Bahçe ve Gazinosu (Public Garden). Cihangir, Susam St. 22-26
Eliasko Nikola. Sıraselvi St. 24

Esayan Mektebi (School). Rum Kabristan St.
Fein Irene. Tailor. Sıraselvi, 38 Hrisovergi Apt. 2
Faraci Moris. Sıraselvi St. Cevdet Bey Apt.
Farmakides Evantia. Sıraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 40
Ferhan Sabit B. Cihangir Süthanesi (Dairy Products). Cihangir, Susam St. 17
Feri Robert. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı St. Mesadet Apt. 4th Floor, 8
Fikret and Refet B. Cihangir, Mehmet Ali Paşa (Pahsa) Konağı (Mansion)
Fogt. Ernst. Dr. Cihangir, 22 Mühürdaroğlu Apt. 6th Floor, 7
Fotika Madam. Cihangir, Bakraç St. Facing the Belvü Garage. Tefvik Bey Apt. 5
Fuat B. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, Hüseyin Hüsnü Paşa (Pahsa) Hanesi (Mansion)
Gabay Robert. Sıraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 3
Gabrielides Atanas Madam Katerin. Sıraselvi, Çokşükür Apt. 2nd Floor, 5
Garage Belvü. Cihangir, Soğançıkmazi, 37-41
Gassner Nikolas. Sıraselvi, Aslanyatağı St. 13-15 Aslan Apt. 4th Floor, 5
Gerson Rachel. Rumkabristan St. Hrisovergi Apt. 3
Haf V. Sıraselvi, Aruzlar S. 38 Rizzo Apt. Ground Floor, 1
Halkiopoulos Pierre. Sıraselvi, Kritiko Apt. 3rd Floor, 4
Hancıyan Herant. Rumkabristan St. Hrisovergi Apt. 1
Hikmet Faik B. Firuzağa 61 Ethem Bey Apt. 2nd Floor, 4
Hough W. Sıraselvi, Aruzlar St. 38 Rizzo Apt. Ground Floor, 1
İbrahim B. Havyar St. 29 Şenyurt Apt. 2nd Floor, 3
Isolabella Roggero. Cihangir, Uzunyol, 45
Swiss Legation. Sıraselvi St. 6
Italian Hospital. Salıpazarı, Defterdar Yokushu
İtfaiye Müdür (Fire Director) İhsan B. Firuzağa, Osman Kadri B. Hanesi
Kamhi D. R. Sıraselvi St. Kahyaoğlu Apt. 130
Kamileris Hristos. Cihangir, Firuzağa, Akarsu, Morfiades Apt. 3rd Floor, 3
Kardaras Yorgi. Grocer. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 7-2
Kemal Ragıp B. Cihangir, Firuzağa, Sakabaşı St.
Kendros Fotios. Cihangir, 28-30 Ciyano Apt. Top Floor
Kernick J. W. Cihangir, 38 Rizzo Apt. 3
Kirku Atanas. Cihangir Pazarı. Sıraselvi, Sirkelimescit, Soğancı St. 86
Constantinides Spiraki. Chief Translator of the Greek Patriarchate. Sıraselvi St. 75
Kapsali H. 3rd Floor, 8
Kumelas Kotcho. Odun Kömür Deposu (Coal Depot). Sıraselvi St. 129
Kuvelli Lambo. Sıraselvi Pazarı. Sıraselvi St. 149
Lehrner Jozef. Sıraselvi St. 4 Galizi Apt. 1
Macit Nusrat B. Sıraselvi St. 147 Hilmi Bey Apt. 3rd Floor, 4
Maçolini Nikola. Fuel Depot. Meşelik St. 32
Malhasian. Sıraselvi St. Kahyaoğlu Apt. 9
Mango Demetr A. Aruzlar St. 38 Rizzo Apt. 4th Floor, 4
Mansson G. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı St. 2 Mesadet Apt. 3rd Floor, 6
Mavrodi Yorgi. Firuzağa, Soğancı St. 9 Mavrodi H. 6
Mithat Ö. Karakoyunluoğlu. Firuzağa, Soğancı St. Hosepyan Apt. 1
Muzaffer Hatice Hanım. Sıraselvi ST. Yeni Hayat Apt. 5th Floor, 11
Munemura Ushio. Sıraselvi, Hosepyan Apt. 2
Mün'im Mustafa B. Akarsu St. Ayyıldız Apt. 4th Floor, 2
Naab Dr. Director of the German Hospital. Sıraselvi St. 100
Nati Hector. Firuzağa, Soğancıçıkmazi, Konstantinidis Apt.
Naum George. Sıraselvi St. 132-146

Nazım B. Ali Refik Paşa (Pahsa) Zade. Sıraselvi St. 130 Yeni Hayat Apt. 5th Floor, 12
Necmettin Molla B. Winter House. Cihangir, Özoğlu St. 24
Nemli Zade Mithat B. Sıraselvi St. 26
Nomismatides Alkiviadis. Dr. Akarsu St. 32 Refah Apt. 4
Paralli Moiz. Sıraselvi St. Ahmet Cevdet Apt. 3
Pistikas N. Apostolos. Architect. Meşelik St. 22 Pistikas Apt. 6
Polikar M. Marco. Sıraselvi St. 130 Yeni Hayat Apt. 7
Polizoes Perikles. Firuzağa, Huriye Hanım Apt. 3, 3rd Floor
Princess Galitzin. Sıraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 1
Sabri B. Zade Fuat B. Firuzağa, 40 Sabri Zade Fuat B. Apt. 2/3
Salahettin Rıfat B. Soğancı St. Cihangir Palas, 3
Schede Martin. Dr. Sıraselvi, 100
Scheggi Adolphe. Sıraselvi St. 122 Graviye Apt. 1
Scheggi R. Firuzağa, Krepsi Apt. 6
Schiller Ernest. Sıraselvi, Hayat Apt. 3rd Floor, 8
Schwartz Alfred. Soğancı St. Cihangir Palas, 1st Floor, 1
Selim B. Firuzağa, Halit Bey Apt. 2nd Floor
Sırmıoğlu Nikolas P. Sıraselvi, Somuncu St. 24 Çokşükür Apt. 3rd Floor, 6
Siderides Dimitri. Merchant. Sıraselvi St. 11
Siraji Madam. Rumkabristan St. 4 Siraji St.
Sotiri Yovanidi. Mobilyacı (Furniture Dealer). Cihangir, Bakraç St. 46 Kurtelli Apt. Ground Floor, 1
Sotiriadis Emanuel. Soğancıçıkmaç, Papadopoulo Apt.
Spiridon S. Sıraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 40
Stavridis Nikola. Grocer. Sıraselvi, Hocazade St. 24
Stavropoulo Mina. Cihangir, Kaptan St.
Steiner Edwin. Sıraselvi, Aruslar, 13 Jones Apt.
Tevfik B. Attorney. Cihangir, Bakraç St. Tevfik B. Apt. 3rd Floor, 5
Urani Hamit B. Madam. Sıraselvi St. 130 Hayat Apt. 1st Floor, 3
Viterbo Pacifico. Sıraselvi St. 130 Yeni Hayat Apt. 2nd Floor, 6
Zappion Pansiyona. Rum Kabristan St.

APPENDIX D

WHO LIVED IN CIHANGIR IN 1942?

NAMES AND ADDRESSES RECORDED IN CIHANGIR IN THE 1942

OFFICIAL ISTANBUL TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

Adil Pekar. Cihangir, Cihangir Yokushu, Baha Apt. 1st Floor, 2
Ahmed Şükrü Yener. Attorney. Sıraselvi St. Kristal Apt. 6
Ahmed Vefik. Cihangir, 27
Alexiadi Miltiadi Family. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, 27
Alfred de Kandiya. Deniz İş. Kom. Sıraselvi ST. 67 Cevdet Apt.
Ali Müezzinoğlu. Kazancı Yokushu, 12
Ali Öneş. Wood and Coal Store. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, Kantarcı St.
Alkalay A. Sıraselviler St. 130/7 Yeni Hayat Apt. 3rd Floor
Ananiadis Ligor. Sıraselvi St. 74 Hulusi Apt. 4
Apikian G. Sıraselviler St. 67 Cevdet Bey Apt. 3
Arif Hikmet Holtay. Architect. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 7 Karminati Apt.
Asım Tınaztepe. General. Sıraselviler St. Dinç Apt. 4
Attilio Colella. Official at Italian Consulate. Cihangir, Susam St. Çelik Apt.
Aziz Asal. Cihangir, Susam St. 29 Asal Apt. 3rd Floor, 3
Badi Leon. Sıraselviler St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 1
Baha. Cihangir Yokushu. 21 Baha Apt. 3rd Floor, 3
Balic Milo. Sıraselvi, Aslanyatağı St. Jones Apt. 3
Baroju Jean. Cihangir, Oba St. Beler Apt. 3rd Floor, 4
Bedia Sarp. Cihangir, Oba St. Hayri Bey Apt. 3
Bedri Tuncer. Sıraselviler, 14
Bellas Nikolas. Dr. Sıraselvi St. 144 Kapsali Apt.
Bivas Elias. Sıraselvi St. Cevdet Apt. 2nd Floor, 4
Brell E. Walter. Cihangir, Susam St. 12 Cihan Palas 1st Floor, 3
Brignaschi. Deputy Attaché, French Consulate. Cihangir, Susam St. Dürdane Apt.
Buchinski Romuald. Sıraselviler St. 89
Caslovschi Stefano. Cihangir, Oba St. Beler Apt. 3
Cavuri Alexander. Cihangir, Güneşli St. Yeşil Palas Apt. 3rd Floor
Celal Yıldız and Nehabet. Tobacco and Water. Sıraselvi St. 10
Cemil Necip Sağlık. Dr. Cihangir, Oba St. 13 Bahtiyar Apt. 2
Çalıkyan Hagop. Oba St. Mavrodi Apt. 4
Çamlıca Klübü (Club). Sıraselviler, 75 Hulusibey Apt. 1st Floor
Chatovich Angelus. Aslanyatağı Apt. 13 Jones Apt. 6
Dabas Pandazi. Cihangir, Cihangir St. Cihan Palas, 6th Floor, 7
Daleggio E. Antoine. Sıraselviler St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 11
Dapei Eloi. Sıraselviler St. 87 Hayat Apt. 2nd Floor, 4
Dekok Leonard. Official at Yugoslavian Consulate. Cihangir, Susam St. Ege Palas,
8/5

Demetriadi N. Constantin. Sıraselvi St. 4 Galiçi Apt. 2
Dickson Irene. Sıraselviler, 88 Hrisovergi Apt. 3rd Floor, 8
Dirac Leon. Sıraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 4th Floor, 9
Ege Bahçesi ve Gazinosu (Ege Public Garden). Ali Kıran, Teodiridi. Cihangir,
Susam St. 22/26
Elefteriadis Yorgi. Sıraselvi, Sıvacıoğlu Apt. 114
Eliasko Nikola. Sıraselvi St. 24
Eliapoulo Agamemnun. Sıraselviler St. 87 Yeni Hayat Apt. 2
Emin Erkul. Dr. (Former Mayor). Cihangir, Güneşli St. Nuri Bey Apt. 4
Emin Özler. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Santral Apt. 4th Floor, 10
Engonopoulos Kiriako. Cihangir, Uzunyol St. Cevdet Ferid Apt. 5
Ensar Biber. Bakery. Firuzağa 13
Eprem Hindamyan. Grocer. Sıraselviler St. Sümer Apt. 97-1
Erman Yorgo. Cihangir, Karadut St. İzmir Palas, 4
Fahreddin. Tophane, İlyas Çelebi St. 20, 5th Floor
Faruk Altın. Cihangir, Lenger St. Recai Bey Apt. 3
Ferid Cevdet. Sıraselviler St. 67 Cevdet Apt. Ground Floor, 1
Fethi Erden. Dr. Bacteriologist, Meşelik St. Ferah Apt. 1st Floor, 2
Feustel Hans Walter. Sıraselviler St. Amasya Apt. 8
Fikret Su and Refet Su. Cihangir, Mehmed Ali Paşa (Pasha) Konağı (Mansion)
Fuad Ören. Firuzağa, 40 Sabri Zade Fuad Bey Apt. 2nd Floor, 3
Gabrielides Atanas Katerin. Sıraselvi St. Çokşükür Apt. 2nd Floor, 5
Garage Sıraselvi. Petro Paskalides. Sıraselvi St. 153
Geelmuyden Hans. Sıraselvi St. 77 Kritiko Apt. 3rd Floor, 4
Gogas Vasil. Dairy Products. Meşelik St. 11
Gulezian Mesrob. Furniture Store. Sıraselviler St. 141
H. Sava Miltiades. Dr. Meşelik St. 36, 1st Floor, 3
Hadi İhsan Gediz. Dr. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, Coşkun St. Co. Apt.
Hady Elisabeth. Dr. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, Coşkun Apt. 3
Halid Köprücü. Engineer. Sıraselviler St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 3
Hami Dayıgil. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 43 Ender Apt. 4
Hamid Nazım Tansuğ. Cihangir, Oba St. 2/1 Yakut Apt. 3
Hamid Rıza Özbıçık. Cihangir St. Cevdet Ferid Apt. 3
Hamid Saraçoğlu. Port Official. Cihangir, Susam St. 24, 1st Floor
Hamopoulo George. Sıraselviler St. 99
Haydar Berkman. Firuzağa, Türkocağı St. 5 Şeref Apt. 4
Hayri Ergenç Karadut St. 33 Gündüz Apt. 4th Floor, 8
Hidayet Fuad Tuğay. Meşelik St. Pistikas Apt. 1st Floor, 2
Hisar A. Sıraselvi St. 151 Krespi Apt. 3rd Floor, 7
Huri Çırpan. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, Coşkun St. Huri Apt. 13
İbrahim Ergör. Cihangir, Havyar St. 19 Şenyurt Apt. 3
İbrahim Mahmud Özadar. Cihangir, Havyar St. Sakarya Apt. 4th Floor, 4
İhsan Ali Evrenosoğlu. Sıraselvi St. 120/97 Sümer Apt. 5
İsmail Fevzi Ataman. Cihangir, Kumrulu St. 38
İsmail Kadri Türkmen. Cihangir, Susam St. 18 Hamid Apt. 7
Isolabella Roggero. Uzunyol, 45
Italian Attaché Commercial. Domicile. Cihangir, Susam St. 18 Çelik Palas, 5
Joanidi Epaminondas. Cihangir, Sakabaşı, Tüfekçi Salih St. K. Ragıp Apt. 3
Jones C. R. Aruslar St. 13 Jones Apt. 2
Jones Wm. J. Cihangir, Aslanyatağı St. 21

Jongejan W. F. Cihangir, Susam St. 18 Çelik Palas Apt. 6
Jozef Dülgeroğlu. Asansör Mütteh. Cihangir, Şimşirci S. 4 Orhan Apt. 2
Kadri Cemali. Cihangir, Sakabaşı, Firuzan Apt. 2nd Floor, 3
Kalvokoresi George. Sıraselvi, Liva St. 9
Kamhi D. R. Sıraselvi St. Kahyaoğlu Apt. 130
Kamil Eğemen. Cihangir, Tavukuçmaz Yokushu. 2/4 Eğemen Apt. 1st Floor, 1
Kapetanidis Ilyas. Hünkar Suyu Deposu. Sıraselvi St. 38
Kastaldi Nadire. Sıraselviler St. 67 Cevdet B. Apt. 2
Castelli Neark Madam. Sıraselvi, Aruslar St. 38 Rizzo Apt. 3rd Floor
Kastro Saul. Sıraselvi St. Zigana Apt. 4, 3rd Floor
Katanos Kardeşler ve Oğulları (Katanos Siblings and Sons). Nea-Agora. Cihangir
Branch Shop. Cihangir, Oba St. 10
Kemal Ragıp Enson. Cihangir, Sakabaşı St.
Kemal Rebul. Chemist. Firuzaga, Engin Apt. 4
Kesimidis Mina. Sıraselviler St. Tennis Apt. 185/2-8
Kirku Atanas. Cihangir Pazarı. Sıraselvi, Sirkelimescit, Soğancı St. 86
Kober A. Cihangir, Güneşlilenger St. Olimpia Apt. 3
Kotcho Karlo. Sıraselvi St. 34-36
Konstantinidis Süzet. Cihangir, Sakabaşı, Coşkun St. 15
Kumelas Kotcho. Odun Kömür Deposu (Coal Depot). Sıraselvi St. 129
Kurtelli Nina. Sıraselviler St. Yusuf Şetran Apt. 3rd Floor
Kuyumcuyan V. Cihangir, Oba St. 7 Hosepian Apt. 2
Kvincke Hermann. Dr. Director of German Hospital. Sıraselvi St. 119
Lavarnette Saint-Maurice. Sıraselvi, Aslanyatağı St. 19, Jones Apt.
Lazaroğlu Sezar. Sıraselvi St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 12
Lebet Eduard. Sıraselviler, Aslanyatağı St. Rizzo Apt. 1
Lehrner Jozef. Sıraselvi St. 4 Galizi Apt. 1
Latvian Consulate General. Sıraselviler, 23 Rizzo Apt. 2
Levi Hermann. Dr. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 62 Miray Apt. 1
Litopoulos P. D. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. 4/2 Gül Apt. 3
Lucien Abdülhak Hamid. Sıraselvi St. 67 F. Cevdet Apt. 5
Malhas K. Sıraselviler St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 9
Mamboury Ernest. Cihangir, Susam St. 10 Cihan Palas Apt. 2/4
Mavrodi Yorgi. Soğancı St. 9 Mavrodi H. 6
Melik Koç. Sıraselviler, 90 Çığirtkan Apt. 2
Mensucat Santral Ltd. S. Hanri Bali. Sıraselviler St. Ayla Apt. 3
Methi Said. Cihangir, Susam St. 8 Ege Palas, 2
Egyptian Consulate. Sıraselviler St. 69
Mihran Kasapoğlu. Oba St. 4 Hacer Apt. 3
Modiano Reune. Cihangir, Matara St. 19 Manolakos Apt. 5
Molo M. Cihangir St. 23 Leo Apt. 5
Muvaffak Galip Sunal. Sıraselviler St. Hilmi Apt. 4
Muzaffer Hatice Yelimsak. Cihangir, Susam St. Karavasil Apt. 4
Münir Akdağ. Cihangir, Cihangir St. Özoğul St. 22/1
Naum George. Sıraselvi St. 87/1
Necmeddin Kocataş. Winter House. Cihangir, Özoğlu St. 24
Nezihe Apak. Cihangir, Havyar St. 20
Nihad Reşad Belger. Dr. Sıraselviler St. 75 Hulusi Bey Apt. 3
Niko A. Athanasiadis. Cihangir, Kumrulu yokushu, 36 Guda Apt. 4
Nomismatides Alkiviadis. Dr. Firuzaga, Akarsu St. 32 Refah Apt. 4

Nuri Diriker. Retired General. Cihangir, Susam St. Melek Apt. 4
Nuri Işık. Firuzağa, Engin Apt. 4
Obradovich G. Nikola. Ağahamam, Türkgücü St. Şeref Apt. 5
Osman Şenol. Firuzağa, Karadut, Anahtar St. 2/2, 2nd Floor, 3
Papastrato Panayoti. Dr. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 48 Gül Apt. 4
Petrides Constantin. Cihangir, Susam St. 12 Cihan Palas, 4th Floor, 6
Polizoes Perikles. Firuzağa, Huriye Hanım Apt. 3rd Floor, 3
Radomisliki Hirsh. Cihangir St. 62 Miray Apt. 4
Rasim Arsay. Constructor. Cihangir, Şimşir St. Santral Apt. 9
Raufi Manyas. Sıraselviler St. Hilmi Apt. 5
Rifat Çağıl. Neurologist. Cihangir, Emanetçi St. 1 C. Ferid Apt. 4
Rizzo Edgar. Sıraselvi St. Aslanyatağı St. 23 Rizzo Apt. 4
Rüştü Dizdaroğlu. Sıraselviler, Tennis Apt. 10
Sadedin Yüksel. Attorney. Cihangir, 58 Yüksel Apt. 3rd Floor
Safiye Ayla. Sıraselviler, Ayla Apt. 5
Said. Constructor. Cihangir, Kaptan St. 42
Salahettin Rıfat B. Soğancı St. Cihangir Palas, 3
Sadak Salaheddin. Attorney. Sıraselviler, Hrisovergi Apt. 7
Salaheddin and Bahaddin Aküren. Fındıklı, Tekke Yokushu, Perizat çıkmazı. 2
Sarrafiyan Mari Rooming House. Sıraselviler St. 65
Sarrou Aguste General. Cihangir, Uzunyol St. 3/10 Cevdet Bey Apt. 11
Scheggi Adolph. Sıraselviler St. 111 Altıkardeş Apt. 3rd Floor, 7
Sedad Çetintaş. Architect. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 62 Miray Apt. 3
Sedad Nazım Belger. Dr. Cihangir, Havyar St. Gani Apt. 5
Seher. Cihangir, Somuncu St. 19
Servet Vasfi Alko. Dr. Meşelik St. 12
Sezai Ömer Madra. Sıraselviler St. 130 Yeni Hayat Apt. 4th Floor, 10
Sırmıncıoğlu Nikolas P. Cihangir, Aslanyatağı St. Çokşükür Apt. 6
Siraji. Rum Kabristan St. 4 Siraji Apt.
Sofroniadis Yakovos. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Santral Apt. 5
Sotiriadis G. Sotirios. Sıraselviler St. Galitsi Apt. 5th Floor, 5
Spiridon S. Sıraselviler St. Hrisovergi Apt. 48
Staniukovich Vedat. Sıraselviler St. 97 Sümer Apt. 1
Stavropoulos Mina. Cihangir, Kaptan St.
Suad Kara Osman. Sıraselvi St. 97 Sümer Apt. 7
Süreyya Family. Cihangir St. Deniz Apt. 2nd Floor, 5
Süreyya Genç. Sıraselviler St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 5
Schede Marten. Dr. Bur. Archaeologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches. Sıraselvi
St. 100
Şefik Demirağ. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, Bakraç St. 46/27-3
Schiller Ernest. Sıraselvi, Hayat Apt. 3rd Floor, 8
Schwarz Alfred. Cihangir, Soğancı St. Cihangir Palas, 2nd Floor
Tahir Kavala. Cihangir, Oba St. Kahyaoğlu Apt. 5
Tarık Ziyal. Soğancı St. 7 Cihangir Palas 5/6
Topçoğlu Kazım. Cihangir, Anahtar St. Klavuz Apt.
Torkum Daniel. Cihangir St. 22
Wortik. Sıraselvi, Yeni Hayat Apt. 12
Georgiadis Sava. Cihangir, Terlikçi St. 11 Kısmet Apt. 2nd Floor, 3
Yüzbaşıyan Sevasti. Sıraselviler St. Tennis Apt. 2nd Floor, 6
Zamboğlu Nikoli. Sıraselviler, Meşelik St. 36/4 Hrisovergi Apt. 4

Ziegler Paul. Coşkun St. 17 Firuzan Apt. 4th Floor, 7
Zihni Sabur. Kumrulu Yokushu, Gül Apt. 3

APPENDIX E

WHO LIVED IN CIHANGIR IN 1950?

NAMES AND ADDRESSES RECORDED IN CIHANGIR IN THE 1950

OFFICIAL ISTANBUL TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

Adın Peruz Nuvart. Siraselvi, Billurcu St. 32/1
Agustini Eleni. Kazancı Yokushu, Niçe Apt. 14/5
Ağralı Fuad. Elazığ Deputy. Siraselvi, Yeni Hayat Apt. 5
Akbar Besim. Cihangir, Oba St. 11 Mavridi Biraderler Apt. 2
Akbaş Tahir. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Santral Apt. 15/4
Akbaytuğan Naciye. Siraselviler St. 97 Smer Apt. 3
Akbaytuğan Ali Said. General. Siraselviler St. Hrisovergi Apt. 10
Akbaytuğan Ali Said. General. Siraselviler St. Sümer Apt. 5
Akdağ Münir. Cihangir, Cihangir Main St. Özoğul St. 22/1
Akdamar Zeki. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 53/1
Akut M. Zeki. Cihangir, Tüfekçi Salih St. Melek Apt. 24, 6/7
Akut Melek. Cihangir, Tüfekçi Salih St. Melek Apt. 24, 6/7
Akyüz Hayri. (Pasrapid Society Director) Cihangir, Sormagir St. 28
Aküren Seniye. Fındıklı, Tekke Yokushu, Perizat St. 2
Alaybek Ali. Consultant, Expert. Cihangir, Akaretler St. Dirim Apt. 4
Alayeli Mahmud. Cihangir, Susam St. 26 Nur Apt. 4
Aleksiadi Miltiadi Family. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, 27
Aliotti Remo. Cihangir, Kumrulu St. Yüksel Apt. 2
Alkalay A. Siraselviler St. 130/7 Yeni Hayat Apt. 3/7
Alko Ekrem Vasfi. Meşelik St. 12
Alp Arif. Cihangir Yokushu, Yüksel Apt. 3/5
Altan Muharrem. Across the Cihangir Mosque, 11/13 Yüksel Apt. 5
Altın Faruk. Cihangir. Lenger St. Recaibey Apt. 3
Armam Rebecca. Meşelik St. 22 Pistikas Apt. 4
Anakök Nizameddin. Furnisher. Firuzağa, Akarsu St. 48
Ananiadis Ligor. Siraselvi St. 74 Hulusi Apt. 4
Anastasiadis Kocho. Cihangir, Akarsu St.23 Arbatlı Apt. 3
Anış Nejad. Firuzağa, Defterdar Yokushu. Yeşilyuva Apt. 96/3
Anoniadis Prodromos. Firuzağa, Karadut St. İkbal Apt. 58/4
Araç Kenan. Siraselviler St. 77 Kritiko Apt. 3
Aral Necdet Senih. Cihangir. Yeni Yuva St. 10 Arkadaş Apt. 3
Aral Necdet Senih. Cihangir, Yeni Yuva St. 10 Arkadaş Apt. 5
Arbatlı Muhtar. Cihangir, Akarsu St. 23 Arbatlı Apt. 4
Ardos Celadettin and Yenel Osman Open Company, Automobile Spare Parts,
Siraselviler St. 20
Arduman Refik Kemal. Siraselviler St. Arslanyatağı St. Karaçakıl Apt. 12/4
Arın Suphi. Operator Dr. Urologist. Siraselviler St. 59

Arkan Azize. Sıraselviler St. 52
Arman Cihad. Cihangir, Havyar St. Büyükada Apt. 37/1
Arnold Henry. Sokoni Vacuum Company CEO. Cihangir, Susam St. Çelik Palas Apt. 5
Arnopulos K. Sırselviler St. Kritiko Apt. 77/1
Arslan Nuvart. Cihangir, Sormagir St. 42 Murad Apt. 3
Asal Aziz. Cihangir, Susam St. 29 Asal Apt. 3/3
Aşar Ali Rıza. Former District Treasurer. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 6 Muhsin Palas Apt. 3
Aşkın Ekrem. Sıraselviler St. 176 Çelikzade Apt. 9
Atabay Kemal. Cihangir, Susam St. 28
Ataman İsmail Fevzi. Cihangir, Kumrulu St. 38
Ataman Nuri. Cihangir, Akarsu St. 3
Atanasyadu Kalyopi. Sıraselviler St. Hrisovergi Apt. 48/5
Atasağın İbrahim Şevki. Dr. Firuzağa, Defterdar Yokushu. 46 Durukan Apt. 6
Aydemir Seyfi. Cihangir, Batarya St. 9
Aydiner Sezai. Dr. Cihangir, Oba St. 4/1 Acar Apt. 2
Aykut Mehmed Reşad. Cihangir St. Tanyel Apt. 22/2
Ayla Safiye. Sıraselviler St. Ayla Apt. 5
Aylav Enver. Attorney. Cihangir, Lenger St. 17 Demir Apt. 2
Azak Mansur. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 39/5
Azerm Ali. Cihangir, Altınbilezik St. 8 Birlik Apt. 3
Bacanopulos Yorgo. Pianist. Sıraselviler St. 170/4
Badin Leon. Engineer. Sıraselviler St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 1
Baliç Miliça. Sıraselvi, Aslan Yatağı St. Jones Apt. 3
Balıkçıyan V. Brothers. Meşelik St. 4 Çıracı Apt. 3
Balkancı Hüseyin. Attorney. Cihangir, Lenger St. Demir Apt. 2
Barlas Muhtar. Cihangir St. Güneşli Apt. 2
Barochi Jean. Cihangir, Oba St. Beler Apt. 3/4
Başarı Ali. Defterdar Yokushu, Batarya St. 4/1
Başdiken Dürdane. İlyas Çelebi St. 13/1
Battiğ Villi. Cihangir St. 66 Kaptan Biraderler Apt. 5
Batur Suphi. Sıraselviler St. 184 Dinç Apt. 1
Baudouy Gerard. Osmanlı Bankası Mes'ul Murahhası (Otoman Bank Representative) Sıraselviler St. Tay Apt. 71
Bayman Osman Nuri. Finacial Adviser. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Karavasiloğlu Apt. 2
Bayramgil Orhan. Dr. Engineer. Defterdar Yokushu, 94/4
Baysallı Nüzhet. Sıraselviler St. Katip Mustafa Çelebi, 58/3
Baysan Ekrem Nafiz. Dr. Cihangir, Kumrulu St. 26/6
Bayülkem Faruk. Dr. Fındıklı, Mebusan St. Fındıklı Apt. 110/1
Beden Terbiyesi Genel Dir. İstanbul Bölgesi Başk. Sıraselviler St. 57
Behar Albert. Dentist. Cihangir, Anahtar St. 2/4
Beker Yusuf Cemal. Cihangir, Tüfekçi Salih St. Amasya Apt. 6
Belas Nikolas. Dr. Sıraselviler St. 144 Kaynak Apt. 3
Belçika Sefarethanesi (Belgian Embassy), Sıraselvi St. 2
Belger Nihad Reşad. Dr. Sıraselviler St. 75 Hulusi Bey Apt. 3
Belgün Said. Cihangir, Firuzağa, Altınbilezik St. Saadet Apt. 1
Beller Lütfi. Firuzağa, Altınbilezik St. 11 Mesudiye Apt. 4
Beller Lütfi. Cihangir, Havyar St. 50/52

Bengisu Naci. Professor. Üniversite Göz Kliniği. Sıraselviler, Abdullah St. 2 Bengisu Apt. 2
Bengisu Naci. Dr. Professor. Sıraselviler, Abdullah St. 2 bengisu Apt. 5
Berk Burhan. Dr. Cihangir, Firuzağa, Altınbilezik St. Berk Apt. 4
Berker Arifi. Cihangir, Firuzağa, Batarya St. 6/4
Berksan Ulviye. Firuzağa, defterdar Yokushu, Batarya St. 6/2
Besin Minas. Dairy. Fındıklı, Meclis-i Mebusan St. 67
Beyhan Tevfik. Cihangir, Firuzağa, Defterdar Yokushu, 110
Besen Cemil. Meşelik St. 10 Şedvan Bey Apt. 3
Beyoğlu Halkevi Reisliği (Beyoglu Public House Authority). Sıraselviler St.
Beyoglu Cadastre Office. Sıraselviler St.
Biber Ensar. Bakery. Firuzağa, 13.
Bibescu Vasil. Cihangir, Karadut St. 27 Refah Apt. 3
Bilen Ferid. Cihangir St. 62 Miray Apt. 1
Bilen Hakkı. Judge. Cihangir St. 6 Muhsine Palas 2
Birsal Süreyya Family. Cihangir St. Deniz Apt. 2/5
Bivas Ellias. Sıraselviler St. Cevdet Apt. 2
Bostancıoğlu Alkiviadi. Sıraselvi, Somuncu St. 24 Çokşükür Apt. 5
Boztepe Kadir. Fındıklı, Perizat Çıkmazı 8
Bozyakalı Enver. Dr. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, Yurttaş Apt. 4
Buchinski Romuald. Sıraselviler St. 89
Buge Salaheddin. Bayındırlık Bc. Müsteşarı (Public Works Undersecretary). Sıraselvi St. 65
Bugeja Julius F. Sıraselvi. Aslanyatağı St. Jones Apt. 1/A
Buldanlıoğlu Sermet. Cihangir, Kumrulu St. Kumrulu Apt. 20-22-7
Burr Makolun. Cihangir, Tüfekçi Salih St. Melek Apt. 24/6
Bütün Sıtkı. Fındıklı, Meclis-i Mebusan St. Seher Apt. 5/6-3
Caslovschi Stefanos. Cihangir, Oba St. Beler Apt. 3
Cavuri Alexander. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. 10 Cihangir Palas 3
Cemali Kadri Daughters. Cihangir, Sakabaşı, Firuzan Apt. 2/3
Cener Lütfi. Firuzağa, Karadut St. Ayyıldız Apt. 24/1
Cihangir Eczanesi (Drugstore). Sahibi (Owner) Üstün Arif. Cihangir, Akarsu St. 34
Cönerdem Mecid. Sıraselviler St. 186
Cumaoğlu Enver. Cihangir, Havyar St. 48/1
Çağlı Rifat. Sınır Hekimi. Dr. Cihangir, Emanetçi St. 1 C. Ferid Apt. 8
Çağla M. Cihangir, Susam St. Ferah Yurt Apt. 3
Çağlar Kemal. Operator Dr. Urologist. Cihangir, Havyar St. 20
Çamlıca Klübü (Club). Sıraselviler St. 75 Hulusi Bey Apt. 1st Floor
Chatovic Angelus. Aslanyatağı St. Jones Apt. 6
Çayak Orhan. Cihangir, Yeni Yuva St. Rossi Apt. 4
Çelebi Faik. Dr. Operator. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 13/15 1st Flor
Çelebi Halil. Diary. Cihangir St. 31/2
Çelebioğlu Rıza. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, 13/1
Çeltik Fuad. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 13/15 Apt. 2nd. Floor
Çetintaş Sedad. Architect. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 62 Miray Apt. 3
Çevik Aydın. Sıraselviler, Hocasade St. 8/1
Çırpan Nuri. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, Coşkun Nuri Apt. 13
Dabaz Pandazi. Cihangir, Cihangir St. Cihan Palas. 6th Floor, 7
Dalayman Bürhaneddin. Captain. Cihangir, Bakraç St. 24, 3rd Floor
Daniilidis Lefter. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. 19 Persia Apt. 4

Dapei Eloi. Sıraselviler St. 87 Hayat Apt. 2/4
Değerli Kenan. (Müezzinoğlu). Kazancı Yokushu, 12
Dekok Leonard. Official at the Yugoslavian Consulate. Cihangir, Susam St. Ege Palas
Demetriadi N. Konstantin. Sıraselvi St. 4 Galiçi Apt. 2
Demirbağ Said Family. Cihangir, Susam St. 14
Denizer Güler. Cihangir, Bakraş St. Yücel Apt. 31/3
Derindağ Fatma Muzaffer. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yok. St. Dilek Apt. 39/3
Derman Seyfeddin Family. Sıraselvi, Meşelik St. Hrisovergi Apt. 5
Didinal Said. Cihangir, Havyar St. Yavru Apt. 28/30-2
Diker Mehmed. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 50/3
Dino Sami. Cihangir, Susam St. Gün Apt. 25/27-2
Diraç L. Sıraselvi, Hrisovergi Apt. 4th Floor, 9
Diriker Rüştü. Sıraselviler St., Tennis Apt. 10
Dobrovich Dimitris. Sıraselviler St. Kaynak Apt. 144/8
Duna Rıza. Architect. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, 18 Yavuz Apt. 3
Ebcim Ziya. İstanbul Telefon Başmd. V. Evi. Cihangir, Kumrulu St. Kumrulu Apt. 8
Ece Hayrünisa. Sıraselviler, Aslanyatağı St. Işık Apt. 3
Ege Bahçe ve Gazinosu. Sezer Mustafa. Cihangir, Susam St. 6
Egemen Kamil. Cihangir, Tavukuçmaz Yokushu, 2/4 Egemen Apt. 7th Floor
Elefteriadis Yorgi. Sıraselvi St. Sıvacıoğlu Apt. 114
Elektra Film (Saris Yorgi). Cihangir St. Kaptan Biraderler Apt. 66/3
Elyopulo Ritta. Sıraselvi St. 87 Yeni Hayat Apt. 2
Encönlü Fevzi. Dr. Cihangir, Cihangir St. Akgüngör Apt. 3
Engindeniz Nazif. Müt. Müh. (Engineer). Cihangir, Havyar St. Şık Apt. 25/5
Engonopoulos Kiryako. Cihangir, Emanetçi St. Cevdet Ferid Apt. 5
Engonopoulos Yannis. Sıraselviler St. 25 Taner Apt. 7
Enson Kemal Ragıp. Cihangir, Firuzağa, Sakabaşı St.
Epaminondas Yoanidi. Cihangir, Sakabaşı, Tüfekçi Salih St. K.Ragıp Apt. 3
Eraslan Mehmed. Cihangir, Özoğlu St. Bayan Apt. 16/3
Erbi Hacer. Fındıklı, Perizat Çıkmazı, 18
Erdön Ali Fuad. Orgeneral (General). Cihangir, Kamacı St. Gökdeniz Apt. 1
Ergenç Güzide. Cihangir, Güneşli St. Sun Apt. 17/4
Ergene Mehmed Bahri. Cihangir, Kumrulu St. 32
Ergör İbrahim. Cihangir, Havyar St. 19 Şenyurt Apt. 3
Ergüven Baha. Cihangir Yokushu. 21 Baha Bey Apt. 2/3
Eriç Raci. Dr. (Dahiliye Müh.) Cihangir, Asfalt St. Lena Apt. 26/3
Erkan Hidayet. Cihangir, Bakraç St. Sümer Apt. 23/4
Erkan Hidayet. Firuzağa, Altınbilezik St. Mes'udiye Apt. 3
Erkan Kemal. Firuzağa, Altınbilezik St. Mes'udiye Apt. 3
Erkmen Hüseyin. Firuzağa, Tüfekçi Salih St. Kıymet Apt.
Erksan Cemal. Cihangir, Güneşli St. Ankara Apt. 4
Erkul Emin. Dr. Eski Şehremini (Former Mayor). Cihangir, Güneşli St. Nuri D. Apt. 4
Erman Yorgo Kiryakidis. Cihangir, Karadut St. İzmir Palas Apt. 4
Eruluç Hikmet. Firuzağa, Kılıç Ali M. Batarya St. 9/1
Etili Ziya Gevher. Sıraselviler St. Sümer Apt. 3rd Floor, 8
Franguli Garifalu. Cihangir, Yeni Yuva St. 18 Güzel Yuva Apt. 5
Gavrilidis Yorgaki. Sıraselviler St. 188/190-8

Gediz Hadi İhsan. Dr. (Doğum Kadın Hastalıkları). Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, Coşkun St. Coşkun Apt.
Geelmeden Hans. Sıraselviler St., 77 Kritiko Apt. 3rd Floor, 4
Genca Süreyya. Sıraselviler St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 5
Genç Müzehher. Cihangir, Sıraselviler St. 91/4
Gençtürk Vedad. Cihangir, Sormagir St. 57
Gimza Ömer. Su ve Tütün (Water and Tobacco). Sıraselviler St. 40
Giras Giorgio. Cihangir, Susam St. Cihan Palas 12/1
Gökşahin Hakkı. Cihangir, Özoğlu St. 22
Göktulga Fahri Celal. Dr. Cihangir, Tavukuçmaz St. Egemen Apt. 4
Gören Zeyyat. Uni. Pres. Ame. Agency. Reporter. Cihangir, Oba St. 4/1 Acar Apt.
Görgun İhya. D. Dz. Y. Ve Lim. İş. Uz. Müd. Evi. Cihangir, Firuzağa, Aksu
Yokushu, Coşkun St. 6 Coşkun Apt. 4
Grigoriadis Güner Dimitraki. Attorney. Sıraselviler St. Krepsi Apt. 151/3
Grünberg M. Cihangir, Oba St. 15 Frad Apt. 4
Gustin James R. Amerikan Vis. Konsolosu (US Consul). Cihangir, Akarsu St. 39/5
Güçsav Kemal. Cihangir, Susam St. Dürdane Apt. 1
Güden Nedim. Müt. Y. Betonarme Müt. Cihangir St, Panorama Apt.
Güran Methi Said. Cihangir, Susam St. Ege Palas 2
Hacı Kostı Eli. Cihangir, Karadut St. Modern Apt. 43/4
Hacı Sava Family. Meşelik St. 36 1/3
Hady Elisabeth. Dr. Çocuk Hastalık.(Infantile Diseases). Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, Coşkun Apt. 3
Hamopoulos Yorgi. Sıraselviler St. 99
Hancıyan Herant. Rum Kabristan St. Hrisovergi Apt. 1
Haralambidis Avram. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı St. 13 Huri Apt. 4
Hartley J. E. Cihangir, Susam St. 18/9
Hisar Aimée. Sıraselviler St. 151 Krespi Apt. 3rd Floor, 7
Irakdan Hayreddin. Sıraselviler St. 183
Işın Şerafeddin. Cihangir St. Leo Apt. 4
Işıl Müzeyyen Senar. Meşelik St. Civacı Apt. 1
İkdam Ferid Cevdet. Sıraselvi, 67 Ahmet Cevdet Apt. 6
İlhan Kamil Şakir. Göz Dr. (Ophthalmologist). Cihangir St. 56/4
İlteber Halid. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, Büyük Yavuz Apt. 8
İlyadis Haralambos. Firuzağa, Karadut St. Emek Apt. 46/5
Imhoff J. E. Fındıklı, İzzetpaşa St. Çam Palas 3
İmre A. Hilmi. İstanbul Pul Müdürü, Cihangir, Lenger St. 17 Demir Apt. 4
Irineu Nikola. Cihangir, Oba St. 1/6
Isolabella Roggero. Cihangir St. Alçakdam Yokushu, 6
Istavridis Nikola. Lüks Garaj. Sıraselviler, Billur St. 15
İzmirli Ali Adnan. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 62 Miray Apt. 5
İzmiriligil Kardeşler Mustafa and Ziyaeddin. Philips Radio Agency. Sıraselviler St. 180
Jones Vivian. Cihangir, Aslanyatağı St. 21
Jongejon W. F. Cihangir, Susam St. 18 Çelik Palas 6
Kamhi Ayda. Sıraselvi St. 87 Yeni Hayat Apt.
Kapıcıoğlu Mustafa. Cihangir, Defterdar Yokushu, Batarya St. Panorama Apt. 8
Kapsalis Andon. Cihangir, Anahtar S. 5
Karaca Muammer. Operet Taksim Sıraselviler St. 37 Maksim Gazinosu
Karagüloğlu Mimika. Cihangir, Karadut St. 27 Refah Apt. 4

Karamustafaoğlu Leyla. Sıraselviler St. 63/3
Karamustafaoğlu Makbule. Sıraselviler St. 63
Karaosman Kani. Manisa Deputy. Cihangir, Sormagir St. 3/5 Pulat Apt. 4
Karaosman Suad. Sıraselviler St. 97 Sümer Apt. 7
Karsak Nejat. Dr. Cihangir, Havyar St. 13
Karsan Aziz. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 29 Taylan Apt. 3
Kasapoğlu Mihran. Cihangir, Oba St. 4 Hacer Apt. 3
Kastro Saul. Sıraselviler St. Zigana Apt. 4
Katanos Kardeşler ve Oğulları (Katanos Siblings and Sons). Nea-Agora. Cihangir
Branch Shop. Cihangir, Oba St. 10
Katanos Stergios. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 39/4
Kavala İsmail. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Cihan Palas Apt. 5
Kavala Tahir. Cihangir, Oba St. Kahyaoğlu Apt. 5
Kehyagil Emin. Cihangir, Pürtelaş, Özoğul St. 17
Kesimidis Mina. Sıraselviler St. Tennis Apt. 185/2-8
Keskinel Kemaleddin. Dr. Cihangir, Susam St. Ege Palas Apt. 7
Kır'al Feridun. Exporter. Sıraselviler St. 22
Kiremitçioğlu İbrahim. Cihangir, Karadut St. 37/5
Kiriazı Hristo. Cihangir, Matara St. Matara Apt. 35/4
Kirkor Margarit and Şki. Cihangir Pazarı. Sıraselviler, Sirkeli Mescid St. 86
Kiryakopoulos Kocho. Dr. Sıraselviler St. 188/190
Kober A. Cihangir, Güneşlilenger St. Olimpia Apt. 3
Kocataş Necmeddin Family. Winter House. Cihangir, Özoğul St. 24
Koç Melik Family. Sıraselviler St. Çığırkan Apt. 90/2
Kokinos Ligor. Dr. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Kristal Apt. 6
Konstantinidis Andon. Sıraselviler St. Sıvacıoğlu Apt. 114/4
Konstantinidis Süzet. Cihangir, Sakabaşı, Coşkun St. 15
Konstantinidis Yannis. Cihangir St. 29 Baylan Apt. 4
Kopchopoulos Yannis. Dr. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu. Bakrač St. 27/46
Koro Şerif. (Foto Rekor Sa.). Cihangir, Tavukuçmaz St. 43
Kozikoğlu Şakir Kamil. Cihangir, Oba St. Ayşe Apt. 7
Köksal Seyfeddin. Dr. Sıraselviler, Meşelik St. Hrisovergi Apt. 3
Köprücü Halid. Engineer. Sıraselviler St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 3
Köseihal Emin Gazi. Cihangir St. Panorama Apt. 7
Krenn Oscar. Cihangir, Coşkun St. 10 Mualla Apt. 3
Kutman Ragıp. Cihangir, Oba St. Acar Apt. 4/2
Lebet Eduard. Sıraselviler, Aslanyatağı St. Rizzo Apt.
Legoux J. Coşkun St, 17 Firuzan Apt. 9
Madianos Dimitris. Taksim, Mezarlık St. Mustafa İsmail Apt. 7
Madra Sezai Ömer. Sıraselviler St. 130 Y. Hayat Apt. 4th Floor
Malhas K. Sıraselviler St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 9
Mamboury Ernest. Cihangir, Susam St. 10 Cihan Palas Apt. 2/4
Mango Demetr A. Aruzlar St. 38 Rizo Apt. 4/4
Maniadakis Andon. Cihangir , Havyar St. 22/4 Bebi Palas
Manolakis George. Cihangir, Matara St. 19 Manolakos Apt. 2
Manyas Fatma. Cihangir, Matara St. 4 Keskin Apt. 4
Marinu Irene. Sıraselviler St. 48/8 Hrisovergi Apt.
Matalon Salamon. Dr. Office. House. Sıraselviler St. 103/1
Mavridis Nikola. Meşelik St. Hrisovergi Apt. 1
Mavrodi Ligor. Firuzaga, Soğancı St. 9 Mavrodi H. 6

Mavromati Yerasimos. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. 1 Kristal Palas 5
Mayoğlu Hristo. Sabun Taciri. (Soap Trader) Firuzağa, Akarsu St. Modern Apt. 43/3
Mayor Şefik. Dr. Dah. Müt. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, Guda Apt. 36/3
Meremetçi Ahmet Rasim. Sıraselviler St. 185 Tenis Apt. 7
Merkada Angel. Kabristan St. Angel H. 5
Mestan Seniha. Firuzağa, Anahtar St. 2/3 Derim Apt. 7
Egyptian Consulate General. Sıraselviler St. 69
Minez Osman. Sıraselviler St. 182 Özen Apt. 4
Mitakides Basile. Sıraselviler St. 188/190 Mitakides Apt. 10
Mitakidis Aleksandros. Cihangir, Susam St. Ferah Yurt Apt. 2
Modiano Reune. Cihangir, Matara St. 19 Manolakos Apt. 5
Mutlu Asım. Architect. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, Yavuz Apt. 9
Nacar İskender. Cihangir, Oba St. Kahyaoğlu Apt. 1-7
Nahum Mahir. Cihangir, Susam St. Kristal Palas Apt. 1/10
Naum George. Sıraselviler St. 48/4
Nea-Agora. Grocery Store. Cihangir, Oba St. 10
Neftici Ferda. Sıraselviler St. Zigana Apt. 29/6
Nemli Mithat. Sıraselviler St. 51
Nemlioğlu Rıza. Sıraselviler St. İlya Apt. 66/1
Nikolavich Evridiki. Cihangir, Lenger St. Recai Apt. 2nd Floor, 5
Nino Kocho. Exports and Commission Agent. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Sümer Apt. 12/3
Nomismatides Alkiviadis. Dr. Firuzağa, Akarsu St. 32 Refah Apt. 6
Obradovich G. Nikola. Ağahamam, Türkgücü St. Şeref Apt.
Ocak İbrahim. Cihangir St. Ender Apt. 41/43-2
Olçay Necdet Ekrem. Eczacı (Chemist). Cihangir, Lenger St. 10
Olgun Abdullah. Imports Commission Agent. Kumrulu Yokushu. 17
Omayer Muhiddin. Dr. Office. Domicile. Sıraselviler St. Hulusibey Apt.
Onakok Nizameddin. Furnisher. Firuzağa, Akarsu St. 48
Onikinci İlkokul (Firuzağa Primary School). Türkgücü St.
Oro Ovidia. Cihangir, Cihangir St. Erfili Apt. 3rd Floor
Tanman Selami. Yarasa Süreyya. Oto Teknik (Auto Technic). Sıraselvi St. 36
Öge Bedriye. Cihangir, Havyar St. Florya Apt. 44/1
Ögelman Hayri. Mining Engineer. Sıraselviler St. 93
Ögelman Selahaddin. Attorney. Altınbilezik St. 6
Öneş Ali Rıza. Firuzağa, Sakabaşı, Kasatura St. Bağdad Apt. 4
Ören Fuad. Firuzağa, 40 Sabri Z.Fuad Bey Apt. 2/3
Östat Vasfi. Cihangir, Güneşli St. Yücel Apt. 46/7
Özadar İbrahim Mahmud. Cihangir, Havyar St. Sakarya Apt. 4th Floor
Özçibık Hamid Rıza. Mechanical Engineer. Cihangir, Cihangir St. Cevdet Ferid Apt. 3
Özdem Fatma. Sıraselviler St. Boz Apt. 209/6
Özdem Nevzat. Firuzağa, Türkgücü St. 27
Özler Emin. Constructor. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Santral Apt. 4th Floor
Özveren Fethi. Tophane, İlyas Çelebi St. 7
P. Uçak Hayri. Firuzağa, Soğancı Çıkmazı, Cihangir Apt. 5th Floor
Pagonis Mihal. Fuel Storehouse. Sıraselviler St. 98
Paker Celal. Cihangir, Akarsu Yokushu, Enlis Yokush St. 8
Polamidis Kimon. Sıraselviler St. Yeni Hayat Apt. 6
Pamir Serbüent. Cihangir, Coşkun St. Firuzan Apt. 2

Pamukoğlu Kiryako. Cihangir, Susam St. 23 Kadife Palas Apt.
Pansiyon Sıraselvi. Sıraselviler St. 59
Papastrato Panayoti Dr. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 48 Gül Apt. 4
Papatheodoros Kocho. Cihangir, Anahtar St. Klavuz Apt. 2/5
Papazoğlu Kostaki. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 30/32 Erifili Apt. 4
Parasko Dimitraki. Cihangir, Yeni Yuva St. 18 Güzel Yuva Apt. 2
Parasko N. Cihangir, Oba St. Tan Apt. 2/1
Paskalidis Atina. Sıraselviler St. Kaynak Apt. 144/4
Peker Fuad Sıtkı. Cihangir. Güneşli St. Ankara Apt. 2nd. Floor
Pekin Osman Sabri. Cihangir, Matara St. Manolakis Apt. 19, 3rd Floor
Petrides Bessie Berta. Cihangir, Susam St. Cihan Palas, 4th Floor 6
Petridis Yannis M. Cihangir, Karadut St. 37 Aydın Apt. 4
Polizoes Katina. Firuzağa, Huriye Hanım Apt. 3rd Floor, 3
Rado Şevket. Writer, Publisher. Cihangir, Emanetçi St. Cevdet Ferid Apt.
Radomisliki Hirsh. Cihangir St. 62 Miray Apt. 4
Rahtuvan Sahib Şeref. Sıraselviler, Aslanyatağı St. 20/3
Romanidis Ligor. Cihangir, Karadut St. İzmir Palas, 41/2
Romania General Consulate. Sıraselviler St.
Rossini Gaston. Cihangir, Sormagir St. 108, Akasya Apt. 1
Rozenhal Eli. Cihangir, Susam St. 22
Rufana Mordo. Cihangir, Tavukuçmaz Yokushu, Egemen Apt. 5
Sadak Salaheddin. Attorney. Sıraselviler, Hrisovergi Apt.
Sakelaridis Aleko. Dr. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 38 Nar Apt. 5
Saner Hayri. Cihangir Yokushu. Yüksel Apt. 1
Saraçoğlu Ahmed. Cihangir, Defterdar Yokushu, 119
Sarp Ayetullah Family. Cihangir, Oba St. Hayri Bey Apt. 3
Sarrou Aguste General. Cihangir, Uzunyol St. 3/10 Cevdet Bey Apt. 11
Sarvan Hilmi. Sıraselviler St. Hilmi Apt. 3/3
Savaşkan Fahreddin. İlyas Çelebi St. 20/4
Sevi Zümbül. Cihangir, Karadut, Susam St. Kristal Palas 1/11
Sırmıcioğlu Ketı. Meşelik St. 10 Şetvan Bey Apt. 4
Sırmıcioğlu Nikolas P. Cihangir, Aslanyatağı St. Çokşükür Apt. 6
Sinanoğlu Said. Cihangir, Cihangir Yokushu 21/2
Siraji. Rum Kabristan St. 4 Siraji Apt.
Sirel Nijad. Sculptor. Salıpazar, Necatibey St. Salıpazar Apt. 13
Sofroniadis Yannis. Sıraselviler St. Nuribey Çıkması.
Sofroniadis Yakovos. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Santral Apt. 5
Sonal İbrahim. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 4/1
Sotiriadis Lina. Fashion House. Sıraselviler St. Kaynak Apt. 144
Sotiriadis Yakovos. Sıraselviler St. Kaynak Apt. 144/10
Sotiriadis G. Sotirios. Sıraselviler St. Galitsi Apt. 5th Floor, 6
Sölözyan Sultan. Sıraselviler St. 101
Sözeri Aziz. Dr. Office.House. Cihangir, Matara St. 21/1
Spiridon S. Sıraselviler St. Hrisovergi Apt. 48
Stangali Marika. Sıraselviler St. 67 Cevdet Bey Apt. 5
Staniukovich Vedat. Sıraselviler St. 97 Sümer Apt. 1
Stavropoulos Mina. Cihangir, Kaptan St.
Su Fikret and Su Rafet. Cihangir, Eski Salıpazarı Yokushu, Mehmet Ali Paşa Konağı
Sunall Muvaffak Galib. Sıraselviler St. Hilmi Apt. 4
Şahyan Yetvard. Cihangir, Cihangir St. Mozaik Palas, 27/1-4

Şenol Osman. Karadut St. Anahtar St. 2/2, 2nd Floor, 3
Schwarz Alfred. Cihangir, Soğancı St. Cihangir Palas, 2nd Floor
Taki Maksud. Engineer. Cihangir, Sormagir St. Manço Apt. 10
Tanaşoğlu Yuvakim. Dr. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. 2/4 Gül Apt. 3
Tanca Nadide. Kazancılar, Sormagir St. Kanbay Apt. 2
Taneri Virgini Takvoryan. Cihangir, Oba St. 7 Ayşe Apt.
Tanrıkul Oğuz. Office. Fındıklı, Salıpazar Yokushu 8
Tansel Cafer. Cihangir St. 33
Tansuğ Hamid Nazım. Cihangir, Oba St. 2/1 Yakut Apt. 3
Tarancı Sıtkı. Firuzağa, Türkocağı St. 5 Şeref Apt. 4
Taray Selahattin. Cihangir, Susam St. 38/2
Tarhan Lucien Abdülhak Hamid. Sıraselviler St. 67 F. Cevdet Apt. 2
Tarman Enver. Sıraselviler St. 67 Ahmet Cevdet Apt. 3
Taşdur Raşid. Chemist. Mezarlık St. Şirket Apt. 9
Taşören İzzettin. Architect. Cihangir St. 54 Tanverdi Apt.
Tavlan Fehmiye Mahmud. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 39/6 Nuri Demirağ Apt.
Taylan Sedat. Writer. Sıraselviler, Aslan Yatağı St. Çokşükür Apt.
Tek Server. Sıraselviler St. 203
Teodosiadis Anastas. Cihangir, Bakraç St. Yücel Apt. 4
Todorovich Amalia. Grocer. Cihangir, Karadut St. 45/1
Tokay Necat. Dr. Cihangir, Yeni Yuva St. 25 Emel Apt. 2
Toker Metin. Cihangir, Anahtar St. Dirim Apt. 1
Tolga Muammer. Professor. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 35/37
Tomaidis Nikoli. Cihangir, Akarsu St. 32/3
Topçuoğlu Kazım. Cihangir, Anahtar St. Klavuz Apt.
Toper Süreyya. Cihangir, Matara St. Taş Apt. 2
Director of The Agricultural Products Office. Domicile Address. Cihangir, Tüfekçi
Salih St. Orhan Bey Apt. 4/15
Torkum Daniel. Engineer. Cihangir St. 22
Toygırlı Saib Ali. Operator Dr. Cihangir, Havyar St. Ak Apt. 5
Tracan Hasan Basri. Cihangir, Sakabaşı, Tüfekçi Salih St. Yıldıan Apt.
Triandafilidis Dimitri. Cihangir, Lenger St. 17 Demir Apt. 4th Floor
Tugaç Zehra. Cihangir, Yeni Yuva St. 21 Tugaç Apt. 3
Tugay Hidayet Fuad. Meşelik St. Pistikas Apt. ½
Tunçay Mebus. Defterdar Yokushu, Kemancı Usta St. Gökdeniz Apt.
Tur Cahid. Meşelik St. 10/6
Tüccaryan Annik. Firuzağa, Altıpatlar St. 29
Türegün Tevfik. Cihangir St. 47, Türegün Apt. 3
Türek Said. Mining Engineer. Cihangir, Tavukuçmaz St. Kromit Apt. 8/4
Türen Nuri. Sıraselviler St. Varda Apt. 1
Türker Tahir. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 52 Türker Apt.
Turkey-US-England Trade Yearbook Office. Altınbilezik St. Mes'udiye Apt. 3
Türkoğlu Hasan. Cihangir, Aslanyatağı St. Çokşükür Apt. 4
Ugan Arabiye. Soğancı St. Cihangir Palas 3
Uğurlu Muhtar. Cihangir Yokushu. 23/2
Ulcaz Nizameddin. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. 15 Santral Apt. 9
Ulukaya Halil. Candy Shop. Fındıklı, Mecl-i Mebusan St. 71
Uluslu Saide Ahmed Vefik Family. Cihangir 27
Ulusoy Mübin. Cihangir, Matara St. Selma Apt. 18/1
Utkanlı Sabri. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Santral Apt. ½

Uzun Hasan Fehmi. Firuzağa, Süngü St. 5
Üçok Hayri H. Cihangir, Sormagir St. 109 Tuna Apt. 3
Ünal Sadi. Dr. Office. Firuzağa, Tüfekçi Salih St. Amasya Apt. 9/5
Ünlü Mithat. Ziraat Bank Director. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 62 Miray Apt. 2
Unvon Français. Kabristan St.
Varnacı Ali Ekrem. Writer. Sıraselviler St. 70/1
Varsakis Emmanuel. Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokushu, Şen Apt. 22/2
Verdi Kemal Dr. Cihangir, Sormagir St. Arel Apt. 85/4
Ververopoulos Yannis. Expert. Accountant. Cihangir, Oba St. Bahtiyar Apt. 13/5
Vezani H. Sokrati. Cihangir, Lenger St. Olimpia Apt. 11/5
Volkan Nureddin. Cihangir, Karadut St. 44 Villa Apt. 5
Volovini Elli. Dentist. Cihangir, Yeni Yuva St. Kısmet Apt. 7
Wagner Charles. Cihangir, Susam St. Çelik Apt. 7
Yakovidis Vasil. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. 12 Sümer Apt. 1
Yaman Kadri. Cihangir, Havyar St. 21 Nejat Apt. 4
Yasa Kemal Esad. Cihangir, Yeni Yuva St. Sümer Apt. 17/3
Yegani Ali. Cihangir, Altınbilezik St. Birlik Apt. 4
Yeğen Namık. Cihangir, Güneşli St. Demirağ Apt. Ground Floor
Yelimşuh Muzaffer Hatice. Cihangir, Susam St. Karavasil Apt. 4
Yener Ahmed Şükrü. Attorney. Sıraselviler St. Kristal Apt. 6
Yerasimos Mavromati. Cihangir, Şimşirci St. Kristal Palas 5
Yurdakul Kazım. Cihangir, Cihangir St. 58 Güneşli Apt. 4
Yusufidis Bodos. Cihangir, Güneşli St. Yücel Apt. 46/4
Yuvanidis Alkivyadis. Dr. Office. Cihangir, Oba St. 13 Bahtiyar Apt.
Zaimoğlu Ömer. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 45
Zamboğlu Nikoli. Sıraselviler, Meşelik St. 36/4 Hrisovergi Apt.
Ziegler Paul. Firuzağa, Coşkun St. 17 Firuzan Apt. 4/7
Zigomala N. E. Cihangir, Güneşli St. 48 Gül Apt. 2
Zirenk Sadık. Cihangir, Susam St. 26 Dürdane Apt. 3
Ziyal Tarık. Cihangir, Soğancı St. 7 Cihangir Palas 5/6
Ziavopoulo Emilia. Cihangir, Havyar St. Ege H. 4
Zor Seher. Cihangir, Aslanyatağı St. 12/8-1

APPENDIX F

WHO LIVED IN CIHANGIR IN 1966?

NAMES AND ADRESSES RECORDED IN CIHANGIR IN THE 1966 OFFICIAL ISTANBUL TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

Abayan Maryam, Defterdar Yokuşu 58
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Abuaf Ester, Sıraselviler St. 88
Abudara Rahel, Cihangir, Defterdar Yokuşu 55/12
Abuisak Sara, Cihangir, Matara St. 16/5
Abuisak Yaşua, Cihangir, Aslan Yatağı St. 35
Adalı Panayot, Cihangir, Havyar S. 9-11
Adamontopulos Adamontis, Cihangir, Türkgücü St. 66/11
Adosoğlu Yorgi, Cihangir, Aslan Yatağı St. 33
Afenduli Zmaro, Sıraselviler St. 97
Agi Aji Yasef, Cihangir, Türkgücü S. 66/5
Agustini Eleni, Cihangir, Kazancı Yokuşu 14/1
Ahitu Rachel, Cihangir, Sormagir S. 95/97
Akdemir Anna, Cihangir, Hocazade S. 6
Al Pachachi Mahmut, Sıraselviler, Hocazade S. 8
Aleksandridis Aleksandros, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 46/5
Aleksandru Yovakim, Cihangir, Firuzağa Bahçesi S. 1/2
Alektoridis Menandros, Cihangir, Sormagir S. 52/5
Alfred Paluka ve Şerikleri Kol. Ş. Müdür, Cihangir, Akyol S. 20-4
Allaimby Gustave, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 48
Allegra Karmelo, Sıraselviler C. 89/5
Altaras İliya, Cihangir, Pürtelaş S. 9/5
Altınyuva Eleni, Firuzağa, Altıpatlar S.
Amaksopulos Yannis, Cihangir, Liva S. 8
Amaslidis Yannis, Cihangir, Türkgücü S. 51/3
Amaslidis Yannis, Cihangir, Sormagir S. 56/1
Ananiadis Prodromos, Sıraselviler C. 172-174
Anastasyadis Apostol, Cihangir, Akarsu Yokuşu 41
Anastasyadis Haralambos, Cihangir C. 12/8
Anastasyadis Konstantinos, Cihangir, Susam S.
Anastasyadis Niko, Cihangir, Oba S. 11/5
Anastasyadis Yuvan, Cihangir, Matara S. 16/4
Andonio Eleni, Cihangir, Emanetçi S. 1
Andreadis Hristoforos, Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokuşu 20/1
Angilanty Henriette, Sıraselviler C. 75/1
Ansaldı Aldo, Cihangir C. 56/5
Apak Fofı, Sıraselviler C. 152/11
Apostolidis Stelio, Cihangir, Akarsu C. 50/2
Apostolidis Stelyonos, Cihangir, Akarsu C. 50/2

Apostolopoulos George, Firuzağa, Taktaki Yokuşu 3
Arapoğlu Efterpi, Sıraselviler C. 207
Argiropulos Romilya, Sıraselviler, Liva S.
Arguiri Eleni, Cihangir, Akarsu S. 29/3
Arsemyadis Maryanti, Cihangir, Tüfekçi Salih S. 19/3
Arsenyadis Argiri, Cihangir, Şemsi S. 1/7
Arslanoğlu Sava Dr. Sıraselviler C. 184
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Arvanitakis Yorgi, Cihangir, Susam S. 22
Arzuoğlu Yanko, Cihangir, Defterdar Yokuşu 51/53
Asa Nina, Cihangir, Batarya S. 20/4
Ashover Mary, Cihangir, Defterdar Yokuşu 83/6
Assante Elvira, Cihangir C. 5-7
Atanasiadi Miltiadi, Cihangir, Akarsu Yokuşu 16/13
Atanasyadis Panayot, Cihangir, Havyar S. 38/40
Augen Cemil, Cihangir, Aslan Yatağı S. 33/9
Ayman Marcella, Firuzağa, Altıpatlar S. 15
Ayvatoğlu Irini, Cihangir, Susam S. 9
Babikiyan Yervant Housep, Sıraselviler C. 97/6
Babia Antuan, Firuzağa, Kadiriler Yokuşu, 60/4
Babayan Nubar Dr. Sıraselviler C. 11
Baranos Yorgos, Ayazpaşa, Ülker S. 35/11
Badetti Adolfo, Sıraselviler C. 58/5
Badetti Silvio, Cihangir, Defterdar Yokuşu 96/2
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Baldini Clelia, Cihangir, Defterdar Yokuşu 68
Baldini Eugenio, Cihangir, Oba S. 7/4
Ballar Pepo R., Sıraselviler C. 79
Bapoğlu Alber, Cihangir, Susam S. 9/3
Barbuni Tanaş, Cihangir, Sıraselviler C. 108/110
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Bazlamacı Niko, Cihangir C. 42
Behar Albert, Cihangir, Taktaki Yokuşu 10/4
Behar Luis, Firuzağa, Palaska S. 6/1
Behar Nissim, Cihangir, Defterdar Yokuşu 33/4
Benbanaste Jozef V. Dr. Sıraselviler C. 25/2
Bencuya Sami Dr., Cihangir, Hocasade S. 3/3
Benli Yervant, Cihangir, Liva S. 3
Betanof Blanche, Cihangir, Aslan Yatağı S. 35/5
Beyleryan Yervant Dr. Sıraselviler C. 104
Binbir Sava, Cihangir, Akarsu C. 45
Bonaço Yannis, Cihangir, Havyar S. 33/1
Boncuk Onnik, Cihangir, Pürtelaş S. 14
Bond Helene, Cihangir Yokuşu 13
Bozarcı Yannis, Cihangir, Akarsu C. 28/2

Braçanos Leonidas, Cihangir, Oba S. 2/2
Bruckner Ellg, Cihangir, Soğancı S. 19
Buçinski Romuald, Sıraselviler C. 89
Budris Hristoforos, Defterdar Yokuşu 94
Bugeja Julius F., Cihangir, Aslanyatağı S. 13
Büyükgedikoğlu Onufyos, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 25/4
Büyükhamporsumyan Sofi, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 46/3
Cagliarini Alexandr, Cihangir, Akarsu C. 27
Calusa Demetre W., Cihangir, Kumrulu Yokuşu 18/2
Canidi Luka, Havyar S. 41/43
Caravelo Ezio, Cihangir, Batarya S. 14
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Cario Giorgio, Cihangir, Matara S. 13/1
Caruana Eleni, Cihangir, Oba S. 5
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Çangapulos Filitos, Cihangir, Sağıroğlu S. 39/1
Çeklioğlu Fresilya, Cihangir, Aslanyatağı S. 10/3
Çelikoğlu İspiro, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 46/3
Çetkoviç Eftimiya, Cihangir, Sormagir S. 80
Çiçopulos Petro, Cihangir, Anahtar S. 2/6
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Çikopulos Pano, Cihangir, defterdar Yokuşu 20-22
Çileni Romilos, Cihangir, Yeniyuva S. 14/3
Çilingiroğlu Yorgi, Cihangir, Aslanyatağı S. 35/9
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Dakos Fotis Dr., Cihangir, Somuncu S. 7, Domicile, Cihangir C. 29/2
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Danieldu Daniel, Cihangir, Şimşirci S. 19/4
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Dapei Eloi, Sıraselviler C. 87
De Santi Islanda, Cihangir, Defterdar Yokuşu 58/4
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Demirci Vasil Viran, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 48/4
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Efstratiadis Yorgi, Cihangir, Akarsu C. 28/4
Eftis Ilya, Cihangir, Cihangir C. 10/14-8
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Emanoilidis Nikoli, Cihangir, Susam S. 25/5
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Ergingül Arokalos, Cihangir, Matara S. 25-27
Ernst Ferdinand, Cihangir, Susam S. 22
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Feustel H. W., Cihangir, Susam S. 18
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Filipoçi Marika, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 61/5
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Frederici Şahika, Cihangir, Özoğul S. 22
Frenkel Bak, Cihangir, Akarsu C. 44/2
Freudiger Angele, Cihangir, Aslan Yatağı S. 13
Frimmel Helly, Cihangir, Oba S. 3
Fumelli François, Cihangir, Matara S. 19/6
Fumelli Leon, Cihangir, Anahtar S. 2/2
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Gavrilidis Yorgos, Cihangir, Cihangir C. 62
Gavrilioğlu Anastasya, Cihangir, Yeni Yuva S. 24/2
Gaziadi C., Altıpatlar S. 6/3
Gazika Sotiri, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 60/3
Gedikoğlu Onufrios, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 25/3
Geelmuyden Hans, Sıraselviler C. 77
Gikakis Dimitri, Cihangir, Akarsu C. 39/4
Giovanni Messina, Cihangir, Altın Bilezik S. 14/2
Georgieff Milka, Cihangir, Havyar S. 48
Graevenitz Werner Von, Cihangir, Cihangir C. 28
Gravina Iro, Cihangir, Cihangir C. 23
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Guyer Karl H., Cihangir, Susam S. 26
Hacı Kostı Eli, Cihangir, Karadut C. 43/4
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Hacopulos Alex, Cihangir, Şimşirci S. 6
Hahamyan Levon Dr., Cihangir, Tüfekçi Salih S. 13
Hanazoğlu Julia, Cihangir, Akyol C. 14/8
Haralambidis Avram, Cihangir, Coşkun S. 13/1
Haralambidis Dimitri, Cihangir, Sıraselviler C. 184/4
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İstilyanidis İlya, Cihangir, Coşkun S. 17
Jones C.R., Aslan Yatağı S. 13
Kafyera Giovanni, Cihangir, Akarsu C. 45/3
Kağliya Antonid, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 57/1
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Kanaki Petro, Cihangir, Güneşli S. 48/1
Kangelidis Lazar, Cihangir, Yeni Yuva S. 23/4
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Pavlidis Yannis, Aslan Yatağı S. 33/1
Payotis Mihalaki, Oba S. 5/4
Peretti Giovanni, Sıraselviler C. 185/5
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Petridu İrini, Havyar S. 16-18
Pietro Landi, Cihangir C. 2/8
Piperidis Koço, Aslan Yatağı S. 35/7
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Stori Peter, Susam S. 28/4
Strakis Yannis, Sormagir S.
Strancalis Sotiri Dr., Akarsu Yokuşu 16-14
Strltzl Ernest Von, Özoğlu S. 16/4
Strakos Yorgi, Yeni Yuva S. 12/4
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Şaşati Remi, Cihangir C. 49
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Tanburoğlu Argiri, Defterdar Yokuşu 51/3
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Tardif Jacque, Aslan Yatağı S. 33/10
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Terzibaşyan Setrak, Bakraç S. 25/3
Tipos Magda, Havyar S. 16/3
Todorovich Amalia, Karadut C. 45
Tomaidis Foti, Karadut C. 23
Tomaidis Toma, Cihangir C. 72/3
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Venyamin Yuvanna, Oba S. 5
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Viriyeniyos Aleko, Sıraselviler C. 205/5
Vlahopulos Dimitri, Defterdar Yokuđu 127
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Vorepulos Kalyoply, Akarsu C. 44/3
Vucetic Yovanko, Matara S. 29-31
Vulgaris Yannis, Oba S. 11/3
Weissen Bacher Herta, Alçak Dam Yokuđu 7
Weissshaeupl E. R., Aslan Yatađı S. 33/3-Kumrulu 26/7
Wilkinson William H. N. Susam S. 18/4
Wilkinson Charles, Batarya S. 14
Wilson François, Sıraselviler C. 205
Yuvanidis Eleni, Oba S. 13/3
Yuvanidis Koço, Cođuun S. 10
Yuvanidis S. Platon, Oba S. 9/3
Yanço İslavço, Altın Bilezik S. 9/8
Yardımcı Viktorya, Sıraselviler C. 74-82
Yemeniciođlu Yorgi, Yeni Yuva S. 8/5
Yerasimos Atina, Sıraselviler C. 58/6
Yerasimos Mavromati, Cihangir C. 35-37
Yerim Tanađu, Sıraselviler C. 74/82
Yeđuko Andon, Sıraselviler, Liva S. 13/4
Yoannidis Hristos, defterdar Yokuđu 64/4
Yođurtçuođlu Anesti, Oba S. 17/1
Yorgiadis Vangel, Cihangir C. 40
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Zerbin Niko, Tüfekçi Salih S. 18
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Zinguli Marsel Limoner, Sıraselviler C. 191/4
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APPENDIX G

RUM POPULATION IN STREETS OF CIHANGIR ACCORDING TO 1968 RUM ORTHODOX CHURCH RECORDS

Akarsu Street: 112 Rum Inhabitants
Altın Bilezik Street: 6 Rum Inhabitants
Anahtar Street: 2 Rum Inhabitants
Aslanyatağı Street: 62 Rum Inhabitants
Bakraç Street: 65 Rum Inhabitants
Cihangir Street: 273 Rum Inhabitants
Defterdar Yokuşu: 7 Rum Inhabitants
Emanetçi Street: 14 Rum Inhabitants
Güneşli Street: 127 Rum Inhabitants
Havyar Street: 108 Rum Inhabitants
Kazancı Yokuşu: 6 Rum Inhabitants
Kumrulu Street: 67 Rum Inhabitants
Kumrulu Yokuşu: 5 Rum Inhabitants
Lenger Street: 53 Rum Inhabitants
Liva Street: 20 Rum Inhabitants
Matara Street: 53 Rum Inhabitants
Meşelik Street: 37 Rum Inhabitants
Oba Street: 111 Rum Inhabitants
Sıraselviler Street: 332 Rum Inhabitants
Soğancı Street: 3 Rum Inhabitants
Somuncu Street: 4 Rum Inhabitants
Sormagir Street: 79 Rum Inhabitants
Susam Street: 78 Rum Inhabitants
Şimşirci Street: 91 Rum Inhabitants
Tavukuçmaz Street: 1 Rum Inhabitant
Türkgücü Street: 2 Rum Inhabitants
Yeni Yuva Street: 114 Rum Inhabitants

APPENDIX H

STREETS AND ADDRESSES IN CIHANGIR IN L'INDICATEUR OTTOMAN,
ANNUAIRE ALMANACH DU COMMERCE DE L'INDUSTRIE, DE
L'ADMINISTRATION ET DE LA MAGISTRATURE, DEUXIEME ANNEE 1881,
HEGIRE 1298, CREE PAR RAPHAEL C. CERVATI ET PUBLIE PAR
CERVATI FRERES & D. FATZEA

PERVOUZ AGHA (rue)

De la rue Syra Selvi a la rue Roum Mézaristan

Nos.

59. Caravokyros (M.), pharmacien (pharmacist)

61. Theodorides (Alex.), encaisseur de la maison Mir et Cottereau (collector)
Michel Bey, médecin (doctor)

SYRA-SELVI (rue)

De la rue Kichla Djaddressi (Taxim) au Quartier turc

Nos

15. Hadjian (H. A.), banquier (banker)

53. Ibrahim (Hayder), ex-ambassadeur de Turquie a Vienne (former Turkish
ambassador in Vienna)

55. Le Chevalier (Georges), avocat (attorney)

APPENDIX I

STREETS AND ADDRESSES IN CIHANGIR IN ANNUAIRE ORIENTAL DU COMMERCE DE L'INDUSTRIE DE L'ADMINISTRATION ET DE LA MAGISTRATURE, 12EME ANNEE 1893-94

DEFTERDAR YOCOUCYOU (rue)

De la rue Tchoukour Bostan a la rue Pervouz Agha

Hôpital Royal Italien (Italian Royal Hospital)

Hôpital Municipal (Municipal Hospital)

PERVOUZ AGHA (rue)

De la rue Defterdar Yocouchou a la rue Syra Selvi

Nos.

24. Thanas (F.)

Hôpital Allemand (German Hospital)

39. Kirinopoulos (A.), employé au Camelia. (employee at the Camelia)

115. Catelin (J. de), administrateur délégué de la société des mines de Balia-Karaidin
(administrator-delegate/representative)

117. Alexiadis (Jean), draps (sheets/clothes)

110. Wilson (Mme Vve)

118. Tewfik Bey, colonel

119. Vallauri (Alex.), architecte

120. Benklia (Arakel), marchand (merchant)

122. MAISON GRAVIER.

1. Diricq, gérant de l'entreprise de constructions du port de Constantinople
(manager)

Azarian (Pouzik), caissier a la Cie des quais (cashier)

2. Ferckel (Fried.), commissionnaire

3. Kun, sous directeur des chemins de fer d'Anatolie (director of railways)

4. Rigaudias, employé a la banque ottomane (employee at the Ottoman Bank)

123. Polichrono (Yannis), épiciier (grocer)

125. Marini (lieut.-colonel Pierre), attaché militaire de l'ambassade d'Italie

Stelting (baron de)

Laveau (comte de)

126. Bellet

127. Mussurus Bey, (E.)

127. MAISON GEORGIADES

1. Hassoun (Albert), employé au crédit lyonnais (employee)

2. Aslan (Vve)

3. Callerio (Pierre François), consul juge d'Italie (consul judge)

4. Dimopoulo (X.), courtier (broker)

5. Chan (Me)

129. Sbyrakis (N. D.), nazir adjoint de la régie des tabacs

129. Ohannes Khan, Ire drogman de l'ambassade de Perse

- 130. Chiro, employé a la société des tramways
- 131. Wondra (Famille)
- 132. Lanzoni (Joseph)
- 133. Georgiadis (Famille)
- 134. Lavridis (Lazari), bois de construc.
Allahverdi (Nazareth Bey)
- 136. Huber (Joseph), négociant (merchant/businessman/dealer)
- 140. Arnoux (comte)
- 142. Eschref, vitrier (glazier)
- 144. Serpossian (Yervant)
- 146. Manolopoulos (Georges)
- 148. Decossio, médecin (doctor)
- 150. Albini (Vve)
- 156. Paccarad (Kievork Efendi), chef du bureau des traductions du minist. des
travaux publics
- 160. MAISON CRITICOS (Tour Eiffel)
 - 1. Michlen.
 - 2. Soulouhanyan (Archag.)
 - 3. Hadji Christou, directeur du collège de ce nom (college director)
Mazlimian (Diran)
- 162. MAISON APOSTOLIDES
 - 1, 2. Apostolidés (N.), avocat (attorney)
 - 3. Naoum
 - 4. Seber (A.), employé au consulat de Russie (employee at the Russian
Consulate)

SOANDJI (rue)

De la rue Pervouz Agha a la rue Djean Kir (Cihangir)

Nos.

- 40. Sarian (Joseph), ferblantier
- 43. Toloyan (Ohannes), propriétaire du journal Medjoumai Ahbar
Gérard (Famille)

SYRA SELVI (rue), No.1 a 61

De la rue Kichla Djaddesi (Taxim) a la rue Pervouz Agha

Nos.

- 5. Hadjian (Andon), banquier (banker)
- 7. Hilmi Pacha
- 7. Ali Osman, orges (barleys)
- 9. Ivanoff (Th. Th.), agent principal de la Cie de nav. a vapeur russe.
- 11. Hadjopoulo (J.), banquier (banker)
- 13. Vahanian Efendi (Vahan)
- 15. Astartjian (Hagop), négociant (merchant/businessman/dealer)
- 17. Ibrahim Bey (R.), introducteur des ambassadeurs
- 19. Plessos Frères, employés
- 20. Soukri (Georges), pharmacien (pharmacist)
- 23. Leclereq (A.), ingénieur (engineer)
- 27. Collège grec de Hadji Christou
- 27. bis. Hadji Christou (P.), médecin
- 31. Melhamé (Sélim Eff.), ministre de l'agriculture et des mines et forets

- 33. Aznavour (Ohannes), architecte
- 35. Scheider (Edouard), ingénieur
- 37. Ralli (Constantin), banquier
- 41. Kiem (Bedros), employé a la douane des pêcheries
- 43. Atamian (Meguir Bey)
- 47. Kritopoulos, soieries (silk factory)
- 55. Bosdari (M.de), de la maison Thalasso et Bosdari, banquiers
- 55. Azarian (Grégoire), rentier
- 55. Ananiadis (D.), négociant
- 57. Zogheb (vicomte G. de), directeur de la société du Tombac
- 59. Kebedgy
- 93. Apostolidis (D.), empl. au Camélia

APPENDIX J

STREETS AND ADDRESSES IN CIHANGIR IN ANNUAIRE ORIENTAL DU
COMMERCE DE L'INDUSTRIE DE L'ADMINISTRATION ET DE LA
MAGISTRATURE, 29ME ANNEE 1909, PUBLIE PAR LA THE ANNUAIRE
ORIENTAL & PRINTING COMPANY LIMITED, 21, RUE DE POLOGNE,
PERA, CONSTANTINOPLE

ARASLAR (rue)

De la rue Ouroudjilar a la rue Soumoundjou

Nos.

3. Kruyff (A. L. Sint Yoost de), publiciste, président de l'association de la presse étrangère

4. Zafiriadi (Dem.), agent de change

5. APPARTEM. JONES

1. Jones (W. J.), mécan.-construct.

2. Hamoudopoulos (A. D.), avocat

3. Ikiadés (Ant. Efendi), *Kapou Kehaya* du patr. Oecuménique

4. Coulant (E.), ingénieur

5. Toustain Pacha (Vve de)

Odabachi: Nakachian (Ohannés)

6. Ladopoulos (Nicolas), épicier

7. Bollos (Alex.)

Spanoudis (Hippatios), mécanicien

9. Paximos (Nic.), employé

9. Vassiliadés (Jean), court. Maritime

11. Lahaille (Alphonse), conseiller de légation royale de Roumanie

11. B. Padel (W.), 2^{me} drogman de l'amb. d'Allemagne

14. Hannay (Charles J.), caissier de la maison Gilchrist, Walker et Cie

38. APPARTEM. RIZZO

1. Eugénidi (Etienne), de la banque E. Eugénidi

2. Marling (Charles M.), conseiller de l'ambassade d'Angleterre

3. Théodoli (marquis Alberto), délégué des bondholders italiens a la dette publique ottomane

4. Goldstücker (C.), ingénieur en chef du matériel et de la traction a la Cie d'exploitation des chem. De fer orientaux

5. Sofiano (D.), négociant

Odabachis: Cassar (Paul) et Cosulich (Jean)

DEFTERDAR YOCOUCYOU (rue), 1 a 65

De la rue Tchoukour Bostan a la rue Pervouz Agha

Traversée a dr. et g. par des ruelles aboutissant dans le mémé quartier

Nos.

3. Drossinos (A.), pharmacie

5. APPARTEM. YAZIDJI ZADE

1. Lalas (Dim.), café

2. Argyrides (Odyssée), épicier

3. Armand (Jules)

4. Hekimian (O.), courtier
Hekimian (Zabel), actrice
5. Kalbourdji (Haral.), orthopédiste
6. Zgourdéo (Vve)
8. Isler (Henry), mécanicien
9. Haralambidis (H. G.), vitrier
11. Djenanidés (Pand.), bijoutier
12. Pavlovitch (Vido), employé
Zenovitch (Joko), employé

Odabachi:

11. Elmassian (Mesrop), 3^{me} commis de l'office sanitaire
14. Pappadopoulos (Kyriaco), menuisier
51. Saris (Aspasie), propriétaire
55. Hôpital Italien
60. Hussein Husni, pharmacie
60. Theodoridis (Vassilios), épicier
64. Osman Agha, charbon de bois

Fontaine

FATMA-HANOUM (Impasse) (Dead end)

Dans la rue Pervouz Agha

Nos.

1. Azarian (Dicran), cuisinier
1. Avramopoulos (Nic.), courtier
2. Avramidés (B.), courtier en céréales
4. Iconomidis (Pavlaki), employé a la chambre de comm. de Cons/ple.
6. Pavlidis (D.), homme d'affaires

KAZANDJI (rue), 1 a 89

De la rue Syra Selvi au Quartier turc

Nos.

32. Wegsmann (Robert), comptable a la pharmacie britannique
64. Constandacopoulos (C.), charbon de bois.
68. Deukmedjian (Manouk), horloger
68. Abdullah (Hovhannés Efendi), ex-adjoint du gouverneur général de Scutari d'Albanie

Ecurie

70. Caramanian (Sahak), employé
75. Maniadaki (Coralia), couturière
77. Vladinidis (Alex.), encaisseur a la *Wiener bank Verein*
77. Sakouliadis (Paraschos), coiffeur
80. Spicas (D.), débit de tabacs
81. Hatchérian (N.), avocat
Hatchérian (H.), employé au crédit lyonnais
83. Plitas (D.), changeur de monnaies
83. Zanetopoulos (Alex.), employé Chez Singer
87. Anastasiadis (Th.), courtier en tapis
89. Veziri (Sophocle J.), courtier en cér.

OUROUDJILAR (rue)

De la rue de Syra Selvi a la rue Soumoundjou

Nos.

3. Coumakis (Michel), agent de la Cie de nav. *John Mac Dowal & Barbour*
4. Zaphiriadés (Démétrius), agent de change
7. Haralambidés (Etienne), empl. a la banq. imp. Ottomane
9. Contoyannis (Const.), tenancier du café au débarcadère de Scutari
11. Sgouroff (Th.), employé a la régie
15. a. Condjegulian (Ohannés), courtier
17. Hannous (Edouard), tailleur

PERVOUZ AGHA (rue)

de la rue Defterdar Yocouchou a la rue Syra Selvi

Plusieurs rues latérales sans noms aboutissant aux quartiers turcs. N.B. Les numéros de cette rue ne se suivent pas.

Hôpital Allemand

Corps de garde

Nos.

38. Ohannessian (Kircor), cordonnier
40. Izzet, confiseur
41. Maranghidis (Z. G.), courtier-marit.
49. Livadas (C.), secrétaire de l'éphore de l'école comm. le de Hakli
53. Vichinesky (Paul), tailleur
59. Aréos (Achille), employé
61. Gasparakis (Georges), cordonnier
73. Rossetto (C.), empl. chez Singer
79. Licouris (Michel), typographe
81. Bancalaro (Mme A.), sage-femme
87. Pitarides (G.), typographe
88. Abadjoglou (M.), épicier
90. Caloumenou (Varvara), couturière
91. Coumarianos (Zanni), employé
92. Horayan (K.), repasseur
94. Nicolaidis (Apost.), mécanicien
96. Vithvnos Bey (J.)
99. Chichmanian (Carlo), repasseur
99. APPARTEM. BAY.

1. Mérab (G.), poêlier
2. Parissis (Achille), de la maison M. Parissis Fils
3. Stamatiadis (Nic. B.) homme d'affaires
4. Photiades (Georges), empl. a la banq. imp. otom.
5. Photiades (Pavlaki), empl. a la régie
6. Missirlioglou (Jean), marchand

Fontaine

Mosquée

103. Yannovitch (Vve)
103. Calogheros (Const.), charbon de bois
105. Mihran Efendi, directeur propriétaire du journal *Sabah*
107. Spandony (E.), homme d'affaires

109. Luledjian (Ant.), maçon

SOANDJI (rue), 1 a 37

De la rue Pervouz Agha a la rue Djean Kir

Nos.

10/1. APPARTEM. HAMID BEY

1. Chrisson (Vve Anthi)
2. Drossos (Dim.), empl. chez Carlmann
3. Missirian (M.), marchand
4. Kalogridés (J. M.), pharmacien
5. Keussy (Silvio), profess. de piano
6. Calliades (Callias), caissier a la *Deutsch Orientbank*.
Odabachi: Andronicoglou (G.)

10/2. APPARTEM. STERIO CALFA

1. Iacovidis (Stavro I.I, débardeur
2. Sterio (A.), architecte
3. Pekmez (Paul A.), emp. a la dette publique ottomane
4. Cavadas (Emm.), direct. du bureau des établiss. phil. Grecs.
5. Barcoulis (S.), commissionnaire
6. Constantinides (Spyridon=, adjoint au Capou Kehaya du patriarcat oecuménique

10/3. APPARTEM. MAVROUDIS

1. Velasti (A.), empl. a la société du chem. de fer ottomane d' Anat.
2. Baltas (Léon), de la maison Baltas Frères
3. Hadjopoulos (Georges A.), négoc.
4. Phazzis (G.), avocat
5. Mertzaris (Panayotti), changeur de monnaies
6. Mavroudis (Georges G.), couleurs et vernis
Odabachi: Gheorghiadis (An.)

10/4. APPARTEM. GEORGES APOSTOLIDES

1. Caradjidés (Georges), dédouaner
2. Enotiadis Pacha (Vve Pinelopie)
3. Phalère (Jean), emp. a la régie des tabacs.
4. Athanassiadis (Nic.), marchand
5. Parseghian (Famille)
Parseghian (Aram), empl. a la dette publique ottomane
6. Vassel (Camile), empl. a la banq. impériale ottomane
Odabachi: Pachalidis (Nic.)

10/5. APPARTEM. GEORGES APOSTOLIDES

1. Iliadis (Stefanos), empl. a la banq. de Mélelin.
2. Metassariki (Ep.), empl. aux chem. de fer orientaux
3. Cozzonis (Marius), empl. a l'office sanitaire
4. Yannovich (Et.), empl. a la banq. impériale ottomane
5. Zotos (Alex.), prêtre
6. Glavany (Auguste), employé a la dette publique ottomane
7. Haidar (Ferid Bey), employé a la banque impériale ottomane
8. Rossetto (Georges), encaisseur a l'administ. des hopit. Grecs
9. Zachariades (Laz.), chef comptable a la Cie de navig. russe
10. Crawford (Robert), agent de Cies d'assurances

- 11. Dalgalian (Antoine), tailleur
- 12. Kouroulis (Panai), mécanicien
- 17. APPARTEM. PHOTIADES
 - 1. Carvonidis (D.), employé à la Cie de navig. a vapeur *Egée*
 - 2. Brandis (comte Ferdinand), secrétaire de légation de l'ambass d'Autriche Hongrie
 - 3. Millioris (F.), commissionnaire
 - 4. Photiades (P.), architecte
 - 5. Hurer (Léon), chef de l'exploit. a la Cie des eaux.
- 27. Glossothis (Jean D.), courtier marit.
- 33. Theodoridés (M.), relieur
- 35. Anastassiadis (A.), repart. de bicyclettes

SOMOUNDJOU (rue)

De la rue Araslar a la rue Soandji

Nos.

- 1. Guglielmi (Gaelano), architecte
- 1. Guglielmi (Ernest), architecte, attaché au bureau technique de la dette publique ottomane
- 5. Anrizzoyanni (Georges), employé chez Bomonti
- 5. Polichroniadis (Alex.), employé a l'imprimerie française
- 9. Dikianos (Jean), épicier
- 9. Mavridis (Gligori), avocat
- 9. Poulissi (Jean), chang. de monnaies
- 9. Caloghera (Jean), chang. de monn.
 - Hôpital Allemand. Asile des vieillards.*
- 12. Goudas (Vve Artin)
- 14. Pazoumian (Vve Artin)
- 16. Handjian (Mike), agent d'affaires immobile
- 18. APPARTEM. DIMAKIS
 - 1. Stavrakis (Th.), coiffeur
 - 2. Dimakis (G.), chang. de monn.
 - 3. Chrissafidis (Jean)
 - 4. Spiridis (C.), caissier a la société des tramways
 - 5. Sangas (M.), professeur
 - 6. Placotaris (J.), de la maison Placotaris et Ghikadis
- 22. APPART. POULISSI ET CALOGHERA
 - 1. Anghelidis (A.), chang. de monn.
 - 2. Nouridjian (E.), avocat
 - 4. Pinatellis (A.), employé
 - 5. Christodoulidis (D.), de la maison Christodoulidis Frères
 - 6. Papacosta (Ep.), drogman-adjoint du cons.-général de Roumanie
 - 7. Souvadjoglou (D.), chang. de monnaies
 - Odabachi: Anastassiou (Dim.)*
- 24. Chrysostomos (Th. C.), couleurs et vernis.
- 30. Rizoglous (Sotiri), empl. a l'hôpital *allemand*
 - Oundjian (M.), employé
- 34. Varyemes (Paul), coiffeur
- 36. Spanoudis (Const. L.), négociant

SYRA SELVI (rue), 1 a 162-164

De la rue Kichla Djaddessi (Taxim), a la rue Pervouz Agha

Rues latérales:

a g. Kazandji

a dr. Roum Kabristan

Nos.

1. Ougourlian (M.), pharmacie

3. Petropoulos (Theod.), vins et mastic.

Petite porte de l'Eglise Grecque Ste Trinité

14. Kassapian (Jean), menuisier

15. Astartjian (Vve Boghos)

16. Hatsios (Ster. A.) et Eft. D. Eftimiadés, épicier

17, 19. Noradounghian (Gabriel Eff.), ministre du Commerce et des Travaux Publics

18. Christophoridis (O.), vins et mastic.

27. *Collège greco-français*

37. Ralli (Constantin D.), banquier

37. Ralli (Georges), empl. a la *Wiener bank-verein*

39. *Légation Royale de Roumanie*

40. APPARTEMENTS CHRYSSOVERGHI

1. Perlachis (Georges), agent de change

2. *Bureaux de la Légation de Roumanie*

3. Hadjopoulo (Famille Assimaki)

4. Lascaridés Frères, commerçants

5. Stavro (Famille Mihail)

6. Psathy (Tr. N.), courtier de change

7. Vacalis (G.)

8. Scanavy (C.), directeur des revenus concédés a la dette publique ottomane

9. Corassinos (Alfred), employé a la régie des tabacs

10. Spyridion (S.), de la maison M.P. Sifneo et S. Spyridion

Odabachi: Eftchimion (Spiro)

43. Hübsch (Mme)

45. Pappazoglou (Anastase), beurres

47. Kritopoulos (P. N.), soieries

51. Holmsen (Colonel d'état major I.), attaché militaire de l'ambassade de Russie

53. Plessos (Jean), empl. a la régie

53. Sarafides (Jean)

53. Wieting (D.), médecin

55. Vallauri (Alex.), architecte

59. *Légation de Belgique*

80. Dallian (Joseph), laquage de meubles

82. Tchiboukdjoglou (Const.), orge et seigle

88. Tchanakian (Oussepe), repasseur

88. Minassian (Manouk), tailleur

115. Lenguich (Henry), agent principal de la Sété d'Heraclée

117. Dilsizian (Gaspar), de la maison Dilsizian Frères

118. Eleftheriadés (V.), employé a la banque d'Athènes

119. Vallauri (Mme)

120. Humruz (Seraphim)

Humruz (G.), architecte

Humruz (M.), entrepreneur

122. APPARTEM. GRAVIER

1. Elefteriadi Bey (Georges), médecin
3. Dupuis (Isidore), sous-directeur de la Banque Impériale Ottomane
4. Vitalis (Leonard), directeur de l'agence de la banq. impé. ottom. a Stamboul
5. Metzdorf (C.), secrétaire de la chancellerie de l'ambassade d'Allemagne
Odabachi: Makelarides (Jean)

123. Hurmunidis (Alex.), épicier

123. bis. Polychroniadis (Alex.), vins.

124. Pantazopoulos (N. Th.), négociant

124. Vuccino (Paul)

125. Ghouliara (G.), vins.

125. Reno (Ant.), épicier

126. Mango (Démètre A.), de la maison Foscolo, Mango et Cie.

126. bis. Tchacos (G.), avocat

127. APPARTEM. GEORGIADES

1. Hasson (Albert), employé au crédit lyonnais

2. Kün (Vve)

3. Théotokas (Michel G.), avocat

4. Dimopoulou (Mele)

5. Alphantjis (Const. N.), vins.

Odabachi: Antonopoulos (St.)

129. Souvazoglou (Famille B.)

131. Sartynsky (Jean C.), rédacteur a la dette publique ottomane

131. bis. Basmadjian (Onnik), avocat

132. Seéfelder (Vve Georgette)

133. Matheou (Jean Const.), charbon et bois

134. Hadji Stavrou (A.)

136. Koumarianos (N.), médecin

137. Nias (Arthur), directeur général adjoint de la banq. impér. ottom.

139. Stempel (major), attaché militaire de l'ambass. d'Allemagne

140. Pissard (Léon), directeur général de la dette publique ottomane

142. Ananiadis (Jean), manufactures

146. Naoum (Christo), chang. de monn.

148. Strati (G.), commissionnaire

150. Lacomblez (Charles), professeur de littérature française au lycée imp. de Galata-Sérai

154. Molochadés (G.), médecin

156. Vatelot (Georges), professeur, directeur du lycée greco-française

160. APPARTEM. CRITICOS (Tour Eiffel)

3. Alexiadis (Jean), draps

4. Asloglou (A. P.), commissionnaire

5. Criticos (J.), propriétaire

Odabachi: Sermes (Petro)

162, 164. APPARTEM. APOSTOLIDES

1, 2. Mertens (J.), cons. gén. d'Allem.

3. Apostolidés (Georges), avocat

4. Aslan (Ph.), inspecteur général a la dette publique ottomane

5. Parseghian (Aram), empl. au bureau du timbre de la dette publique

ottomane

Odabachi: Yani

1. Apostolidés (Simon), médecin-névrologue
2. 2. Apostolidés (Alhanase), avocat

TCHECHME YOCOUCYOU (rue)

De la rue Soumoundjou a la rue Soandji

Nos.

2. Ihsan Bey, adjoint du sous-secrétaire d'Etat du minist. des Affaires Etrangères
3. Callias (Dem.), employé chez Baker
Callias (Georges), de la maison Callias Frères
6. Nicolaou (Georges), 2^{me} sacristain de l'église grecque Ste.-Trinité

APPENDIX K

MAISONS AND APPARTEMENTS ON SIRASELVI ST., FIRUZAGA ST. AND CIHANGIR RECORDED IN THE ANNUAIRE ORIENTAL 1909

- Apostolidés, Syra Selvi St., 162
- Apostolidés, Soandji St., 10/4, 10/5
- Bay, Pervouz Pacha (Agha), 99
- Chryssoverghi, Syra Selvi St., 40
- Criticos, Syra Selvi St., 160
- Dimakis, Somoundjou St., 18
- Georgiadés, Syra Selvi St., 127
- Gravier, Syra Selvi St., 12
- Hamid Bey, Soandji St., 10/1
- Jones, Araslar St., 5
- Mavroudis, Soandji St., 10/3
- Photiadés, Soandji St., 17
- Poulissi et Calloghéra, Somoundjou St., 22
- Rizzo, Araslar St., 38
- Sterio Calfa, Soandji St., 10/2
- Yazidji Zadé, Defterdar Yocouchou, 5

APPENDIX L

STREETS AND ADDRESSES IN CIHANGIR IN ANNUAIRE ORIENTAL,
ORIENTAL DIRECTORY LAIT HOLLANDIA GRANDES BRASSERIES LA
HAYE BIÈRE LHB, MARQUE LE LION, TEOLIN, AMIDONROYAL REMY,
CACAO VAN HOUTEN, AGENTS GÉNÉRAUX SOCIÉTÉ COMMERCIALE
NÉERLANDDAISE, 1921

ARASLAR (rue), Péra

De la rue Ouroudjilar a la rue Soumoundjou.

Nos.

3. Rom (Pierre)

4. Zafiriadi (Dem.)

5. APPARTEM. JONES

1. Nazmi Bey (Vve)

2. Reinfeld (Jacques)

3. Jones (W. J.), mécan.-construct.

4. Conlant (E.), ingénieur

5. Savidas (Sava), nég.

6. Pios (Ant.), attaché a la Cie d'Assurances Union de Paris

6. Calavrias (Nic.), électricien

7. Théocharidis (Georges), architecte

9. Vassiliadés (Vve Marie)

11. Miranski (Vve)

11. Tubini (Hyacinthe), banquier

38. APPARTEM. RIZZO

Rez-de-chaussée

Eliasco (John), directeur général de la *Banque d'Athènes*

1. Picard (F.), ingénieur

1. Mandanakis (Périkles E.), nég.

2. Mimico (Vve)

3. Constantinidi (Jean), directeur de la *Banque d'Athènes*

4. Bellet (Félix), directeur du *Crédit Lyonnais*

DEFTERDAR YOCOUCOU (rue), Péra

De la rue Tchoukour Bostan a la rue Pervouz Agha

Traversée a dr. et a g. par des ruelles aboutissant dans le mémé quartier

5. APPARTEM. YAZIDJI ZADE

1. Ploutsis (Spiro), employé

2. Atechoglou (Vve V)

3. Naoumis (Mme)

4. Economiadis (Nic.), tailleur

5. Vassiliadou (Vve Marina)

6. Haralambidis (H. G.), vitrier

7. Ioannidis (Pierre), employé chez Orosdi Back

- 8. Scordakis (Chissos), pelletier
- 10. Anastassiadis (S.), employé
- 12. Potamianos (Dionissios)
- 14. Pappadopoulos (Kyriaco), menuisier
- 36. APPARTEM. STOUCA
 - 1. Devopoulos (Vve Marie)
 - 2. Nicolaidis (Nic.), négociant
 - 3. Ghelberis (Georges), cuisinier
 - 5. Christodoules, chang. monn.
 - 6. Roken (Marius), courtier
- 52. *Ecole Populaire Italienne*
- 55. *Hôpital Italien*
- 60. Theodoridis (Vassilios), épicier
- 64. Osman Agha, charbon de bois.
Fontaine

KAZANDJI (rue), Péra

De la rue Syra Selvi au Quartier turc

Ecurie

- 79. Ekmekdjian (Ar.), bijoutier
- 81. Hatchérian (H.), employé
- 83. Khayatt (Ant.), empl. a la dette publique ottomane
- 85. Suleiman Faik Bey, rentier
- 87. Maffioli (Gustave), employé a la dette publique ottomane
- 89. Veziri (Anastassia)
- 89. APPARTEM. LOUKIANOS
 - 1. Stephanidis (Nic.), poêlier
 - 2. Drossinos (Ath.), fondeur
 - 3. Dimitrakopoulos (Emile), comm.
 - 4. Dimitriadis (Vve Catina)
 - 5. Loukianos (Vve Loukia)
- 91. Seidner (Henri), employé

OUROUDJILAR (rue), Péra

De la rue Syra Selvi a la rue Soumoundjou

- 3. Schmill (Elia), employé
- 3. Rew (Benj.), négociant
- 5. Pappadopoulos (Comsa), courtier
- 9. Contoyannis (Const.)
- 9. Paléologos (Dim.), court. En céréales
- 11. Karavaglidis (Dim.), employé chez Constantin Pappa.
- 11. Cheuhlaian (Mlle Flora), institutrice de langues

PERVOUZ AGHA (rue), Péra

De la rue Defterdar Yocouchou a la rue Syra Selvi

Plusieurs rues latérales sans noms aboutissant aux quartiers turcs

N. B. Les numéros de cette rue ne se suivent pas Corps de garde

- 4. Liotsis (Péto), boucher et légumes
- 5. Margaritidis (G. D.), pharmacie

7. Ibrahim Eff. Menuisier
9. Georgiadis (Théod.), épicier
39. Ali Cherefeddin, avocat
41. Maranghidis (Zacharia G.)
41. Antoniadis (Const.), empl. a la régie
43/1. Panayotakis (Georges), combustible
43/1. Diani (Pascal), tapissier de voitures
45. Stratigaki (Const. I.), épicerie
45. APPARTEM. TCHELIK ZADE ALI BEY
 1. Rappaport (S.), commerçant
 2. Kocri (F.), commiss.
 3. Théodoridis (Théod.), commiss.
 4. Tomitca (Sava), officier Serbe
 5. Samuel (Moïse), nég.
 6. Tchorbadjoglou (Victor), fonctionn. d'Etat
 7. Jacovidis (Christo D.), de la maison Alexis et Jacovidis
 8. Scordos (Vve E.)
 9. Tchelik Zadé Ali Bey, propriétaire
 10. Sarris (Polivios), commiss.
 12. Volgo (Jules), empl. a la Cie des Eaux
 13. Capodaini (Vincent), de la R. O. T.
 14. Sarris (Jean N.), ingénieur
55. Castellano (Denis), typographe
57. Efstratiou (Georges), vins et mastic.
61. Livadas (Pierre), professeur de grec
63. Gasparakis (Georges), cordonnier
67. Dépasta (Nic.), et Dim. Zamboulidis, combustible
71. Licouris (Michel), typographe
73. Caloudis (Jean), cordonnier
76. APPARTEM. CARAVIOTIS CONST.
 1. Manoulakos (Jean), cuisinier
 2. Georgandas (Athanas.), bijoutier
 3. Itolidis (Mme V.)
 4. Karayossifidis (Nic.), nég.
 5. Nouri Bey, employé
 6. Iliadis (Nic.), chang. de monnaies
77. Pitaridés (G.), typographe
78. APPARTEM. CRESPI
 1. Keussy (Sylvio), prof. de chant et de piano
 2. Artémiadés (A. J.), médecin
 3. Paro.i (Emile), de *l'Ambassade d'Italie*
 4. Tinghir (Michel)
 5. Ikiadis (Dim.), ingénieur a la soc. des Routes
 6. Photiadis (Photi), employé a la régie
 7. Mouradyan (Const.), quincaillier
 8. Djiras (C. . .), chef du dépôt a Galata de la régie de tabacs
 9. Ioanou (Athanas), professeur
 10. Rousselle (Paul), sous chef du secrétariat du conseil de la Dette Publique
Ottomane
66. Nomico (Vve S.)

68. Voskeridakis (Ant.), forgeron
 68. Melengoglous (Dim.), courtier
 88. Lyanos (Const.), cordonnier
 90. Helmis (Nic.), menuisier
 99. APPARTEM. CONSTANT.
 1. Stavrakis (Nic.), coiffeur
 2. Ferrari (U.), mécanicien
 3. Sgouroff (Themis.), empl. a la rég.
 4. Photiadés (Georges), empl. a la Dette Publique Ottomane
 6. Constant (Vve), propriétaire
 Fontaine
 Mosquée
 93. Andréadis (Petro), épicier
 96. Arostopoules (Vassil)
 97. Sarris (Georges), épicier
 107. Stéphanidis (K.), combustibles
 109. Mihran Efendi, directeur-propriétaire du journal *Sabah*
 113. Spandony (Ephrossini)
 80. APPARTEM. GHEORGOPOULOS
 1. Sinodis (Aristoklis), commiss.
 2. Michailidis (Alex.), manuf.
 3. Kokorongos (Jean), poêlier
 4. Haralambidis (Dim.), confiseur
 5. Kouzoukdjian (Simon), médecin
 6. Apostolos (P.), cordonnier

SOANDJI (rue), Péra
 De la rue Pervouz Agha a la rue Djean Kir

1. APPARTEM. CONSTANTINIDIS
 1. Spatha.is (Aurèle A.), avocat
 2. Manoukian (Mme)
 3. Rossolato (Mme)
 4. Constantinidis (A.)
 5. Tchaoussoglou (Isaac), fourn. du gouvernement
 6. Constantinidis (Nic.), pharmacien
 6. Constantinidis (Alex.), employé a la régie
 6. Constantinidis (Jean), empl. chez Orosdi Back
 5. APPARTEM. HAMID BEY
 1. Chrissou (Vve Anthi)
 2. Naris (Trayanos), avocat
 3. Missirian (Mirza), marchand
 4. Sinadinos (Georges), empl. a la Dette Publ. Ottom.
 5. Martinetti (), empl. a la régie
 6. Cocchino (Amédée), modes et nouveautés
 5. APPARTEM. MARINO
 1. Stathakis (E.), nég.
 2. Stamounis (Aléco)
 3. Psilakis (Jean), boulanger
 4. Miltiadis (Georges), nég. commis.

- 5. Hadjopoulos (John), combustible
- 6. Kalivopoulos (Dém.), commiss.
- 7. APPARTEM. STEPHAN EFFENDI
 - 1. Provini (Mme)
 - 2. Isler (Bernard), mécanicien
 - 3. Ioannidis (Michel), commiss.
 - 4. Georgiadis (Mme K.)
 - 5. Chefik Bey
 - 6. Kamelir (Christo), nég. en huiles.
- 9. APPARTEM. MAVROUDIS
 - 2. Tchelibidés (Stavro), agent-maritime
 - 3. Salem (Max), nég. commiss.
 - 4. Caloyenidés (Sava), nég.
- 11. APPARTEM. MAVRIDIS FRERES
 - 1. Mavridis (Kyriaco), épicier
 - 2. Mavridis (Thomas), nég.
 - 3. Davinoff (Eugéne)
 - 4. Mehmed Bey, ingénieur
 - 5. Cosmas (nic.), nég.
 - 6. Ghedayan (Joseph), directeur de la B. Russe
- 17. APPARTEM. PAPPADOPOULOS
 - 1. Hanémoglou (John), empl.
 - 2. Lascaridis (Vve H.)
 - 3. Joblin ()
 - 5. Pappadopoulos (Achilles), propriét.
 - 6. Bostandjioglou (Andréa), employé
- 27. Fouad Ali Bey
- 33. Varvas (Const.), agent de change
- 35. Fassoulakis (Jean), cuisinier
- 37. Anastassiadis (Philippe), empl. chez B. J. Mouradian Frères
- 37. Anastassiadis (Anastasse), électric.

SOMOUNDJOU (rue), Péra

De la rue Araslar a la rue Soandji

- 5. Paganellis (Michel), nég. en denrées colon.
- 5. Polychroniadis (Alex.), homme d'aff.
- 7. Stamopoulos (Sava), employé
- 9. Caloghera (Georges)
- 9. Poulissi (Jean), chang. de monnaies
- 9. Karagheorghis (Georges), escompt. de bons.
- 10. Sillas (Jean), employé chez Théodore Titonis
- 12. Goudas (Vve Elisabeth)
- 14. Pazoumian (Vve Artin)
- 16. Handjian (Miké), commiss.
- 18. APPARTEM. DIMAKIS
 - 1. Tchalas (Mme)
 - 2. Georgiadis (Jean), commiss.
 - 3., 4. Chrissophidis (Jean), commiss.
 - 6. Ftilis (Z. G.), avocat
- 22. APPARTEM. POULISSI (JEAN)

3. Potessaras (Jean)
4. Milliori (Joseph), de la B. I. O.
5. Pignatellis (Vve)
6. Saseblo (Anast.)

SYRA SELVI (rue), Péra
 De la rue Kichla Djaddesi (Taxim), a la rue Pervouz Agha
 Rues latérales:
 -a g. Kazandji
 -a. dr. Roum Kabristan
 Petite porle de l'Eglise grecque Ste. Trinité

9. Pappadopoulos (D.), médecin
11. Manuelidis (S.), dentiste
13. Vahan (Vve Vahan)
15. Apostolidés (Pierre), directeur du *Lycée Français*
- 17., 19. Noradounghian (Gabriel Efendi)
31. *Légation Royale de Bulgarie*
33. Melhamé (Nedjib Pacha)
37. Lascaridis (Const.)
39. *Légation Royale de Roumanie*
40. APPARTEM. CHRYSOVERGHI
 1. Pascalidis (Mme Lucie)
 2. Pappadopoulos (Thésée), médecin
 3. Parlachis (Georges), agent de change
 4. Coyounoglou (Géorges N.), nég.
 5. Manouelidis (Stép.), dentiste
 6. Psathy (Tr. N.), courtier de change
 7. Kouroubacalis (G.), négociant
 8. Scanavy (Vve C.)
 9. Papazoglou (Gligoris), employé
 10. Spyridion (S.), de la maison M. P. Sifneo et S. Spyridion
45. Papazoglou (Anast.), négociant
46. Sallandrouze De Lamornaix, vice président du conseil d'administr. de la R. O. T.
51. Eliasco (Elia), banquier
53. Schaffer (Henri), vétérinaire
53. bis. Zumbuloglou (Vve Georges)
55. Vischinewsky (Paul), tailleur
55. Zotos (X.), médecin
59. *Légation de Belgique*
81. Sardis (Grigoris), brasseur
83. APPARTEM. CAPSALI
 1. Kanaïlidis (Iraclis), chauffeur
 2. Spatharis (Vve Evghenia)
 3. Hadjicos (D.), droguisier
 4. Amiragli (Michel), employé a la Banq. Imp. Ottom.
 5. Lyne (Henry E.)
 7. Valioulis (Const.)
 8. Constantinidis (Spiro), empl.
 9. Metaxa (Luca), courtier

10. Barry (Vve Agnès)
11. Vassiliadis (Vve Jules)
12. Myridés (Andréa), pharmacien
13. Stavridis (G. A.), droguiste
14. Della Tolla (Vve G.)
87. Pitaridis (Georges), horloger
89. Ahmed Bey, médecin
99. APPARTEM. SOUVADJIOGLOU
 1. Souvadjoglou (Marengo), propriétaire
 2. Figaris (Mme Eléni)
 3. Sgouroff (Mme Eléni)
 4. Photiadis (Const.), employé
 5. Souvadjoglou (Vve Olga)
 6. Kassaboglou (Vve Marie)
100. *Hôpital Allemand*
103. Servanis (Dr), médecin
103. Tevfik Djenani Bey, nég.
104. Eleftheriadés (V.), directeur chez Gilchrist, Walker et Cie.
105. Nacachian (Miran), imprimeur
106. Tevfik Bey
108. APPARTEM. GRAVIER
 1. Singros (Kyriaco)
 2. Rossi (Mme M.)
 3. Dupuis (Isidore), directeur de la Banq. Imp. Ottom.
 4. Kendros (Photi), de la maison G. et Fils.
 5. Djizmedjian (Mme)
110. Constandulaki (Alex.)
111. Ravel (Pierre), nég.
114. Mango (Démètre A.), de la maison Foscolo, Mango et Cie.
116. Braggiotti (Michel), avocat
117. Barbaritch (Vve Marie)
119. APPARTEM. HERACLEE
 1. Perdikis (Mme)
 2. Ioannidis (Vve)
 3. Athanassiadis (Mme)
 4. Théodossiadis (V. P.), gérant de la maison J. Arvanitidis Fils.
 5. Tchaoussoglou (Issak), négoc.
 6. Kaloyannidés (Michel D.), bijout.
119. Alexiadis (S.), dentiste
122. Hadjea (Stavro), de la maison P. Hadjea Frères
124. Foscolo (Nic.), négociant
124. bis. Pantazopoulos (N. Th.), négoc.
127. APPARTEM. ALEXIADIS
 1. Olagian (Mlle Olga)
 2. Alexiadis (Vve Photini)
 4. Stavro (Victor), ingénieur
128. Seraphimidis (Vassil), nég. en papier a cigare
129. Gounaris (Socrate), négociant
130. APPARTEM. KEHAYOGLOU
 1. Antipas (Dr), médecin

- 2. Foscolo (Georges), négociant
- 3., 4. Salem (Emm.), avocat
- 5. Menahem (Mme)
- 6. Francés (Robert), ingénieur
- 7. Tomaidis (Christo), avocat
- 8. Yumuchian (Mme)
- 9. Tripos (Georges), négociant
- 10. Kehayoglou (Jean), négociant
- 11. Choublier (Max), directeur de la Société des Routes
- 12. Cruppi (Marcel), chef des services admin. a la Société des Routes
- 13. Behar (Robert), banquier
- 14. Duz (Hrant Bey), fonct. du Gouv.
- 131. APPARTEM. STAMBOULIAN
 - 1. Stamboulia (Léon), propriétaire
 - 2. Fernandez (Mme)
 - 3. Théocharidés (Milles)
 - 6. Stephopoulos (Vve)
- 132. Naoum (Christo), chang. de monn.
- 132. bis. *Croix Rouge Américaine*
- 133. APPARTEM. IOAKIMOPOULOS
 - 1. Rassam (Elias), avocat
 - 2. Matalon (Albert), chef du service de la comptabilité a la Société des Routes
 - 3. Ananiadis (D.), dentiste
 - 4. Botten (Isaac de), directeur de l'agence de Stamboul du Wiener Bank
- Verein
 - 5. Gerard (Const. A.), imprimeur
 - 6. Ioakimopoulos (Stavro), propriét.
- 134. Démétriadis (L.G.), médecin
- 136. Mastracas (André), commissionnaire
- 136. Galitsis (L.), médecin
- 137. Fuger
- 139. Levi (Marco), banquier
- 140. Behdjet Bey (Famille)
- 142. Ananiadis (Gligoris)
- 160. APPARTEM. CRITICOS (Tour Eiffel)
 - 1. Courtezakis (Nic.), négociant
 - 2. Antoniadis (Const. A.), agent de Compagnies d'Assurances
 - 3. Christidis (A.), commissionnaire
 - 4. Asloglou (A.P.), commissionnaire
 - 5. Critico (Jean), denrées coloniales
- 154. Sourlas (Dr), médecin
- 162, 164. APPARTEM. APOSTOLIDES
 - 1. Théotocas (Michel), avocat
 - 2. Siméonoglou (Mme)
 - 3. Kaleménis (B.), médecin
 - 3. Apostolidés (Georges), avocat
 - 4. Aslan (Ph.), directeur de la Dette Publique Ottomane

TCHECHME YOCOUCOU (rue), Péra
De la rue Somoundjou a la rue Soandji

2. Prelorenzo (François), menuisier
3. Tefvik Bey
4. Koumarianos (Djani), employé chez Const. Tripo.
4. Pappayoanou (Christo), fonctionnaire au Patriarchat grec.
8. Vaphiadis (Arist.), fondé de pouvoirs chez Mercurios
9. Pavlidis (Const.), architecte
11. Yancovitch (Yovan)

APPENDIX M

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS OF CIHANGIR



Fig. 1 Cihangir from the Bosphorus, 1880



Fig. 2 Panorama of Cihangir from the Bosphorus, 1900



Fig. 3 Cihangir from the sea, 1900



Fig. 4 Cihangir Mosque from the sea, 1900



Fig. 5 View from Deftardar Yokuşu, 1966



Fig. 6 An old wooden house in İlyas Çelebi Street, 1994



Fig. 7 An old abandoned house in Cihangir, 1994



Fig. 8 A decaying house in Cihangir



Fig. 9 A postmodern house next to an old house in Güneşli Street, 1990



Fig. 10 Tavukuçmaz, 1937



Fig. 11 Güneşli Street and Cihangir Park, 1989



Fig. 12 A decaying apartment building in Cihangir, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig 13. A gentrified street in Cihangir, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 14 A renovated apartment building in Cihangir, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig 15. A renovated house for sale, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 16 A renovated house in Cihangir, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 17 An apartment building under renovation, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 18 An old apartment building, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 19 Apartment buildings in Cihangir, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 20 House formerly belonging to a Polish Ottoman pahsa, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 21 Apartment buildings, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 22 Renovated apartment buildings, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 23 Akarsu Street, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 24 Houses in Cihangir, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 25 Apartment building in Akarsu Street, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 26 Firuzan Apartment in Cihangir, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 27 View from Cihangir, photograph taken by the author, 2006



Fig. 28 Pervititch Map, Djihanghir, Foundoukli, 1926



Fig. 29 Pervititch Map, Pervouz-Agha, Sali Bazar, 1926

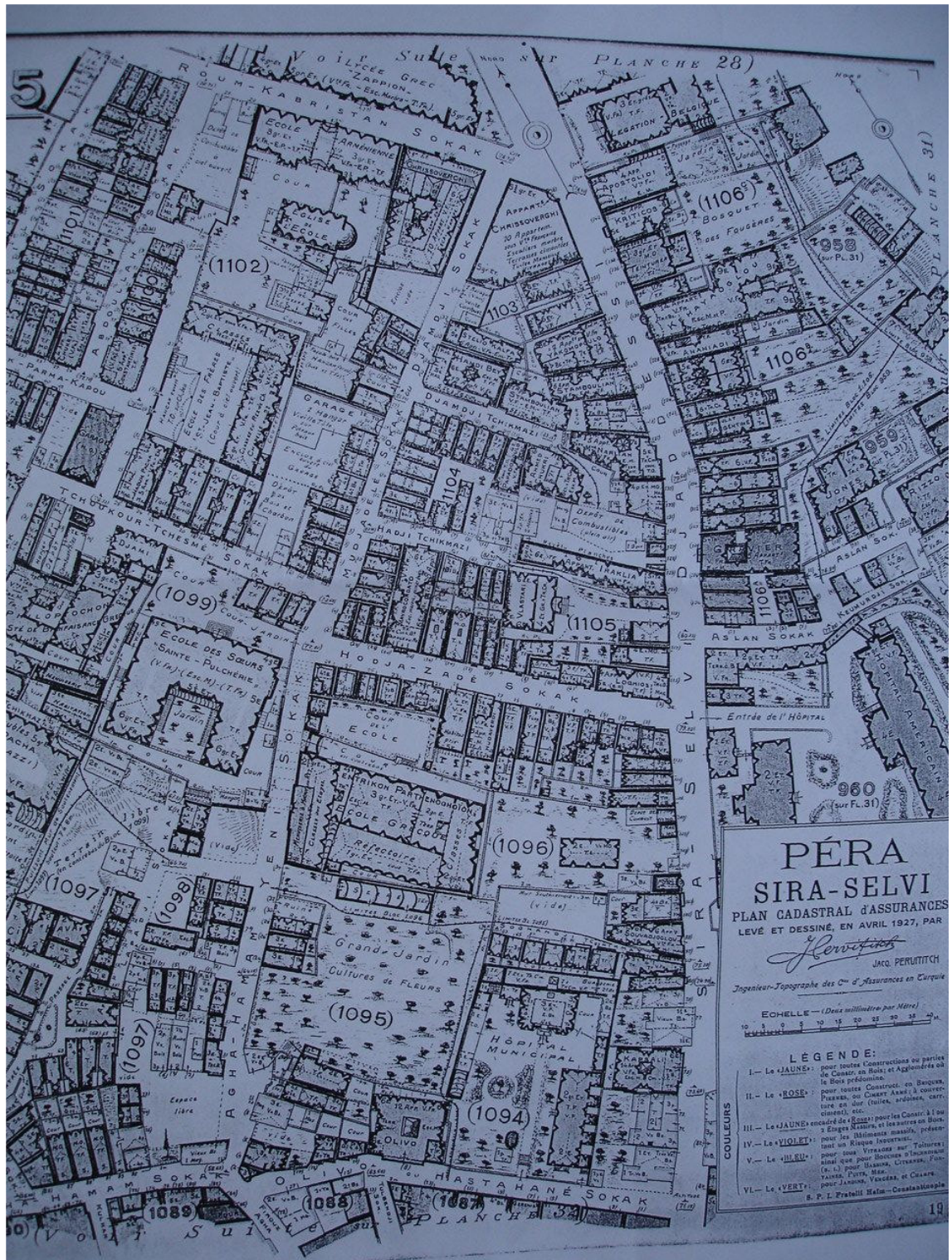


Fig. 30 Pervititch Map, Péra, Syra-Selvi, 1927



Fig. 31 Siraselviler and Cihangir, Istanbul City Guide, 1934

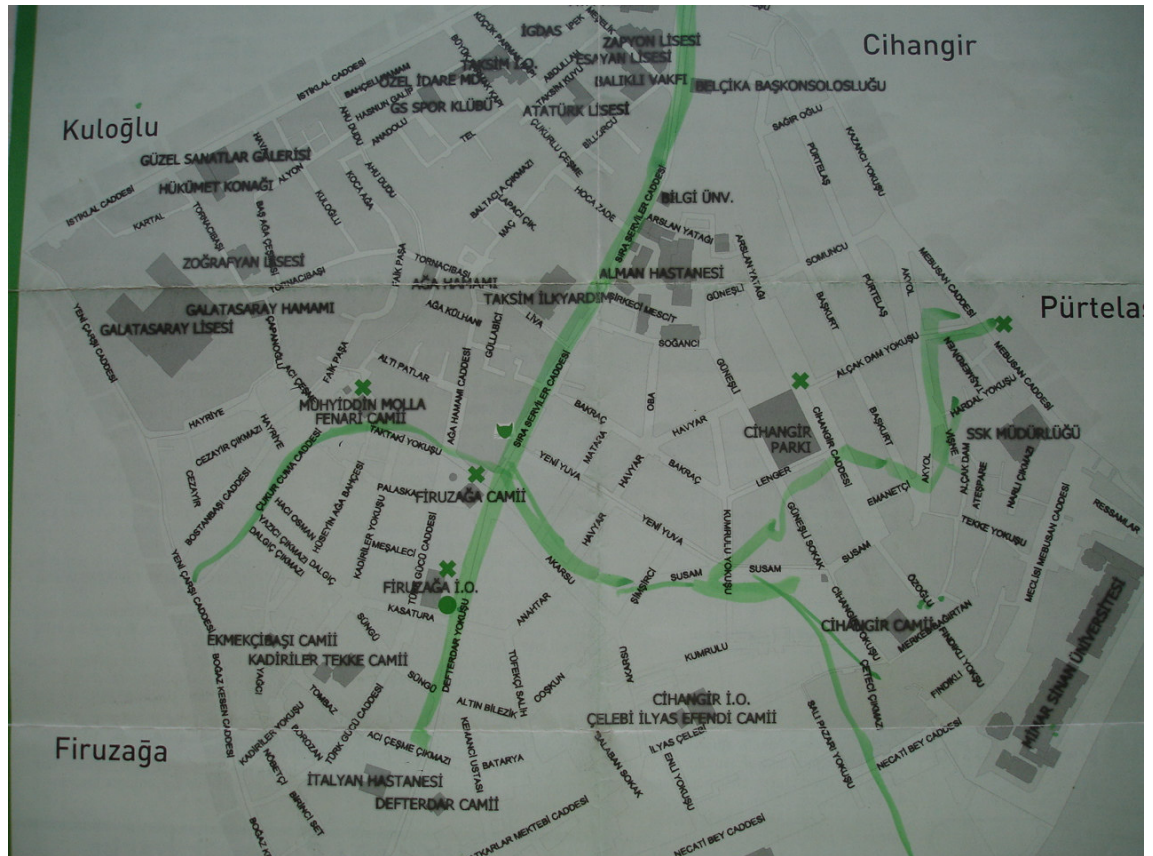



Fig. 32 Map of present day Cihangir

APPENDIX N

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti
İkametgâh İlmühaberi



İli İstanbul İlçesi Sisli
Mahallesi Panigaltı Sokağı ve ev No. Eskiçehiz Pasajı
Adı ve Soyadı Vasilis Tomayani Doğduğu yer ve tarih İstanbul 17/7/19
İşi Talebe Bu ilmühaberin ne için kullanılacağı Nikâh

Künye ve fotoğrafı yukarıda yazılı bulunan Vasilis Tomayani elyevm İstanbul İli Beşiktaş İlçesi Kılıçalipaşa Mahallesi
Susuz Sokağı sokağında 22/4 numaralı evde oturmaktadır.

Aza Aza **T. C. KARAKÖY** 2 nci Muhtar
Kılıçalipaşa Mahallesi
Muhtarlığı
Sayı **1**

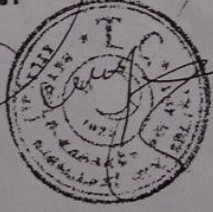


Fig. 33 Residence certificate of a Rum inhabitant in Cihangir, the 1970s

T. C. Resmî Gazete

Kuruluş tarihi : 7 Ekim 1336 - 1920

Yönetim ve yazı işleri için
Başbakanlık Neşriyat ve Müdevvenat
Genel Müdürlüğüne
dayandırılır.

17 MART 1964
SALI

Sayı : 11658

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
Özlük ve Yazı İşleri Genel
Müdürlüğü
2/6-1123

Ankara, 14/3/1964

Cumhurbaşkanlığı Yüksek Makamına

Devlet Bakanlığından istifa eden Vefik Pirinçcioğlu'nun istifasının kabulü ile Devlet Bakanlığına Malatya Senatörü Nüvit Yetkin'in atanmasını yüksek tasviplerine arz ederim.

BAŞBAKAN
İSMET İNÖNÜ

TÜRKİYE
CUMHURBAŞKANLIĞI
4-113

Ankara, 14 Mart 1964

Başbakanlığa

İlgi : 14 Mart 1964 tarih ve 2/6-1123 sayılı yazı karşılığıdır.

Devlet Bakanlığından istifa eden Vefik Pirinçcioğlu'nun istifası kabul edilmiş ve Devlet Bakanlığına Malatya Senatörü Nüvit Yetkin'in atanması uygun görülmüştür.

CUMHURBAŞKANI
CEMAL GÜRSEL

KARARNAMELER

Karar Sayısı : 6/2806

Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasında 30 Ekim 1930 tarihinde Ankara'da imzalanmış bulunan İkamet, Ticaret ve Seyrisefain Mukavelesinin, niteki Mukavelesinin 36 ncı maddesinin taraflara tanıdığı olduğu ve bu maddenin kullanılmasını suretiyle, sona erdirilmesi; Dışişleri Bakanlığının 2/3/1964 tarihli ve 521.720-DI/4-83, sayılı yazısı üzerine, 31/5/1963 tarihli ve 244 sayılı kanunun 3 üncü maddesine göre, Bakanlar Kurulunca 13/3/1964 tarihinde kararlaştırılmıştır.

CUMHURBAŞKANI
C. GÜRSEL

Başbakan I. İNÖNÜ	Devlet Bakanı ve Başv. Yardımcısı K. SATIR	Devlet Bakanı I. S. OMAV	Devlet Bakanı M. YOLAC
Devlet Bakanı V. I. S. OMAV	Adalet Bakanı S. CUMRALI	Millî Sa. Bakanı I. SANCAR	İçişleri Bakanı O. ÖZTRAK
Dışişleri Bakanı F. C. ERKİN	Maliye Bakanı F. MELEN	Millî Eğit. Bakanı I. ÖRTEM	Bayındırlık Bakanı A. H. ONAT
Ticaret Bakanı F. İSLİMYELİ	Sağ. ve Sos. Y. Bakanı K. DEMİR	Güm. ve Tek. Bakanı M. YÜCELER	Tarım Bakanı T. ŞAHİN
Neşriyat Bakanı ALPİSKENDER	Cehennem Bakanı B. ECEVİT	Sanayi Bakanı M. ERTEM	En. ve Ta. Kay. Bakanı H. ORAL
İmar ve Taşınma Bakanı A. I. GÖĞÜS	İmar ve İskân Bakanı C. UZER	Köy İşleri Bakanı L. YURDOĞLU	

Karar Sayısı : 6/2811

28/2/1963 tarihli ve 6/1485 sayılı kararnameye ektr.
İlgiik «Hac Amacıyla Suudi Arabistan'a Gidecek Olanların Seyahatlerine İlişkin Yönetmelikte Değişiklikler Yapılmasına Dair Yönetmelik» in yürürlüğe konulması; İçişleri Bakanlığının 4/3/1964 tarihli ve 4-B.1.13214-1/34/19366 sayılı yazısı üzerine, Bakanlar Kurulunca 10/3/1964 tarihinde kararlaştırılmıştır.

CUMHURBAŞKANI
C. GÜRSEL

Başbakan I. İNÖNÜ	Devlet Bakanı ve Başv. Yardımcısı K. SATIR	Devlet Bakanı I. S. OMAV	Devlet Bakanı M. YOLAC
Devlet Bakanı V. I. S. OMAV	Adalet Bakanı S. CUMRALI	Millî Sa. Bakanı I. SANCAR	İçişleri Bakanı O. ÖZTRAK
Dışişleri Bakanı F. C. ERKİN	Maliye Bakanı F. MELEN	Millî Eğit. Bakanı I. ÖRTEM	Bayındırlık Bakanı A. H. ONAT
Ticaret Bakanı F. İSLİMYELİ	Sağ. ve Sos. Y. Bakanı K. DEMİR	Güm. ve Tek. Bakanı M. YÜCELER	Tarım Bakanı T. ŞAHİN
Ulaştırma Bakanı F. ALPİSKENDER	Çalışma Bakanı B. ECEVİT	Sanayi Bakanı M. ERTEM	En. ve Ta. Kay. Bakanı H. ORAL
Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanı A. I. GÖĞÜS	İmar ve İskân Bakanı C. UZER	Köy İşleri Bakanı L. YURDOĞLU	

Fig. 34 The 1964 decree annulling the 1930 Greco-Turkish Convention, the Republic of Turkey, Official Gazette, 17 March 1964

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Photographs taken by the author

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Avni T., boutique owner in Cihangir, interview by author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

Ayşe M., pet-shop owner in Cihangir, interview by author, note taking, Istanbul, Turkey, February 2006.

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