G reat Britain’s Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, otherwise known as the 1st Baron Dalling and Bulwer, faced a large crowd on the evening of April 22nd, 1861. He had been asked to give an address to the Members of the Literary and Scientific Institution, which he hosted in the newly refurbished British Embassy in Pera, Istanbul. Within the crowd, Sir Henry noticed several representatives of the English nation—“at the head of the nations of the world”—including lawyers (“who exercise the high and responsible functions of seeing that right is done between man and man”); doctors (“who have in the discharge of the duties of the forensic profession, to plead the cause of the bereaved widow and fatherless orphan”); bankers (“who, seated within their counting house at Galata, and directing the operations of a mercantile establishment, take a share in that system of commercial interchange which is the great civiliser of the world, connecting nations more closely together than they can be brought by the wisest combinations of statesmen or the most skillful negociations of diplomatists”); priests (“who have to preach the purest doctrines of the gospel amongst a Mahomedan people”); and lastly, mechanics, who were in Istanbul “because the skill, the intelligence, the industry, and the integrity of the English mechanic have so raised his reputation throughout the world, that all those who desire to have their work well done, try to get English mechanics to do it.”

Lawyers, bankers, priests, and mechanics had come together in the presence of Ambassador Bulwer and other diplomats in one of the many diplomatic spaces of the nineteenth-century Pera to discuss the literary and scientific achievements of modern times and most recent political events. While the nature of this gathering could be considered peculiar within the longer history and wider geography of the Ottoman Empire, it was at the same time a crystallized (and, it must be noted, an Anglicized) version of a larger sociability that emerged in Pera around the same time.

Caricature and its Conditions of Possibility
Yusuf Bey’s caricatures are interesting in many different ways, obviously including their unique style, the very fact that they were made by a late Ottoman diplomat, but they are also very remarkable in the way they attested to this larger sociability and elite life of the late nineteenth-century Pera. This chapter deals with Yusuf’s caricatures as they reveal the contours of this elite life, the conditions of its possibility, the spatial grounds where individual characters and the artist came together in that brief moment of the long history of the Ottoman capital.

1 The National Archives PRO 30/22/89, Bulwer’s Address to Members of the Literary and Scientific Institution, 1861.
2 His position as a diplomat was also dependent on strong family links within the Ottoman bureaucracy. See Sinan Kuneralp’s chapter in this book and also E. Deniz Akarlı, The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1920 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
Of course these caricatures were not created in a vacuum. The combination of several factors made their existence possible. The first condition was Yusuf Bey’s training, albeit informal, within the European artistic tradition, as he learned to draw satirical images with exaggerated facial expressions, animal body parts, big heads and small hands, funny hats and large foreheads. His fortunate position as a diplomat based in the Ottoman capital provided him access to all those high echelon members of Istanbul’s elites and its occasional visitors, to the likes of the Belgian real estate tycoon Charles Helbig and the French opera star Sarah Bernhardt.

Yet there was another fundamental condition that made Yusuf Bey’s caricatures possible: the modern spaces of Pera which brought together all the characters that appeared in the caricatures and made them interact with this middle-ranking Ottoman diplomat. Some of these spaces were just new variations of old institutions, like diplomatic palaces, whereas others, such as playhouses were completely new in the Ottoman capital. And there were yet others that did not comprise architectural spaces, but had rather formed virtual or imagined gatherings, in the form of a newspaper readership community. The emergence of such modern—physical or imagined—spaces and the networks of people they helped to build is what this chapter traces through the works of Yusuf Bey, whose caricatures owe their existence to these fundamental changes in the cityscape of Pera and Istanbul.

This inquiry is based on a critical understanding of the nineteenth-century “cosmopolitanism” in the Levantine Mediterranean as a material phenomenon, that is, a social fabric that was woven through material connections and spatial re-arrangements, and not as a combination of innate cultural traits of the inhabitants of certain special geographies. A look at the material formation of an elite milieu promises to go beyond essentialist and culturalist descriptions of the characters that appear in Yusuf Bey’s drawings and also to question what has been omitted by the artist.

While this critical understanding moves this piece of writing in its entirety, I also treat certain individual drawings of Yusuf Bey as—naturally problematic—snapshots of the social life in the nineteenth-century Pera, which would allow us to look deeper into the fundamental shifts in the urban setting around that time.

Places of Diplomacy

Let us start with an 1888 caricature of six men and one decapitated head, titled “Personnel de l’Ambassade d’Angleterre à Constantinople.” (Fig. 50). This drawing is one of the several in the album that brings to fore the diplomatic and other personnel of the embassies that resided in Pera. While Istanbul has been the capital of the Ottoman Empire since its conquest in 1453, and foreign dignitaries have been a frequent sighting in the city since its establishment as the Roman capital,
the nineteenth-century Istanbul witnessed a much heightened and formalized presence of foreign representation. This was a result of increased connections of the Ottoman Empire to Europe and to the world economic system. From the 1838 Treaty of Balta Limanı signed between the British and the Sublime Porte onwards, Ottoman lands attracted the increasing attention of European commercial interests, largely interwoven with political considerations of foreign powers. An equally significant reason of this heightened activity was the growing sense of the comparative weakness of the Ottoman state vis-à-vis the Great Powers and the feeling of urgency to take a part in the planning and executing of the post-Ottoman order, otherwise called the Eastern Question. This included, obviously, the fate of the various national movements within the Empire, and formalized European protection of its non-Muslim subjects, which resulted in the intensified presence of foreign diplomatic staff in Ottoman urban spaces.

While this was a widely seen phenomenon especially in many of the port cities of the Empire, Pera was a special case. Located within the Ottoman capital but not in absolute proximity to the imperial seat, which had been on the other side of the Golden Horn for centuries and then moved to Dolmabahçe in 1856, Pera was the obvious choice for the foreign powers to establish their embassies. This was a trend set by the French in the seventeenth century, but it was in the nineteenth century that the European powers were granted permissions and lands to build grandiose “palaces” that would reflect their sense of superiority vis-à-vis the Sublime Porte and their increased involvement in the Ottoman social life. Defined delicately by Paolo Girardelli as “the district of diplomacy” of Istanbul—“the landscape(s) of the Eastern Question”—late Ottoman Pera’s urban setting was reshaped, perhaps more than anything else, by the foreign embassies.

The embassies were not solely shelters for the diplomats who tried to “solve” the Eastern Question, or to protect the interests of their subjects and protégés, but they also functioned as hubs for cultural and intellectual interaction. As evident in the 1861 meeting of the British Literary and Scientific Institution conducted in the British Embassy, foreign representatives prided themselves in being protectors of scientific and intellectual production and interaction. This was especially true for the close links diplomatic missions had with archaeological expeditions, but enthusiasts of all sorts, from botanists to geographers, were frequent visitors of the ambassadorial palaces, and ambassadors and consuls often fully or partially sponsored their excursions, many times tied to an ongoing struggle over the control of imperial territories.

These diplomatic palaces were not, of course, the only spaces of diplomacy in the nineteenth-century Istanbul. In another drawing by Yusuf Bey dated to November 1885, we see an international group of participants (including Yusuf Bey as part of the Secretariat) attending the “Conference

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Fig. 51 / Pl. 41
Yusuf Bey, Conférence de Constantinople, Kiosque de Top-hani, Novembre / November 1885.
Saïd Pacha, Le Ct Corti, Le Baron Calice, Le Mquis de Noailles, Sir W. White, Mr de Nelidoff, Mr de Radowitz
Secrétariat: Naoum Effendi, Mr Jarosjinski, Youssouf Bey, Mr G. Hanotaux.
Fig. 52
“The War Between Servia and Bulgaria: Diplomatic Conference at Constantinople”,
de Constantinople,” a meeting among the representatives of European powers and the Ottoman Empire on the “Bulgarian Question.” 6 (Figs. 51, 52).

Convened in the Tophane Pavilion, 7 the conference was among the many international meetings which occurred in Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century, which for the Sublime Porte indicated the place of the Ottoman Empire among the Concert of Europe. Completed in 1852, the pavilion was specifically built to serve European statesmen during their visits to the city, and to function as a venue for such important meetings. Its architect was William James Smith, an Englishman and one of the favorite architects of Sultan Abdülmecid (1839–1901).

Smith spent several years in the Tanzimat-era Istanbul and built several important landmarks of the nineteenth century, including the new British Embassy in Pera (1853)— where we opened this chapter—Tophane-i Amire Hospital (1849), Mecidiye (Taşkışla) Barracks (1849), British Seamen Hospital (1855), the Winter Garden at the Dolmabahçe Palace and the Procession Kiosk (1854). 8 Smith was one of the Englishmen who were lauded by Sir Henry in his speech to the Literary and Scientific Institution, convened in the very building that the architect himself had designed.

Smith’s architectural œuvre, concentrated in the European and northern parts of the capital city, was achieved in conjunction with the move of the imperial seat from the Historic Peninsula to the Dolmabahçe Palace. This new palace was designed by the Balyan family, who for several generations served the Empire as the court’s favorite builders, and completed in 1856. It was in the proximity of Galata and Pera and furnished with a European style of grandiosity, and in itself signified a new relation of the Empire to its city and its increasing importance as a political and diplomatic landscape. 9

Riding the ferry, reading the daily: Imagining Time

The move of the imperial household to this new location was significant in the city’s overall expansion towards its northern arteries, including but not limited to the concentrated urbanization of Pera. Further up north along the shores of Bosphorus was Tarabya (Therapia), known as the summer resort of Pera society. Many embassies had established their summer residences there from early nineteenth century onwards, prompting many institutions of Pera, including cafés and restaurants, to move temporarily to the district out of the hot and forever water deficient Pera. 10 These new settlements along Bosphorus triggered, and were helped by, the increase in water transportation. After foreign companies initially started operating on the Bosphorus in the late 1830s,

7 I thank Funda Soysal, Güzem Tonguç Overfield Shaw, Yavuz Sezer, and Zeynep Türkyılmaz for their help in identifying the conference venue.
9 A. Batur, “Kentsel Tasarım Bağlamında ‘Dolmabahçe Sarayı!’” in Dolmabahçe Mekânını Hafızası ed. B. Kaya (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 63–92.
10 P. Girardelli, “Power or leisure,” 39.
Şirket-i Hayriye, the first Ottoman company operating in the transportation sector was founded in 1851 to run steamboats between various villages across the Bosphorus and Galata. In a caricature dated to 1887, Yusuf Bey shows the British Consul General to Constantinople and his son waiting for the ferry in Tarabya, implying very subtly the role played by the diplomatic corps in the making of this northern suburb of Istanbul, as well as in its connection to the central parts of the city (Fig. 53).

What this drawing also attests to is the making of a new temporal regime in the late Ottoman society. As Avner Wishnitzer shows in his work on the Ottoman temporal culture, the perception of time underwent a fundamental shift in the nineteenth century, when the cyclical temporality of the Islamic prayers that divided the day into five uneven parts that were in sync with sunrise and sunset was gradually replaced by a more homogenous division of time. In this transformation a substantial role was played by transportation infrastructure, which, first with steamboats and trains, then with subways and tramlines, necessitated a much more rigorous adherence to daily scheduling of services. This infrastructure was first and foremost at the service of the growing Ottoman bureaucracy and the capitalist world economy to which the Empire was increasingly better integrated. The aim was a more effective circulation of bureaucrats in their daily commute; of state security forces for a better control of territory and population; and of commodity goods. A network of disparate services required complex planning and scheduling. Their rational organization was seen as a sign of the nation’s place in the “race” of civilization and progress. And while these services rarely worked according to the planned schedule, they nevertheless shaped people’s expectations to a great extent, and helped change their temporal perceptions. Even the concept of “waiting” at a designated space, after all, became an integral part of the experience of modern transportation just like the speed of the machine. As we see in Yusuf Bey’s drawing of the British Consul, benefiting from modern forms of transportation required the use of other modern apparatuses that enabled people to keep a more exact track of time, like the pocket watch, and a new way of relating to its passing.

Another medium for the dispersion of the conceptualization of a homogenous and shared temporality was periodicals. First periodicals produced in the Ottoman Empire were French bulletins published in the late eighteenth century. The first Ottoman language newspaper, on the other hand, was *Vakayi’i-Misriye*, published by the Governor of Egypt Mehmed Ali Bey in 1828. Three years after that, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the official gazette of the Ottoman state began to be published. These were followed by private enterprises printing in all the languages spoken in the Empire. Istanbul, together with Cairo, was at the heart of the Ottoman journalistic scene. And within the Ottoman capital there were two centers of production of newspapers and other periodicals. The first one, Bâb-ı Âli (the Sublime Porte) was where all the prominent Ottoman Turkish prints were created. The second one, Pera, was across the Golden Horn, and as the financial

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Yusuf Bey, Attendant le bateau, Consul Général à Constantinople et son fils
[Waiting for the boat, British Consul General to Constantinople and his son],
Thérapia [Therapia / Tarabya], Septembre / September 1887.
and cultural hub of the city, especially for notable European residents, it was rich in materials published in French and English. *Journal de Constantinople, La Turquie, Le Progrès d'Orient, Indicateur Ottomane, The Levant Herald* and *The Constantinople Messenger* were among the many papers published in Pera, and these shaped the contours of the public debate especially among the middle and upper-middle class populations of Istanbul who could read these European languages in the second half of the nineteenth century.\(^{14}\)

Of course, Sultan Abdülhamid II’s reign (1876-1909) was notorious for its strict regime of censorship, and foreign language newspapers were not immune to the constraints put by the power-holders. Nevertheless, these constraints were felt much less severely by the editors of these periodicals than those of the Ottoman prints, most probably because the authorities thought the former would have much less influence on the local populations, and thus cause less harm to the regime. Hence it was quite commonplace to find critical pieces rising against the authorities, be it local or central, especially with respect to urban matters. Indeed, with the establishment of the Altıncı Daire-i Belediyye (Sixth Municipal District), i.e. the municipality of Pera and Galata, in 1857 as the first modern municipal institution within the Ottoman lands, Pera newspapers laid the foundations of a lively debate around the city and its spaces. These periodicals published statements from authorities, experts, and recorded the grievances of ordinary citizens, mostly the members of the middle class. Even long scientific articles, often published in serial form, were featured in these journals, as experts, usually engineers, criticized certain infrastructure projects and promoted others, often with latent intentions of making their name and expertise known, or their particular projects heard by the authorities and investors.\(^{15}\)

What is more, these pieces were not confined to monologues; rather, their authors invited readers to contribute to an ongoing dialogue, often resulting in months-long exchanges between various commentators on a single issue. Sheets of the periodicals thus turned into a new space of interaction among experts, policy makers, investors, and middle-class residents, adding another layer to Pera’s role as a hub for intellectual and material exchange (Fig. 54).

What we see in the next caricature is an Ottoman bureaucrat, holding the sign “rectification” on one hand and “démenti” on the other, and the newspaper he is crashing into is *Journal des Débats*. This bureaucrat was most probably Macid Paşa, in charge of the Press Department at the Foreign Ministry tasked with issuing démentis. While *Journal de Débats* was not a local paper, it nevertheless had a part within the discursive space opened up by the local papers, as they, just like their counterparts in the rest of the world, quite freely recycled news and articles from other papers.

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including foreign ones. Their readers were not only informed (or misinformed) regarding local, Ottoman, and global news, but they were also invited to experience a shared temporality, a sense of “a calendrical coincidence.” But the medium also worked in the other direction as the influx of all the global news in an accentuated speed triggered a constant comparison among nations over their “place” in universal history, among “temporal differences.”

**Pera: A Global Stage**

This global moment that Istanbul was increasingly taking part in was also manifest in the cultural sensations shared across borders. News of technological advancements, scientific breakthroughs, explorations, as well as wars and disasters, traveled across newly emerging news agencies and periodicals, thanks to developments in transportation and communication infrastructure, including railroads, steamships, and telegraphy. These modern carriers brought not only news, but also actual characters, and these characters included not only diplomats, politicians, experts, or journalists, but also celebrities. One such figure was French opera singer Sarah Bernhardt, depicted twice by Yusuf Bey. Bernhardt was one of the most famous stage actresses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, toured aggressively around the world, and ended up performing in Pera on four occasions, in 1888, 1893, 1904, and 1908. (Fig. 55).

European-style theaters came to Istanbul through private performances in embassies, yet the first public theater hall was opened in the 1830’s Pera. Theater going quickly became a very fashionable leisure activity among Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and famous writers used the medium as a legitimate channel for the expression of political as well as artistic ideas and concerns. In the caricature dated January 3rd, 1889, Sarah Bernhardt is depicted on stage with her husband, actor Jacques Damala. Yusuf’s drawing of the couple, with Bernhardt authoritatively pointing her finger towards her husband, is reminiscent of European satirical caricatures of the couple showing Damala as a sort of a slave to Bernhardt. But what is more important for our purposes is the setting of the scene. Bernhardt and Damala were performing at Nouveau-Théatre-Française (New French Theater), built on the location of Naum Theater, which had been one of the most important cultural institutions in Pera until it was burned down in the Great Fire of Pera in 1870. This theater was owned by Michel Naum, a cousin of Yusuf Franko’s father, and the uncle of his brother-in-law to be, Naum Paşa.

During a subsequent visit, Bernhardt performed at the theater in the Jardin des Petits-Champs, located in Tepebaşı, Pera. The Jardin was also a very popular and respectable space of leisure in the late nineteenth-century Pera. It was opened in 1880 as the second European-style garden in Pera

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18 S. M. Alus, *İstanbul Kazan Ben Kepçe* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), 26–27.
Fig. 54 / Pl. 68b
Yusuf Bey, Démenti, rectification, 1888.

Fig. 55 / Pl. 23
Yusuf Bey, Mr. Damala, Mme Sarah Bernhardt, Le 3 janvier / January 1889.
(after Jardin du Taxim), which required an entrance fee, making it an exclusive space for privileged consumers. With its theater hall, expensive outdoor dinners, and leisurely promenades, the garden hosted Paşas, Beys, members of the diplomatic corps residing in the city, employees of the foreign companies operating in the Empire, young authors (the famous Ottoman novel by Halit Ziya, *Mai ve Siyah* opens with a festive dinner there), artists and rich tourists who usually stayed at the hotels surrounding the garden. The most famous hotel in the area was Pera Palace, built in 1894 by the Levantine architect Alexandre Vallaury. The hotel was initially owned by the Compagnie Internationale des Grands Hotels, a subsidiary of the Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits, which also owned the Orient Express, the famous railroad that connected Europe to the Ottoman Empire, from 1891 onwards. The Orient Express carried passengers to the Sirkeci Train Station (1890), the tramline (1869), the Galata Bridge over Golden Horn (1872), and the Tünel (1875) took them to their hotel in Pera. While some of them spent their nights socializing in the neighboring Jardin des Petits-Champs, others like Bernhardt or Damala entertained the former on its stages: Another manifestation of the important role played by global connections in making of Istanbul’s modern spaces.

**Looking at the Absence: Pera’s Conditions of Possibility**

Jardin des Petits-Champs was the physical manifestation of the social milieu that became the object of Yusuf’s artistic attention that filled the pages of his caricature album. While he drew this emblematic acting French–Greek duo of the late nineteenth-century Europe right after their performance at Nouveau-Théâtre-Française, he could have easily depicted them at the Jardin’s stage. What could not have found a place in Yusuf’s drawings, what is omitted from the detail is what the “cosmopolitan” Pera also tried actively to erase, to suppress, or to make invisible. In the case of Jardin des Petits-Champs, it was the ground on which the garden was built, a centuries old cemetery. Cemeteries—Muslim and non-Muslim alike—had covered most of Pera, even until the mid-nineteenth century. Petits-Champs des Morts, or Küçük Kabristan, was one of the two largest concentrations of the spaces of the dead, the other one being Grand-Champs des Morts, the Büyük Kabristan, close to the present-day Taksim Square. Petits-Champs stretched from the hill of Pera (thus the name, Tepebaşı), all the way to the shores of Kasımpaşa; it was mostly a Muslim graveyard, and had existed at least since the sixteenth century.

Rapid urbanization of Pera in the nineteenth century, supported by changing attitudes towards death, however, brought the district’s spaces of the dead under increased scrutiny and eventually forced them to be relocated outside the city centers. What is curious about the case of Petits-Champs is that it was never subject to such a plan of relocation, but it was rather gradually eroded from the cityscape. One conscious intervention by the policymakers, however, made the building of the Jardin possible: the construction of “the world’s second-ever subway,” Tünel, between Galata and Pera, in 1875. The debris of the construction, the soil that was taken out of the tunnel, was put over the uppermost part of the Petits-Champs des Morts, as the result of a joint decision by the policymakers.

Sixth Municipal District, British representatives of the Tünel company, and the French engineer of the project, Eugène Henri Gavand. The debris helped level the steep terrain of the cemetery, and on this newly prepared artificial ground built the emblematic—and gated—space of Pera cosmopolitanism. Suppressed under it were the remains of the city’s dead, and a green, open, free ground, which the lesser-to-do residents of the district used to enjoy.22

It is obviously unfair to expect Yusuf’s caricatures to provide these details, but it is also critical for us to mention their absence and point out to the limited urban and social experience one can draw away from his art especially if one does not look for the absences. Yusuf’s was a limited social circle, or the characters he chose to draw belonged to a very closed one, but they were also among the few whose material interests, cultural inclinations, and ideological preferences mostly made the city in the way it turned out to be at the turn of the century. Mademoiselle Helbig, for example, who was depicted by Yusuf as an extremely thin, fancy lady, with slightly monkey-like facial features, was the daughter of Charles Helbig, a prominent financer of Galata and one of the initial investors of Tünel, later becoming the largest owner of the company. In a drawing from 1884, we see Caro and Achille, two members of the Lorando family, one of the most wealthy households of Pera, meet next to a tree, and it would not be too far-fetched to assume that this meeting occurs either in Jardin des Petits-Champs or Jardin du Taxim (Figs. 56, 57).

From Salomon Fernandez, who was involved in banking, railroads, and water companies all around the Empire (see the animated pieces of money all over him in his depiction by Yusuf), to Alexandre Baltazzi, another famous financer and investor on infrastructure, stakeholder in the Ottoman Tobacco Company (Régie) and Fernandez’s partner in crime in various projects, most of the characters caricaturized by Yusuf were connected to each other not only on the pages of an unpublished, unique album of caricatures, but also through material links, manifest on bank accounts as well as on (or under) actual spaces of Istanbul and other parts of the Empire. They were creditors of the Sixth District in its attempts to “modernize” the medieval texture of Pera’s built environment,23 they were investors of infrastructure projects that altered the existing spatial arrangements, they were real estate owners in the newly opened spaces, and they were the consumers of the new social and cultural scene that depended on these physical changes (see fig. 41 / pl. 36b and fig. 39 / pl. 34a, page 54).

This is obviously not to mean that the album was a propaganda tool for the ruling classes of the late Ottoman society. The medium Yusuf represented his entourage, in fact, may even suggest otherwise. Yusuf, after all, “charged” these members of the high society with his talented strokes in comical ways, even alluding to their wealth as an element of ridicule, as we saw in the case of

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22 For a general history of the area, see Ç. Gülseroy. Tepebaşı Bir Meydan Savaşı. (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1993). For a more critical take on this complicated story, see the author’s PhD dissertation in progress, tentatively titled Assembling “Cosmopolitanism”: Making Modern Pera through Infrastructure in the Late Ottoman Constantinople.

Fig. 56 / Pl. 36a
Yusuf Bey, Blancs-bez pérotés [Levantine Greenhorns],
Messieurs Caro et [and] Achille Lorando, 1884.
Fig. 57 / Pl. 17b
Yunuf Bey, Mlle Heiling, Janvier / January 1889.
Salomon Fernandez. Nonetheless, the very limited nature of these gatherings in the artistic plane should be seen, I argue, as a mirror of the spatial and social transformation of the late Ottoman Pera. Diplomatic venues, gardens, newspapers, theaters, and transportation infrastructure that promised to connect them all were where Yusuf observed these most famous characters of his time, and they constituted the heart of urban transformation in the city.

This transformation took place at the expense of an existing spatial order, including old houses and cemeteries, and the poor of the district who had to abandon their homes and common spaces; and their absence in Yusuf’s drawings in favor of the aforementioned characters and spaces was only natural when seen through the light of economic and social conditions of possibility of both the late nineteenth-century Pera, and Yusuf Bey’s album, Types et Charges. Yusuf’s interactions took place in an increasingly closed, or rather, gated community, and just like certain people could not have made it into the gates of Jardin des Petits-Champs, and into the modern histories of Pera written mostly around the stories of the elite, they also could not enter into this precious item of artistic production. True, those who did get represented had a great risk of being ridiculed by this talented Ottoman bey, but that was the bargain they had to take in order to be part of this comical representation of the network that had formed the cosmopolitan society of late Ottoman Pera. The others had nothing to fear, for they were not even there...