

Constantinople/Istanbul as an Artistic Hub of the Émigrés from the former Russian Empire in 1919–1927

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG AUF DEUTSCH

Konstantinopel/Istanbul als künstlerisches Zentrum russischsprachiger Emigranten (1919-1927)

Nach der Revolution von 1917 und dem Ausbruch des russischen Bürgerkriegs waren viele Intellektuelle und Künstler im ehemaligen Russischen Reich gezwungen, das Land zu verlassen. Für diese Flüchtlinge wurde Konstantinopel/Istanbul zusammen mit Städten wie Belgrad, Berlin und Paris zu einem der beliebtesten Ziele im "Westen". Die Stadt hat dennoch aufgrund ihrer Rolle als Transitpunkt für viele Emigranten nie die gebührende Aufmerksamkeit von Forschern als Künstlerzentrum erhalten. Obwohl man umfangreiche Werke über russischsprachige Emigranten in Konstantinopel/Istanbul zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts finden kann, gibt es keine substanzielle Forschung über die Stadt als Ort der Kreativität für russischsprachige Emigranten in Malerei, Bildhauerei und Fotografie. Wie gingen sie mit den neuen Bedingungen im Exil um? Wie verdienten sie ihren Lebensunterhalt mit ihrer Kunst? Mussten sie ihre Werke an lokale Geschmäcker anpassen? Wer waren ihre Unterstützer und Kunden? Schließlich, welche Beziehungen hatten sie zur Stadt und wie beeinflusste diese Wahrnehmung ihre Kunst?

In ihrem Dissertationsprojekt hinterfragt Ekaterina Aygün die Rolle von Konstantinopel/Istanbul als einem der künstlerischen Zentren russischsprachiger Emigranten in den 1920er Jahren und liefert komplexe Forschungsergebnisse zu russischsprachigen Emigranten-Malern, -Bildhauern und -Fotografen in der Stadt zur damaligen Zeit (1919-1927), indem sie sich mit der Wechselwirkung von Exil und städtischem und künstlerischem Leben und Wirken auseinandersetzt. Ihre Studie stützt sich hauptsächlich auf Periodika (vorrangig Zeitungen und Almanache, die in Russisch, Französisch, Englisch und Osmanisch/Türkisch in Konstantinopel/Istanbul in den 1920er Jahren veröffentlicht wurden), visuelles Material und 'Ego-Dokumente'.

1 INTRODUCTION

This study explores the lives and artistic endeavours of the émigré artists who were forced to flee the former Russian Empire after the October Revolution (7 November 1917) and Russian Civil War (November 1917–June 1923), and settled in Constantinople. It starts with the hypothesis that nearly every metropolis's history is inseparable from the narrative of migration/exile.¹ The editors of the *Handbook of Art and Global Migration* suggest focusing on instability, exchange, and cultural changeability rather than national parameters.² Relying on this suggestion for the methodological framework, this research aims to present Constantinople as a hub of creativity for Russian-speaking émigré painters, sculptors, and photographers by examining their experiences and interactions with the city and focusing on their art and creative pursuits at the time. I address several key questions: How did Russian Constantinople look within Ottoman Istanbul? How did the artists adapt to their new circumstances in exile? How did they financially sustain themselves through their artistic endeavours? What were their networks? Who supported and commissioned their work? Did spaces of sociability serve as places of artistic endeavors for them? Additionally, I explore the impact of their presence on the city itself as well as how their perception of Constantinople and their interactions with the city influenced their artistic output (if at all). At its core, this study delves into the intricate connections between the city, the experience of exile, and artistic expression.

The dissertation's title speaks directly to its main objective: to re-evaluate Constantinople's significance as a prominent artistic centre for Russian-speaking émigrés in the 1920s. This is a crucial undertaking, as previous researchers have not adequately recognised the city as a hub for émigré artists, unlike other cities such as Belgrade, Berlin, or Paris, primarily due to its role as a transitional point. To avoid any confusion, I must address four specific issues related to the dissertation and its title. Firstly, it is important to note that although refugees from the former Russian Empire arrived in the city when it was officially named Constantinople (the city's official name change to Istanbul occurred in 1930), many local residents had referred to it as Istanbul for centuries.³ Hence, I utilise both names of the city on

¹ Yildiz, Erol, and Marc Hill. 'In-between as resistance: The post-migrant generation between discrimination and transnationalization.' *Transnational Social Review*, 7:3, 2017, pp. 273–286.

² Dogramaci, Burcu, and Birgit Mersmann, editors. *Handbook of Art and Global Migration: Theories, Practices, and Challenges*. Walter de Gruyter, 2019, p. 10.

³ Sakaoglu, Necdet. 'Istanbul'un adları.' *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, edited by Türkiye Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı, Istanbul, 1994, vol. 4, pp. 253–256.

the Bosphorus. Secondly, throughout its history, the country referred to as Russia in this dissertation has borne various names; in certain sections of the dissertation, I refer not to the territory of today's Russian Federation, but rather to the Russian state at the time. Apart from that, 'Russian' is used in some parts of the dissertation to mean something that belonged to and was related to the former Russian Empire. Thirdly, in some places I refer to the refugees as Russian speakers because they originated from various regions within the former Russian Empire. In other words, not all of them were ethnically Russian and spoke only Russian, but they (especially the educated ones but not only) shared the Russian language as a common unifying factor. Considering the fact that they, particularly the artists, conversed in Russian and produced newspapers and almanacs in that language while in Constantinople (even going as far as naming their society the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople), I see no obstacle in referring to them in this manner. It is important to understand that they did so primarily to signify their identity as subjects (albeit former) of the Russian Empire. Fourthly, I use the term "émigrés" to describe these individuals, as it is the preferred designation they themselves embraced and the one commonly employed in scholarly literature on the subject. In my opinion, however, it is also pertinent to refer to them as "exiles" since, for many, returning to their homeland was either impossible or posed serious risks to their lives. Lastly, I specifically selected the timeframe of 1919 to 1927 for this study. This choice is based on the fact that the first Russian-speaking émigré artists began settling in Constantinople in 1919, and the majority of them had concluded their stays in the city by 1927 due to stricter regulations on foreign residents. Although some artists decided to remain in the city and became Turkish citizens after the formation of the Republic of Turkey, their numbers were relatively small, allowing me to identify 1927 as the year when Constantinople ceased to serve as an artistic hub for Russian-speaking émigré artists.

In order to acquire a comprehensive understanding of the topic, I often employed a combination of existing relevant methods and concepts. I selected many of the methods and concepts (including the study of émigrés' urban practices, place-making and belonging, combined with close reading of written materials and examination of visual sources spanning from paintings to photographs) while working as one of the editors of the book *Urban Exile*, which is dedicated to theories, methods and research practices in the field.⁴ Thus, the research has been conducted from a variety of angles, rather than relying solely on the biographical approach, which is a common practice for scholars working on similar topics. It was crucial to

⁴ Dogramaci et al. *Urban Exile: Theories, Methods, Research Practices*. Intellect, 2023.

investigate a wide range of sources, considering that many émigré artists who initially settled in Constantinople later relocated to various metropolises around the world. Consequently, I devoted significant effort to analysing periodicals from the 1920s published in Constantinople, which necessitated visits to libraries in Prague (the Slavonic Library), Paris (La Contemporaine), Istanbul (Atatürk Kitaplığı), and Moscow (the Library of the Alexander Solzhenitsyn House of Russia Abroad). Given the limited preservation of artworks created by Russian-speaking émigré artists in Constantinople in this period, the periodicals published in the city throughout the 1920s contained crucial information about the artists and their works. Apart from that, throughout my research, I heavily relied on visual materials such as photographs, periodical illustrations, paintings, and postcards, as well as ‘ego-documents’ such as memoirs, letters, and diaries held in both public and private archives in countries including the Archives and Special Collections at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, United States; Památník Národního písemnictví in Czechia; the Private Archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch in Brazil, which is under the ownership of Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti; the Private Archive of Roman Bilinski in Italy, which is under the ownership of the Bilinski Family; the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art and the State Archive of the Russian Federation in Russia; and the SALT Archives, Yapı Kredi Tarihi Arşivi/Selahattin Giz Collection, the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister’s Office, TBMM Archives, and others in Turkey. Furthermore, my research involved conducting fieldwork in Istanbul. In order to identify the precise locations of various structures and buildings during the specified time period, I worked with the Goad Maps of the city and Erol Ölçer’s *Şehir Sokak Hafıza*, which contains the old and new names of the streets in the city.⁵

I have always been interested in the topic of emigration from the former Russian Empire. However, my profound fascination with the subject was sparked when I joined the METROMOD project led by Burcu Dogramaci at LMU Munich. The project sought to challenge the prevailing narratives of Western European Modernism, which revolved around cities such as Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, by contributing to a paradigm shift in the study of modern art history.⁶ The aim was to explore the history of global interconnections driven by migratory movements and, as such, to focus on the themes of instability, flux, contacts, and networks.⁷ The METROMOD project examined six primary destinations for European artists

⁵ Charles Edouard Goad’s insurance maps, produced between 1904 and 1906: <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/1815>; Ölçer, Erol. *Şehir Sokak Hafıza*. Istanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2014.

⁶ ‘Project.’ *metromod.net*, <https://metromod.net/project/>. Accessed 5 July 2023.

⁷ *Ibid.*

in exile during the first half of the 20th century: Constantinople/Istanbul, London, New York, Buenos Aires, Shanghai, and Bombay/Mumbai. Each team member was assigned a specific city to study; the constant communication and exchanges between us greatly enriched my own research. As part of my contribution, I conceptualised and published a digital walk on the METROMOD website which focused on the locations significant to Russian-speaking émigré artists in the district of Pera (today's Beyoğlu) during the 1920s.⁸ Later, in March 2023, I expanded and conducted this walk for the project members in person. Engaging in this walk provided invaluable insights into the interplay between the city and the artists and deepened my understanding of their interconnectedness. Additionally, my collaboration with Burcu Dogramaci on the Istanbul Archive proved immensely helpful.⁹ The contents of the archive, available on the project's website, document for the first time both Russian- and German-speaking émigrés in Constantinople/Istanbul during the first half of the 20th century. Working on the archive allowed me to further systemise the information and visual materials I had gathered on the topic. It also allowed me, albeit to a limited extent, to compare the experiences of Russian-speaking émigré artists in the city during the 1920s with the German-speaking émigrés in the 1930s.

My study consists of four interconnected parts. In Chapter I, I delve into various aspects related to the Russian-speaking émigrés' arrival in Constantinople and the significance of the district of Pera as their primary area of settlement and employment. To gather information for this section, I primarily relied on the *Russkij v Konstantinopole (Russian in Constantinople)* guidebook published in 1921, which Russian-speaking émigrés had prepared for their compatriots. Surprisingly, despite its unique content, previous research on Russian-speaking émigrés in Constantinople has not referenced this guidebook. The chapter also draws extensively from "ego-documents", including those written by émigrés from the former Russian Empire. Chapter II concerns the exploration of spaces of sociability in Constantinople which played a crucial role in the social interactions and artistic endeavours of Russian-speaking émigrés. While theatres and clubs are commonly recognised as such spaces, my research sheds light on the often-overlooked significance of hotels in this regard. To support this exploration, I primarily draw from periodicals published in the city in the 1920s as well as visual materials.

⁸ *A Walk Through the Russian 'Montparnasse' in Istanbul*: Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Istanbul.' *METROMOD Walks*, 2021, <https://walks.metromod.net/walks.p/17.m/istanbul>, last modified: 16-9-2021.

⁹ Dogramaci, Burcu, and Ekaterina Aygün. 'Istanbul Archive.' *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/types/all/geo/>.

Chapter III focuses on examining the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople—a collective of émigré artists that produced a remarkable body of work between 1921 and 1923. A significant source of information for the chapter is the archive of Foster Waterman Stearns (which is under the ownership of the Archives and Special Collections at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts), an art connoisseur and the third secretary at the US Embassy in Constantinople at the time. This previously unexplored archive containing émigré artists’ artworks served as a valuable primary source. Additionally, periodicals published in the city in the 1920s provided important information for the chapter. Finally, Chapter IV specifically explores the depictions of Constantinople by Russian-speaking émigré painters and photographers. Visual materials from both public and private archives served as my main source for this area of my research.

During the course of my research, I extensively utilised a diverse range of literature in various languages, including Russian, Turkish, English, and French, with German being a language I began learning while residing in Munich. While it is not feasible to list all the secondary sources here, I would like to acknowledge those that are particularly relevant to my dissertation topic. Firstly, I must mention the articles by Ayşenur Güler, who has dedicated many years to studying Ukrainian émigré artist Alexis Gritchenko and his art in Constantinople.¹⁰ Secondly, the study conducted by Sergei Kudriavtsev on Georgian émigré painter and poet Ilia Zdanevich in Constantinople deserves recognition.¹¹ Thirdly, Nadia Podzemskaia’s article dedicated to the study of the Byzantine legacy in Constantinople by Russian-speaking émigré artists holds great importance.¹² Fourthly, for an extended period, Burçak Evren has been engaged in researching the life of émigré photographer Jules Kanzler in Constantinople.¹³ The works of Andrei Tolstoy and Alexandre Vassiliev also touch upon Constantinople and the émigré artists there, albeit to a lesser extent when compared to those in Berlin or Paris, in their respective books.¹⁴ As some of the previous studies on the subject have only looked at certain individuals, and others have provided little coverage of Constantinople, my research is the first to offer a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the émigré painters,

¹⁰ Güler, Ayşenur. ‘Aleksis Griçenko ve Çallı Kuşağı Sanatçıları.’ *Sanat Dünyamız*, no. 125, 2011, pp. 38–49; Güler, Ayşenur. ‘Aleksis Griçenko’nun İstanbul’da İzini Sürmek.’ *Sanat Dünyamız*, no. 144, 2015, pp. 4–9.

¹¹ Kudriavtsev, Sergei. *Zaumnik v Tsargrade: itogi i dni puteshestviya I.M. Zdanevicha v Konstantinopol’ v 1920-21 godah*. Moskva: Grundrisse, 2016.

¹² Podzemskaia, Nadia. ‘À propos des copies de la peinture byzantine à Istanbul: les artistes émigrés et l’Institut byzantin d’Amérique.’ *Histoire de l’art*, no. 44, 1999, pp. 123–140.

¹³ Evren, Burçak, and Irmak Evren. ‘İstanbul’un Beyaz Rus Fotoğrafçısı: Jules Kanzler (İzzet Kaya Kanzler).’ *Toplumsal Tarih*, December 2021, pp. 38–46.

¹⁴ Tolstoy, Andrei. *Hudozhniki Russkoj Emigracii*. Iskusstvo-XXI vek, 2017; Vassiliev, Alexandre. *Krasota v Izgnanii*. Moskva: Slovo, 1998.

sculptors and photographers in the city during this period. In their respective studies, notable researchers of the ‘Russian’ emigration to Constantinople, including Türkan Olcay and Svetlana Uturgauri, address the issue of émigré artists in the city, partly relying on the two main émigré almanacs and/or essays of Jak Deleon.¹⁵ While these sources undoubtedly possess value, I believe that in many cases the information they provide requires further investigation and fact-checking. More specifically, some of the minor inaccuracies found in Deleon’s works are attributed to shortcomings in the almanacs, such as incomplete names of individuals or the inclusion of émigré artists without clarifying their association or non-association with the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople.¹⁶ I cannot overlook the contribution of Vladimir Alexandrov in his book, *The Black Russian*, which explores the life of a Black American émigré who settled in Russia before fleeing to Constantinople where he owned the Maxim Club, as well as Charles King’s book, *Midnight at the Pera Palace: The Birth of Modern Istanbul*, which provides a comprehensive view of the city’s cultural scene in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁷ For supplementary information on émigrés in Constantinople and specifically on artists, invaluable source is the biographical dictionary *Hudozhniki Russkoj Emigracii (The Artists of the Russian Emigration)*.¹⁸ Lastly, it is important to emphasise that two books published by the METROMOD project, *Arrival Cities* and *Urban Exile: Theories, Methods, Research Practices*, were instrumental in providing a theoretical foundation for my research.¹⁹ These books proved essential in examining the intersection of the urbanistic, exilic, and artistic in the first half of the twentieth century.

Thus, despite facing challenges such as conducting research during the Covid-19 pandemic when many institutions were closed and travel was limited, the outbreak of two wars, which made it impossible for me to visit some of the archives in Ukraine and Israel, the deep economic and political crisis in Turkey, where I am a resident, and the limited availability of sources, especially visual material, due to collections being privately owned and therefore

¹⁵ Olcay, Türkan. ‘Shtrihi kul’turnoj zhizni russkoj emigracii v Stambule (1919–1929).’ *Russkaya Belaya Emigraciya v Turcii vek spustya 1919–2019*, edited by Türkan Olcay, Moskva: DRZ, 2019, pp. 153–193; Uturgauri, S.N. *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919–1929*. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo MBA, 2013.

¹⁶ Please see: Bournakine, Anatoliy, and Dominic Valery, editors. *Al’manah Na Proschaniye. The Farewell Almanac. L’Almanach Nos Adieux (1920–1923)*. Constantinople: Imp. L. Babok & fils, 1923; Bournakine, Anatoliy, editor. *Ruskiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*. Imp. L. Babok & fils, 1928; Deleon, Jak. *The White Russians in Istanbul*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1995.

¹⁷ Alexandrov, Vladimir. *Chernyj russkij: istoriya odnoj sud’by*. Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2017; King, Charles. *Pera Palas’ta geceyarısı: modern İstanbul’un doğuşu*. İstanbul: Alfa, 2019.

¹⁸ Lejkind, Oleg, et al. *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh’ya (1-2)*. Izd.dom ‘Mir’, 2019.

¹⁹ Dogramaci et al. *Arrival Cities. Migrating Artists and New Metropolitan Topographies in the 20th Century*. Leuven University Press, 2020; Dogramaci, *Urban Exile*, 2023.

mostly inaccessible, it is my hope to have successfully closed the gap of substantial research on this topic. I anticipate that my research will be significant for scholars primarily interested in Russian-speaking émigrés and emigration from the former Russian Empire, Constantinople during the Allied occupation and its subsequent period, as well as the history of modern art.

2 CHAPTER I. 'RUSSIAN CONSTANTINOPLE' WITHIN OTTOMAN ISTANBUL IN 1919–1923

2.1 Arrival of émigrés from the former Russian Empire in Constantinople

2.1.1 Towards the shores of the city

Istanbul, along with other metropolises such as Shanghai, New York and Mumbai, is known for being one of the global 'arrival cities'.²⁰ In a sense, and especially in today's realities, almost all cities in the world are arrival cities if we think of them as destinations for tourists and other travellers. Nevertheless, from the point of view of exile studies not all cities in the world can be considered 'arrival'²¹ since not all of them have experienced a significant flow of people who had to flee from their homelands searching for a better short- or long-term life in a new place – in other words, not all of them have 'received the migration influxes'.²² There is no doubt that the city on the Bosphorus was (and still is) one such city. Istanbul had a rich history in terms of exilic experiences at the beginning of the 20th century, hosting some 130,000 foreigners out of a population of around a million people even before the first world war, including many who fled disputed territories during the Balkan wars.²³ After World War I, these migrants were joined by refugees from the territories lost by the Ottoman Empire (places in today's Greece, Bulgaria and North Macedonia).²⁴ To these were added émigrés forced to leave their homes after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917, as well as German-speaking emigrants who fled the Nazi regime in the 1930s and 1940s. Needless to say, these groups of people had different experiences of arrival and emigration/exile in Istanbul, depending on the period and circumstances. For instance, many of the German-speaking emigrants were invited by the Turkish authorities, which was not the case for the Russian-speaking group.²⁵

According to historian Dmitriy Pen'kovskiy, the first refugees from the former Russian Empire began arriving in the Ottoman capital as early as 1918, and in 1919 there were already

²⁰ The term 'Arrival City' was first introduced by Doug Saunders in his book entitled *Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History Is Reshaping Our World* (William Heinemann, 2010).

²¹ For more on 'arrival cities': Dogramaci, *Arrival Cities*, 2020.

²² Salem, Omar. 'Adapting Cities for Mediterranean Migration Influxes: The Arrival City.' *Civil Engineering and Architecture*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2021, p. 760.

²³ Dogramaci, Burcu. 'Flight, Modernity and Metropolis at the Bosphorus. With an Excursus on the Island Exile of Leon Trotsky .' *Arrival Cities. Migrating Artists and New Metropolitan Topographies in the 20th Century*, edited by Burcu Dogramaci et al., Leuven University Press, 2020, pp. 205–225.

²⁴ Svastics, Okşan. *Yahudiler'in İstanbulu*. Boyut, 2014, p. 33.

²⁵ Dogramaci, 'Flight, Modernity and Metropolis at the Bosphorus. With an Excursus on the Island Exile of Leon Trotsky', p. 206.

about 1,000 of them.²⁶ Yet the main body arrived in the city in February–March 1920, after the surrender of Odessa and Novorossiysk, followed by refugees from Crimea in November 1920.²⁷ In subsequent years, up to the formation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, there was a stream of new arrivals (for instance, those fleeing Batumi in April 1921) to replace those had been using Istanbul as a transit point and had already returned or moved on to other countries. Moreover, in 1921, there was a situation when 1,200 of 3,000 refugees sent to Brazil were brought back by a French ship to Istanbul.²⁸ At the same time, peasants and captured Bolsheviks who believed that they were not in danger of reprisals from the Soviet authorities were returning to the former Russian Empire on the boats of local fishermen that allowed them to sneak into the country secretly.²⁹ There were also those who returned to their homeland on steamers, but in most cases it was not safe for all to return.³⁰ It is thus practically impossible to determine the exact number of newcomers from the former Russian Empire in the city during that period. Another reason for this is that several different organisations that were engaged in the statistical accounting of arrivals collected data independently from one another: first, the bureau of Countess Bobrinskaya carried out the calculations, and later the Russian welfare committee Zemgor and the American Red Cross took up the issue.³¹ Nevertheless, according to different estimates, from 150 to 200 thousand people were able to sail over from the ‘Russian’ shore.³² These are the groups into which writer and poet Ivan Bunin (1870–1953) conditionally divided those who were together with him on board such a ship:

There were high-profile fraudsters, burdened with profit, who left the city calmly, in the firm belief that they would be fine everywhere. There were decent people, but they were also calm because they fled for the first time and were not yet fully aware of the importance of what happened. There were even those who fled completely unexpectedly for themselves, who simply caught the flight bug and ran away at the very last minute, without belongings, without money, without warm clothes, even without a change of underwear, as, for example, two certain songsters, out of place in their fancy clothes, laughing at their unintentional journey, as if it was a funny adventure. But the main body

²⁶ Pen'kovskiy, D. D. *Emigraciya kazachestva iz Rossii i ee posledstvija: 1920-1945 gg.* Moskva: Nacional'nij in-t biznesa, 2006, p. 410.

²⁷ Uturgauri, S.N. *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919-1929.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo MBA, 2013, p. 58.

²⁸ Criss, Bilge. *İşgal Altında İstanbul 1918 – 1923.* İletişim Yayıncılık, 2004, p. 53.

²⁹ Ippolitov, S.S., et al. *Tri stolicy izgnanija: Konstantinopol', Berlin, Parizh: centry zarubezhnoj Rossii 1920-kh - 1930-kh gg.* Moskva: SPAS, 1999, p. 10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³² Sığircı, Marina. *Spasibo, Konstantinopol'!: po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii.* Sankt-Peterburg: Evropejskij Dom, 2018, p. 9.

consisted of real refugees who had fled from one city to another for a long time, and, finally, reached the last Russian line.³³

It is very important to understand that those ‘real refugees’ that Ivan Bunin wrote about were actually in a hopeless situation, and that getting on one of the ships was for them a matter of life or death, since the Bolsheviks, when they reached Crimea, had no mercy towards their opponents.³⁴ For this reason it is perhaps inappropriate to say “they chose Istanbul as a destination” in relation to some of the refugees, among whom were both civilians and soldiers. It is far more likely that they simply boarded the nearest ship, regardless of its destination. Nevertheless, the two main factors in refugees’ settling in Istanbul rather than somewhere else in the region were the relative geographic proximity of the city for those who departed from the southern part of the former Russian Empire and the support of the Allied forces that ruled Istanbul after the events of World War I.³⁵

It is apparent that the exile experiences of refugees differ depending on how they reach their destination and by what means of transport.³⁶ Considering the geographical position of Istanbul and the time period, options such as walking or flying were not available for Russian-speaking refugees at the time. Their mobility mainly took the form of trains or ships, the fruits of the industrial revolution. Although trains are not mentioned in the memoirs of émigrés that I found, they are mentioned in the guide *Russkij v Konstantinopole/Le Russe à Constantinople* as a means by which a refugee from the former Russian Empire could get to Istanbul, indicating that this option did exist.³⁷ Due to the lack of ‘Russian’ impressions, I will quote the words of the British in order to give a general idea of this experience: ‘The approach by rail to the Sirkeji at Stamboul is about the most ghastly experience possible to the visitor who arrives there for the first time. On the other hand, the approach from the sea is magnificent [...]’³⁸ In this sense, the refugees were lucky (if one may put it that way) because nearly all of them arrived in the city by water. Ships that helped people to cross the Black Sea were very important modes of mobility into exile for Russian-speaking émigrés. Thus, for instance, rich passengers were able to take with them on board their belongings ‘from beds, chests of drawers and samovars to

³³ Uturgauri, *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919-1929*, p. 291. All translations in the dissertation are mine.

³⁴ Ippolitov, S.S., et al., *Tri stolicy izgnanija*, p. 7.

³⁵ Karakaya, Ali. *İşgal Altında İstanbul*. İstanbul: İnkilap, 2016, p. 267.

³⁶ Dogramaci, et al., *Arrival Cities*, pp. 16–19.

³⁷ Anonymous. *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*. Konstantinopol’: Tipografija ‘Pressa’, 1921, p. 3.

³⁸ Brigg, E.W., and ‘Wanderer’. *Constantinople Cameos*. [Place of publication not identified]: W. Dudavsky, 1923, p. 47.

goats and cows'.³⁹ Yet, despite this, many of them were in severe distress, and even on board felt as if they were out of place because they had been forced to leave their home country as well as solid ground.⁴⁰ The poor ones, in contrast, were unable for many reasons to take with them any belongings, adding yet another concern to their oppressive thoughts of an abandoned homeland and a vague future.⁴¹ To give an example, the artist Alexis Gritchenko (1883–1977) left the former Russian Empire with no belongings at all after fleeing from one city to another 'like a dog'.⁴² Moreover, he had to board one of the Russian ships as an assistant cook, since his passport had been stolen.⁴³ He fled partly because of the difficult situation in the country and partly out of curiosity to see Istanbul with its famous Hagia Sophia, mosaics, minarets and 'moaning music': 'Everything there was created for me! Look at this Golden Horn, at the Bosphorus, at *kayıks*, palaces, minarets, look at the Turkish women... I will arrange an exhibition, and perhaps I will somehow weasel my way out.'⁴⁴ His trip by ship from Novorossiysk to Constantinople, described in his diary, is of particular interest because it took place in November 1919, in other words at the beginning of the exodus, when there was still hope of returning back home soon and refugees in the ships were not yet packed in like sardines. This allowed the artist to admire the nimble dolphins during the day and the beautiful stars at night.⁴⁵ Some of his colleagues also remained cheerful on their way to a new and distant life. According to the recollections of Don Aminado (real name Aminad Petrovich Shpolyansky, 1888–1957), the artist Nikolai Remizov/Nicolai Remisoff (1887–1975, known throughout pre-revolutionary Russia under the pseudonym Re-Mi⁴⁶), who suffered from seasickness, 'despite the real, non-fictional pitching, not only maintained a stiff upper lip but even painted a portrait of Captain Merantier, which immediately raised the rations of the entire group. The captain was grateful, and the tinned food ration was doubled at once.'⁴⁷ One should take into account that these memoirs by Don Aminado were written and published many years later after the 'journey' on the ship, in 1954 – that is, by the time human memory had already erased some of the

³⁹ Knorring, Nikolai, and Vladimir Fon Berg. *Uzniki Bizerty: dokumental'nye povesti o zhizni russkikh moriakov v Afrike v 1920-25 gg.* Moskva: Rossijskoje Otdelenie Mejdunarodnogo Ordena Konstantina Velikogo, 1998, p. 125.

⁴⁰ Vlad. De-li. 'Tchelovek za bortom.' *Russkaya Volna*, December 1920, Novogodnij vypusk, p. 17.

⁴¹ Olcay, Türkan, editor. *Russkaya Belaya Emigraciya v Turcii vek spustya 1919–2019.* Moskva: DRZ, 2019, p. 316.

⁴² Gritchenko, Alexis. *İstanbul'da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü.* Translated by Ali Berktaş, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2019, pp. 22–23.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24–25.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴⁶ For more information on Nikolai Remizov, see *Neizvestnyj Re-Mi. Hudozhnik Nikolai Remizov: zhizn', tvorchestvo, sud'ba*, Larisa Vul'fina (Moskva: Kuchkovo pole, 2017).

⁴⁷ Don Aminado. *Poezd na tret'em puti.* Moskva: Vagrius, 2006, pp. 235–242.

impressions of the experience. As Lynn Abrams in one of her works rightly points out, ‘some details might fade but the broad contours of the memory remain throughout life’.⁴⁸ Often the events and experiences that caused the emotion are remembered, whilst ‘memory for the emotion felt at the time is likely to be inaccurate’.⁴⁹ This means that we are not in a position to trust these memories completely, and it can be assumed that in fact, the path from the former Russian Empire to Constantinople was much more difficult and unpleasant than Don Aminado describes it. If for no other reason than that in the overwhelming majority of memoirs by the émigrés of the time, the journey to the host city, Constantinople, by ship is presented in rather dark colours. From such recollections one can learn that sometimes the overcrowded steamers sailed away from the shore despite dubious seaworthiness or extremely bad weather conditions.⁵⁰ For instance, there was a disabled ship with refugees on board that was on the high seas for almost seven days until an English torpedo-boat accidentally stumbled upon it, and subsequently, upon arrival in Istanbul, reported that the ship needed a tugboat.⁵¹ These problems were compounded by the fact that nearly all steamers were cold and crowded: ‘Everywhere there were bundles, suitcases and people: in the cockpit above the cabin, where the heavy door to the deck slammed every minute and carried a damp wind with snow, and on the stairs to the wardroom, and under the stairs, and in the dining room, where the air was already very spoiled.’⁵² The terrible crowding in November 1921 and the soldiers who stood on their feet, because there was no possibility to move, sit down or turn around, was described by the writer and artist Ilia Zdanevich (1894–1975) who left Georgia in November 1920 with nothing but a toothbrush and a suitcase full of books: ‘...the sailors, crossing it [the deck], simply walked on the people, who only expressed some dissatisfaction if the sailors’ feet accidentally trampled someone’s face.’⁵³ The commentary in one of the Ottoman newspapers of 1920 by an impartial observer, Turkish writer Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889–1974), in which he describes the view of steamers with the emigrants arriving from Crimea as one of the most tragic and pitiful phenomena, can be considered as proof that the above words of refugees from the former Russian Empire are not exaggerations.⁵⁴ The situation in which the subjects of the former Russian Empire found themselves throws into sharp relief the fact that geographical displacements involve more than simply getting from A to B. As British human geographer

⁴⁸ Abrams, Lynn. *Oral History Theory*. Routledge, 2010, p. 86.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁵⁰ Uturgauri, *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919-1929*, p. 295.

⁵¹ Fedorov, Georgij. *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov: (Krym, Gallipoli, Stambul)*. Leningrad: Kniga, 1926, p. 24.

⁵² Uturgauri, *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919-1929*, p. 294.

⁵³ Zdanevich, İlia. *Pis'ma Morganu Filipsu Prajsu*. Moskva: Gileya, 2005, p. 56.

⁵⁴ Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri. ‘Rus Hilesi.’ *İkdam*, 19 November 1920, n.p.

Tim Cresswell correctly points out, these displacements often come with personal experiences, with a rich sense of different ways in which they have been practiced.⁵⁵ It is important to understand that the ways the rich and the poor, or men and women, reached the city were different even if they were on the same ship; not to mention demobilised ex-soldiers who had performed military service during World War I and the Russian Civil War. In this sense, the story of the artist Barbara Rode (1889–1969) is revealing. Due to an outbreak of typhus on board after a two-day stay in Constantinople, she and her ill eight-year-old daughter were first redirected to Rhodes (according to other sources, Crete), and then to Egypt even though all their relatives were already in Constantinople.⁵⁶ There is every reason to believe that her journey as a woman with an unhealthy child in her arms went differently than the journey of the artist Ivan Bilibin (1876–1942), who was on the same ship, although the latter would later mention darkness and stuffiness on board.⁵⁷

Despite this suffering or maybe precisely because of this suffering, the city of Istanbul on the horizon seemed to many of the maritime passengers like a city from a fairy tale. A substantial number of the émigrés' writings, whether diaries or memoirs, contain such first impressions of the city. As an example, the thirteen-year-old Prince Nikolai Obolensky, who arrived in Istanbul at the end of May 1919 after 51 hours of all sorts of shipboard suffering, wrote in his diary that the city (especially the gardens and greenery, buildings approaching the very sea, the mass of boats and steamers scurrying back and forth, piers with huge warehouses, a Turkish cemetery, the ruins of a fortress, new and old seraglios, mosques, the minarets of Hagia Sophia and, finally, the harbour of the Golden Horn) made a huge impression on him.⁵⁸ The commanding general of the anti-Bolshevik White Army in Southern Russia, Pyotr Wrangel (1878–1928), also mentioned such urban elements as 'beautiful villas', 'picturesque ruins', 'slender silhouettes of minarets' as well as sailing ships and cockboats, while adding that he hadn't expected the Bosphorus to be so beautiful despite having read a lot about the strait.⁵⁹ Identical in content were the words of the poet and singer Alexander Vertinsky (1889–1957), who had found the city 'fabulous' upon his arrival.⁶⁰ Interestingly, not only famous and wealthy Russian-speaking émigré passengers were united in this opinion regarding their first encounter

⁵⁵ Cresswell, Tim. 'Towards a politics of mobility.' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 28, February 2010, pp. 21–22.

⁵⁶ Bulakh, A.G. *MODEL of the artist K. Somov and FRENCH IMPRESSIONISM in Nelson (Canada). The fortunes and branches of Emil Paul von Rode's family*. Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'skiy Dom 'Kolo', 2005, p. 15.

⁵⁷ G.L. 'Kak Zhivet i Rabotayet I. Bilibin.' *Zhar-Ptitsa*, 1921, no. 2, p. 33.

⁵⁸ Obolensky, Nikolai. *Dnevnik 13-letnego Emigranta: may-iyun', oktiabr'-noiabr' 1919 goda, Konstantinopol'-Fanaraki*. Sankt-Peterburg: Memorial, Nord-West, 2003, p. 27.

⁵⁹ Uturgauri, *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919-1929*, pp. 35–36.

⁶⁰ Vertinsky, Alexander. *Dorogoj dlinnoy... Izdatel'stvo 'Pravda'*, 1991, p. 123.

with Constantinople, but also passengers who could in no way have had any advantage during their journeys due to their lack of special status or useful contacts. For instance, an ordinary student from the former Russian Empire claimed that the Bosphorus somehow calmed the nerves and helped him to forget about the present.⁶¹ There is no doubt that he was no less enthusiastic about arrival in Constantinople: ‘The refugees crowded around the broadsides, mainly on the bow, and looked with delight at this wondrous nature, intoxicated with the beauty of spring.’⁶² However, such perception hardly had anything to do with time of the year since, according to a Red Cross relief worker from the US, Eugenia S. Bumgardner, even in winter the city upon arrival by water ‘resembled the illusory cities one sees at sunset’.⁶³ The above examples, composed by passengers of different gender, age and social status, and related to arrivals at different seasons of the year, show that, despite such differences, the passengers’ first perceptions of the city were nearly the same. Moreover, as no opposing view can be found in the written sources, such perceptions of the city can hardly be considered the tricks of memory with which people sometimes embellish experiences from the past with the help of imaginative elements or by omitting details. What lies behind this universal admiration of the view? It can be assumed that one factor is the effect of water. As Burcu Dogramaci rightly describes in one of her articles, the main feature of the city’s topography is the beauty of the Bosphorus Strait itself, which offered to the newcomers a unique arrival experience that would not have been possible in some other metropolis.⁶⁴ And while other metropolises may not be situated on the Bosphorus, those that are also approached by water have been described by some newcomers in the same manner that Istanbul was “sketched” by the émigrés from the former Russian Empire. For instance, the exiled German journalist Ernst Schäffer/Schaeffer (1892–1978),⁶⁵ who arrived in Bombay by sea, wrote the following lines: ‘Uniformly beautiful whether we arrive at sunrise, at sunset or at noon when the sun is shining in all her brilliance. Indeed, even by night it is an inspiring view, it looks as though interminably long strings of pearls had been laid gleaming and glowing on the seashore.’⁶⁶ However, this excitement of approaching a city by water was often quickly replaced by disappointment upon the disembarkation of passengers on the shore. At least this was frequently the case in Istanbul or, for instance, in New York, which, with its

⁶¹ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, pp. 24–25.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Bumgardner, Eugenia S. *Undaunted exiles*. Staunton, Virginia: The McClure Company, 1925, p. 1.

⁶⁴ Dogramaci, ‘Flight, Modernity and Metropolis at the Bosphorus. With an Excursus on the Island Exile of Leon Trotsky’, pp. 205–225.

⁶⁵ For more information on Ernst Schaeffer and his Bombay Guide see: Margit Franz and Rachel Lee. ‘An Exile’s Guide: Ernst Schaeffer’s Pictorial Bombay and the Construction of Bombay’s Touristscape.’ *Urban Exile: Theories, Methods, Research Practices*, edited by Burcu Dogramaci et al., 2023, pp. 96–119.

⁶⁶ Schaeffer, E.N. *Pictorial Bombay*. New Book Co., [1936], p. 3.

‘dead cats and broken pianos’ on the streets, did not delight Alexander Vertinsky, although from the ship the city had looked festive and ‘sparkled with millions of lights’.⁶⁷ The sudden change in perspective of the cityscape ruined the initial inspiring impression. This is clearly seen in the writings of Russian-American poet and novelist Vladimir Nabokov, who, impressed by the silhouette of Istanbul from the deck of the ship in 1919, expressed his feelings in a poem as follows: ‘The shore emerges at dawn / a fragrant wind flies / as if our sleepy ship is standing in a huge round amber [...] Istanbul rises from the dusk / two sharply black minarets / on the swarthy gold of dawn / over the illuminated silk of the waters.’⁶⁸ After two days in the city, however, he prosaically indicated in one of his letters that, upon closer examination, these minarets look like nothing else than factory chimneys.⁶⁹ By that point, the mesmerising effect of the water had simply evaporated.

2.1.2 *Off the coast of the city*

Passengers were fatigued, and the beautiful landscapes seen from marine vessels increased the desire to enter the city as soon as possible, but not everyone was able to do so immediately upon arrival – not only documents but also the state of health of the newcomers had to be checked. In 1919, when the measures were not yet very strict, sometimes only passports were checked, and physicians did not come at all.⁷⁰ Or, as in the case of the ship on which artist Alexis Gritchenko had arrived, almost all passengers, having paid a bribe, were able to avoid a four-day quarantine and the preparations for it, which consisted in washing the body and disinfecting clothes.⁷¹ Judging by the words of the émigré Lyubov Belozerskaya-Bulgakova (1895–1987), the first step was far from a pleasant procedure: ‘February. Rain. Cold. A scary negress drags me into the shower. I resist. We come to an agreement that she slightly wets my hair – for the authorities, ‘pour les chefs’, she says.’⁷² The most common bribe was a bribe to local boatmen (both Turks and Greeks), who, at night, transported to the shore those refugees who did not want to remain in quarantine. Here is what émigré Zinaida Shakhovskaya (1906–2001) wrote about this in her memoirs: ‘Under the cover of night, passengers, those who were forbidden by the allies to go ashore in Constantinople, flee from ships stationed at anchor. These night transportations bring a lot of money to the Turks [...]. Sometimes they [refugees]

⁶⁷ Vertinsky, *Dorogoj dlinnoy...*, pp. 243–245.

⁶⁸ Nabokov, Vladimir (V. Sirin). *Gornyj put’*. Berlin: Izdatel’stvo ‘Grani’, 1923, n.p.

⁶⁹ Boyd, Brian. *Vladimir Nabokov: The Russian Years*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 178–179.

⁷⁰ Obolensky, *Dnevnik 13-letnego Emigranta*, p. 27.

⁷¹ Gritchenko, *Istanbul’da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, pp. 29–32.

⁷² Belozerskaya-Bulgakova, L.E. *Vospominaniya*. Moskva: Khudozh. literatura, 1989, pp. 4–26.

pay with weapons.⁷³ At a later time, control intensified, since it was not uncommon for typhus or other serious diseases to be detected among the refugees arriving from the former Russian Empire.⁷⁴ In the period from 1920 to 1922, outbreaks of various epidemics took place in Istanbul, but heavy losses were avoided with the help of timely measures taken.⁷⁵ This is why (among other reasons) new arrivals were required to be quarantined from several days to two weeks, a period usually begun by the hoisting of a yellow flag on the ship. Sometimes quarantine officials set up mousetraps on ships in the evenings and then examined the mice they caught for the presence of the diseases, which allowed them to draw conclusions about the passengers' state of health.⁷⁶ The "early" refugees had relatively fond memories of those extra days on board: 'The three days went by swiftly enough. The American Red Cross supplied more corned beef and canned milk, a few crafty merchants from Constantinople sneaked on board and tempted us with gazos (bottled lemonade), halvah, rahat-lokoum, and genuine berry-red Turkish fezes with black tassels.'⁷⁷ As for the "later" refugees, the quarantine boded no good for them primarily because no one was in a hurry to provide them with food.⁷⁸ Moreover there was often not even any water, as in the case of the Crimean refugees whose ships, 'filled to capacity', waited in November 1920 in Moda Bay.⁷⁹ People not only suffered from thirst but were unable to wash their clothes or practice basic hygiene.⁸⁰ Their desperate situation, with people willing to pay a fortune for a sip of water, was taken advantage of by the enterprising locals of the occupied city, many of whom were themselves experiencing difficulties due to the poor economic situation in their country. For instance, the émigré writer Ilia Surguchev (1881–1956) in his essays mentioned the local Greeks who swapped some potable water for leather vests, wedding rings, service jackets, boots and even underwear, and the émigré Mikhail Bahrushin in his memoirs recalled the local Turks who managed to swap a piece of bread for a silver watch.⁸¹ However, it is important to understand that this situation was faced mainly by civilian refugees, who sooner or later, with or without a bribe, somehow ended up in the city. The same cannot be said about many soldiers, who were in an exceptional position. According

⁷³ Shahovskaia, Zinaida. *Takov Moj Vek*. Moskva: Russkij Put', 2006, p. 226.

⁷⁴ Duke, Vernon. *Passport to Paris*. Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1955, p. 68.

⁷⁵ Dağlar Macar, Oya. 'Deyatel'nost' po okazaniyu pomoshchi beloemigrantam i reshenie problem sanitarno-zdravoohranitel'nogo haraktera.' *Russkaya Belaya Emigraciya v Turcii vek spustya 1919–2019*, edited by Türkan Olcay, Moskva: DRZ, 2019, p. 61.

⁷⁶ İlyâsî, Tahir. *İstanbul Hatıratı 1922*. Istanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2019, p. 38.

⁷⁷ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 68.

⁷⁸ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 25.

⁷⁹ Vassiliev, Alexandre. *Krasota v Izgnanii*. Moskva: Slovo, 1998, p. 61.

⁸⁰ Knorring and Fon Berg, *Uzniki Bizerty*, p. 128.

⁸¹ Surguchev, İlia. *Emigrantskie rasskazy*. Paris: Vozrozhdenie-La Renaissance, 1927, pp.7–8; Bahrushin, Mikhail. *Moya Zhizn'*. Moskva: GCTM im. A.A. Bahrushina, 2019, p. 16.

to émigré theologian and musicologist Ivan Gardner/ Johann von Gardner (1898–1984), after quarantine, these men were transported ashore under a strict escort of French soldiers (mostly Zouaves), where they were often first bathed under a cold shower in an unheated barrack with a cement floor and their clothes steamed in special chambers to destroy lice, after which they were distributed to camps that consisted of tents on the bare hills of the outskirts of Constantinople.⁸² Even though some of these camps were mixed, that is, containing not only military but also civilian refugees, including women and children, they were, according to Gardner, ‘literally in the full meaning of the word, concentration camps, and everyone was in the position of prisoners of war’.⁸³

As for the documents required for getting off the ships and settling in the city, this was a rather complicated and confusing issue at the time. Typically, in order to disembark, Russian-speaking refugees were required to possess a passport with an Allied visa.⁸⁴ In addition, there is evidence that at first, refugees arriving from the former Imperial Russia were required to have information certified by the Russian consulate about their financial condition and/or relatives already living in Constantinople.⁸⁵ This is attested to in the memoirs of some of the émigrés:

Meanwhile, a snappy black-and-gold tugboat, with the red-and-white Turkish flag fluttering its star and crescent on the mast, secured itself alongside us and discharged the long-awaited and dreaded officials. Two were doctors in red-and-green uniforms, a third was the immigration officer, and with them a bearded civilian who acted as interpreter. The entire ship’s company was ordered to line up for a medical examination and a searching inquiry into each individual’s political, military, financial, and family status.⁸⁶

To prevent persons without documents from entering the city, policemen and other officials were on duty near the steamers arriving from the former Russian Empire.⁸⁷ It was assumed that anyone trying to leave a ship without permission would be immediately arrested, but in fact, the human factor often helped people to escape. For instance, the émigré Mikhail Bahrushin and his friends, after fleeing by steamer, were set ashore in Üsküdar, because in Karaköy the

⁸² Gardner, Ivan. ‘Konstantinopol’ v 1920 g.: Fragmenty vospominanij.’ *Russkaya Belaya Emigraciya v Turcii vek spustya 1919–2019*, edited by Türkan Olcay, Moskva: DRZ, 2019, p. 259.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 259–260.

⁸⁴ Ippolitov, et al., *Tri stolicy izgnaniya*, p. 9.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 68.

⁸⁷ Ippolitov, et al., *Tri stolicy izgnaniya*, p. 9.

chance of being ‘captured’ by the Allied Forces was much higher.⁸⁸ Those who managed to run from the ships and those who had at least some documents or a refugee card in their hands, one way or another ended up at the Russian consulate, since, in connection with official policy, registration at the consulate as well as obtaining passports were mandatory procedures.⁸⁹ Even the presence of such a passport often did not guarantee the refugee all desired rights and freedoms, however: ‘In the capital of the Ottoman Empire, occupied by the Allies, the position of the Russians was especially difficult. They had no state affiliation. Russian official representatives were not recognised. Everything depended on the personal discretion of the occupying authorities....’⁹⁰ This was because the Soviet government excluded from citizenship those who fled abroad as a result of the 1917 revolution, and this situation continued until 1922, when it was decided that stateless persons should be granted the so-called ‘Nansen passport’, which received this name from the Norwegian diplomat and chairman of the League of Nations Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930).⁹¹

After staying on ships sometimes also under quarantine restrictions, refugees landed ashore in various parts of the city. Some first set foot on Istanbul soil on the Princes’ Islands, named after the Byzantine princes and other royalty as well as later members of the Ottoman sultan’s family who were exiled there.⁹² It is symbolic that the exiled politician Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) would later settle on one of these islands and would often be seen there at his villa sitting in a wicker chair at the desk.⁹³ Among those for whom Istanbul began with the islands was, for example, Russian-born, naturalised American composer Vernon Duke/Vladimir Dukelsky (1903–1969).⁹⁴ He subsequently recalled that among the conversations on the ship during the quarantine there was one about the Princes’ Islands. According to the rumours, those who couldn’t be accommodated there were supposed to be sent to the Dogs’ Island, to be eaten alive by the thousands of wild dogs imprisoned there by Constantinople’s governor.⁹⁵ One can, of course, assume that this was black humour (given the love of the ‘Russian’ intelligentsia for jokes), but nevertheless, there is a grain of truth in every joke since at the time the refugees were literally heading towards complete obscurity and uncertainty. Although the islands indeed

⁸⁸ Bahrushin, *Moya Zhizn*, p. 18.

⁸⁹ Kasimova, Irina. ‘Centry Prityazheniya Beloemigracii v Stambule.’ *Russkaya Belaya Emigraciya v Turcii vek spustya 1919–2019*, edited by Türkan Olcay, Moskva: DRZ, 2019, p. 132.

⁹⁰ Davatc, V.H., and N.N. L’vov. *Russkaya Armiya na Chuzhbine*. Belgrad: Russkoe izdatel’stvo, 1923, p. 21.

⁹¹ Bilener, Tolga. ‘Vizesiz dünya hayaldi, sonunda gerçek oldu!’ *tarihdergi.com*, <https://tarihdergi.com/vizesiz-dunya-hayaldi-sonunda-gercek-oldu/>. Accessed 10 January 2022.

⁹² Freely, John. *Prens Adaları*. Istanbul: Adalı Yayınları, 2015, pp. 18–23.

⁹³ Vitti, Mario. *Doğduğum Şehir. İstanbul 1926-1946*. Istanbul: Istos, 2018, pp. 65–66.

⁹⁴ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 68.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69.

sheltered many of the newcomers, most often they first stepped onto the Istanbul shore somewhere in today's Karaköy (at the time it was called Galata).⁹⁶ This is evidenced not only from the surviving memoirs of refugees but also by many illustrations from Russian periodicals published in Istanbul in the 1920s.⁹⁷ Interestingly, in these illustrations, steamboats are depicted right on the shore (see Figure 2), while, according to the émigrés themselves, in order to reach Karaköy/Galata it was usually first necessary to be transferred into one of the small boats.⁹⁸ What did Karaköy look like at the time? To answer this question, one can examine a few black and white photographs from the period, which feature the piers of various foreign shipping companies, as well as many different small bureaus (among which were *saraf* trays, that is, trays or desks of money changers who could exchange any currency) and shops located in European-looking buildings. One of these photographs, with a view from above, is kept at the German Archaeological Institute of Istanbul.⁹⁹ In it, one can see the domes of the Athos Compounds, where on the lower floors there were places for pilgrims on their way to the holy sites of Jerusalem and Athos, and on the upper levels, Russian churches. In the 1920s, these places became overnight facilities (at least those in the Andreevskoye and Ilyinskoye Compounds), and the pilgrims were replaced by refugees from the former Russian Empire.¹⁰⁰ This is how émigré writer and poet Ivan Korvatsky described it: 'The monastery courtyard, where 2–3 families huddled in each room, the inevitable primus stove made noise and smelled, the beds were partitioned off with torn sheets, and the cry of a child monotonously sounded in the air.'¹⁰¹ The photograph from the Archaeological Institute is interesting in that it shows the proximity of the compounds to the Bosphorus and an almost direct pathway linking the two, which is not the case now. This suggests that the topography of Karaköy that existed at the time allowed passengers on marine transports to see the domes of Russian churches from afar. It is also worth noting that the Andreevskoye Compound (there were four of them in total: Andreevskoye, Panteleimonovskoye, Troitskoye, Ilyinskoye), which is still operating today, was remembered by the subjects of the former Russian Empire as 'a favourite refuge for refugees and a true centre of Russian life' in the city.¹⁰² The same building housed the Russian Marine Polyclinic and a pharmacy.¹⁰³ The Troitskoye Compound at the time was mainly a

⁹⁶ Bakar, Bülent. *Beyaz Ruslar. Esir Şehrin Misafirleri*. Istanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2015, pp. 55–60.

⁹⁷ See issues of the *Nashi Dni-Nos Jours* Almanac published in Constantinople in the 1920s.

⁹⁸ Averçenko, Arkadi. *Bir Safdilin Hatıra Defteri*. Translated by Mustafa Kemal Yılmaz, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019, p. 7.

⁹⁹ Gardner, 'Konstantinopol' v 1920 g.: Fragmenty vospominanij', p. 268; Photo archive of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Istanbul, D-DAI-IST-R28323.

¹⁰⁰ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ Korvatsky, Ivan. *Bez Vetril. Konstantinopol'*: Zarubezhnyj klich, 1927, n.p.

¹⁰² Bournakine, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, 1928, n.p.

¹⁰³ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 12.

tenement house in which apartments were rented to local Greeks and Turks, and below there was a grocery store run by a Greek, in which ‘Russian’ refugees could buy tea, sugar, kerosene, soap and other goods.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, despite the presence of Russian churches and other refugee sites in this area, few people described Karaköy in their memoirs upon arrival, since most often immediately after stepping ashore the refugees started to climb towards the Pera (today’s Beyoğlu) district.

Wherever they ended up, the people who comprised this mass of early 20th-century refugees were destined to make their way to Istanbul by water. For many of them, the ships on which they arrived became bridges between their country and the host city – even more so, considering that they spent a lot of time aboard them during the quarantine and checking of the documents. This procedure was not pleasant and often deprived tired “travellers” of their last energy, but, as the memories of émigrés show, the skyline of the city as seen from the decks of the vessels inspired and gave hope. The lack of coordination between the local residents and the occupying Allied forces often contributed to the rapid entry of the refugees to the city: sometimes they simply ran away or bribed locals to help them escape the ships that they might otherwise not easily have left had there been stricter control. The chaotic political and social situation that developed in the city as a result of World War I turned out to be in many ways to the refugees’ advantage – not only upon arrival but also during their subsequent years in the city.

2.2 ‘Russian Constantinople’ through the guidebook for refugees from the former Russian Empire and other sources

2.2.1 Constantinople at the beginning of the 1920s and the appearance of the guide

After arriving in Karaköy, many of the subjects of the former Russian Empire usually scattered throughout the city in search of shelter, work and something to eat. One of the emigrants, describing his first days in Constantinople, wrote the following: ‘How scary to find yourself alone, without a penny, in a huge, strange city.... Everything is unfamiliar. People in a hurry don’t care about you, even if you fall on the hot slabs of the sidewalk and die....’¹⁰⁵ Tim Cresswell quoted the words of the singer Bob Dylan to describe the sensation: ‘How does it

¹⁰⁴ Gardner, ‘Konstantinopol’ v 1920 g.: Fragmenty vospominanij’, p. 258.

¹⁰⁵ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, pp. 109–110.

feel? To be on your own? With no direction home?’¹⁰⁶ Was it truly that frightening to arrive alone in Constantinople at the beginning of the 1920s as a refugee? What did the city look like at the time? Constantinople was a city with a mixed population in terms of religion, ethnicity and language: it was inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Levantines and many other groups of people. At the time it could be conditionally divided into four parts: the old city, the Pera (today’s Beyoğlu) district, the Asian side and the Princes’ Islands. Whilst the old city consisted of ‘beautiful and sometimes majestic-looking mosques and minarets’ as well as ‘devastated wooden houses that can collapse right on you at any moment’,¹⁰⁷ Pera, being ‘a distinctly urban sphere’ in the late 19th century, ‘increasingly came to compete with and dominate the old city’ with the help of newly constructed commercial arcades, apartment buildings, business offices, theatre halls, hotels and other buildings that turned the district into a modern one.¹⁰⁸ As a result of the Armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918) that marked the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, the city was under the control of the Allied forces (British, French and Italian troops) who had occupied it in November 1918: ‘The British were to oversee Pera and Galata, the French the old city south of the Golden Horn, and the Italians the Asian suburbs in Üsküdar.’¹⁰⁹ The British brought Indians to Constantinople, the French brought Senegalese; some of the Russian-speaking emigrants sympathised with both of these groups because these people were also forced to be away from home.¹¹⁰ At the same time, many Americans were in the city in connection with the diplomatic mission. A photo album kept in the archives of the Stearns family, created by Russian émigré artists, speaks volumes about the Americans’ presence and activities in the city at the time.¹¹¹ To explain all the variegation of the city at the beginning of the 1920s, it is necessary to quote the words of the American journalist and writer Solita Solano (1888–1975), who is featured in the famous photograph by Maurice Brange *Au Café*:

A constant stream of polyglot peoples flows across the Golden Horn: Russian refugees, in pajama coats tucked into trousers grown too large; Armenian and Greek merchants and refugees; British, French, and Italian army and navy officers; American sailors;

¹⁰⁶ Cresswell, ‘Towards a politics of mobility’, p. 25.

¹⁰⁷ MacFarlane, Charles. *Turkey and its destiny: the result of journeys made in 1847 and 1848 to examine into the state of that country*. London: Murray, 1850, Volume 1, pp. 104–105.

¹⁰⁸ Özil, Ayşe. ‘Greek Orthodox Communities and the Formation of an Urban Landscape in Late Ottoman Istanbul.’ *The Economies of Urban Diversity: Ruhr Area and Istanbul*, edited by Darja Reuschke et al., 2013, pp. 147–149.

¹⁰⁹ The occupation of the city lasted until 6 October 1923; King, Charles. *Pera Palas’ta geceyarısı: modern İstanbul’un doğuşu*. İstanbul: Alfa, 2019, p. 50.

¹¹⁰ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 51.

¹¹¹ Source: Scrapbook ‘Photo Album of Turkey, 1922–23’ (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

Chinese, Japanese, and Persian merchants; the last of the outmoded eunuchs; dervishes in brown, with cone-shaped hats; Cretans in baggy trousers and embroidered vests; Greek priests with black chiffon veils streaming from their hats; *hamals* (porters) with roomfuls of furniture on their backs; Arabs in yellow burnouses; maimed and diseased beggars; Mohammedan priests in pink or green robes; black troops in red caps and sashes; Jewish guides; American relief workers; Hindustani guards in twisted turbans and scarlet capes; an occasional woman gypsy in baggy trousers; Levantine tradesmen; Albanian peasants in embroidered white leggings; Hawaiians, Filipinos, and a few drummers from ‘points west of Chicago’ – all these pass back and forth in the course of the day.¹¹²

The American writer and journalist Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961) recalled that Constantinople was very dusty on sunny days and incredibly dirty on rainy days. He also mentioned the chaotic traffic on the stinking narrow streets of the city, in which motor vehicles, horse carriages, trams, porters and ordinary pedestrians moved simultaneously without any rules.¹¹³ The city was renowned for fires that erupted here and there on a fairly regular basis. In this sense, the words of one of the emigrants who stated that the fire fighting in large cities of the former Russian Empire was much better organised are of interest: ‘The public is flocking, the police are arriving. The police disperse the crowd, and the firefighters watch how everything burns. When a certain quarter, designated by God, has burned down, the firefighters wake up and begin to frantically extinguish the burned-out houses.’¹¹⁴ According to a British writer, their pumps, as well as heavy sticks with which the local night watchmen were armed, were nothing but ‘remnants from the immemorial past’.¹¹⁵ In addition, judging by the dialogue between two British men published in one of the editions of the time, the city was quite dangerous: while one man makes a joke about a certain traveller who, after facing all the dangers of Central Africa, came back to Scotland, fell down the stairs and broke his neck, his collocutor points out that a much more remarkable case is that of a case of a traveller who lived for a month in Constantinople and yet was killed in Central Africa.¹¹⁶ Further proof of the unsavoury circumstances in the city is the fact that beggars, ‘gypsies’, prostitutes and drug addicts are also mentioned by almost all the refugees and visitors of the city at the time.¹¹⁷ Apparently,

¹¹² Solano, Solita. ‘Constantinople Today.’ *The National Geographic Magazine*, June 1922, p. 651.

¹¹³ Hemingway, Ernest. *İşgal İstanbul’u ve iki dünya savaşından mektuplar*. Translated by M. Ali Kayabal, Milliyet Yayınları, 1970, p. 18.

¹¹⁴ Cherna-Kun. ‘V Konstantinopole. Caregradskiye zametki.’ *Zarnitsy*, 23-30 April 1921, p. 28.

¹¹⁵ Brigg and ‘Wanderer’, *Constantinople Cameos*, p. 13.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, n.p.

¹¹⁷ Alexandrov, *Chernyj russkij: istoriya odnoj sud’by*, 2017, pp. 235–236.

Constantinople was neither safe nor perfect, but despite everything, its multicultural identity and ‘otherness’ (if one compares it to European industrial cities of the time) kept attracting visitors and curious tourists. During the occupation, the city continued to be one of the most popular tourist destinations.¹¹⁸

As for the Russian-speaking émigrés, from 1919 onwards they were everywhere in the city. After the revolution, émigrés’ enterprises in Constantinople sprang up like mushrooms in the rain. Former lawyers, merchants, officials and physicians actively opened up offices, as well as butcher shops and bookstores, restaurants and eateries, bakeries and laundries, even vodka distilleries.¹¹⁹ All the more so because, with rare exceptions, no one was preventing them from these activities. As émigré journalist Nikolai Chebyshev (1865–1937) wrote:

Constantinople at the time had one advantage for refugees. There were no masters in Constantinople at that time. All of us were guests, including the Turks themselves. The Allied command could be considered as a master. But it was in this position only by the right of force and capture, and therefore, morally, it also could not be recognised as a real master. As for the Turks, their moral rights to the position of master were fiercely contested by the Greeks. The Greeks were intensely, passionately rejected by the Turks, who hated them more than the ‘Allies’. Thus, the Russians, having arrived from Crimea, felt at home. I think it can be argued without exaggeration that never again during emigration, even in the hospitable Slavic countries, did the Russians feel themselves to be ‘so at home’ as they did in 1921 and 1922 in Constantinople.¹²⁰

The presence of Russians in the city was noted by almost all guests and residents of the city because it was impossible not to notice them. Solita Solano literally pointed this out in her article: ‘Russian refugees are everywhere.’ According to her, during the daytime they were busy with ‘selling flowers, kewpie dolls, oil paintings of Constantinople, cakes and trinkets, books and newspapers printed in Russian’ as well as serving customers in the local restaurants, and during the nights many of them slept in the streets and on the steps of the mosques.¹²¹ Thus, with so many compatriots, the newcomers had no chance of feeling lonely. At least they always had someone whom they could ask a question, clarify an address or seek out advice in their native language. Nevertheless, on the other hand, there was not enough work for so many

¹¹⁸ For more information on Istanbul as a tourist destination at the beginning of the 20th century: Georgeon, François. ‘Savaşın Arefesinde Gezginler.’ *Istanbul 1914-1923*, edited by Stefanos Yerasimos, 2015, pp. 29–46.

¹¹⁹ Ippolitov, et al., *Tri stolicy izgnaniya*, p. 8.

¹²⁰ Chebyshev, Nikolai. *Blizkaya Dal’: Vospominaniya*. Paris: Imp. de Navarre, 1933, n.p.

¹²¹ Solano, ‘Constantinople Today’, p. 654.

people, and not all rich ‘Russians’ were ready to help the poor ones.¹²² As the British journalists correctly summed up the problem: one group of refugees from the former Russian Empire lived for today, spending far too much money and enjoying luxury life – ‘charitable outsiders probably see more of the tragedy of their position than they themselves’ – while the other group consisted of those who were ‘remarkably adaptable and have turned their hands to work, often foreign to them, with success’.¹²³

The sheer number of ‘Russians’ in the city meant that meeting a friend from the former Russian Empire after getting off the ship was the order of the day. Thus, the artist Alexis Gritchenko, who got off the boat in Karaköy without knowing where to go and having no idea where he would sleep at night, met a Jewish musician he had known before as he made his way from Karaköy to the Pera district. The Jewish musician invited him to spend the night in a cheap hostel for Jews located in the apartment building of the Americans (apparently somewhere in Galata).¹²⁴ It would be more correct to call this hostel a flophouse, because in the mornings the guests were driven out, the windows of the room were opened wide, and cleaning began.¹²⁵ This is how Gritchenko described this place: ‘Belongings, people, incomprehensible dialects, the smell of garlic, incessant noise. Jews who came here from all over the world. Just like a living Babylon.’¹²⁶ It is worth noting that this shelter was not the only one for Jewish émigrés in the city. Jewish refugees from the former Russian Empire from the very beginning of the exodus managed to create a well-functioning system, which allowed them to survive in Constantinople thanks to the support of the community. Starting from 1919–1920, the staff of the Comité de Secours Réfugiés Juifs [the Jewish Refugee Relief Committee], under the leadership of H.G. Reisner, and not without the assistance of the chief rabbi of Turkey, Haim Bejarano (1846–1931), actively helped the new arrivals, took care of children and the elderly, and also assisted newcomers in finding jobs.¹²⁷ And in the spring of 1923, when the Soviet government made it easier for Jews from the former Imperial Russia to enter Turkey, the committee (at the time it was supervised by engineer A. A. Gurlyand, who was also the editor-in-chief of the journal for emigrants called *Put*’) did a lot of work.¹²⁸ Its members supplied the refugees on the steamers with hot food, dealt with quarantine formalities, placed refugees in

¹²² Treplev, K. ‘Na Rekah Vavilonskih.’ *Russkaya Volna*, December 1920, pp. 19–20.

¹²³ Brigg and ‘Wanderer’, *Constantinople Cameos*, p. 17–18.

¹²⁴ Gritchenko, *İstanbul’da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 34.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹²⁷ Bournakine, *Al’manah Na Proschaniye. The Farewell Almanac. L’Almanach Nos Adieux*, pp. XXXII–XXXIII.

¹²⁸ A.M. ‘Polozhenie evreev bezhencev v Konstantinopole.’ *Konstantinopol’skij Kommercheskij Kur’er*, 28 May 1923, no. 1 (39), p. 4.

special hotels, helped establish contacts with relatives, provided material assistance to the poor, provided medical assistance (in hospitals such as St. Nicholas Hospital, St. Georges and of course Balat Or-Ahayim), subsidised a cheap canteen, provided moral assistance, and finally helped with obtaining visas to Palestine and America.¹²⁹

For people like émigré law student Georgij Fedorov, who felt alone and scared in the strange city, and Alexis Gritchenko, who had no idea which way to go after arriving at the Karaköy pier in 1921, a special guidebook for newcomers from the former Russian Empire was issued. The guidebook, entitled *Russkij v Konstantinopole/Le Russe à Constantinople*, was published by the Edition Corne d'Or [Golden Horn] (presumably a small publishing house, located in Sirkeci area at the Hotel de Paris) and 'PRESSA' printing house, located on Asmalı Mescit street 35 (now presumably 23) near Tunnel Square. The guide is unusual in that it was created not for Russian-speaking tourists who had come to relax or for other visitors, but rather for refugees who had fled their home country. The authors of the guidebook were themselves refugees.¹³⁰ Their names are not indicated, but most likely they were representatives of the newspaper *Presse du Soir* (later *Vecherniaia Gazeta*), one of the longest-running newspapers (1920–1925) that covered many different topics regarding the life of Russian-speaking émigrés in Constantinople/Istanbul and where 'Russian' journalists worked together with Turkish and French ones.¹³¹ Since the Russian-speaking representatives of the newspaper had arrived in the city earlier than many of their compatriots, they became pioneers in terms of discovering the new 'space':

It is during the first days of his stay in the city that a Russian refugee, having no information on where to go and to whom he should turn, often in vain spends his last funds and last strength, so necessary for him in the upcoming severe struggle for existence [...]. The purpose of our publication is to give a guiding initial thread – so that a Russian who arrives in Constantinople, travelling from the landing pier, or from the train station by tram to the city, can immediately get information about the most important things in 5–10 minutes [...].¹³²

In other words, the authors of the guidebook shared their personal experiences and explorations from their own brief time in the city with the newcomers. To my knowledge, it is

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 3.

¹³¹ E. Maksimov was named as the newspaper's Political Director and O. Zelyuk as Commercial Director.

¹³² Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 3.

the only guidebook (if one doesn't count A. Kartykoff's *Plan-Guide du Constantinople*¹³³) to the city authored by Russian-speaking exiles for exiles arriving at that time. The authors themselves noted that other Constantinople guides did exist (for instance, the famous Baedeker guidebook, which is also mentioned by Russian émigré writer Nadezhda Teffi as one of the most popular in one of her essays¹³⁴), but they were purely touristic editions, and therefore the Russian émigré guide was 'one of a kind'.¹³⁵ *Russkij v Konstantinopole/Le Russe à Constantinople* looks like a small handbook, with a dark-red/burgundy hardcover that illustrates a small cypress tree. As, on the one hand, a symbol since ancient times of sadness and grief, and, on the other hand, a symbol of eternal life and endurance, this tree was probably chosen in order to show the situation in which the émigrés found themselves at the beginning of the 20th century.¹³⁶ The guidebook is made up of texts, one map of Constantinople, one sketch of the layout of the Grand Rue de Péra (today's Istiklal Avenue) and its surroundings, as well as an annex with the most common words in Turkish for 'Russian' refugees. A black and white map of the city (see Figure 4) features its districts, mainly the historical peninsula and Pera/Galata, the most important places for refugees from the former Russian Empire; the main curiosities of the two districts are listed in the top left corner. As for the sketch of the Grand Rue de Péra, it shows the most important locations, including the Press Bureau, Russian Embassy, Russian Consulate, Presse du Soir Newspaper Office, Russian Post Office, the Inquiry Office and Mayak (the Russian Lighthouse). The guidebook is not illustrated with photographs presumably because the publishing of the images would definitely have increased its price, whilst for obvious reasons (it was created for refugees) it was supposed to be fairly cheap. The back cover indicates that the cost of the guide in 1921 was 30 piastres (or kuruş) which at that time was equal to the cost of a meal in a canteen. However, the low cost of the handbook does not mean that its creators earned nothing from it. There is every reason to believe that it paid for itself pretty quickly because, firstly, the news of its publication was spread through the popular *Presse du Soir* (which means there were probably a lot of buyers) and, secondly, the advertisements (the manufacturing shop Tornton, commission shops Novorossiia and Vsyia Rossiia, the

¹³³ Publication by a member of the Russian Geographical Society which, according to James Ryan, consisted of tramway, ferry, and locomotive schedules and plans for the entire city in Turkish, English, French, and Russian, as well as included a brief history of Istanbul's most famous monuments, including all the famous churches and mosques in each language: Kartykoff, A. *Plan-Guide du Constantinople*. Constantinople: Imp. L. Babok et Fils, 1921; Ryan, James. "Unveiling" the Tramway: The Intimate Public Sphere in Late Ottoman and Republican Istanbul.' *Journal of Urban History*, 2018, Vol. 44(5), pp. 811–834. Unfortunately, I couldn't find it in any of the libraries and archives where I worked.

¹³⁴ Teffi, Nadezhda. *Stambul i solnce*. Berlin: Izd-vo 'Mysl', 1921, pp. 27–39.

¹³⁵ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 4.

¹³⁶ McElroy, D.R. *Signs & symbols of the world: over 1,001 visual signs explained*. NY: Quarto Publishing Group USA Inc., 2020, p. 137.

fashion store Zachariadis, the banking house Novotortsev, the transit warehouse Miller, Jules Kanzler Photostudio on Grand Rue de Péra 197, a Russian hospital in Şişli and the Ermans pharmacy) placed at the very end of the guide were a good medium for generating income.¹³⁷ As an example of a guidebook written from an exilic perspective, *Russkij v Konstantinopole/Le Russe à Constantinople* sheds light mainly on two aspects: the most important places for refugees to help them to survive in the city and, as strange as it may sound, the touristscape, which is still partially relevant for Russian-speaking visitors.

2.2.2 Essential places for refugees from the former Russian Empire in the city through the guide and other sources

Based on its stated goal, the guide contains the addresses of such critical places as the Russian embassy and consulate, Orthodox churches (attached to the embassy, attached to the Nikolaevsky hospital in Harbiye, Athos Compounds in Karaköy), the civil society organisation All-Russian Zemstvo Union, the Information Bureau, the Russian post office, hospitals, refugee hostels, bath-houses, labour bureaus, the Russian press bureau and educational institutions (in addition to hastily opened Russian educational institutions, some children studied at the French school of Sainte-Pulchérie, the College Saint Benoît and Saint-Michel, the English school in Nişantaşı, as well as the American Robert College and the girls' school in Arnavutköy).¹³⁸ Since there were many people of Greek, Armenian and European descent among the former subjects of the Russian Empire, the guide also lists Greek, Armenian, Catholic and Protestant churches.¹³⁹ Along with two Russian hospitals (attached to the Russian Embassy and Russian Nikolaevsky Hospital) that opened their doors to refugees, there were also foreign hospitals such as the American Hospital, established in 1920, Jeanne D'Arc Hospital, known among the Russian refugees as the 'asylum for motherhood', the British one near the German Embassy and others.¹⁴⁰ As for nourishment, for some time free meals were distributed at the Russian Lighthouse Mayak, among other places.¹⁴¹ The canteen for 600 people at the Nikolaevsky hospital in Harbiye helped a lot (the address was indicated as 'Harbiye 35').¹⁴² This famous canteen literally saved those who were desperate to find any income.¹⁴³ Here is how émigré Ivan Gardner described the location: 'The Harbiye Russian Hospital, located quite far from the

¹³⁷ Announcement concerning the publication of the guidebook in the Russian newspaper *Presse du Soir*, 1921 [Date of the issue not identified], n.p. (Slavonic Library/Slovanská knihovna, Prague).

¹³⁸ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, pp. 16–17.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12; Bournakine, *Al'manah Na Proschaniye. The Farewell Almanac*, pp. XXII.

¹⁴¹ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 10.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 128.

embassy, behind the large and deserted Taksim Square, which overlooked the Grand Rue de Péra, occupied a whole block consisting of several buildings. Between them, in the middle of the courtyard, stood a small, beautiful temple in the late Byzantine style, in the name of St. Nicholas.’¹⁴⁴ In addition, the list of popular eateries that charged for meals included Russkij Ochag, Union Française (which offered special prices for refugees), Lady Lermontova’s dining room, America, Yar, Antonio and Dülber – all of which were situated in the Pera (today’s Beyoğlu) district.¹⁴⁵

The guidebook offers comprehensive information about hotels in the city. According to the authors, the Pera Palace, Tokatlıyan, Bristol and Continental were among the best hotels at the time.¹⁴⁶ Hence, they were ‘completely inaccessible for Russian emigrants with a more or less limited budget’.¹⁴⁷ Hotels with reasonable prices were those located near the train station (Sirkeci district) and in Galata; the fee was charged ‘per room, per person or bed’.¹⁴⁸ As for inexpensive furnished rooms for rent, the authors suggested looking for them in Galata, the historical centre, as well as in the Asian part of the city (Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Moda).¹⁴⁹ Interestingly, the experience of settling in the historical peninsula was mostly positive for men and disappointing for women. Thus, émigré artist Georges Artemoff (1892–1965) lived ‘in the very heart of old Istanbul with its mosques, colourful bazaars, ruins of old baths and city walls’, which most likely aroused the envy of many of his colleagues.¹⁵⁰ There is also evidence that émigré poet and artist Ilia Zdanevich, known as Iliazd, settled in the same area in the early 1920s in the immediate vicinity of the walls of Hagia Sophia and in the evenings happily spent his time in the nearby coffee house, where he was quite famous and popular among the local residents.¹⁵¹ Whereas the Sorokin family, on the contrary, had to move to Pera from the old city, where they had managed to rent a spacious mansion with a large garden with the help of a Greek agent. This happened not only because there were complaints in the old city about noise and violation of public tranquillity after 7 p.m., but also because ‘women [female members of the family] immediately felt uncomfortable. Every time they went out into the street, the whole street stopped, and everyone gazed at them very disapprovingly, since in this part of the city all

¹⁴⁴ Gardner, ‘Konstantinopol’ v 1920 g.: Fragmenty vospominanij’, pp. 246-247.

¹⁴⁵ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 23.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 20–21.

¹⁵⁰ Kaverin, Veniamin. *Pered Zerkalom: roman v pis'mah*. Moskva: Sovetskij pisatel’, 1972, p. 165.

¹⁵¹ Kudriavtsev, Sergei. *Zaumnik v Tsargrade: itogi i dni puteshestviya I.M. Zdanevicha v Konstantinopol’ v 1920-21 godah*. Moskva: Grundrisse, 2016, pp. 77–78.

the women walked wrapped in burqas, and on top of that with a veil on their faces'.¹⁵² Similarly, the Luban family relocated to Pera from the historical peninsula, but in their case, it was prompted by the complete destruction of the wooden hotel they were residing in.¹⁵³ It is also worth mentioning that those émigrés who rented rooms and apartments often ran out of money quickly, and it was difficult to find work, so they stopped paying for rented housing – which, of course, resulted in a trial, which was sometimes held in the Italian or French language, as a result of which the accused sometimes did not have even the slightest idea of what was going on.¹⁵⁴ However, 'Russian' emigrants were not welcome even in prisons, since their presence there implied certain expenses that were to be borne by either the Turkish authorities or the Allied forces. In the newspapers, one can see the complaints of émigré prisoners according to which for two months they were kept in a dirty prison without electricity, and despite this, no one except the watchman came to let them out for any exercise.¹⁵⁵ It was possible to avoid housing problems by settling in one of the hostels or flop houses in the city. Some of them, including American shelters and numerous Russian hostels scattered throughout Istanbul from Arnavutköy to Sultanahmet, are listed in the guide, along with their addresses.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, some refugees preferred street benches to dorms for the simple reason that lice were a common problem in most of them.¹⁵⁷ In addition, it was not that easy to find a free spot there (for example, in Büyükdere or Tarabya).¹⁵⁸ Therefore, those who had at least 20 piastres spent the night in Turkish bathhouses, where they were allowed after closing.¹⁵⁹ There was also another option, such as to spend a night in the army barracks built in the 18th century, but they were so old and decrepit that it was almost impossible to stay there in the cold season.¹⁶⁰ In those dilapidated buildings, where the windows lacked glass and the roof was rotting, there were armfuls of straw instead of beds.¹⁶¹ Some refugees lived on the Princes' Islands, including Prinkipo (Büyükdere), which was considered 'the largest and most luxurious' and Proti (Kınalıada), which was 'the smallest, poorest and dirtiest'.¹⁶² Those who lived on Prinkipo mainly lived all together in the villas: 'Each family is allocated a room in villas requisitioned

¹⁵² Sığırcı, Marina. *My Rodom iz Stambula. Po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii. Prodolzhenie*. Istanbul: Bosfor Global Yayınları, 2021, p. 40.

¹⁵³ Luban, Boris. *No Moss*. New York, n.d., p. 328. (unpublished).

¹⁵⁴ Ippolitov, et al., *Tri stolicy izgnaniya*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁷ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 148.

¹⁵⁸ Shul'gin, Vasilij. *1921 god*. Moskva: Kuchkovo pole, 2018, p. 100.

¹⁵⁹ Bahrushin, Mikhail. *Moya zhizn'*. Moskva: GCTM im. A. A. Bahrushina, 2019, p. 26.

¹⁶⁰ Photographs of some of the army barracks and shelters in Constantinople can be seen here: *La Russie Illustrée*, January 1925 (1), p. 7.

¹⁶¹ Ippolitov, et al., *Tri stolicy izgnaniya*, p. 11.

¹⁶² Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 69.

from Turkish pashas. Our four camp beds, provided by the British quartermaster, stand in the living room next to sofas and armchairs covered with yellow silk: it is heated by a wood-fired grill [...].¹⁶³ Those who lived on Proti lived mainly in the old Greek monastery Hristos Rum Manastırı on the hilltop, which had been converted to a military hospital where refugees were stationed in a corridor, men at one end and women at the other, because the rooms were filled with officer patients.¹⁶⁴ There they were supplied with cots, linen and blankets, and individual clothes lockers, and were also issued drab semi-military olive-green uniforms.¹⁶⁵ Subsequently, the émigré composer Vernon Duke remembered this island as ‘humble Proti, unsung by any travelogue commentator for its barren hills, stubborn donkeys, undernourished trees, and the largest bedbugs known to man’.¹⁶⁶

It is important to understand that the Allied forces helped the refugees in terms of health care, nutrition, accommodation and many other matters, not only out of a sense of duty and good intentions but also for personal gain, for the reason of fighting a common enemy, Bolshevism. When it became clear that Wrangel and his army were powerless, and further struggle was useless, the Allied Command (in particular France) refused to support refugee camps.¹⁶⁷ Instead, according to the principle of ‘get the woman off the cart, and the horse will go farther’, they did their best to send the refugees to distant countries of Africa and Latin America as soon as possible.¹⁶⁸ The refugees themselves, especially nobles from the former Russian Empire, had tried from the very beginning to leave Istanbul as quickly as possible. The main reason for this was the fact that they had a rather strong connection to European countries because many of them, while in the former Imperial Russia, had adopted a European way of life and identified themselves with Europeans or were of European origin, and frequently had relatives there.¹⁶⁹ As for the non-noble refugees, most of the time they were ready to go to any country where they could earn a decent living and be allowed to practice their religions, since the Ottoman Empire’s economic condition at the time left much to be desired, forcing the refugees to grasp at any job for almost any amount of money.¹⁷⁰ For these reasons the guidebook provides not only addresses of local Ottoman institutions but also those of foreign embassies and consulates, with a brief description of the conditions for obtaining visas to particular

¹⁶³ Shahovskaia, *Takov Moj Vek*, p. 209.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁶⁷ Ippolitov, et al., *Tri stolicy izgnaniya*, p. 37.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁶⁹ For more on Russian identity: Figes, Orlando. *Natasha’s Dance: A Cultural History of Russia*. Picador, 2003.

¹⁷⁰ Dağlar Macar, ‘Deyatel’nost’ po okazaniyu pomoshchi beloemigrantam i reshenie problem sanitarno-zdravoohranitel’noho haraktera’, pp. 46–70.

countries. Almost all of the embassies and consulates listed were located in Pera and Nişantaşı except for the Iranian embassy, which was located on the historical peninsula.¹⁷¹ All of them were within walking distance, but in fact remained inaccessible for many Russian-speaking emigrants who settled in Constantinople. Judging by the information in the guidebook, in order to leave for most European countries, proof of relatives, property or business in those countries was required.¹⁷² In cases when such grounds did exist, a request was sent to a particular country, but the costs were paid by the person concerned, that is, the person who applied for a visa.¹⁷³ This is how one of the young refugees recalled this process:

It was strange to see upholstered furniture, carpets, paintings on the walls, a large writing-table covered with a blue cloth at the consul's office... all these were objects of the civilised world, which I had completely forgot... [...] Alas, he told me... this clean-shaven and smartly dressed man, that it is absolutely impossible for us Russians to get to France. The consul even added 'la belle France'. [...] To get to France, you need to have a certain amount of money, a rather big amount... The French government must know that you will not be a 'burden' to it.¹⁷⁴

Later, this student turned out to be lucky, since he managed to move to the Czech Republic because the president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937) had decided to take refugee students from the former Russian Empire under his wing.¹⁷⁵ But such luck was rare. In most cases, former military men, regardless of age, were offered work on plantations in Latin America, an option that intimidated refugees by being so far away from home.¹⁷⁶

Last but not least, the guide also provided its readers with information on trams, the funicular, the bridge, boats, cars, steamships and railways, all signs of a quite dynamic urban environment. Indeed, by the time of the arrival of the Russian-speaking émigrés, considerable efforts to modernise Constantinople had been undertaken: bridges were constructed, steamships were operating, and an underground funicular line known as the Tunnel was created as an alternative to Yüksekaldırım street, up and down which about 40,000 people passed per day in the 1870s on electric trams.¹⁷⁷ Not to mention that the Sirkeci and Haydarpaşa train stations

¹⁷¹ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 15.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, pp. 63–64.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 162–166.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 89–90.

¹⁷⁷ Çelik, Zeynep. *19. yüzyılda osmanlı başkenti. Değişen İstanbul*. Translated by Selim Deringil, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016, pp. 110–134; Gül, Murat. *Modern İstanbul'un Doğuşu. Bir Şehrin Dönüşümü ve*

had already been built.¹⁷⁸ The development of urban transportation not only helped the local people to reach different (divided by water) parts of the city in a more modern way but also facilitated trading activities.¹⁷⁹ Thus, this part of the guide contains listings, prices, addresses, timetables and itineraries. To give an example, from the text one can learn that at the time there were quite long tram routes such as from Kurtuluş (Tatavla) to the Tunnel funicular and even from the Fatih district to Feriköy, that the funicular from Karaköy to Pera functioned every five minutes and that Galata bridge was considered to be new and even was called ‘a new bridge’.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, this new bridge was supposed to be paid for by those pedestrians who wanted cross it.¹⁸¹ It is also interesting that the carriage drivers were greatly praised despite being expensive.¹⁸² Most refugees used boats, but it was recommended to choose a larger boat for travel with luggage since otherwise it could be dangerous.¹⁸³ In addition, from information about local steamships, it becomes clear that one could get to almost any point in the city (Eyüp, Paşabahçe, Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Princes’ Islands) from the new (today’s Galata) bridge, and from information about foreign travel, it is clear that it was almost impossible for a refugee earning a few *kuruş* per day to get a ticket to one of the European countries (France, Italy), since a ticket cost about 40 to 60 liras for third class, not to mention passage to America, which cost a fortune, 125 liras for third class.¹⁸⁴

2.2.3 Important places for refugees from the former Russian Empire as tourists in the city through the guide and other sources

Interestingly, one of the sections of the guidebook is devoted to the history of the city and its attractions. The authors advised the readers to take their mind off sorrow and fatigue by exploring the new environment:

The Russian refugee, abandoned in November 1920 in Constantinople, has no time to explore the city from a tourist point of view and delve into the artistic beauties and historical views of Constantinople. However, to everyone who can afford the luxury of at least one day of leisure, we insistently recommend that you make a moral effort for

Modernizasyonu. Translated by Büşra Helvacıoğlu, Sel Yayıncılık, 2018, pp. 59–95; Kuban, Doğan. *İstanbul 1600 Yıllık Bir Müzedir. Kent ve Mimarlık Üzerine İstanbul Yazıları*. Yem Yayın, 2020, pp. 74–82.

¹⁷⁸ Kuban, *İstanbul 1600 Yıllık Bir Müzedir. Kent ve Mimarlık Üzerine İstanbul Yazıları*, p. 79.

¹⁷⁹ Çelik, *19. yüzyılda osmanlı başkenti. Değişen İstanbul*, pp. 110–134; Gül, *Modern İstanbul’un Doğuşu. Bir Şehrin Dönüşümü ve Modernizasyonu*, pp. 59–95; Kuban, *İstanbul 1600 Yıllık Bir Müzedir. Kent ve Mimarlık Üzerine İstanbul Yazıları*, p. 79.

¹⁸⁰ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, pp. 23–25.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 26–28.

yourself and devote several hours for two to three or four days or one whole day to inspect at least a small part of the artistic and historical treasures in terms of which Constantinople is so rich. We are sure that this moral effort will earn its keep: the soul of a driven, tired Russian person will clear up even for a little while and will rest from the terrible and oppressive impressions of the present while looking at the views of the great past.¹⁸⁵

Judging by the fact that many emigrants tried to attend lectures on the city and took an active part in walks around it on weekends, they heeded this advice and agreed with the opinion of the authors of the guidebook. Of course, it is quite possible that they were already interested in learning more about the city to which fate had brought them even without this advice, since there are quite a few examples of emigrants' interest in their host cities, which sometimes even became an object of study. For instance, the abovementioned German émigré journalist Ernst N. Schaeffer not only walked in Bombay with his camera but also wrote a guide titled *Pictorial Bombay* that has points in common with the *Russkij v Konstantinopole/Le Russe à Constantinople*. Like the Russian guide that mentions tram numbers but in general suggests traversing the city on foot, Schaeffer proposed walking as a method of exploring.¹⁸⁶ As was also the case with the authors of *Russkij v Konstantinopole/Le Russe à Constantinople*, he recommended sites close to the city centre so that people who were busy making a living would have enough time to visit them.¹⁸⁷

It is known that lectures open to the emigrants were often held on weekends by the so-called Russian Narodnyj University (a 'Russian' academic group), the director of which was Assistant Professor A.V. Poznyakov.¹⁸⁸ Sometimes such lectures were held at the consulate, in Narmanlı Han, and primarily were devoted to the history and culture of Byzantium and the Ottoman Empire/Turkey.¹⁸⁹ Lectures by a specialist in Oriental Studies from the Department of Classical Philology at Kyiv University, N.P. Mikhailoff, were quite popular, as they were visited in large numbers by both 'Russians' and local people.¹⁹⁰ Another lecturer was émigré archaeologist, art restorer, copyist, painter and photographer Nikolai Kluge/Nicholas Kluge (1869–1947), who worked at the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople. One of

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁸⁶ Franz, Margit, and Rachel Lee. 'An Exile's Guide: Ernst Schaeffer's Pictorial Bombay and the Construction of Bombay's Touristscape.' *Urban Exile: Theories, Methods, Research Practices*, edited by Burcu Dogramaci et al., 2023, pp. 96–119.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 96–119.

¹⁸⁸ Anonymous. 'Narodnyj Universitet.' *Konstantinopol'skij Kommercheskij Kur'er*, 30 July 1923, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹ Anonymous. 'Ekskursii.' *Konstantinopol'skij Kommercheskij Kur'er*, 18 June 1923, p. 3.

¹⁹⁰ Anonymous, 'Narodnyj Universitet', p. 3.

his lectures was devoted to Byzantine churches and was illustrated with his own drawings.¹⁹¹ In addition, Kluge conducted excursions for Russian-speaking émigrés (including émigré painters Georges Artemoff and Lydia Nikanorova), providing them with detailed information about Byzantine monuments.¹⁹² With a very high probability, it is Kluge who is described in the memoirs by Zinaida Shahovskaia:

It is hard to believe, but even at that time, as if nothing had happened, excursions were held in Constantinople for refugees to archaeological sites; one Russian scholar, surrounded by a crowd of curious people, told us about the chariots at the hippodrome of Septimius Severus in 200 BC and about the disappearance of the image of Constantine from the porphyry column that bears his name.¹⁹³

In addition to taking visitors to the Hagia Sophia, the Little Hagia Sophia and the Blachernae area, Kluge, of course, showed ‘Russian’ emigrants around the Chora Church / Kariye Mosque, because he had cleaned, washed and sketched frescoes and mosaics of this church before the Russian Revolution.¹⁹⁴ The sketches had been intended for publication by the Imperial Archaeological Commission, but the rapidly-moving events in the former Russian Empire became a serious obstacle for the publishing process.¹⁹⁵ The church itself at the time was clearly in bad shape: there were ruins around the building, and inside were Turkish soldiers guarding the mosque; not to mention the fact that the furniture was piled up in the building and the frescoes on the vaults and the dome were covered with ‘rough and wretched’ plaster.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, this was brightened up by the ‘fairytale mosaic carpet’, which was invariably admired by all the Russian groups that visited this place.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, after such an excursion one of the émigré journalists wrote the following: ‘I would suggest that a visit to Kariye-Cami should be recognised as mandatory for all Russians in Constantinople. There, everyone will cleanse and strengthen their tattered, weary refugee soul, having spent several hours in their homeland.’¹⁹⁸ Apart from Kluge, excursions were conducted under the guidance of the artist Nikolai Pinegin (1883–1940), the aforementioned member of the Russian Academic Group N.P. Mikhailoff and other representatives of the Narodnyj University.¹⁹⁹ The latter, for

¹⁹¹ Anonymous. ‘Lekciya N.M. Kluge.’ *Presse du Soir*, 8 December 1922, p. 3.

¹⁹² Ruffié, Paul. *Georges Artemoff (1892–1965)*. Privat, 2018, p. 38.

¹⁹³ Shahovskaia, *Takov Moj Vek*, p. 227.

¹⁹⁴ Vzdornov, Gerol’d. ‘Russkiye hudozhniki i vizantiyskaya starina v Konstantinopole.’ *Tvorchestvo*, no. 2, 1992, pp. 30–32.

¹⁹⁵ Levitskij, Valerij. ‘Kariye Camii.’ *Zarnitsy*, 17 July 1921, p. 12.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

¹⁹⁹ Anonymous. ‘Ekskursia.’ *Presse du Soir*, № 178, 1922, n.p.; Anonymous, ‘Ekskursii’, p. 3.

example, arranged excursions to inspect the monuments of not only Byzantine but also Ottoman art.²⁰⁰ Among the most popular locations on the routes were Hagia Sophia, Hippodrome, Ottoman museum, Janissaries' area in Topkapı Palace, old mosques, Chora Church, The Monastery of the Mother of God at the Spring, Patriarchal Cathedral and the areas of Eyüp and Üsküdar.²⁰¹ Another popular spot was Hagia Irene Church, which had been transformed into an arsenal where 'on the walls, in endless showcases, on tables near the columns, high on the arches and in the dome one could see axes, swords, guns – everything wherewith during thousands of years people have not tired of cutting, stabbing and chopping each other'.²⁰² 'Russian' visitors were no less impressed by the screen for cinematography arranged there, as well as the portrait of a satisfied and smiling Prime Minister of the United Kingdom David Lloyd George (1863–1945), along with other exhibits such as clothes, flags and maps.²⁰³ Judging by the advertisements in the Russian newspapers, for at least five years (from 1920 to 1925), those wishing to join the excursions gathered at the last stop of the tram going to Fatih district.²⁰⁴ It was during these walks that some of the emigrants for the first time in their lives became acquainted with the 'tourist profession'.²⁰⁵ This is how Russian journalists commented on the excursions:

The excursions were organised along different routes and accompanied by explanations on issues of history, archaeology and art. On average, each excursion attracted up to 30 participants. Everywhere excursionists were greeted with the most cordial welcome from the Turks. A thoughtful and conscientious attitude of the listeners was observed; moreover, the explanations of guides were often written down and independent sightseeing was carried out. Listeners and excursionists repeatedly expressed their gratitude to the Narodnyj University for organising the excursions.²⁰⁶

It is also worth noting that Jewish emigrants from the former Russian Empire had their own excursions, separate from those of the Narodnyj University. These were often organised by the Union of Jewish Teachers.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Anonymous, 'Narodnyj Universitet', p. 3.

²⁰² Levitskij, Valerij. 'Porugannyj hram.' *Zarnitsy*, 2 October 1921, p. 11.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Anonymous. 'Konstantinopol'skij al'manah.' *Zarubezhnyj klich*, 5 April 1925, p. 10.

²⁰⁵ Zernov, Nikolai. *Na perelome: tri pokolenia odnoj moskovskoj sem'i*. Paris: YMCA Press, 1970, p. 453.

²⁰⁶ Anonymous, 'Narodnyj Universitet', p. 3.

²⁰⁷ Anonymous. 'Soyuz Evrejskikh Prepodavatelej. Eskursiya po Bosforu.' *Put'*, 3 August 1924, p. 14.

As for the *Russkij v Konstantinopole/Le Russe à Constantinople*, it suggested a route with an emphasis on architecture rather than street life, which makes it almost no different from the routes suggested by the representatives of Narodnyj University. An overview of the city's hotspots begins with the Galata Bridge, which was 'convenient for observing the life of the Turkish crowd'.²⁰⁸ According to the authors, 'especially interesting' were also the Grand Bazaar, the Topkapı Palace, the 'vast building of the imperial' Ottoman Museum, the plane tree of the Janissaries and the Church of Hagia Irene. Further, the 'treasures' of the city were conditionally divided by the authors into Byzantine monuments and monuments of Islamic art.²⁰⁹ Among the monuments of Byzantine art are listed: Hagia Sophia ('does not immediately produce the impression that everyone expects from it by hearsay', 'only gradually, and especially when you go inside, you are imbued with the grandeur and beauty of the monument'), the Obelisk of Theodosius, the Serpent Column, the Column of Constantine, Little Hagia Sophia, the Cistern of Philoxenos, the Aqueduct of Valens, Chora Church/the Kariye Mosque, the walls of Constantinople and Yedikule Fortress, where the Russian ambassadors were imprisoned whenever diplomatic relations between Turkey and Russia came under strain.²¹⁰ Among the monuments of Islamic art are the Hagia Sophia (again), 'the most beautiful' and 'a rival of Hagia Sophia' Süleymaniye Mosque, the New Mosque near the bridge, Sultan Ahmed Mosque with its six minarets, Bayezid II Mosque with its doves, the Eyüp Sultan Mosque 'located very far away', as well as the Şehzade Mosque, the Fatih Mosque, the Sublime Porte (Bâb-ı Âli), Büyük Valide Han where 'Persian merchants live' and other locations.²¹¹ Last but not least, in order to see the city from a birds-eye view, the guide advised its readers to visit Beyazıt Tower while also taking a look at the nearby impressive building where today's Istanbul University is situated.²¹² Thus, it is clear that the guidebook suggested seeing mainly famous touristic places of great cultural significance. The purpose of this is stated in the guide itself: 'Who knows when we will be able to visit this city again.'²¹³ However, upon careful reading of the listed sights, it becomes clear that the authors were keenly interested in the old part of the city, which they apparently linked to the 'great past', while the European Pera/Beyoğlu and its environs were not admired as much; most likely because of the 'terrible and oppressive impressions of the present', since it is there that the hard life of the refugees was mostly taking

²⁰⁸ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, pp. 34–36.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 36–39.

²¹¹ Ibid., pp. 39–42.

²¹² Ibid., pp. 41–42.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 29.

place.²¹⁴ Calling Pera/Beyoğlu ‘completely new’ and ‘the location of major hotels and shops’, the guidebook’s compilers stated that neither Galata (apart from the tower, another location with a bird’s-eye view) nor Dolmabahçe Palace were ‘of historical interest’.²¹⁵ They were clearly upset about the fact that this colourful eastern city with its motley local crowd had been increasingly taking on a Western European look.²¹⁶ Apparently, they had the same fear as the author of these lines written in the late 19th century: ‘God forbid that someday Constantinople becomes so European and begins to resemble any of our cities.’²¹⁷ There were also emigrants who thought that it was already too late. For example, Alexandre Vertinsky wrote that ‘Istanbul, glorified by Claude Farrer and Pierre Loti, no longer exists’, and Nadezhda Teffi (1872–1952) echoed him, emphasising that Istanbul, as a door to the east, is so covered with ‘European mould and limescale’ that it is incredibly difficult to open it.²¹⁸ However, émigré Ivan Gardner, who was still able to see ‘couleur locale’ at the time, was of a different opinion, and believed that the ‘impersonalising hand of international modernism’ finally touched Constantinople only much later, after Mustafa Kemal Atatürk came to power.²¹⁹ It should be noted that there was also another reason that the old city so attracted refugees from the former Russian Empire. This was because of the Byzantine monuments located there, which awakened a particular sense of belonging, since many of them reminded Orthodox émigrés of their own culture, religion and history. Some of the refugees were in search of shrines and wanted to better understand their own religion, while others during archaeological walks juxtaposed in their minds the history of the riots and tragedies in Byzantium with the tragedies they had themselves experienced.²²⁰ Finally, the old city, being much more rural, allowed refugees to take a short rest from the ‘noisy, stuffy and dusty’ Pera district.²²¹

To sum up, as a key source for studying ‘Russian Constantinople’, the guidebook helped to reveal essential exilic sites in the city as well as to reconstruct an exilic touristscape. Regarding the touristscape, it’s worth noting that, as people who were forced to leave their homeland to survive, Russian-speaking émigrés were in a sense ‘unwilling tourists’²²² in

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 42.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 34.

²¹⁷ Gnedich, Pyotr. *Cherez Chernoe More na Bosfor*. S.-Peterburg: Izd. A.F. Marksa, 1896, p. 228.

²¹⁸ Vertinsky, *Dorogoj dlinnoy...*, p. 127; Teffi, *Stambul i solnce*, pp. 27–39.

²¹⁹ Gardner, ‘Konstantinopol’ v 1920 g.: Fragmenty vospominanij’, pp. 267–268.

²²⁰ Zernov, *Na perelome: tri pokolenia odnoj moskovskoj sem’i*, p. 454; Shahovskaia, *Takov Moj Vek*, pp. 227–228.

²²¹ Zernov, *Na perelome: tri pokolenia odnoj moskovskoj sem’i*, p. 453.

²²² This definition was used by the avant-garde Czech artist and political refugee Adolf Hoffmeister in his book titled *Unwilling Tourist*, which was published in London in 1942 and later, in 1946, in Prague. Source: Parkinson, Anna M. ‘Under the Sign of Caricature: Figuring Exile in Adolf Hoffmeister’s *The Unwilling Tourist* (1941–42).’

Constantinople. In other words, they didn't have 'the security and privilege to move about in relatively unconstrained ways' and didn't walk around the city for the same reasons as American or British visitors of the time, but, as James Clifford argues, they still can be considered travellers whose experience is important in terms of having access to a wide range of 'travel stories', not only the ones by 'bourgeois voyagers'.²²³ The guide as well as other sources' valuable insights allow us to understand that although émigrés solved their problems, settled in, often worked and opened businesses in Pera, they were inspired and found strength in the old city partly due to its fascinating past and partly due to their own nostalgia. Through short escapes to the historical peninsula they tried to flee the rapidly changing and Westernising Pera, which in their opinion didn't suit this authentic non-European city. Interestingly, they did not notice that these striking changes occurred not only due to the presence of occupying troops in the city but also because of the cultural baggage that they themselves brought with them from the former Russian Empire. They themselves, unwittingly, by their stay in the city, accelerated this process of transformation.

2.3 Grand Rue de Péra and its Surroundings as the main area of 'Russian Constantinople'

2.3.1 En Route to Grand Rue de Péra

Recent studies have shown that the presence of refugees and migrants usually changes cities.²²⁴ With minor exceptions, nearly all metropolises with a high number of newcomers who had to flee their own countries contain streets or sometimes even neighbourhoods that are populated by refugees. Such neighbourhoods or streets often consist of different urban spaces that are created by migrants in order to 'exchange information, trade goods, gather and communicate'.²²⁵ For Russian-speaking émigrés who arrived in Constantinople in the 1920s, the Pera district (today's Beyoğlu) with its main street Grand Rue de Péra (today's İstiklal Avenue) located in the so-called European part of the city became such place. After risking their lives in overcrowded ships, refugees from the former Russian Empire often went straight to Pera as if they knew the city very well, because some of them were already familiar with the

Exilforschung. Passagen des Exils / Passages of Exile, edited by Burcu Dogramaci et al., Edition Text + Kritik, 2017, pp. 192–210.

²²³ For more on those who have long been excluded from 'the role of proper travelers': Clifford, James. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Harvard University Press, 1997, pp. 31–39.

²²⁴ Dogramaci et al., editors, *Arrival Cities*, p. 10.

²²⁵ Wildner, Kathrin. 'Introduction: Spaces of Everyday Life.' *Public Istanbul. Spaces and Spheres of the Urban*, edited by Frank Eckardt and Kathrin Wildner, transcript, 2008, pp. 209–214.

district through the books and guides and some from previous visits in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One way or another, everyone knew that ‘Galata and Pera is a small Paris with a nice slice of Vienna’, meaning that this quarter resembled these cities not only architecturally but also because people there spoke French, German and other European languages.²²⁶ At the time it was a modern part of the city thanks to local Greek and Armenian architects who had managed to transform this nearly empty area into a ‘distinctly urban sphere’ by designing and constructing new buildings including apartments, business offices, hotels and theatre halls.²²⁷ Already in the late 19th century, this situation caused competition between the old city that used to dominate and the new one, that is to say, today’s Beyoğlu.²²⁸ Cosmopolitan Pera, which was inhabited mainly by non-Muslims (Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Levantines and Europeans who were connected to the Allied Forces), featured such venues as numerous foreign embassies (including the Russian one), as well as churches and synagogues nearly side by side.

Refugees coming from today’s Karaköy could easily go up to Pera with the help of a one-stop funicular railway known as the Tunnel. Émigré Ivan Gardner was one of the few who shared this experience in his memoirs. In his account, the ticket controller in a fez stood at the entrance to the platform where a train of three rather long carriages brightly lit with electricity was already waiting for its passengers: ‘As I had not seen even a lousy Sevastopol tram for more than a year, these carriages, trimmed to the type of carriages of the international community, seemed to be the height of elegance and luxury. [...] About three minutes later we were already at the upper station and went to the Grand Rue de Péra – the main artery of the non-Turkish part of Constantinople.’²²⁹ Nevertheless, the newcomers from former Imperial Russia usually went up on foot. At the time, today’s Karaköy and Grand Rue de Péra were connected by Yüksekaldırım street in the form of a long multistage staircase that has remained in the memory of almost every refugee. As an example, in order to save money émigré Zinaida Shakhovskaya tried not to take the funicular but walk up this large staircase, which one of her compatriots compared with L’escalier Richelieu, today’s Potemkin Stairs in Odesa.²³⁰ Many years later in her memoirs, she recalled that this was a place where Turkish and Kurdish ‘porters of enormous height’ went up and down, locals and foreigners changed money from all countries

²²⁶ Leykin, N.A. *V gostyah u turok. Yumoristicheskoe opisanie puteshestviya suprugov Nikolaya Ivanovicha i Glafiry Semenovny Ivanovyh cherez Slavyanskije zemli v Konstantinopol’*. S.-Peterburg: ‘Pechatnya S.P. Yakovleva’, 1897, pp. 300–301.

²²⁷ Özil, ‘Greek Orthodox Communities and the Formation of an Urban Landscape in Late Ottoman Istanbul’, pp. 147–149.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Gardner, ‘Konstantinopol’ v 1920 g.: Fragmenty vospominanij’, p. 244.

²³⁰ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 110.

in the world, whilst newcomers from the Crimean army offered ‘medals and military crosses, small and large jewellery, typewriters with Russian letters, frayed wallets and soldier’s boots given by the British. And more carefully – weapons.’²³¹ It is worth noting that thanks to the porters, it was indeed possible to reach Pera on foot very quickly and with no trouble even for people who had heavy belongings, as was the case for the émigré writer Arkady Averchenko (1880–1925), who later, in one of his books, with his usual sense of humour, described how the porters grabbed his suitcases as soon as the boat touched the shore and they all together rushed towards Pera at almost the speed of light.²³² Being impressed by their strength and the obedience with which they performed their duties, émigré artist Vladimir Kadulin (1884–1957, under the pseudonym Mitritch) depicted them in his caricatures.²³³ Those who “preferred” walking through the streets connecting Karaköy to Grand Rue de Péra, rather than take the funicular, had the opportunity to see the Galata area that existed long before Pera began to be densely populated and crowded in all its glory.²³⁴ Having been the western side of Istanbul since the 13th century, when the Genoese colony settled in there, it was quite different from the historical peninsula.²³⁵ The émigré Belozerskaya-Bulgakova described Galata very briefly but to the point, capturing the essence of the city with one sentence: ‘Galata is the business part of the city: banks, piers, brothels and the famous Galata tower, preserved from the Crusades.’²³⁶ On the one hand, it was hard not to notice the modern and wealthy Voyvoda Street (today’s Bankalar Caddesi), since not only several large banks but also various small bank offices were located there with their ‘Greek, Turkish, French, Russian, Italian, English signs: iron, cast iron, marble crystal, alabaster convex, weighty, solid, impressive, very clear, without grammatical errors’.²³⁷ This street had always played an important role in the life of Galata district but starting from the second half of the 19th century numerous companies and businesses (‘banking, insurance, law, architecture, mining, railroads’ and others) made its status central for the whole city.²³⁸ According to Edhem Eldem, there are not many photographs of the street partly because it was ‘never colourful or exotic enough to deserve real photographic interest’.²³⁹ Yet, one of

²³¹ Shahovskaia, *Takov Moj Vek*, pp. 226–227.

²³² Averchenko, *Bir Safdilın Hatıra Defteri*, p. 7.

²³³ Caricatures by Mitritch now belong to the Stearns Family Papers, Archives & Special Collections, The College of the Holy Cross in Massachusetts, the USA.

²³⁴ Özil, ‘Greek Orthodox Communities and the Formation of an Urban Landscape in Late Ottoman Istanbul’, p. 148.

²³⁵ Koçu, Reşad Ekrem. ‘Galata Otelleri’, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1958, Volume 11, pp. 5882–5885.

²³⁶ Belozerskaya-Bulgakova, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 4–26.

²³⁷ Surguchev, İlia. ‘V Galatskih Pereulkah.’ *Zhar-Ptitsa*, 1 August 1922, p. 28.

²³⁸ Eldem, Edhem. *Bankalar Caddesi. Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Voyvoda Caddesi. Voyvoda Street from Ottoman Times to Today*. Osmanlı Bankası Bankacılık ve Finans Tarihi Araştırma ve Belge Merkezi, 2000, pp. 14–15.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

the photographs that was made in the 1920s and has been preserved (the photograph of Agopian Han and the Economic Co-operative Society building) clearly shows how luxurious the street was.²⁴⁰ At the same time, the untidiness and insecurity of the streets adjacent to Voyvoda Street were striking.²⁴¹ This was due mainly to the local brothels that opened here to serve the large number of sailors, who used to arrive here on foreign ships and knew this part of the city as a place where one could always grab a drink and have sex (presumably not only with people of the opposite gender²⁴²).²⁴³ The lower floors of the Galatian houses in this area were divided into cells, in each window of which almost naked women sat and knocked on the glass with a thimble whenever they saw a passer-by:

Beautiful and ugly [...] ten-year-old girls whose breasts are not yet filled out, and who, even here, are given dolls, and old women, with breasts like empty tobacco pouches. Everything is smeared, everything is rouged, like the actors for an evening show. From the street, the unpretentious insides of the cells are visible. At the window – a woman, in the back of the room, behind a chintz curtain, a bed or a sofa that looks like a chopping block. And the inevitable hung out in the most honourable place, a symbol of hygiene, cleanliness and health – an Esmarch mug [an enema-like device for rinsing out the body] with a long yellow intestine.²⁴⁴

Almost all Russian-speaking émigrés described these houses of ‘Galatian geishas’ (among whom were Greek, Armenian, Jewish, French, German, Polish and Russian women) intended for dock handlers and sailors in approximately the same way – emphasising their multiplicity, full transparency since there were no frames or glass windows, only curtains, and the repulsive appearance of representatives of ‘the most ancient profession’.²⁴⁵ Interestingly, while some emigrants were depressed by this state of affairs, others tried to make money from the notoriety of Galata. Thus, it is known that the ‘Russians’ opened a theatre of pornographic live tableaux there.²⁴⁶ Both compatriots and local residents were amazed at this very original way to make money. The theatre, also known as Madame Annette’s Theatre, became a legend and constant topic of gossip. The Russian community actively discussed this innovation when

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 57.

²⁴¹ Gardner, ‘Konstantinopol’ v 1920 g.: Fragmenty vospominanij’, p. 264.

²⁴² For more on the life of homosexuals in Constantinople: Kontovas, Nicholas. *Lubunca: The historical development of Istanbul’s queer slang and a social-functional approach to diachronic processes in language*. M.A. Thesis, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, 2012.

²⁴³ Koçu, ‘Galata Otelleri’, p. 5894.

²⁴⁴ Surguchev, ‘V Galatskih Pereulkah’, p. 30.

²⁴⁵ Litvine, N. ‘Celles de Galata.’ *Nashi Dni-Nos Jours*, 1 January 1921, p. 14; Uturgauri, *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919-1929*, p. 289.

²⁴⁶ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 128.

they met on the streets of the city: ‘It was opened by a Russian general’s wife. She recruits artists from the “refugees” and pays a lira for one evening... But, they say, it is difficult to serve there for more than ten days, and the “guys” run away... as the body is getting too tired.’²⁴⁷ Despite this dissolute lifestyle of Galata, life ran its course, and due to its cheapness, Galata continued to be one of the most popular places where desperate Russian-speaking emigrants rented rooms or apartments. They preferred them to the local hotels with maritime-themed names owned by Greeks and Europeans since the middle of the 19th century because of the hotels’ uncleanliness and depravity.²⁴⁸ In the evenings, when life on other streets had died away, things were still in full swing in Galata: people were sitting in Greek coffee houses, English and French sailors and soldiers scurried back and forth, barrel organs played, loud sounds of ‘not the best orchestras’ were heard from the illuminated bars – exactly as depicted in the illustration of the Galata neighbourhood for the *Nashi Dni* Periodical, in which a naked woman stands at an open window, in front of the window a man in a hat is playing a barrel organ, while someone enters the brothel and a sailor walks by looking in that direction (see Figure 5).²⁴⁹ After passing through Galata with its old two- and three-storey houses, pedestrians made their way to the Grand Rue de Péra. This street, today’s Istiklal Avenue, another name of which was Cadde-i Kebir, was called Perskaya or simply Pera by many of the Russian émigrés.²⁵⁰ As the émigré journalist Chebyshev wrote: ‘Pera, the crooked corridor, in the evenings randomly dotted with electric lights, has become “our” street.’²⁵¹ Another émigré echoed him by saying that there were so many Russians on Pera that they could be mistaken for the masters of the city.²⁵² Petersburgers often compared this street to Nevsky Prospekt, Kharkiv residents to Sumskaya, and Muscovites to Sary Arbat or Kuznetsky Most. Here is just one example: ‘Pera is the European part of Constantinople, the most luxurious. It houses embassies, the best shops, hotels. Pera Street is as wide as our Sary Arbat – with trams, cars, twin cabs, pedestrians.’²⁵³ Another similar description was left by the émigré Ivan Gardner: ‘It was a narrow, rather winding asphalt street lined with tall buildings. An electric tram ran along the street, clinging to the right side of the street, to the sidewalk itself; there were lovely shops here; the crowd was much better dressed than below in Galata [...].’²⁵⁴ However, the emigrants who were more observant or had at least a little idea of what central streets in European cities looked like were

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 166.

²⁴⁸ Koçu, ‘Galata Otelleri’, pp. 5919–5920.

²⁴⁹ Gardner, ‘Konstantinopol’ v 1920 g.: Fragmenty vospominanij’, p. 249.

²⁵⁰ Shul’gin, *1921 god*, p. 143.

²⁵¹ Siğirci, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol’! po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii*, p. 89.

²⁵² Zernov, *Na perelome: tri pokolenia odnoj moskovskoj sem’i*, p. 448.

²⁵³ Belozerskaya-Bulgakova, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 4–26.

²⁵⁴ Gardner, ‘Konstantinopol’ v 1920 g.: Fragmenty vospominanij’, p. 246.

not of the same opinion and disclosed their disappointment at Istanbul's most modern street at the time in their memories: 'I was amazed by the sidewalks: they were narrow, so you could hardly walk along them together with someone else, and the two-track narrow tram line runs so close to these sidewalks that the carriages might touch any of the passers-by at any moment. And at the same time, the traffic on this street was enormous [...].'²⁵⁵ Why did the lives of the refugees revolve mainly around this street? Why was it becoming increasingly 'Russian' day by day, and for what reason can the Pera district be considered the main area for the émigrés in Constantinople at the beginning of the 1920s? Which sources help us to understand this? And, finally, why it is important to examine this matter? In order to answer these questions, the next section of this dissertation scrutinises a range of organisations and spaces, primarily refugee sites and places of business with the focus on cafes and restaurants created by émigrés from the former Russian Empire in Pera.

2.3.2 'Russian' Refugee Sites on the Grand Rue de Péra and nearby

The most obvious reasons why almost all the refugees first headed to Pera can be seen in the sketch of the Grand Rue de Péra and its surroundings (see Figure 1), which was published in 1921 in the abovementioned *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, guide to Constantinople for émigrés from the former Russian Empire.²⁵⁶ The fact that this particular layout and not a schematic plan of any other street or district in the city was published in this not well-illustrated (most likely primarily for economic reasons) guidebook speaks for itself and indicates that the Grand Rue de Péra was an extremely important location for any refugee arriving in the city from the former Russian Empire. What were they looking for there? Which sites made this area so essential?

Let's start from the Tunnel, as suggested in the layout of the guide book. A refugee's path along the Grand Rue de Péra often began from the Tunnel side, in other words, from the end of this long, noisy and famous street. Tunnel Station in Pera was and still is the final destination of the one-stop funicular railway from today's Karaköy, the construction of which was led by Eugène Henri Gavand from 1871 to 1874 and which is considered one of the oldest subways, along with the one created in London in 1863 and another one in New York in 1868.²⁵⁷ However, for the refugees, this place was more of a meeting place than a public transport station, since the newcomers in most cases climbed up on foot in order to save money. There

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 252.

²⁵⁶ The layout was published in *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 6.

²⁵⁷ Marmara, Rinaldo. *Osmanlı Başkentinde Bir Levanten Semti Galata-Pera*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2020, p. 24.

was a small area near Tunnel Station usually called Tunnel Square, and this square featured the Bureau of the Russian Press, the entrance to which, together with its sign, is captured in an old photograph of the Tunnel Passage Office Building that has survived to this day in the collection of SALT.²⁵⁸ In this photo, one can see how crowded the front side of the Bureau was, as well as, on closer inspection of the picture, the map hanging in the display window, which reflected the course of the war in former Imperial Russia.²⁵⁹ The head of the bureau, Nikolai Chebyshev, wrote in his memoirs that the bureau essentially consisted of two rooms, the lower of which housed the general office and the upper one ('on the mezzanine') the office of Chebyshev himself: 'It was located at the end of Pera, in its liveliest place, near the tunnel....'²⁶⁰ In the immediate vicinity of Tunnel Square and the Russian Press Bureau, there was the Russian Consulate, which is also indicated in the sketch. The massive building with multiple columns, known as Narmanlı Han because in 1933 it was bought by the merchants and art connoisseurs the Narmanlı brothers, was built sometime around 1843 by the architect Giuseppe Fossatti.²⁶¹ In the early 1920s the Red Cross was housed in it, and passports were also issued there, which is why there was a solid 'Russian' crowd there every day, in which sometimes even Leon Trotsky appeared.²⁶² According to other sources, refuge shelters and offices of some Russian companies were also located in this building.²⁶³ As remembered by one of the emigrants, in the courtyard of the consulate 'nattily dressed and oily fat' watchmen stood by, which, of course, could not but irritate the hungry refugees who had spent their last money on the necessary photographs for their passports.²⁶⁴ At the time, nearby Asmalımescit Street was mostly inhabited by local Greeks, families of the emigrants and employees of foreign diplomatic missions.²⁶⁵ In addition, this street was famous for the editorial office of the French- and Russian-language *Press du Soir* newspaper located on it, another name for which was *Vecherniaia Pressa*. Vendors sold hefty stacks of this newspaper daily right on the Grand Rue de Péra, shouting in a loud voice 'Press du Soir!' and reading out the latest sensational news.²⁶⁶ It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the staff of this long-lived newspaper (1920–1925) did more for the Russian-speaking refugees than any other Russian periodical in Constantinople at the time, as they (including editor-publisher Maksimov, managing editor Danius and

²⁵⁸ Tünel Geçidi İş Hanı – Tunnel Passage Office Building, around 1920 (SALT Araştırma, Fotoğraf ve Kartpostal Arşivi, İstanbul).

²⁵⁹ Chebyshev, *Blizkaya Dal': Vospominaniya*, n.p.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ İnal, Onur. *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na*. İstanbul: E-Yayımları, 2014, pp. 40–41.

²⁶² Ibid., p. 41; Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, pp. 110–113; Shul'gin, *1921 god*, p. 80.

²⁶³ İnal, *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na*, p. 41.

²⁶⁴ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 113.

²⁶⁵ Marmara, *Osmanlı Başkentinde Bir Levanten Semti Galata-Pera*, p. 89.

²⁶⁶ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 112.

commercial editor Orest Zelyuk) tried to cover all the most important and relevant topics, from politics and economics to cultural life.²⁶⁷ As for Kumbaracı Street, this street was primarily known for the Russian bookstore, which was visited by émigrés eager to experience the novelties of the literary world, including books that were written and printed by Russian-speaking émigrés in Constantinople, Berlin and Paris.²⁶⁸ On Kumbaracı, ‘Russian’ families rented rooms and apartments from local Greeks and Armenians.²⁶⁹ During his short stay on this street, George Gurdjieff was involved in setting up the Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man in Constantinople, drawing inspiration from the Galata Mevlevi House situated on Tunnel Square.²⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Kumbaracı was an essential place for refugees primarily because another entrance to the Russian Embassy located on it. Here is what émigré Shul’gin wrote about this second entrance: ‘But the main feature of Kumbaracı Street is a crowd of Russian refugees pouring in and pouring out through the open gates of the embassy. This crowd here is somehow especially unhappy, ragged, dirty and unsettled...’²⁷¹ In close vicinity to Kumbaracı Street, on Grande Rue de Péra, one could and still can see the main entrance of the neo-Renaissance building of the Russian Embassy, which is a masterpiece of the Fossatti brothers (constructed between 1837 and 1845).²⁷² According to legend, Catherine II sent ground by ship, so that the building would stand upon Russian soil.²⁷³ In the 1920s, the embassy was extremely multifunctional since it served as an enquiry office, a church, a canteen and even a shelter: ‘The first refuge is the mansion of the Russian embassy on Pera. One hall was vacated for refugees there. Sleep on the floor. Settle down as best you can.’²⁷⁴ In addition, it was always crowded because of ‘Russians’ seeking help or trying to get information about something or someone.²⁷⁵ As émigré Ivan Gardner recalled it, the building of the embassy – with its high lattice, decorated with gilded Imperial double-headed eagles, and a Montenegrin kavass, or guard, in a beautiful national costume standing at the gate – was considered a huge and impressive building at the time.²⁷⁶ Right next to the Russian Embassy was the French Embassy, known as the Palais de France. The current building was built in 1839 by the Parisian architect

²⁶⁷ Anonymous. ‘Vecherniaia pressa = Presse du Soir.’ *emigrantica.ru*, <http://emigrantica.ru/item/vecherniaia-pressa-pressa-du-soir-konstantinopol-19201925>. Accessed 14 January 2022.

²⁶⁸ Bournakine, editor, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

²⁶⁹ Sığircı, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol’! : po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii*, p. 90.

²⁷⁰ Akçakmak, Hale Birgül. *Budalaların Şerefine. Gürçiyev ve Performans*. Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2018, pp. 23–24; Hartmann, Thomas de, and Olga de Hartmann. *Our life with Mr. Gurdjieff*. San Francisco u.a.: Harper & Row, 1983, pp. 98–103.; Uspenskij, P.D. *V poiskah chudesnogo*. Enigma, 2014, pp. 505–508.

²⁷¹ Shul’gin, *1921 god*, p. 108.

²⁷² İnal, *Pera’dan Beyoğlu’na*, p. 50.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Belozerskaya-Bulgakova, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 4–26.

²⁷⁵ Chebyshev, *Blizkaya Dal’ : Vospominaniya*, n.p.

²⁷⁶ Gardner, ‘Konstantinopol’ v 1920 g.: Fragmenty vospominaniy’, p. 244.

Pierre Leonard Laurecisque to replace the one that burned down in 1831.²⁷⁷ This is the only embassy, other than the Russian one, marked on the guidebook's sketch of the Grand Rue de Péra mentioned above – which, of course, tells us a lot. Namely, that at the time when the guidebook was published, France was one of the main desirable destinations for the refugees (especially the aristocracy and intellectuals) who wanted to leave Constantinople.²⁷⁸ More often than not, only a 'high-quality audience', especially of wealthy applicants, was able to receive a visa there.²⁷⁹ The rest had much less luck, which was noted in one of the letters of the Russian Embassy employee A.A. Gvozdinsky, who wrote about those wishing to obtain visas to European countries: 'as soon as you show a Russian passport, they look at you either with regret or with hatred, and refuse.'²⁸⁰ The Zemsky Union, which is also marked on the sketch, was one of the Russian public organisations that provided all kinds of assistance to refugees from the former Russian Empire, not only in the Ottoman Empire but also in Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania and other countries.²⁸¹ Representatives of the Union, along with the White Army, arrived in Constantinople as a result of the evacuation from Russia in November 1920.²⁸² In the city, where there was 'a many-voiced groan of need and despair',²⁸³ the representatives (chairman A.S. Khripunov, vice-chairmen A. Alekseev and V.O. Zeeler, secretary P.N. Sorokin, as well as members of the committee A.D. Glazov, A.G. Emelyanov, M.A. Narozhnitsky and G.P. Shpileva²⁸⁴) settled on Grande Rue de Péra 288 and were mainly engaged in dispensing food and resettling refugees, as well as assisting them with employment:

The intensity of the work is best characterised by the following few figures, which speak for themselves. During this period, the canteens of the Zemsky Union, which received food from the American Red Cross and the Ara, dispensed over 2 million free meals and breakfasts, not counting about 1 million servings of tea; about 100,000 people

²⁷⁷ İnal, *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na*, p. 58.

²⁷⁸ In the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, between 70,000 and 80,000 Russian-speaking refugees emigrated and settled in France (Source: Starostina, Natalia. 'On Nostalgia and Courage: Russian Émigré Experience in Interwar Paris through the Eyes of Nadezhda Teffi.' *Écrire sa vie/Writing One's Life*, no. 22, 2013, pp. 38–53). In addition, Paris is considered the main centre of the Russian emigration of the 1920s in Europe, and for many émigrés of Constantinople, this city became the second stop on the migration path (Source: Tolstoy, Andrei. *Hudozhniki russkoj emigracii*. *Iskusstvo-XXI vek*, 2017).

²⁷⁹ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 18; Anonymous. 'Franciya.' *Put'*, 1924, no. 4, p. 13.

²⁸⁰ Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade: itogi i dni puteshestviya I.M. Zdanevicha v Konstantinopol' v 1920-21 godah*, p. 75.

²⁸¹ Galas, Marina. *Rossiya, kotoraya 'samoj sebe byla Ligoj Nacij': pravovoj status, politicheskaya, social'no-ekonomicheskaya, ideologicheskaya adaptaciya rossijskih emigrantov, bezhencev, remigrantov v 1920-1940-h gg.: monografiya*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Prometej, 2021, pp. 302–303.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Bournakine and Valery, editors, *Al'manah Na Proschaniye. The Farewell Almanac*, p. IV.

²⁸⁴ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 7.

passed through the V.Z.S. [All-Russia Zemsky Union] refuge hostel; the Labour Office V.Z.S. employed more than 6,000 people and provided loans and benefits to 8,656 individuals.²⁸⁵

The Bureau of Correspondence and Translations, as well as the Legal Bureau of Consulting and Information, also functioned under the jurisdiction of the Union.²⁸⁶ According to the sketch (Figure 1),²⁸⁷ on the right hand, almost reaching Lycée de Galatasaray, there was and still is Yeni Çarşı Street. It is difficult to say what significance it represented for Russian refugees of the time, but it can be assumed that among the refugees there were people who rented rooms or apartments there, since many non-Muslims who worked in the area lived on this street of Pera.²⁸⁸ If one turns not to Yeni Çarşı but to the left, one heads ‘towards Petits Champs’. That is how the Russians called the Tepebaşı area, which means ‘hilltop’ in Turkish. This is due to the previously mentioned Tunnel, during the construction of which a lot of earth was dug up and eventually piled up here.²⁸⁹ Over time, the hills transformed into the so-called ‘Hilltop Gardens’, the main attraction of which, in addition to circuses and other entertainment establishments, was the Theatre des Petits Champs, which opened its doors to visitors until it was destroyed by two big fires in 1970 and 1971.²⁹⁰ In addition to the fact that many émigré artists worked in this theatre after the revolution, this area attracted wealthy refugees with several luxurious hotels, including Pera Palace, as well as with the proximity of the British and American embassies, which were located here at the time. Just before the turn towards Petits Champs, on Grand rue de Pera 210, opposite the Lycée de Galatasaray, there was located ‘the most valuable and elegant’ Post and Telegraph of the city.²⁹¹ From there, not only foreign correspondence, but also telegrams were dispatched to almost all countries of the world.²⁹² In addition to the post office displayed on the sketch, there was also a Russian Post, created for postal communication between refugees located on the islands, in Constantinople, on steamships and in camps.²⁹³ The Getty Photo Archive possesses a picture that features people with their bags sitting at the entrance, where it is written in Russian and French ‘Russkaya

²⁸⁵ Bournakine and Valery, editors, *Al'manah Na Proschaniye. The Farewell Almanac*, p. XI.

²⁸⁶ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 7.

²⁸⁷ The layout was published in *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 6.

²⁸⁸ İnal, *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na*, p. 58.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

²⁹⁰ Yüksel, Selçuk. ‘Yüzyıllık Efsane “Tepebaşı Dram Tiyatrosu”.’ *tiyatromuzesi.org*, https://tiyatromuzesi.org/drupal/tepebasi_dram_tiyatrosu.html. Accessed 10 June 2020.

²⁹¹ Akıncı, Turan. *Beyoğlu. Yapılar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar (1831-1923)*. Remzi Kitabevi, 2018, pp. 241–242.

²⁹² Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, pp. 21–22.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Pochta. Poste Russe'.²⁹⁴ Within easy reach, there was a Bursa Street (now Sadri Alışık) that was known to almost all the refugees because there one could visit the Russian Lighthouse (Mayak). This place hosted a YMCA centre, where refugees from the Russian Empire were served food in the dining room and were given clothes, and where they could arrange visits to the dispensary and employment bureau.²⁹⁵ Interestingly, at the same time, the centre pursued cultural and educational goals, which meant that refugees could read books in the library, attend foreign language courses or sports clubs, or take part in poetry evenings and concerts.²⁹⁶ According to one of the Russian newspapers, this centre 'brightened up the hard life of a refugee and gave this refugee the opportunity to take a break from the difficult worries of the day'.²⁹⁷ However, not everyone agreed with this opinion. Some Russian journalists and writers openly hinted that it was not refugees in need who benefitted from Mayak, but rather well-fed, careless and hypocritical Russian émigrés from the 'elite' who set high prices for everything including food and courses.²⁹⁸ Moreover, some 'Russian' intellectuals accused Mayak of being a gathering place for anti-Semitic feelings and Masonic inclinations – a not unreasonable suspicion, since only Christians could be members of the Lighthouse.²⁹⁹ As for the opposite Sakız Ağacı Street (today's Atıf Yılmaz Caddesi), where many *Sakızlı* Greeks lived at the time, from 1894 to 1914 (and even a little later) it housed the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (RAIK/RAIC), which was undoubtedly interesting to those who knew about it.³⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the reason why this street occupies an important place on the sketch is that, in the 1920s, in the same building that housed the aforementioned Russian Post, the Russian library and the Russian women's hostel, there was the 'Main Information Bureau for Searching for Russians in All Countries'.³⁰¹ Within six years, this organisation issued more than 300 thousand different documents to 'Russian' refugees who were looking for wives and husbands, lost children, missing relatives and friends.³⁰² In addition, significant amounts of money were transferred to relatives with the help of this bureau, and in general, about 16 thousand cases of various kinds of assistance were registered.³⁰³ According to Svetlana Uturgauri, the bureau was

²⁹⁴ Getty Photo Archive. 1919, Pierre de Gigord collection of photographs of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, Series II, Albums of various formats. Photographer unknown. (1919). [Aviation Views], 1919.

²⁹⁵ Aygün, 'Istanbul.' *METROMOD Walks*.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Anonymous. 'Russkij Mayak v Stambule.' *Slovo*, 18 June 1922, p. 3.

²⁹⁸ Ex-Mason. 'Russkij Mayak.' *Zarubezhnyj Klich*, 1921 (Sofia), p. 23.

²⁹⁹ Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade*, p. 85; Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole*, p. 9.

³⁰⁰ İnal, *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na*, p. 161; For more information about RAIK/RAIC: Üre, Pınar. *Reclaiming Byzantium: Russia, Turkey and the Archaeological Claim to the Middle East in the 19th Century*, I.B. Tauris, 2020.

³⁰¹ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 9.

³⁰² Sığircı, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol'!: po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii*, p. 92.

³⁰³ Ibid.

run mainly by Countess Varvara Bobrinskaya (1864–1940), who secured financial support from both Russian and American organisations in Constantinople.³⁰⁴ Here is what Uturgauri writes about the incredible work done by Bobrinskaya and her staff:

Employees sometimes had to get information about refugees themselves, for example, contact the commandants of the camps on the Princes' Islands, go to hospitals, hostels and overnight houses. And when in November 1920 an armada of sea transports from the Crimea landed on the shores of the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara, the staff of the Information Bureau, together with volunteers, registered 62,000 people right on the ships.³⁰⁵

The sketch of the Grande Rue de Péra from the guide for Russian refugees ends with the streets of Bursa and Sakız Ağacı, although life at the time was in full swing far beyond its borders. That is why at the very end of the sketch there is an arrow 'to Harbiye', which was an important area, primarily due to the aforementioned Nikolaevsky Hospital, with its church, a canteen for 600 people (free lunches and tea), a hostel, a cheap laundry and even a free bathing house, cards for which were issued by the Red Cross.³⁰⁶ In addition, embassies of such countries as Azerbaijan and Poland were located in Nişantaşı (on Jabi Street), which was very relevant for some subjects of the former Russian Empire.³⁰⁷ Moreover, those who did not want competition on the Grande Rue de Péra started to open cafes and other entertainment establishments here. For instance, it is known that Casino Moderne (Bomonti Street 1), where visitors were offered dishes from the famous St. Petersburg Chef Shutov, rare wines and dances in the garden, as well as the amusement park Luna-Park, under the leadership of a certain Drankov, with a Ferris wheel, roller coaster, spinning room, skating ring, bowling alley and other attractions, operated in Şişli.³⁰⁸

2.3.3 'Russian' businesses and cafes/restaurants on the Grand Rue de Péra and nearby

As greater numbers of émigrés aware of the places for refugees in Pera arrived in the district, more businesses opened to serve the community or simply aiming to make money with or without the community. Most of these places are mentioned in advertisements and sometimes even described in the Russian periodicals published in Constantinople at the time. For instance,

³⁰⁴ Uturgauri, *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919-1929*, pp. 166–167.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, pp. 6–12.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

³⁰⁸ Anonymous. 'Casino Moderne.' *Nashi Dni-Nos Jours*, 20 April 1921, p. 37; Ibid., n.p. [advertisement on the last page].

commission shops for buying up and reselling valuables were opened throughout Pera.³⁰⁹ Usually, those who invested in such shops were small groups of more or less wealthy emigrants, among whom were doctors, lawyers, merchants and officials.³¹⁰ They found buyers among the representatives of the Allied troops as well as other wealthy guests of the city.³¹¹ It was also not uncommon for emigrants from the former Russian Empire to open small grocery stores selling fruits, vegetables, cereals, meat, sausages, ‘Russian’ sweets and souvenirs.³¹² In addition, on the streets parallel to the Grande Rue de Péra, in the Tarlabası area, Russian bakeries and vodka factories owned by ‘Russian’ producers Kramskoy, Romanenko and Smirnov (the son of the ‘vodka king of Russia’) operated.³¹³ Interestingly, local people began to call their favourite vodka not Russian, but ‘yellow’, that is lemon vodka.³¹⁴ Russian bookstores and libraries in Pera were quite widespread. One of these stores, which sold books published by Russian-speaking writers of Constantinople, as well as the latest international releases, was located on Kumbaracı Street.³¹⁵ Another famous bookstore called Kul’tura was on Grande Rue de Péra 385, in the Vuccino Apartments. It was opened by G.L. Pakhalov, who sold there books, newspapers and magazines not only in Russian but also in French and English.³¹⁶ Later, together with G.N. Gordov, Pakhalov opened a Russian newspaper and book kiosk at the intersection with Bursa Street.³¹⁷ There were also other bookstores, one of which was located in the building of the Russian Press Bureau and another one in Narmanlı Han on the first floor on the right.³¹⁸ Men from the former Russian Empire often opened clockmaker shops.³¹⁹ As an example, the experienced watchmaker Grigory Vernigora from Novorossiysk found a job on the second day after he arrived in Constantinople, which possibly indicates that there was demand for watchmakers in the city.³²⁰ The Cité de Péra, on the site of which the Naum Theater was located before the fire, was and is still known as the Flower Passage because of the Russian émigré young ladies who opened several small flower shops at the entrance to the passage in order to avoid male attention on the street.³²¹ Also noteworthy is the fact that immediately to the left of

³⁰⁹ Uturgauri, *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919-1929*, pp. 136–137.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Sığircı, Marina. ‘Zateryannye sud’by - Nepridumannye istorii.’ *Russkaya Belaya Emigraciya v Turcii vek spustya 1919–2019*, edited by Türkan Olcay, Moskva: DRZ, 2019, pp. 317–321.

³¹³ Uturgauri, *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919-1929*, p. 137.

³¹⁴ İnal, *Pera’dan Beyoğlu’na*, p. 88.

³¹⁵ Sığircı, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol’!: po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii*, p. 81.

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 82.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid., p. 83; Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 13.

³¹⁹ Sığircı, *My Rodom iz Stambula. Po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii. Prodolzhenie*, p. 20.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ İnal, *Pera’dan Beyoğlu’na*, pp. 136–141.

the Flower Passage was situated the Russian Bazaar, the sign of which in Russian, French and Ottoman Turkish was captured by an unknown photographer.³²² At the time, this bazaar, as well as the European Passage, were flea markets opened by ‘Russians’, where they sold all manner of goods, from jewellery and furs to porcelain and samovars.³²³ Speaking of jewellery and furs, mention must be made of fashion designer Anna Frolova (whose father was one of the leading mosaicists in St. Petersburg), who, together with Angelica Giray (from a famous Crimean dynasty), opened a fashion studio near the Grande Rue de Péra.³²⁴ They lived in one part of a rented flat on Parmakkapı Street, and in the other part, they sewed fashionable dresses for both Russian-speaking clients and Turkish women.³²⁵ Unfortunately, I couldn’t find any materials regarding the works by Frolova-Giray or Anna Pegova (who is also mentioned as a fashion designer in the sources³²⁶), but it can be assumed that they created clothes similar to those depicted in the illustration for the advertisement of the fashion studio with the address Asmalimescit 28 that belonged to a certain Madame Marcel from Warsaw. According to the illustration, these included not only long and tight day dresses and coats that were extremely popular in Paris and many other cities in the 1920s, but also puffy evening ball gowns.³²⁷ In addition, there were several ‘Russian’ fashion shops and ateliers inside the Elhamra Passage, among which was the famous Grigoryan’s shop, where ‘elegant ladies’ bags of beautiful workmanship, with original and whimsical drawings and rich inlays’ were for sale.³²⁸ One of the pages from the *Nashi Dni* periodical of 1921 that contains at least eight illustrated advertisements provides further evidence that, while in Constantinople, refugees from the former Russian Empire opened in Pera a wide range of different places of business, from laundries, hairdressers and beauty salons to fashion salons, footwear stores, photo studios and restaurants.³²⁹ In order to understand the full scale of this phenomenon, it is necessary to cite the words of the Turkish journalist Hakkı Süha Gezgin (1895–1963): ‘Two years ago, starving Russians roamed the streets of Istanbul like a walking disaster. Today, [...] Beyoğlu’s most amazing restaurants, bars and hotels are in their hands. They have opened grocery stores in the

³²² The photograph was shared on social media and most likely discovered at one of Istanbul’s antique shops.

³²³ Sığircı, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol’! : po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii*, p. 96.

³²⁴ Sığircı, ‘Zateryannye sud’by - Nepridumannye istorii’, pp. 299–300.

³²⁵ Ibid., p. 300.

³²⁶ Sığircı, *My Rodom iz Stambula. Po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii. Prodolzhenie*, pp. 51–52.

³²⁷ The illustration for the advertisement was published in the *Nashi Dni* Periodical, no. 9, Constantinople 1921. There is no page number; this is one of the advertisement pages at the very end of the almanac.

³²⁸ Bournakine, editor. *Ruskiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

³²⁹ It was published in the *Nashi Dni* Periodical, no. 5, Constantinople 1921. There is no page number; this is one of the advertisement pages at the very end of the almanac.

neighbourhood. Eighty percent of music teachers consist of them. They even managed to establish a large butcher's business around Tophane.'³³⁰

One of the eight advertisements from the abovementioned page in the *Nashi Dni* periodical is dedicated to the Novotny Bar-Restaurant that was located in Pera, on Minare Street. According to the advertisement, the restaurant had a garden and served quality beer at reasonable prices. It is vividly illustrated with an image in which a waiter in a tailcoat approaches a couple in elegant hats sitting in the garden.³³¹ Needless to say, this was only one of many cafes and restaurants opened at the time in Pera by the emigrants, who invested nearly all their remaining savings and jewellery in these establishments.³³² As émigré journalist Nikolai Chebyshev wrote, Russian restaurants with first-class cuisine and orchestras 'that Constantinople had never heard' opened one after another.³³³ All well-heeled visitors to Pera had the opportunity to get acquainted with 'Russian' cuisine, since numerous Russian cafes were located from Tunnel to Taksim Square and even further, up to Harbiye. 'Yar' [ravine], 'Medved' [bear], 'Zolotoy Petushok' [the Golden Cockerel], 'Kreml'' [the Kremlin], 'Rodimaya Storonushka' [the old sod] – all the cafes with traditional Russian names cannot be listed, since as soon as one of them closed a new one opened.³³⁴ The restaurateurs who went into bankruptcy often opened lotto clubs and also came up with the most incredible ways to make money, such as dog and cock fights, cockroach races and sessions in palmistry rooms (for one lira, one could see a soothsayer pretending to be dead, who predicted the fate of a curious client lying in a coffin).³³⁵ Nevertheless, some of these cafes and restaurants remained in business for a long time. It is worth noting that not only the names of the cafes but also the menus and often the wall paintings had a traditional Russian connotation. As an example, the mural with a *troika* in the Turkuaz restaurant, captured by Selahattin Giz in one of his photographs, can be mentioned.³³⁶ The mural depicts a coachman whipping a trio of horses pulling people in a sleigh. A similar scene was depicted in the illustrated advertisements for the restaurant Yar by Alexander Kozmin in the Russian periodicals.³³⁷ One can assume that either

³³⁰ Gezgin, Hakkı Süha. *İşgal Günlerinde İstanbul*. Kapı Yayınları, 2021, p. 276.

³³¹ The illustration was published in the *Nashi Dni* Periodical, no. 5, Constantinople 1921. There is no page number; this is one of the advertisement pages at the very end of the almanac.

³³² Sığircı, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol'!: po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii*, p. 102.

³³³ Chebyshev, *Blizkaya Dal': Vospominaniya*, n.p.

³³⁴ The advertisements of these cafes and restaurants were published in *Russkaya Volna*, *Nashi Dni* and other Russian periodicals published in Constantinople at the time.

³³⁵ Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 128.

³³⁶ *Troika* is the traditional Russian carriage pulled by a team of three horses, which became one of the symbols of Russia; The photograph by Selahattin Giz now belongs to the Yapı Kredi Tarihi Arşivi, Istanbul.

³³⁷ The illustration for the advertisement of Yar was published in the *Nashi Dni* Periodical, no. 14, Constantinople 1921. There is no page number; this is one of the advertisement pages at the very end of the almanac.

the mural inside the building (the Turkuaz restaurant itself was opened much later) was created in the early 1920s by the painter and illustrator Alexander Kozmin and survived at least until the 1930s (since the photographs by Giz were taken for the most part in the 1930s), or some other artist subsequently took Kozmin's illustration as a basis for the mural. This wall painting, like other similar murals and panels created for the restaurants opened by Russian-speaking émigrés in different corners of the world, was for the émigrés 'the familiar in the unfamiliar'.³³⁸ As the avant-garde Czech artist and political refugee Adolf Hoffmeister (1902–1973) rightly pointed out, 'the refugee is a homeless man who searches everywhere he goes for that which he has lost in some far-distant place'.³³⁹ By creating such murals and sometimes even entire interiors, such as one in a Russian restaurant in Prague with wooden tables and chairs as well as walls drawn to imitate logs, the refugees tried to recreate the atmosphere of their homeland.³⁴⁰ The reason for this was that the emigrants who were uprooted from Russian soil wanted, at least to some extent, to belong to Constantinople, which was rather different from the cities they used to live in. As Elspeth Probyn has rightly pointed out, such displays of familiar scenes often happened against the background of 'the desire for some sort of attachment' (to put it in other words, belonging).³⁴¹ For certain groups of displaced persons in many works on exile, food culture played a significant role in the process of 'attachment' and recreating the atmosphere of the homeland in a foreign country, even more so since food is not only sustenance; it has an ability to evoke 'mostly good' emotions and memories from the past, or, to be precise, from the life prior to exile.³⁴² Maybe because of both nostalgia and comforting feelings, emigrants had a passion for eating borscht, chicken Kyiv, beef stroganoff, blini or small Russian pastries, as well as shashlik and other Caucasian food³⁴³ in Pera and were always happy to drop into one of the local 'Russian' cafes or restaurants.³⁴⁴ As Alexander Vertinsky later wrote in his memoirs about his visit to the 'Kiyevsky Ugolok' [Kyiv Corner]: 'The borscht was excellent. We have

³³⁸ Sen, Arijit. 'Map, Mother and Militant: Visualizing India in Diaspora.' *Landscapes of Mobility. Culture, Politics and Placemaking*, edited by Arijit Sen and Jennifer Johung, ASHGATE, 2013, p. 231.

³³⁹ Parkinson, 'Under the Sign of Caricature: Figuring Exile in Adolf Hoffmeister's The Unwilling Tourist (1941-42)', p. 206.

³⁴⁰ A postcard from this Russian restaurant in Prague is pasted into one of the albums from the archive of emigrant Boris Lazarevsky, which is located in the Museum of Czech Literature in Prague. Alas, the name of the restaurant is not specified.

³⁴¹ Probyn, Elspeth. *Outside Belongings*. New York and London: Routledge, 1996, p. 19.

³⁴² Zwerger Veronika, and Ursula Seeber (ed.). *Küche der Erinnerung: Essen und Exil*. New Academic Press, 2018, p. 7.

³⁴³ Not only Russian or Ukrainian cuisines were presented in Constantinople at the time; Caucasian cuisine was also popular. One of the most famous Caucasian restaurants was Dyul'ber which was located in Pera and served shashlik as well as Caucasian wines. Source: *Nashi Dni/Nos Jours* no. 2, 23 January 1921; there is no number of the page, which was one of the advertisement pages of the almanac.

³⁴⁴ Sığircı, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol'!: po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii*, p. 102.

long lost the habit of eating such a good borscht.’³⁴⁵ Due to the lack of detailed information on most of the establishments opened in the early 1920s, it can be assumed that some of them resembled the two-story cafe-confectionery Petrograd on the corner of Istiklal and Bursa (today’s Sadri Alışık) Streets that reminded émigrés of their lost home. After 1923, it was one of the most popular Russian hotspots, where Russian-speaking waitresses served to visitors cuisine à la russe, including borscht, chicken Kyiv and vodka with caviar, as well as coffee, cakes and pies which were identical to those from the iconic Filippov café-bakeries in Moscow and St. Petersburg.³⁴⁶ Of course, emigrants visited such places not only to enjoy their favourite dishes, tastes and flavours, but also in order to communicate, since a visit to one of the ‘Russian’ restaurants or cafes often was accompanied by meetings, if not with acquaintances, then at least with people with whom they shared the same language. Thus, all this, including food, interior and conversations, was of great importance for refugees from the former Russian Empire, especially the aristocracy and intellectuals, who used to avid enjoy spending time in cafes and restaurants before the revolution.³⁴⁷

At the beginning of the 1920s, one of the most fashionable ‘Russian’ restaurants in Constantinople was the restaurant Moscovite, also known as the Grand Cercle Moscovite or Moskovskij Kruzhok [Moscow Circle]. It was located not far from the Galatasaray Lyceum: to be precise, during the day, the entrance was through the Passage (presumably today’s Avrupa Pasajı), in which at the time the Czechoslovak Military Mission was situated, and in the evening via Yeniçarşı Street.³⁴⁸ At this place, a Red Cross relief worker from the United States, Eugenia S. Bumgardner, was greeted by a former Cossack officer who had served on the Czar’s private yacht, was conducted to her table by a former owner of great factories in Kyiv, and later met there the most prominent people of Constantinople at the time, such as American High Commissioner Admiral Mark Lambert Bristol (1868–1939), his staff and their wives, admirals and commanders of the great fleets of the world, generals and colonels from the Allied Armies, ministers, attaches and secretaries from the various European and American Embassies and Consulates, ‘kings of finance’, as well as ‘immensely rich’ Greeks, Jews, Georgians and Levantines.³⁴⁹ This shouldn’t come as a surprise since, according to Bumgardner, the first chef

³⁴⁵ Vertinsky, *Dorogoj dlinnoy...*, p. 124.

³⁴⁶ Özdemir, Fatih. ‘Obrazy Russkih Emigrantov v Tureckom Romane.’ *Russkaya Belaya Emigraciya v Turcii vek spustya 1919–2019*, edited by Türkan Olcay, Moskva: DRZ, 2019, p. 370; Uturgauri, *Belye russkie na Bosfore: 1919-1929*, p. 174.

³⁴⁷ For more information on the topic: Demidenko, Yuliya. *Restorany, traktiry, chajnye... Iz istorii obshchestvennogo pitaniya v Peterburge XVIII – nachala XX veka*. Moskva: Centrpoligraf, 2011.

³⁴⁸ Anonymous. ‘Moskovskij Kruzhok.’ *Presse du Soir*, 11 May 1920, p. 3.

³⁴⁹ Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, pp. 117–119.

had previously cooked for the Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaevich (1856–1929) in his palace at Livadia in the Crimea, whilst the second cook was chef to Count Illarion Vorontsov-Dashkov (1837–1916).³⁵⁰ According to other sources, at some point the former chef of one of the St. Petersburg hotels, Karbovsky, also worked there.³⁵¹ However, this was not the only feature of the establishment. The restaurant had also been painted or decorated by the artist ‘Kouzmine’. According to Bumgardner, it became ‘a bower of beauty’ under his ‘skilful hands’.³⁵² Presumably this was painter and illustrator Alexander Kozmin, who while in Constantinople actively worked on illustrations for advertisements of local restaurants and other entertainment establishments and later moved to France.³⁵³ Although one of the photographs of the guests in the restaurant has been preserved, the details of the interior (except perhaps curtains, carpets, lampshades and potted plants) and the murals are unfortunately invisible (see Figure 6). The musical programme is also of great importance, since it included not only famous dancing compositions (fox-trots, one-steps, tangoes and waltzes) but also ‘Russian’ pieces such as the Preobrazhensky Regiment March, Glinka’s *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, Borodin’s *Prince Igor*, Tchaikovsky’s *Eugene Onegin*, ‘Gypsy songs’ and others.³⁵⁴ Thus, despite being primarily a place for social gatherings where the representatives of the highest ‘Russian’, local and European societies met and everybody felt welcome, for the émigrés this restaurant was still ‘home away from home’ with ‘Russian’ cuisine, art and music. Moreover, it also served as a place of work for one hundred and ten refugees, and the management of the restaurant fed some two hundred refugees in Constantinople at its own expense every day by sending food to the soup kitchen at the Russian Consulate run by Madame Yakimoff.³⁵⁵

Some of the émigrés were a little annoyed at this display of gastronomy and entertainment, such as the poet and artist Ilia Zdanevich, who wrote that the service-nobility and the prosperous lower middle class had ‘decided to show Europe, even if only the Levantine part, that in tsarist Russia they knew how to eat, and not only to eat but also to have fun at the same time’.³⁵⁶ Indeed, many years later in Turkey, Russian-speaking emigrants in most cases would be remembered precisely for the fact that they knew how to eat and enjoy life – in other words, for the restaurants and cafes that they had opened in the city. For instance, the Turkish historian and writer Reşad Ekrem Koçu (1905–1975) described ‘Russian’ eateries as places

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 118–127.

³⁵¹ Anonymous, ‘Moskovskij Kruzhok’, p. 3.

³⁵² Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, p. 118.

³⁵³ His illustrations can be seen in *Nashi Dni* periodical of 1921.

³⁵⁴ Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, pp. 118–127.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Zdanevich, *Pis'ma Morganu Filipsu Prajsu*, p. 122.

where one could not only taste chicken Kyiv, beef stroganoff, solyanka soup and cabbage pies but also be introduced to ‘Russian’ art.³⁵⁷ Alexander Vertinsky had a ‘theory’ that delicious food, good music and beautiful women were the elements of the formula of success in Constantinople: ‘The main income was from foreigners. They really liked everything Russian. Starting from Russian women, capricious and spoiled, who demanded a lot of attention, and ending with Russian music and Russian cuisine.’³⁵⁸ Most likely all of these elements played a part; numerous caricatures depicting attractive Russian-speaking waitresses in the ‘Russian’ restaurants in Pera were published in the Ottoman and Turkish periodicals.³⁵⁹

By the 1930s the majority (nearly all) of the ‘Russian’ places of business had ceased to exist, primarily because of the general departure of Russian-speaking émigrés from Constantinople/Istanbul. Due to the rapid changes and transformations in the city today not many places remain from the ‘Russian’ presence in Grand Rue de Péra and its surroundings in the 1920s. One of these few locations is the Flower Passage, which has borne this name since Russian-speaking ladies began selling flowers there. Nevertheless, in order to feel the atmosphere of the last century in every sense, one can visit two restaurants, Rejans and Ayaspaşa Rus Lokantası, which are still operating in Pera/Beyoğlu, very close to İstiklal Avenue, and are still considered ‘Russian’. Although Rejans has changed hands many times, its features remained almost unchanged: delicious food (beef stroganoff, chicken Kyiv, borscht, pirozhkis, etc.), lemon vodka according to an old recipe and excellent music (once, ‘gypsy songs’, a balalaika orchestra and émigré Madame Taskina at the piano, but now music performed by Edward Aris, a renowned Istanbul-born accordionist).³⁶⁰ As for the restaurant Ayaspaşa, chicken Kyiv, beef stroganoff, dumplings and vareniki, pancakes with caviar, as well as sweets beloved by the Russian-speaking community are served there in old-fashioned interiors with antique furniture and large mirrors, often accompanied by live music as well as theatrical performances based on ‘Russian’ novels.³⁶¹

2.4 Conclusion I

For the majority of refugees from the former Russian Empire, survival was their main goal as they made their way to the occupied city on the Bosphorus, where the locals themselves

³⁵⁷ Uturgauri, *Belye russkie na Boşfore: 1919-1929*, p. 175.

³⁵⁸ Vertinsky, *Dorogoj dlinnoyu...*, p. 131.

³⁵⁹ Some of the caricatures on the topic were published here: Bakar, Bülent. *Beyaz Ruslar. Esir Şehrin Misafirleri. Tarihçi Kitabevi*, 2015, pp. 317–327.

³⁶⁰ Vertinsky, *Dorogoj dlinnoyu...*, p. 131.

³⁶¹ For more on Ayaspaşa Rus Lokantası: Sığırcı, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol'!*, pp. 126–129.

were in need of help. While some of the refugees, out of hopelessness, tried to survive with the help of Russian and foreign charitable organisations, others opened shops, restaurants and small enterprises with their last funds, which allowed them to make ends meet or, depending on their income, live comfortably. One way or another, in the early 1920s, the city was full of both places created for refugees and places created by refugees for the inhabitants of the city, from the desire to make a living.

The literature on the history of the Pera district and the Constantinople guide for Russian-speaking refugees titled *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople* reveal that Pera (today's Beyoğlu) was the main area for the émigrés, primarily because significant sites for refugees, including inquiry offices, hotels and embassies, were located there. In addition, numerous and sometimes illustrated advertisements from Russian periodicals published in Constantinople, as well as photographs, show that the Pera district with its main street, Grand Rue de Péra, played a vital role as an area where a wide range of Russian businesses were opened. Some of the refugees owned these establishments, while others found employment or entertainment there. This was especially true for the 'Russian' cafes and restaurants, which were not only a 'home away from home' for the émigrés themselves, but also favourite places for many of the residents and guests of Constantinople. Thus, the life of the refugees revolved mainly around this area, rather than in any other district of the city. Due to the rapid and multiple transformations in Pera/Beyoğlu in subsequent years, almost no refugee locations or places of business that belonged to 'Russian Pera' can be seen or visited today. Nevertheless, some traces can still be found, and historical walking tours based on written as well as visual sources can help one to step into the past.³⁶² A thorough study of the Pera district, as the main area for refugees from the former Russian Empire in Constantinople, is thus crucial for understanding the lives and habits of Russian-speaking émigré artists and their works, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters of the dissertation. This history and description of the Pera district reveals not only why these artists mainly lived and worked in Pera, but also why, in search of inspiration, they directed their eyes to more exotic and less 'Russian' districts of the city.

³⁶² Aygün, 'Istanbul', *METROMOD Walks*.

3 CHAPTER II. CONSTANTINOPLE'S SOCIAL SPACES AS HUBS OF SOCIABILITY AND ARTISTIC ENDEAVOURS FOR THE ÉMIGRÉS FROM THE FORMER RUSSIAN EMPIRE

3.1 Pera/Beyoğlu Hotels as Hubs for the Émigrés' Social and Creative Pursuits in the 1920s

It is probably not inaccurate to say that the connection between hotels and displaced persons has always existed, ever since the first hotels appeared. This is primarily because those forced to flee to other countries and cities around the world needed accommodation, and hotels were the logical solution. Some emigrants, due to financial constraints, moved from one cheap hotel to another, while others, who were financially well-off, chose to stay in the best hotels in a particular city, as long as their savings allowed them to do so, until they found a more suitable option in the form of a flat or house. The close relationship between hotels and immigrants is exemplified by the existence of a Hotel de Inmigrantes [Immigrants' Hotel] in Buenos Aires, which functioned during the first half of the 20th century. The location of the facility was in close proximity to the docks that were frequently utilised by passenger ships arriving from European ports; the facility offered assistance, refuge and other amenities to immigrants in need.³⁶³ Moreover, some emigrants referred to the entire country they were staying in as a 'hotel'. This was the case with Bolivia, which became an asylum for tens of thousands of Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi-occupied Central and Eastern Europe, who used to call the country 'Hotel Bolivia'.³⁶⁴ Hotels as spaces of modernity within the cities have been explored to a certain extent by researchers.³⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the issue of hotels as spaces of sociability, and even more so as places where émigré artists engaged in artistic activities and interacted with one another, as well as with locals and tourists, has received little attention. Perhaps the most comprehensive article on this subject was written by Rachel Lee. She explores the significance of hotels in local cultural life in an essay that analyses two hotels in colonial Bombay as contact zones and sites of artistic production.³⁶⁶ Her examination focuses on specific sites in the city where collaborations and exchanges between locals and exiles took place, where art was exhibited and discourses developed. She questions whether Bombay is an exceptional case or

³⁶³ Lugo, Laura Karp. 'Buenos Aires.' *METROMOD Walks*, 2021, <https://walks.metromod.net/walks.p/17.m/buenos-aires>, last modified: 28-6-2021.

³⁶⁴ Spitzer, Leo. *Hotel Bolivia: The Culture of Memory in a Refuge From Nazism*. Hill & Wang Pub, 1998.

³⁶⁵ Bollerey, Franziska. *Setting the Stage for Modernity: Restaurants, Cafés, Hotels*. JOVIS, 2019.

³⁶⁶ Lee, Rachel. 'Hospitable Environments: The Taj Mahal Palace Hotel and Green's Hotel as Sites of Cultural Production in Bombay.' *Arrival Cities*, edited by Burcu Dogramaci et al., Leuven University Press, 2020, pp. 249–268.

whether similar situations can be found in other colonial or post-colonial environments.³⁶⁷ Towards the conclusion of her essay, she addresses the enquiry to some extent by citing examples of hotels such as the New Africa Hotel located in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where runaways, displaced persons and migrants from different regions of Africa congregated.³⁶⁸ Additionally, she mentions the Torrs Hotel in Kenya, which served as a temporary residence for European exiles seeking a ‘fleeting taste of home’.³⁶⁹ Although Constantinople/Istanbul is not considered to be a colonial city, the first section of this chapter explores relations between émigrés from the former Russian Empire, including artists, and hotels in Constantinople in the 1920s to answer the question of whether Bombay presents a unique case.

3.1.1 Exploring Istanbul’s luxurious hotels at the turn of the 20th century with a focus on the Pera/Beyoğlu district

The first hotels in the Ottoman Empire appeared around the mid-19th century, much later than in Europe and America, where they had already existed since around 1800.³⁷⁰ Until that time, guests in the Ottoman Empire usually stayed in caravanserais (which were usually opened by the state and were either free or cheap, which, of course, affected the amenities inside) or converted houses.³⁷¹ Saro Dadyan connects the first appearance of hotels with the arrival of Europeans in the country during the Crimean War, which began in 1853.³⁷² Ümit Baki Erdem and Murat Hanılçe consider the visits of tourist groups from Europe to Istanbul in 1863 on the occasion of the Sergi-i Umumî-i Osmanî exhibition [The Ottoman General Exhibition] as one of the reasons for the first hotels’ appearance.³⁷³ However, the Hotel d’Angleterre, which no longer exists today, had already been opened in Istanbul in 1841 by the English citizen James Missirie.³⁷⁴ According to Çelik Gülersoy, the hotel met all the Western standards of that time, and guests could enjoy amenities such as warm baths, French cuisine and beautiful views.³⁷⁵ Towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, there was a significant increase in the number of hotels in Istanbul.³⁷⁶ Many of the hotels were situated in

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 263.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 263–264; Mann, Kenny. *Beautiful Tree, Severed Roots*. Documentary film, 2014.

³⁷⁰ Çelebi, M. Elif. *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Otel Yapılarının Doğuşu ve Gelişimi*. SEBA, 2011, p. 10.

³⁷¹ Ibid., p. 21; Demirakın, Işık. ‘19. Yüzyılda Pera’da İstanbul’un ilk otelleri.’ *İstanbul*, October 2006, no. 57, p. 108; Çelebi, *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Otel Yapılarının Doğuşu ve Gelişimi*, pp. 7–8.

³⁷² Dadyan, Saro. ‘3 Otel Hikâyesi.’ *İstanbul Life*, October 2014, pp. 50–54.

³⁷³ Erdem, Ümit Baki, and Murat Hanılçe. ‘Mıgırdıç Tokatlıyan, Tokatlıyan Otelleri, Gazinosu ve Lokantası. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi Belgelerine Göre.’ *MANAS Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2019, p. 1368.

³⁷⁴ Çelebi, *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Otel Yapılarının Doğuşu ve Gelişimi*, pp. 16–17.

³⁷⁵ Demirakın, ‘19. Yüzyılda Pera’da İstanbul’un ilk otelleri’, p. 108

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

areas of the historical peninsula, Tarabya and Büyükdere, which were popular resort destinations at that time, as well as on the Princes' Islands and Kadıköy.³⁷⁷ However, the majority of hotels were located in the district of Pera/Beyoğlu.³⁷⁸ The primary visitors who frequented the hotels were tourists arriving by ship or on the Orient Express train.³⁷⁹ French guides such as *Guide du voyageur à Constantinople et dans ses environs* (1839), *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et archéologique de l'Orient* (1861) and *De Paris à Constantinople* (1912) provided information about the hotels and were commonly used by the travellers.³⁸⁰ François Georgeon suggests that Istanbul's allure as a travel destination was significantly influenced by the romantic portrayal of the city depicted in Pierre Loti's literary work *Les Désenchantées*, which was published in 1906.³⁸¹ It is highly probable that this alluring narrative captured the hearts of many tourists, inspiring them to embark on a journey to experience the city's charm for themselves. However, it is unlikely that Loti's novel was the main factor responsible for Istanbul's popularity among tourists, as the Westernisation policy (*Tanzimat*) and the reforms associated with it played a more significant role in creating a favourable climate for active trade and tourism in the Ottoman Empire's capital.³⁸²

Among the main hotels in the late 19th century Pera area were the Pera Palace, Tokatlıyan, Büyük Londra, Bristol and others.³⁸³ The Büyük Londra or Grand Hotel de Londres was commissioned by the wealthy and well-known Levantine Glavani family in 1891, 50 years after the Hotel d'Angleterre.³⁸⁴ It was famous not only for its hot and cold running water and its restaurant, but also for being equipped with electricity, a hydraulic lift and a telephone.³⁸⁵ Ernest Hemingway lodged at this hotel in 1922 on the advice of a Frenchman he had met while travelling by train.³⁸⁶ Today, in the hotel foyer (the hotel still stands in its original place), one can see a photograph of Alexandre Vassiliev, a collector, fashion historian and one of the chief researchers of 'Russian' emigration, who is a regular guest of the hotel. The SALT Archive

³⁷⁷ Çelebi, 19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Otel Yapılarının Doğuşu ve Gelişimi.

³⁷⁸ Akçura, Gökhan. 'İstanbul'da "5 Yıldızlı" Tarih.' *İstanbul*, October 2006, no. 57, p. 126.

³⁷⁹ Georgeon, François. 'Savaşın Arefesinde Gezginler.' *İstanbul 1914–1923*, edited by Stefanos Yerasimos (translated by Cüneyt Akalın), İletişim, 2015, p. 30.

³⁸⁰ Lacroix, Frédéric. *Guide du voyage à Constantinople et dans ses environs*. Bellizard, 1839; Joanne, Adolphe Laurent, and Émile Isambert. *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et archéologique de l'Orient*, Volumes 1 à 4. Librairie de L. Hachette, 1861; Collection des Guides-Joanne. *De Paris à Constantinople*. HACHETTE PARIS, 1912; Georgeon, 'Savaşın Arefesinde Gezginler', pp. 36–42.

³⁸¹ Georgeon, 'Savaşın Arefesinde Gezginler', p. 37.

³⁸² Demirakın, '19. Yüzyılda Pera'da İstanbul'un ilk otelleri', p. 108; Çelebi, 19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Otel Yapılarının Doğuşu ve Gelişimi, p. 7.

³⁸³ Akçura, 'İstanbul'da "5 Yıldızlı" Tarih', p. 126.

³⁸⁴ Demirakın, '19. Yüzyılda Pera'da İstanbul'un ilk otelleri', p. 109.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Kuyucu, Neriman. *Hemingway in Turkey: The Influence of His Turkish Experiences on His Writing*. M.A. Thesis, English Department Faculty, University of Michigan, 2013, p. 5.

preserves a photograph of the hotel, captured by Eleonora Arhelaou, a photographer who meticulously documented Istanbul from the 1970s until 1998, chronicling the city's transformation over the years.³⁸⁷ The first-class Bristol Hotel was built at about the same time and in the immediate vicinity of the Büyük Londra Hotel (both located on today's Meşrutiyet Street).³⁸⁸ Today, the Bristol Hotel houses the Pera Museum. In an old black-and-white photo that has been preserved, one can see the main entrance covered with a curtain and hotel guests entering a horse-drawn carriage.³⁸⁹

A little later, in 1894, not far from Büyük Londra, the Armenian entrepreneur Mıgırdıç Tokatlıyan opened a luxurious restaurant called Splendide, which was gradually transformed by the owner into the Tokatlıyan hotel.³⁹⁰ The hotel boasted chic furniture, dishes and cutlery brought from Europe, as well as a fantastic menu.³⁹¹ Many black-and-white photographs from 1919 and the 1920s depicting the Grand Rue de Péra clearly show the hotel's dome.³⁹² Its location in the heart of the Pera district, with the huge windows of the restaurant overlooking the main 'European' street of the city (today's İstiklal Avenue), gave it a significant advantage compared to other hotels popular at that time.³⁹³ Turkish journalist Sermet Muhtar Alus described this advantage, claiming that the hotel was a meeting place where people would come several times a day: 'Chic gentlemen sit in front of the window and order coffee or sherbet suitable for their budget; they watch the passers-by in all kinds of poses, as if they are being photographed by someone.'³⁹⁴ Notable guests at the hotel included local and foreign politicians, French dancer, singer and actress Joséphine Baker, English archaeologist and diplomat Thomas Edward Lawrence (known as Lawrence of Arabia) and Austrian literary critic Leo Spitzer.³⁹⁵ The success of the hotel allowed the owner to open a summer branch in the resort area of Tarabya.³⁹⁶ Although the Tokatlıyan Hotel no longer exists, in March 2023 I had the opportunity to view the restored building where it once stood.³⁹⁷ To my surprise, the inscription

³⁸⁷ 'Buildings on Asmalı Mescit Neighborhood, Şehit Muhtar Neighborhood, Meşrutiyet Street and İstiklal Street' by Eleonora Arhelaou, 1994 (Istanbul, SALT Araştırma - SALT Research, ELARH0068).

³⁸⁸ Çelebi, *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Otel Yapılarının Doğuşu ve Gelişimi*, p. 207.

³⁸⁹ The photograph can be seen here: Akıncı, *Beyoğlu. Yapılar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar (1831-1923)*, p. 138.

³⁹⁰ Erdem, and Haniççe, 'Mıgırdıç Tokatlıyan, Tokatlıyan Otelleri, Gazinosu ve Lokantası', pp. 1370–1371.

³⁹¹ Demirakın, '19. Yüzyılda Pera'da İstanbul'un ilk otelleri', p. 110.

³⁹² 'İstiklal Avenue', 1919 (SALT Research, AHISTBEYO059); 'İstiklal Avenue', ca. 1922-1925 (SALT Research, AHISTBEYO052); 'İstiklal Avenue', 1928 (SALT Research, Tahsin İspiroğlu Koleksiyonu, AHISTBEYO040).

³⁹³ Demirakın, '19. Yüzyılda Pera'da İstanbul'un ilk otelleri', p. 111.

³⁹⁴ Alus, Sermet Muhtar. 'Dünden, Bugünden. Yakında tarihe karışacak Tokatlıyan.' *Akşam*, 2 March 1947, n.p.

³⁹⁵ Erdem, and Haniççe, 'Mıgırdıç Tokatlıyan, Tokatlıyan Otelleri, Gazinosu ve Lokantası', pp. 1371–1372.

³⁹⁶ Demirakın, '19. Yüzyılda Pera'da İstanbul'un ilk otelleri', p. 111.

³⁹⁷ Ibid. During a particular phase, the hotel underwent a name change to Konak, but eventually, it was shuttered.

'HOTEL M. TOKATLIAN' was clearly visible on the structure, marking its past as a hotel. It's worth noting that all the above-mentioned hotels were actively promoted through various marketing materials such as postcards and photographs. Of particular interest are postcards featuring the hotels themselves, which often portrayed them as grand and imposing structures standing at a considerable distance from surrounding buildings. These postcards typically depict a wide boulevard reminiscent of St. Petersburg's Nevsky Prospekt or a spacious embankment in front of the hotels.³⁹⁸ It's evident that such images were created to appeal to European clientele, since in reality the hotels were actually much smaller, located adjacent to other buildings and lacked the grand boulevards and spacious embankments depicted in the promotional materials.³⁹⁹

The story of the creation of the Pera Palace Hotel and its overall history are noteworthy and deserve special attention. Although it competed with the Tokatlıyan Hotel at the time, the Pera Palace was involved in more significant historical events and has more surviving records. Additionally, unlike the Tokatlıyan, the Pera Palace still operates as a hotel today. The hotel's establishment in 1895 was directly related to the arrival of wealthy tourists and businesspeople who travelled from Europe to Istanbul on the Orient Express, a long-distance passenger train owned by Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits.⁴⁰⁰ Such was the opulence of the Orient Express that the company thought it appropriate to open an equally luxurious hotel in Istanbul for its passengers, providing all the necessary amenities for a comfortable stay.⁴⁰¹ Moreover, the company had opened comparable hotels not only in European cities, such as Lisbon's L'Avenida Palace (which still stands today and, according to the Turkish artist Abidin Dino, strongly resembles the Pera Palace), but also in Egypt and China.⁴⁰² It is also worth noting that the Pera Palace's sister hotel in Tarabya, the Summer Palace Hotel, opened in 1893/94 and accommodated Orient Express travellers from May to October.⁴⁰³ Today, the Pera Palace is renowned for its vintage posters featuring the Orient Express, Istanbul's attractions, local men wearing fezzes and local veiled women of the time.⁴⁰⁴

³⁹⁸ Akçura, 'İstanbul'da "5 Yıldızlı" Tarih', p. 126.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Demirakın, '19. Yüzyılda Pera'da İstanbul'un ilk otelleri', p. 110.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Naum-Duhani, Said. *Eski İnsanlar Eski Evler. 19. Yüzyılda Beyoğlu'nun Sosyal Topoğrafyası*. Translated by Cemal Süreya, Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2017, p. 35; Demirakın, '19. Yüzyılda Pera'da İstanbul'un ilk otelleri', p. 109.

⁴⁰³ Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Pera Palace Hotel.' *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5145-10703456>, last modified: 14-09-2021.

⁴⁰⁴ 'Paris-Vienna-Constantinople. Compagnie Internationale des Vagons-Lits. Anonymous, Orient-Express', ca. 1920 (SALT Research, AEXCO010).

The Pera Palace was constructed on the site of Ottoman cemeteries that were later relocated to other parts of the city.⁴⁰⁵ Although the hotel was not in close proximity to the Pera district's main street, the Grand Rue de Péra, it was still near it. The entrance to the hotel was on today's Meşrutiyet Street, which was the second most popular street in the Pera area at the time. This street was also home to foreign representative offices, upmarket shops, restaurants, photo studios and one of the city's principal theatres.⁴⁰⁶ Many of the hotel's rooms had windows with breathtaking views of the Golden Horn, which delighted guests. For instance, the room of an American scholar and archaeologist named Thomas Whittemore (1871–1950) was described by Eugenia S. Bumgardner as having a French window that opened onto a gallery with an incredible view; this view spanned from the Golden Horn all the way up to the high hills, where 'Stamboul' lay in broken lines, stretching from 'Seraglio Point' to the beautiful 'Eyoub', which was five miles away.⁴⁰⁷ A black-and-white photograph by Sebah & Joaillier also captures a similar view from the Pera Palace Hotel's window.⁴⁰⁸ Apart from its excellent location, the hotel was renowned for its stunning exterior and interior, which is unsurprising since the building was designed by Alexandre Vallaury (1850–1921), a prominent local architect of the time.⁴⁰⁹ The hotel's Art Nouveau façade and overall architectural design, along with the Orientalist style of its Kubbeli Salon, have impressed many generations of guests. Furthermore, the hotel is recognised as the first contemporary establishment in Istanbul that had electricity during the latter period of the Ottoman Empire.⁴¹⁰ Its pioneering reputation was further cemented when it became the first hotel to install an electric elevator.⁴¹¹ In addition, the hotel's restaurant served excellent food and wine.⁴¹² The Pera Palace boasts an impressive guest list that includes the renowned crime novelist Agatha Christie. It is said that her stay at the hotel served as inspiration for her famous detective novel, *Murder on the Orient Express*.⁴¹³ Another notable patron of the hotel was Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who frequented room 101, which has now been transformed into a small museum.⁴¹⁴ The hotel has hosted several other prominent

⁴⁰⁵ Deleon, Jak. *The Pera Palas. A Historical Hotel Overlooking the Golden Horn*. Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın A.Ş., 1998, p. 11.

⁴⁰⁶ Naum-Duhani, *Eski İnsanlar Eski Evler. 19. Yüzyılda Beyoğlu'nun Sosyal Topoğrafyası*, pp. 25–75.

⁴⁰⁷ Bumgardner, Eugenia S. *Undaunted Exiles*. The McClure Company, 1925, p. 53.

⁴⁰⁸ 'View from the Pera Palace Hotel's window' by Sebah & Joaillier (FKA_000613, Suna ve İnan Kırac Vakfı Fotoğraf Koleksiyonu, İstanbul).

⁴⁰⁹ Deleon, *The Pera Palas. A Historical Hotel Overlooking the Golden Horn*, p. 28.

⁴¹⁰ Öztürk, Kemal. *Pera Palas. Beyoğlu'nun batılılaşma hikayesi*. İBB, 2010, p. 104.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Öztürk, *Pera Palas. Beyoğlu'nun batılılaşma hikayesi*, p. 108.

⁴¹³ Deleon, *The Pera Palas. A Historical Hotel Overlooking the Golden Horn*, pp. 79–85.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 60–79.

figures, including İsmet İnönü, Queen Elizabeth II, Shah Reza Pahlavi, General Franz von Papen, Greta Garbo, Sarah Bernhardt and Alfred Hitchcock.⁴¹⁵

3.1.2 Exploring Istanbul's luxurious hotels in the 1920s as sites of sociability for locals, tourists and émigrés, with a focus on the Pera/Beyoğlu district

Some of the luxury hotels mentioned above were not only places of accommodation but also sites of sociability. For instance, the Hotel d'Angleterre regularly hosted concerts and balls that were covered by journalists of the local periodical, *Journal de Constantinople*, highlighting the elite status of the events.⁴¹⁶ The hotel was frequented by notable figures such as the French writer Pierre Loti and representatives of the Young Turks political reform movement.⁴¹⁷ As the early 20th century approached, the Tokatlıyan and Pera Palace hotels became fierce competitors in the race to be the most socially active hotel. Moreover, due to their active social milieus, both hotels were rumoured to be swarming with spies at certain times.⁴¹⁸ The cafe and restaurant at Tokatlıyan were especially popular among local intellectuals, including Yahya Kemal (1884–1958) and Yakup Kadri (1889–1974), who would gather on weekends to discuss poetry and art.⁴¹⁹ The hotel was also visited by famous local politicians and foreign diplomats of the time as a place to socialise and have a good time.⁴²⁰ The ballroom of the hotel was a popular venue for weddings and parties.⁴²¹ The locals' nickname for Tokatlıyan, 'the House of Mıgırdıç' (the owner's name), is proof that it had a more intimate character than a mere hotel.⁴²² The Pera Palace Hotel was also more than just a place to stay; it was an important centre of social activities, a fact that has been detailed in books such as Jak Deleon's and Charles King's works about the hotel.⁴²³ Turkish artist Abidin Dino (1913–1993) also captured the lively social atmosphere of the hotel in his illustration for the book titled *Pera Palas*.⁴²⁴ As early as the 1900s, the hotel was known as the city's premier entertainment destination, as noted by Willy

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 110–117.

⁴¹⁶ Demirakın, '19. Yüzyılda Pera'da İstanbul'un ilk otelleri', p. 108; Çelebi, *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Otel Yapılarının Doğuşu ve Gelişimi*, p. 37.

⁴¹⁷ Demirakın, '19. Yüzyılda Pera'da İstanbul'un ilk otelleri', p. 108.

⁴¹⁸ Erdem, and Hanilçe, 'Mıgırdıç Tokatlıyan, Tokatlıyan Otelleri, Gazinosu ve Lokantası', p. 1380; Deleon, *The Pera Palas. A Historical Hotel Overlooking the Golden Horn*, pp. 94–103.

⁴¹⁹ Demirakın, '19. Yüzyılda Pera'da İstanbul'un ilk otelleri', p. 111; Erdem, and Hanilçe, 'Mıgırdıç Tokatlıyan, Tokatlıyan Otelleri, Gazinosu ve Lokantası', p. 1371.

⁴²⁰ Erdem, and Hanilçe, 'Mıgırdıç Tokatlıyan, Tokatlıyan Otelleri, Gazinosu ve Lokantası', p. 1371.

⁴²¹ Akıncı, *Beyoğlu. Yapılar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar (1831-1923)*, pp. 130–137.

⁴²² Erdem, and Hanilçe, 'Mıgırdıç Tokatlıyan, Tokatlıyan Otelleri, Gazinosu ve Lokantası', p. 1371.

⁴²³ Deleon, *The Pera Palas. A Historical Hotel Overlooking the Golden Horn*; King, *Pera Palas'ta geceyarısı: modern İstanbul'un doğuşu*.

⁴²⁴ Dino, Abidin. *Pera Palas*. Translated by Samih Rifat, Sel Yayıncılık, 2005; Dino, Abidin. 'Dino'nun Kalemî ve Fırçasından Pera Palas.' *İstanbul*, January 1995, no. 12, p. 14.

Sperco (1887–1978).⁴²⁵ The hotel was a hub of social activity, where people would come together for delicious food and drinks, enjoy entertaining performances and engage in thought-provoking discussions about the important issues of the day. Its musical evenings were especially well-attended, and the hotel was known for hosting grand balls, as well as festive Christmas, New Year and Purim celebrations that were the talk of the town.⁴²⁶

Given all of the above, it is not surprising that many Russian-speaking wealthy emigrants sought both comfortable accommodation and entertainment at the best hotels in Pera. According to the refugee guide, these luxury hotels included the Pera Palace, Hotel Tokatlıyan, Bristol, Continental and others, which were ‘no different from the finest hotels in Europe’.⁴²⁷ Based on the lists of refugees and their places of residence recorded by the General Information Bureau in Constantinople from 1920 to 1922, in addition to the Pera Palace and Tokatlıyan, other popular hotels in Pera included the Hıdivyal Palas/Khedivial Palace, Hotel American (located on the Kamondo Street) and the Ierusalim [Jerusalem] Hotel on Küçük Hendek Street, which may have been the main hotel for émigrés of Jewish origin from the former Russian Empire at the time.⁴²⁸ The lists of refugees recorded by the General Information Bureau in Constantinople barely mention the Splendid Palace Hotel on the Prinkipo/Büyükkada Island, which is still in operation today and at the time was also home to many émigrés. The hotel’s building, with its two onion-shaped domes and red shutters, is a blend of Eastern and Western architecture and was designed in 1908 by Kaludi Laskaris (1894–1979) at the request of Ottoman commander Sakızlı Müşir Kâzım Paşa.⁴²⁹ Inside the hotel, which was renowned for its balls, visitors can still see objects and furniture brought from France, Austria and other countries.⁴³⁰ In 1919, for approximately nine months, a group of refugees (likely from the noble class of the Imperial Russia) stayed at the hotel and caused a certain amount of damage.⁴³¹ This situation was worrying for Kâzım Paşa, but the British Forces chose to disregard it.⁴³² In terms of notable individuals, the Tokatlıyan was once the residence of Leon Trotsky, who was

⁴²⁵ Deleon, *The Pera Palas. A Historical Hotel Overlooking the Golden Horn*, p. 39.

⁴²⁶ Anonymous. ‘Bal Tehiat Sion.’ *Presse du Soir*, 28 February 1923, p. 3; King, *Pera Palas’ta Geceyarısı*.

⁴²⁷ Anonymous, *Russkij v Konstantinopole. Le Russe à Constantinople*, p. 20.

⁴²⁸ Yefimov, A. V. *Glavnoe Spravochnoe Byuro v Konstantinopole, 1920–1922 gg. Imennye spiski bejentsjev i chinov Russkoy Armii. Sbornik dokumentov*. vol. 1. Moskva: Institut Naslediya, 2022, p. 49; 51; 52; 123; 128; 286; 287; 330; 357; 359; 382; 397; 405; 410; 438; 450; 451; Svastics, Okşan. *Yahudiler’in İstanbul’u*. İstanbul, Boyut, 2014, p. 108.

⁴²⁹ Anonymous. “‘Splendid Palas’ın zamanı...” derken şimdi tam da Splendid Palas zamanı...” *adalarpostasi.com*, <https://adalarpostasi.com/2020/10/25/3016/>. Accessed 18 July 2023; Turing Yüzyıllık Markalar Hafızaevi. ‘Splendid Palas Otel.’ *yuzyillikhikayeler.com*, <https://yuzyillikhikayeler.com/tarihi-markalar/splendid-palas-otel/>. Accessed 18 July 2023.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid.

compelled to leave the Soviet Union and go into exile with his family in 1929.⁴³³ The Russian performer Alexander Vertinsky, on the other hand, lived in the Pera Palace. He briefly described his stay, saying, ‘Boris Putyata and I stayed in none other than the most fashionable hotel in Constantinople, the Pera Palace.’⁴³⁴

Although not all the émigrés stayed at these hotels, many of them were frequent guests. For instance, Baroness Valentina Taskina (1902–1992), who resided in Istanbul from 1920 until her passing, mentioned the Pera Palace Hotel in her memoirs, stating:

What a sight it was, this fantastic building reminding us Russian aristocrats of the palaces we had once known... On dusky, quiet evenings, the lights of the Pera Palace would rise like those of a majestic liner on a vast twilight sea. I spent countless hours at the Orient Express Bar with my sister Alexandra and my musician friends: Maestro Denisof played the balalaika, Maestro Artamonof sang old Russian songs, Natalie Protasyef danced and sometimes I accompanied them on the grand concert piano. Later, we would sip French cognac with guests and converse until the small hours of the morning.⁴³⁵

Russian-speaking émigré musicians, dancers and singers indeed found employment in various hotels in Istanbul, particularly in the early 1920s. Some of the prominent hotels that employed them included the Tokatlıyan, Pera Palace and Splendid Palace. The Tokatlıyan regularly featured performances by Russian-speaking emigrant musicians. The Russian Salon Orchestra, led by the talented orchestra leader and violinist Pavel Alekseevich Zamoulenko, performed at the Pera Palace.⁴³⁶ Additional evidence of this is a photograph published in the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* [Russians on the Bosphorus], in which the musicians are pictured with the signature ‘Jazz-Band du Pera Palace’ by photographer Jean Weinberg (1887–1942).⁴³⁷ The orchestra often performed pieces by such composers as Glinka, Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Borodin, David Nowakowsky, Beethoven, Wagner, Liszt, Schubert and Jules Massenet.⁴³⁸ According to local newspapers, residents of Istanbul frequently had the opportunity to attend various ‘Russian’ concerts, including balalaika performances and

⁴³³ Dogramaci, ‘Flight, Modernity and Metropolis at the Bosphorus. With an Excursus on the Island Exile of Leon Trotsky’, p. 215.

⁴³⁴ Vertinsky, *Dorogoj dlinnoyu...*, p. 124.

⁴³⁵ Deleon, *The Pera Palas. A Historical Hotel Overlooking the Golden Horn*, p. 109.

⁴³⁶ Bournakine, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ According to periodicals published in the Russian language in Constantinople at the time.

mixed musical evenings.⁴³⁹ In December 1921, the programme included works by Chopin, Schumann and Paganini, as well as popular songs of the time such as ‘Chinese’ and ‘Istanbul Shoemaker’, with the participation of European musicians and émigré violinist Yankel/Yakov Fishberg.⁴⁴⁰ At least one of the concerts, a choreographic-musical gala, was hosted by Madame Bristol (wife of Mark Lambert Bristol, who served as the US High Commissioner in Turkey from 1919 to 1927).⁴⁴¹ As for the Splendid Palace Hotel on the Prinkipo/Büyükdada Island, the programme for its gala concert on 26 August 1923 has been preserved, and includes the best artists of Russian opera and ballet, including Lidia Smirnova and Nikolai Tripolitov (1894–1972).⁴⁴²

3.1.3 Exploring the relationship between Pera/Beyoğlu’s opulent hotels in the 1920s and the émigré artists from the former Russian Empire

The émigré artists who came from the former Russian Empire did not have such a strong and regular connection with the fashionable hotels of the Pera/Beyoğlu district as the emigrants from the musical field. Nonetheless, there were links between them that manifested in various types of interaction. One instance of this was when émigré art critic and exhibition organiser Sergey Makovsky (1877–1962) opened an exhibition at the Hıdivyal/Khedivial Palace hotel located at Grand rue de Péra 463 (previously the site of the Hotel d’Angleterre) consisting of paintings and art objects that were modest and somewhat conventional in terms of the artistic movements they represented.⁴⁴³ This occurred immediately after the arrival of the first Russian-speaking emigrants in the city in the spring of 1920. The Hıdivyal/Khedivial Palace hotel is known today thanks to a postcard created by Max Fruchtermann (1852–1918) in August 1898 to commemorate the hotel’s opening; it is believed that the postcard was exclusively available for purchase at the hotel.⁴⁴⁴ The hotel was managed by Philippe Hallas, who advertised its prime location in the city, opulent and comfortable decor, bathrooms, smoking rooms, telephone access, multilingual service of French cuisine and picturesque views of the Bosphorus, Marmara Sea and Golden Horn.⁴⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that Makovsky chose not to hold the exhibition

⁴³⁹ Deleon, *The Pera Palas. A Historical Hotel Overlooking the Golden Horn*, p. 45.

⁴⁴⁰ Anonymous. ‘Interesnyj koncert. K predstoyashchemu koncertu virutoza-skrupacha Ya. Fishberga.’ *Presse du Soir*, 10 December 1921, n.p.

⁴⁴¹ Anonymous. ‘Matinee artistique.’ *Stamboul*, 26 June 1923, n.p.

⁴⁴² Vassiliev, Alexandre. *Malen’kaya balerina. Isposed’ russkoj emigrantki*. Moskva: Al’pina non-fikshn, 210, p. 139.

⁴⁴³ Çelebi, 19. *Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Otel Yapılarının Doğuşu ve Gelişimi*, p. 214; Anonymous. ‘Vystavka kartin i hudozhestvennyh predmetov.’ *Russkoye Ekho*, 11 April 1920, n.p.

⁴⁴⁴ Anonymous. ‘Osmanlı dönemi, İstanbul (Constantinople) Hotel Khedivial palace, Max Fruchtermann, postadan geçmiş’ *phebusmuzayede.com*, <https://phebusmuzayede.com/35341-osmanli-donemi-istanbul-constantinople-hotel-khedivial-palace-max-fruchtermann-postadan-gecmis.html>. Accessed 18 July 2023.

⁴⁴⁵ Çelebi, 19. *Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Otel Yapılarının Doğuşu ve Gelişimi*, p. 245.

at the Pera Palace Hotel, despite its experience in hosting such events (as evidenced by Şeker Ahmet Paşa's successful exhibition there in 1897).⁴⁴⁶ Moreover, in 1921 and 1922, the Pera Palace Hotel would organise two remarkable exhibitions of an émigré painter from the former Russian Empire, Nikolai/Nicolas Becker (1877–1962). Perhaps Makovsky himself stayed or had personal connections with representatives of Hıdivyal/Khedivial Palace, which influenced his decision.

To comprehend why Nikolai Becker, out of all the emigrant artists who arrived in the city from the former Russian Empire, was privileged to have solo exhibitions in one of the city's two best hotels, where the highest representatives of society spent their time, it's essential to delve into his biography. He sported a well-groomed beard and dressed in a highly fashionable manner, as evidenced by his photograph featured in a magazine, as well as his 1952 self-portrait.⁴⁴⁷ The artist was born in St. Petersburg, into the family of an academician of architecture who constructed tenement houses in the Russian Empire's capital.⁴⁴⁸ Becker received his education at the Imperial Academy of Arts of the Russian Empire before World War I (among his instructors were Franz Roubaud and Jan Ciągłiński) and also took some private lessons from Iosif Krachkovsky.⁴⁴⁹ In Russia, he painted hundreds of landscapes and portraits, mainly of the highest aristocracy and the financial world. His family portraits of such well-known Russian families as the Yusupovs and Stroganovs were highly admired.⁴⁵⁰ His portrait of one of the representatives of the influential Mamontov family (from the collection of the State Russian Museum), in which the artist paid special attention to the difference in textures of the lady's dress fabric, was presented at the 'Women in Russian Art of the 18th–20th Centuries' exhibition in Russia in 2021.⁴⁵¹ However, his most interesting relations were with the imperial family, evidenced by the purchase of one of his landscapes by Empress Maria Feodorovna (1914) and the portraits of some of the imperial dynasty representatives that he created during the revolutionary months of 1917.⁴⁵²

Thus, Nikolai Becker's background, education, talent, fairly traditional artistic preferences and personal connections with representatives of the imperial dynasty (not to

⁴⁴⁶ Deleon, *The Pera Palas. A Historical Hotel Overlooking the Golden Horn*, p. 29.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.; Anonymous. 'Nikolai Becker: Portraitist of Russian Royalty.' *ninecarolineantiques.com*, <https://ninecarolineantiques.com/nikolai-becker-portraitist-russian-royalty>. Accessed 2 August 2022.

⁴⁴⁸ Lejkind, Oleg, et al. *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh'ya* (1). Izd.dom "Mir", 2019, pp. 210–211.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Anonymous. 'Hudozhnik N.N. Becker.' *Teatr i Zhizn'*, no. 10, June 1929, p. 19.

⁴⁵¹ Burnasheva, Elena. 'Iskusstvo videt': Nikolai Becker. "Portret Mamontovoj" *gtrkmariel.ru*, <https://www.gtrkmariel.ru/authors-tv/iskusstvo-videt/iskusstvo-videt-nikolay-bekker-portret-mamontovoy/>. Accessed 18 July 2023.

⁴⁵² Anonymous. 'Hudozhnik N.N. Becker.' *Teatr i Zhizn'*, no. 10, June 1929, p. 19.

mention the other ‘Russian’ aristocrats), made him an ideal artist for a showcase at a hotel that adhered to European standards and catered to wealthy Europeans in Constantinople, where interest in ‘Russian’ aristocracy was high. One French-speaking journalist at the time observed that Becker’s art conveyed a sense of enjoyment in life, which aligned with the philosophy of the Orient Express train and the Pera Palace hotel.⁴⁵³ Nikolai Becker, who had created nearly 170 portraits of men and women in Constantinople, including admirals and their families, commanders-in-chief and diplomats (in other words, ‘an entire gallery of the gods and goddesses of the occupying Olympus’) was extremely fascinating to the hotel’s clientele.⁴⁵⁴ The newspapers commended the portraits for their technical and artistic excellence and stated that they spoke for themselves.⁴⁵⁵ There was also an emphasis on the traditionalism of the artist and the fact that ‘something new’ in his works is ‘not under the sign of modernism [...but] rather in the sense of grace and taste’.⁴⁵⁶ Furthermore, it is highly likely that clients had the opportunity to boast about their portraits being painted by an artist who was intimately connected to the imperial family.⁴⁵⁷ This factor likely contributed to a higher value of the artist’s work in the eyes of the clients. Here’s what is known about his first exhibition in the Pera Palace: ‘... everything was sold out, and portrait orders came in one after another. Unfortunately, some of his artworks had already been taken to Europe, but those that remained, such as the portraits of Madame Dumesnil [Vera Dumesnil, wife of the commander of all French Naval Forces in the Mediterranean, Admiral Dumesnil], Shainovich/Sajnovics [the first name is not indicated], Svanishvili [the émigré Georgian entrepreneur Akaki Svanishvili or his wife, Olga Svanishvili], Dzhakeli [the first name is not indicated; perhaps a noble Georgian émigré from the former Russian Empire], Gerson [the first name is not indicated; most likely a noble person of Jewish origin], Monsignor Dolci [Angelo Maria Dolci, who was the Italian Apostolic Delegate to Constantinople at the time] and others, truly honoured their author.’⁴⁵⁸ While in Constantinople, the artist also painted portraits of Admiral Bristol, Major Davis (he held the position of Director of the American Red Cross in Turkey and Greece from 1920 to 1922, stationed in Constantinople), the daughter of the British High Commissioner Sir Horace Rumbold, Rossi (presumably Italo Rossi, a local banker), the daughter of the Belgium ambassador Michotte de

⁴⁵³ Anonymous. ‘Exposition du peintre N. Becker au Pera-Palace.’ *Stamboul*, 20 May 1922, n.p.

⁴⁵⁴ Anonymous. ‘Hudozhnik N.N. Becker.’ *Teatr i Zhizn*, no. 10, June 1929, p. 19.

⁴⁵⁵ Anonymous. ‘Vystavka hudozhnika N.N. Beckera.’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 May 1922, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Vystavka N.N. Beckera v Pera Palace.’ *Presse du Soir*, 26 May 1922, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁶ Anonymous. ‘Hudozhnik N.N. Becker.’ *Teatr i Zhizn*, no. 10, June 1929, p. 19.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.; Anonymous. ‘Exposition du peintre N. Becker au Pera-Palace.’ *Stamboul*, 20 May 1922, n.p.

⁴⁵⁸ Dumesnil, Vera. *İsgal İstanbul’u*. İstanbul Kitaplığı, 1993; Obolensky, Igor. *Sud’ba krasoty: Istorii gruzinskih zhen*. Tbilisi, 210, pp. 127–132; Anonymous. ‘Vystavka hudozhnika N.N. Beckera.’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 May 1922, p. 3.

Welle, Haim (presumably Haim Bejarano, or printing house owner Fratelli Haim, or S.Haim, an owner of the so-called 'Oriental Museum' opposite the Pera Palace Hotel), Beridze (the first name is not indicated; possibly a noble Georgian émigré from the former Russian Empire) and Senni (possibly the Italian diplomat Carlo Senni).⁴⁵⁹ It should be noted that the portrait of Foster Waterman Stearns, who supported the members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, currently holds a place of honour at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts (see Figure 13). The portrait of Natalia Khomyakova Deleon, presented at the Union of Russian Artists' first major exhibition in Constantinople, would subsequently be published on the cover of Jak Deleon's *Beyoğlu'nda Beyaz Ruslar 1920–1990*, a well-known book on émigrés from the former Russian Empire in Turkey.⁴⁶⁰ The journalists in Constantinople predicted a bright future for Becker in Europe, believing that he was 'impressionistic in colour and flavour, and therefore fresh and fragrant for the most refined European eye', and as it turned out later, they were correct.⁴⁶¹ The logical continuation of his success in the 'European' hotel Pera Palace was his success as an émigré portrait painter in Paris, London, Madrid, New York and Nice, where the artist lived the rest of his days.⁴⁶² Although his portraits were highly praised, most were commissioned works that never reached the public market, leaving him little known outside his wealthy and adoring audience.⁴⁶³

Apart from the fact that some hotels in Constantinople hosted exhibitions of émigré artists, the city's hotels were also important in terms of other art events and more. For instance, it can be assumed that some works by émigré artists were sold in the Tokatlıyan Hotel, since artists appeared there from time to time. It is known for certain that in 1921, the Pera Palace hosted a three-day Russian bazaar (in the press, it was called the Bazaar of Princess M.V. Baryatinsky), where Russian-speaking musicians performed, children from the former Russian Empire danced 'Russian' dances and female representatives of the 'Russian' community with such noble surnames as Neratova, Golitsyna, Tatishcheva, Musin-Pushkina, Meindorf and others participated.⁴⁶⁴ The bazaar offered items crafted solely by Russian-speaking refugees,

⁴⁵⁹ Anonymous. 'Hudozhnik N.N. Becker.' *Teatr i Zhizn*, no. 10, June 1929, p. 19; Anonymous. 'Exposition du peintre N. Becker au Pera-Palace.' *Stamboul*, 20 May 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Vystavka N.N. Beckera v Pera Palace.' *Presse du Soir*, 26 May 1922, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁰ Deleon, Jak. *Beyoğlu'nda Beyaz Ruslar 1920–1990*. Istanbul Kütüphanesi Yayınları, 1990.

⁴⁶¹ Anonymous. 'Vystavka N.N. Beckera v Pera Palace.' *Presse du Soir*, 26 May 1922, p. 3.

⁴⁶² While Becker demonstrated talent in portraiture, his true passion resided in capturing the beauty of landscapes, flowers, and animals on canvas. Source: Anonymous. 'Nikolai Becker: Portraitist of Russian Royalty.' *ninecarolineantiques.com*, <https://ninecarolineantiques.com/nikolai-becker-portraitist-russian-royalty>. Accessed 2 August 2022.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Anonymous. 'Bazar knyagini MV Baryatinsky.' *Presse du Soir*, 20 March 1921, p. 23.

who poured ‘considerable talent and artistic imagination’ into their creations.⁴⁶⁵ The buyers of the objects were mainly representatives of the Allied Forces, representatives of diplomatic missions, as well as individuals belonging to the ‘Russian’ colony and various circles of local society.⁴⁶⁶ Among other works, icons by the artist Natalia Yashvil (1861–1939), who later left Constantinople for Prague, were presented. Every one of her icons was bought by an American collector before the bazaar even opened.⁴⁶⁷ Black-and-white photos of the works for the Iconostasis (Altar Screen) painted by Yashvil, who, while in Constantinople, led the small colony of the émigrés on Antigoni/Burgazada Island, were published in a book by Eugenia S. Bumgardner.⁴⁶⁸ Yashvil’s other works of that time, illustrations of the icons, can be seen on notes addressed to the Stearns family.⁴⁶⁹ However, she is not so much known for her own works as for her portrait, which was completed by Mikhail Nesterov in 1905.⁴⁷⁰ Also interesting is the fact that, over time, antique dealers began to open their shops in close proximity to the newly built Pera Palace, rather than in the Grand Bazaar area, as was previously the case.⁴⁷¹ For instance, there is evidence of contacts between émigré artists (notably Roman Bilinski) and S. Haim, who owned a shop opposite the Pera Palace Hotel, selling carpets, miniatures, jewellery, paintings and more, and many of whose customers were collectors.⁴⁷² Another business of a similar nature, which belonged to an emigrant from the former Russian Empire and native of a wealthy Kyiv family, Irina Baydak, opened in the 1930s.⁴⁷³ Baydak held cherished memories of the balls at the Pera Palace Hotel throughout her life, and established a lampshade business near the hotel at 57 Asmalimescit Street, where she crafted and sold her wares.⁴⁷⁴ Journalists from that era documented the varied collection of items on offer at her shop, which included early 20th-century white porcelain vases adorned with coloured painting, embroidered appliqués, oil paintings and, notably, an extensive array of non-avant-garde lamps. The lamps came in all sorts, with lampshades crafted from paper, metal, cloth, porcelain or frosted glass, and adorned with legs made from brass, bronze, wood or even chipped stone.⁴⁷⁵ Many of the

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, n.p.

⁴⁶⁹ Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross.

⁴⁷⁰ The portrait of Natalia Yashvil by Mikhail Nesterov is located at the National Museum ‘Kyiv Art Gallery’ in Kyiv.

⁴⁷¹ Bali, Rifat N. *Türkiye’de Antikacılar, Koleksiyonerler ve Müzayedeler (1855-1980)*. Libra, 2021, pp. 28–30.

⁴⁷² Mamboury, Ernest. *Constantinople, Tourists’ Guide*. Constantinople, Rizzo&Son, 1925; Personal file of Roman Bilinski (Reference Code: 03020102 004.413) from the Arolsen Archives, Germany (<https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/>).

⁴⁷³ Bali, *Türkiye’de Antikacılar, Koleksiyonerler ve Müzayedeler (1855-1980)*, p. 32.

⁴⁷⁴ Deleon, Jak. ‘Beyoğlu Portreleri.’ *Diners Magazin*, n.d. (Taha Toros Arşivi), pp. 16–17.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

items were captured in a black-and-white photograph published in the Turkish newspaper *Güneş* in 1990. In the photograph, Irina Baydak, dressed elegantly in comfortable clothing and sunglasses, can be seen sitting in an antique armchair, talking on the phone against the backdrop of lamps and a variety of antique items from her store.⁴⁷⁶

But let's return to the 1920s, when Thomas Whittemore occasionally visited the city. At that time, he was the founder and director of the American Committee for the Rescue and Education of Russian Youth in Exile, among other things.⁴⁷⁷ Since 1914, the committee had been operating first in Russia, then in Crimea, and later in Constantinople.⁴⁷⁸ It is worth noting that, as an art connoisseur, Whittemore often had direct contact with émigré artists, and these encounters usually occurred in the best hotels of Constantinople. For instance, in 1921, Alexis Gritchenko, whose technique and style (known as 'Dynamocolor') was shaped by the influences of cubism and futurism, was invited to Whittemore's room at the Pera Palace Hotel to show his works: 'On the appointed day, Gritchenko came to the hotel and laid out his watercolors on the carpet in the large room for the professor to look at. Whittemore examined them carefully, setting aside the ones he liked, then he asked the price and his secretary counted the number of paintings.'⁴⁷⁹ Whittemore also arranged to sell, in America, icons by Natalia Yashvil and altar cloths embroidered by her daughter.⁴⁸⁰ In the lobby and other areas of the same hotel, émigré artists from various artistic fields usually waited for him, to try to sell at least some of their works.⁴⁸¹ There is no available information confirming whether Whittemore had the chance to interact with artists from the former Russian Empire at the Tokatlıyan Hotel; nevertheless, Holger Klein's article suggests that during the summer of 1929, while hosting a dinner for eight acquaintances at the Tokatlıyan, the idea for the Byzantine Institute of America was likely conceived, indicating his probable regular visits to the Tokatlıyan Hotel, in addition to the Pera Palace.⁴⁸² By examining the case of Thomas Whittemore, a philanthropist and art connoisseur who supported émigré artists, it can be concluded that the luxury hotels in Constantinople in the 1920s served as venues where émigré artists could find patrons and clients and showcase their work. Hence, it is safe to say that the functions of the most prominent and

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, p. 29.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Güler, Ayşenur, and Vita Susak. *Alexis Gritchenko. The Constantinople Years*. Vehbi Koç Foundation, 2020, p. 53.

⁴⁸⁰ Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, p. 37.

⁴⁸¹ King, *Pera Palas'ta geceyarısı: modern İstanbul'un doğuşu*, p. 108.

⁴⁸² Klein, Holger A. 'From Robert College to the Byzantine Institute: The American Contribution to the Rediscovery, Study, and Preservation of Byzantine Monuments in Istanbul, ca. 1830–1950.' *Discovering Byzantium in Istanbul: Scholars, Institutions, and Challenges, 1800–1955*, edited by Olivier Delouis and Brigitte Pitarakis, 2022, p. 222.

luxurious hotels in Constantinople, such as the Pera Palace and Tokatlıyan in the Pera/Beyoglu area, were not limited to providing accommodation to visitors of the city. They can be considered significant spaces of sociability that contributed to the cultural life of locals, guests of the city and émigrés. That is to say, these were the places where local, transient and migrant populations regularly met and interacted. The local artists (especially the Levantines), émigré artists and representatives of the Allied Forces provided entertainment there, whether balls, bazaars, musical concerts or art exhibitions. A lack of information makes it difficult to ascertain whether art discussions took place at the hotels, but since the hotels at the time functioned as exhibition venues, bazaar sites and places where sponsors and clients could be found, it can be assumed that artists met at the hotels and some exchange between them took place.

3.2 Exiled Avant-garde and the Émigré Artists' Creative and Social Pursuits at the Théâtre des Petits-Champs in Constantinople during the Early 1920s

3.2.1 Théâtre des Petits-Champs at the turn of the century

Today, standing with your back to the Pera Museum (which housed the Bristol Hotel at the time), it is difficult to imagine that right in front of it in the early 1920s, when Russian-speaking emigrants settled in occupied Constantinople, there stood one of the city's most important theatres and undoubtedly one of the main theatres in the Pera district (today's Beyoğlu): the Théâtre des Petits-Champs. Many photographs and postcards showing the theatre building, located where there is now a parking lot and a Turkish television channel, have survived.⁴⁸³ Unfortunately, nothing more remains of the theatre, which already occupied this site at the beginning of 1881.⁴⁸⁴ This is indeed quite a loss, as the building possessed a distinctiveness not commonly found among theatres of its time.⁴⁸⁵ Its relatively unadorned wooden exterior was unlike the grand façades of prominent theatres in Paris or Vienna, while the interior was emblematic of the dominant artistic features of the time. Furthermore, the theatre included an outdoor summer stage and a garden, which hosted a variety of events, including circus and equestrian performances.⁴⁸⁶

In the 1880s and almost up until the First World War, French, Italian and Greek theatre troupes performed there, as did famous personalities such as French stage actress Sarah Bernhardt, who performed there three times: in 1888, 1893 and 1904.⁴⁸⁷ In other words, local

⁴⁸³ Some of them can be seen here: Aygün, 'Istanbul', *METROMOD Walks*.

⁴⁸⁴ Gülersoy, Çelik. *Tepebaşı. Bir Meydan Savaşı*. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1993, pp. 46–47.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 47–55.

residents and city guests usually came to this theatre to enjoy ‘European’ art.⁴⁸⁸ According to journalist and writer Willy Sperco, the theatre was usually packed.⁴⁸⁹ Interestingly, Muhsin Ertuğrul, who later became a theatrical actor and director and worked for many years in this building side by side with Nikolai Peroff (1883–1963), an émigré theatrical painter from the former Russian Empire, had been a regular visitor to the theatre in his youth.⁴⁹⁰ During the First World War, German-speaking artists replaced the leading French ones.⁴⁹¹ In addition, at the same time, the local troupe Darülbedayi (in 1917, the artists included Muhsin Ertuğrul, Eliza Binemeciyan, Bedia Muvahhit, Raşit Rıza Samako, İsmail Galip Arcan, Adrien Cenani and Sara Mannik) began to use the Théâtre des Petits-Champs, having previously been based on the historical peninsula (Şehzadebaşı).⁴⁹² One of the first local performances was ‘Baykuş’, written by Halit Fahri, for which the decorations were created by a certain Izola/Isola Bella.⁴⁹³ Numerous event posters (mostly textual, but sometimes with photographs of the artists and sometimes elegantly designed in the Art Nouveau style) were published in a book by Çelik Gülersoy and serve as evidence of this.⁴⁹⁴

During the occupation of Constantinople and until the end of the 1920s, the theatre was managed by Jean Lehmann/Lehman, an entrepreneur of Greek origin (this is the name indicated as ‘the direction’ in all announcements regarding events in the theatre).⁴⁹⁵ At this time, many of the local artists had to fight in the war, those from the troupe who remained in the city were penniless, and the void in the theatre was again filled by European troupes, the main audience for which was now representatives of the Allied forces who had been in control of the city.⁴⁹⁶ The musical programme to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Third Republic of France (11 November 1920), which is preserved in the Istanbul Research Institute Archive, presents a fascinating example in this regard.⁴⁹⁷ The programme, which was meticulously designed, reveals that the event, culminating in a comic review entitled ‘Is Kemal there?’ that satirised scenes from the occupied city, was held at the Théâtre des Petits-Champs. Of particular interest

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 51.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 55.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., p. 51.

⁴⁹² Ibid., pp. 59–62.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., p. 62.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 50–57.

⁴⁹⁵ According to periodicals published in the Russian language in Constantinople at the time; Akıncı, *Beyoğlu. Yapılar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar (1831-1923)*, pp. 212–214; Akçura, Gökhan. ‘Garden Bar.’ *manifold.press*, <https://manifold.press/garden-bar>. Accessed 19 July 2023.

⁴⁹⁶ Gülersoy, *Tepebaşı. Bir Meydan Savaşı*, pp. 64–66.

⁴⁹⁷ Musical program for the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Third Republic of France, November 11, 1920 (Istanbul Research Institute Archive).

is the fact that the orchestra for the occasion was led by Thomas de Hartmann (1884–1956), a composer who emigrated from the former Russian Empire along with his spiritual mentor George Gurdjieff.⁴⁹⁸ Olga de Hartmann, his wife, also performed at the event.⁴⁹⁹ Moreover, Anatoly Durov, who had arrived from Georgia with his troupe of animals, gave a performance at the theatre around the same time.⁵⁰⁰ To advertise the event, a photograph titled ‘for the performance at Petits-Champs’ was taken in advance, depicting the young, smiling trainer Durov in an embrace with one of the small cute dogs that were ridden on the stage by monkeys.⁵⁰¹

Another interesting aspect is the fact that both halls of the Théâtre des Petits-Champs, the winter and summer ones, were periodically used for very popular balls, which means that they effectively served as spaces of sociability. For instance, in February 1914, a masquerade ball called ‘Skating Palace’ was held.⁵⁰² In the winter of 1922, a ‘White and Black Ball’ masquerade ball, featuring Russian ballet, performances by Russian-speaking artists and ‘chat noir’ style decor by painters from the former Russian Empire, took place.⁵⁰³ It was so successful that it was followed by a ball called ‘1001 Nights’, fully organised by the Russian-speaking émigré community. The hall was richly decorated with numerous ‘Oriental’ carpets, and a ballet called ‘Atlantis’ and a divertissement titled ‘Pasha is Amused/Night in the Harem’ were presented.⁵⁰⁴ In the winter of 1923, a masquerade ball called the ‘Golden Rose Ball’, a Chinese party and a ball called ‘Festival in the Village’ were held there, for which the hall was adorned with decorations made according to drawings by ‘famous Russian painters’.⁵⁰⁵ According to a poster published in the book by Çelik Gülersoy, the Grand Bal Osiris was held there with Egyptian decor and costumes, most likely worked on by the émigré artist De Mori.⁵⁰⁶ Black-and-white photographs from various Turkish archives (such as the Selahattin Giz Photoarchive) capture the elegantly dressed and carnival-costumed attendees dancing in the areas typically occupied by audience seats and enjoying refreshments at tables in the loges on the left and right

⁴⁹⁸ Hartmann, *Our life with Mr. Gurdjieff*, pp. 98–103. The photograph of Thomas de Hartmann conducting his orchestra during the abovementioned event was published in this book.

⁴⁹⁹ Musical program for the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Third Republic of France, November 11, 1920 (Istanbul Research Institute Archive).

⁵⁰⁰ Anonymous. ‘Petits-Champs.’ *Zhizn’ i Iskusstvo*, Winter 1921, p. 15.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Gülersoy, *Tepebaşı. Bir Meydan Savaşı*, p. 56.

⁵⁰³ Anonymous. ‘Belyj i chernyj bal.’ *Presse du Soir*, 15 February 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁰⁴ Anonymous. ‘Poslednij bal “1001 noch”.’ *Presse du Soir*, 21 February 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁰⁵ Anonymous. ‘Garden Petits-Champs.’ *Presse du Soir*, 3 February 1923, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Garden Petits-Champs.’ *Presse du Soir*, 9 February 1923, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Garden Petits-Champs.’ *Presse du Soir*, 15 February 1923, p. 3.

⁵⁰⁶ Gülersoy, *Tepebaşı. Bir Meydan Savaşı*, p. 57.

wings.⁵⁰⁷ Although these photographs date from the 1930s, they still offer some insight into the events in the 1920s. At a certain point, the space was also used for film screenings.⁵⁰⁸

Almost no secondary source on the topic of the theatre mentions the Russian-speaking émigré artists (musicians, singers, dancers and others) who worked there in the early 1920s – one gets the impression that they never performed there at all.⁵⁰⁹ There is even less (if any) information in these sources about émigré painters, for many of whom the Théâtre des Petits-Champs became one of the first places of employment in the city. It was quite logical that they first turned to the theatre, as in the former Russian Empire this domain was very well developed. This is related to the fact that in Russia, at the turn of the 19th/20th century, a re-evaluation of the conventional role of the theatre artist occurred.⁵¹⁰ As a result, the artist became an equal partner in stage productions alongside the director and actors.⁵¹¹ The blossoming of theatrical-decorative art is often linked by art historians to Sergei Diaghilev's 'Ballets Russes',⁵¹² which captivated European cities during the 1910s. These performances, featuring composers, singers, dancers, choreographers, artists and more, showcased an authentic synthesis of various arts for Western audiences.⁵¹³ The set designer Vladimir Polunin (1880–1957) commented on the matter in 1926 as follows:

In the last twenty years, scene painting has made enormous progress, mainly in simplifying the forms and in establishing colouring as the basis of such work. Russian decorators, working in Russia and outside of it, understood the prime importance of colour-impressions for the stage. The most eminent Russian artists rushed into this captivating domain and, setting aside old traditions, achieved an artistic revolution. In this sense Diaghileff's Russian Ballet made great artistic conquests in Western Europe.⁵¹⁴

During the early 20th century, a diverse array of artists – including those of the avant-garde movement – contributed to the theatrical realm in Russia. The avant-garde artists viewed the theatre as a genuine experimental space where they could actualise and give form to numerous

⁵⁰⁷ Some of the photographs can be seen here: Özdamar, Ali, and Demir Özlü. *Beyoğlu 1930. Selahattin Giz'in Fotoğraflarıyla 1930'larda Beyoğlu*. İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayıncılık, and Galeri Alfa, 1997, pp. 128–129.

⁵⁰⁸ Gülersoy, *Tepebaşı. Bir Meydan Savaşı*, p. 59.

⁵⁰⁹ One of the exceptions is the book by Charles King: King, *Pera Palas'ta geceyarısı: modern İstanbul'un doğuşu*.

⁵¹⁰ Shvets, *Glavnoe v istorii russkogo iskusstva*, p. 184.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵¹² Bowlton, John E. *Moscow and St. Petersburg in Russia's Silver Age*. Thames&Hudson, 2020, p. 223.

⁵¹³ Shvets, *Glavnoe v istorii russkogo iskusstva*, p. 184.

⁵¹⁴ Polunin, Vladimir. *The Continental Method of Scene Painting*. C.W. Beaumont, 1927, p. IX.

theoretical concepts.⁵¹⁵ Instead of prioritising historical costumes and stylisation, their work emphasised form, line, colour and geometric surfaces.⁵¹⁶ John E. Bowlt aptly noted that the triumphs of the Russian avant-garde theatre, exemplified by Alexandra Exter's Cubist Baroque designs for Alexander Tairov's Chamber Theatre, were built upon the earlier ground-breaking contributions of Léon Bakst, Alexandre Benois, Aleksandr Golovin and Nicholas Roerich, particularly within the framework of Diaghilev's 'Ballets Russes'.⁵¹⁷

Can the Théâtre des Petits-Champs be considered a similar space for émigré artists as the theatres in the former Russian Empire had been for them, and did they achieve success there? Did émigré painters work regularly at the theatre, and were any avant-garde painters among them? If so, were they appreciated? This part of the dissertation aims to explore how (if at all) the theatrical avant-garde from the former Russian Empire "moved" to Constantinople at the start of the 20th century, given that the 'Russian' theatrical avant-garde in exile has traditionally been examined through the lenses of 'Russian Berlin' and 'Russian Paris'.

3.2.2 *The émigré artists at the Théâtre des Petits-Champs at the beginning of the 1920s*

Although performance announcements for the theatre could be seen in various newspapers of Constantinople at that time, the *Le Bosphore* newspaper deserves special mention because it regularly published information on the performances of the 'Russian' community (in addition, the newspaper also published detailed articles on the topic of Russian ballet in the city).⁵¹⁸ These performances were actively attended by both the curious local intelligentsia and representatives of the Allied forces, who, according to Eugenia Bumgardner, were sadly bored in the city because 'the Turks had neither art, music, nor drama'.⁵¹⁹ Russian-speaking artists performed both in the main building of the theatre and in the adjacent Garden Bar, so the announcements of the performances always indicated where the event was taking place, in the winter theatre or the summer theatre.

Perhaps the most well-known figure from the Russian-speaking émigré community in the theatre in its early days was the painter Pavel Tchelitchev (1898–1957), who in 1920 was evacuated with military units (where he served as a cartographer) from Novorossiysk to

⁵¹⁵ Kovalenko, Georgiy, et al. *Avangard i teatr 1910-1920-h godov*. Moskva: Nauka, 2008, p. 1.

⁵¹⁶ Rakitina, E. B. 'Scenografiya avangarda.' *rusavangard.ru*, <https://rusavangard.ru/online/history/stsenografiya-avangarda/>. Accessed 16 January 2023.

⁵¹⁷ Bowlt, *Moscow and St. Petersburg in Russia's Silver Age*, p. 223.

⁵¹⁸ Issues of *Le Bosphore*, 1922. One of the articles on the topic is 'Representations de la troupe de ballet russe au Theatre des Petits-Champs' by W. Douelavski in *Le Bosphore*.

⁵¹⁹ Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, p. 130.

Constantinople and for a time earned a living by painting interiors for cabarets.⁵²⁰ The émigré musician Vladimir Dukelsky/Vernon Duke described him at the time as ‘an apple-cheeked Adonis fond of exuberant laughter and good-natured practical jokes’.⁵²¹ It’s hard to say how accurate this description is, as there are few descriptions and even fewer photos related to the artist’s time in Constantinople. Tchelitchew’s stint in the theatre lasted less than a year between 1920 and 1921. However, his works created for the theatre during this period showcase a distinct Cubo-Futurist style, characterised by the vivid colours and dynamic lines of Futurism, as well as the angular, planar forms of Cubism.⁵²² This comes as no surprise, given that Tchelitchew studied under Alexandra Exter, a prominent painter, while in Kyiv.⁵²³ John Justin Cook, an expert on Tchelitchew’s art, elaborates on this, noting that an examination of Tchelitchew’s designs and paintings from 1918 to 1922 reveals a striking resemblance to the futurist and constructivist works of Natalia Goncharova, Mikhail Larionov and Exter from the 1910s and 1920s, particularly in his collaborations with choreographers Boris Knyazev and Viktor Zimin in Constantinople.⁵²⁴

Several excellent examples of Tchelitchew’s work and the stylistic techniques he used during his time in Constantinople have survived. Two sketches well known to Russian-speaking researchers who have studied Tchelitchew’s art are ‘Sketch of a Dancer’s Costume with an Image of a Leopard on Harem Pants’ (executed in 1920) and ‘Sketch of a Fat Turk’s Costume’ (executed in 1921), which were published in Andrei Tolstoy’s book *Hudozhniki russkoj emigracii* [Artists of the Russian Emigration].⁵²⁵ Other similar costume sketches were published in the dissertation of John Justin Cook, such as ‘Male Turkish Dancer Wearing a Turban’ (1920), ‘Female Dancer with Beaded Necklace’ (1920), ‘The Fish Monger’ (1921) and ‘Rabbi’ (1921).⁵²⁶ According to Cook, Tchelitchew employed rounded features and defined angles for the ‘Fat Turk’ costume, albeit with less severity in execution than in the ‘Male Turkish Dancer Wearing Turban’. This same patterning was used in his set designs, as evidenced by the design for an ‘Oriental city street’ in 1921.⁵²⁷ Additionally, the Museum of Russian Impressionism in Moscow holds a sketch of a theatrical costume titled ‘Dancer with a Tambourine’ created in 1920 using paper and gouache. It is worth noting that this artwork was

⁵²⁰ Cook, John Justin. *The Transformed Body. Pavel Tchelitchew’s Representation of the Modernist Body*. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1998, p. 87; Lejkind, *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh’ya* (2), p. 581.

⁵²¹ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 78.

⁵²² Cook, *The Transformed Body. Pavel Tchelitchew’s Representation of the Modernist Body*, p. 90.

⁵²³ Lejkind, *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh’ya* (2), p. 580.

⁵²⁴ Cook, *The Transformed Body. Pavel Tchelitchew’s Representation of the Modernist Body*, p. 86.

⁵²⁵ Tolstoy, *Hudozhniki Russkoj Emigracii*.

⁵²⁶ Cook, *The Transformed Body. Pavel Tchelitchew’s Representation of the Modernist Body*, p. 92; 247; 248.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

displayed at the Russian Tea Room in Manhattan during the 1970s.⁵²⁸ John Justin Cook describes Tchelitchev's characters in these sketches as idealised or exaggerated figures from Istanbul's city life, including dancers, a rabbi, a fat Turk, merchants, a dervish, society women, modern women with bob haircuts and performers from Russia.⁵²⁹ According to Cook, Tchelitchev often played with the costumes by indicating the character's identity with symbols.⁵³⁰ As a scenographer from the former Russian Empire, the painter continued to showcase his talent in Berlin and other cities around the world after leaving Constantinople.⁵³¹

By the time the work on the ballet 'Scheherazade' to the music of Rimsky-Korsakov began, Pavel Tchelitchev was no longer in the city, nor was the émigré artist Leonid Brailovsky (1871–1937), who created beautiful scenery for the first more or less serious production by Sergei Nadezhdin at the Théâtre des Petits-Champs, titled 'Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich'.⁵³² 'Scheherazade' was destined to become the most successful ballet production staged by Russian-speaking émigrés at the Théâtre des Petits-Champs in the early 1920s.⁵³³ The outstanding success of the performance prompted its repetition on multiple occasions, and to ensure the audience's comfort and convenience, a tram was specifically arranged to ferry them back home to the Şişli district and the historic peninsula at a late hour.⁵³⁴ As per the initial newspaper accounts released in the late December of 1921, the ballet master of this production was Viktor Zimin, who was famous not only in Moscow but also beyond.⁵³⁵ Sergei Nadezhdin, the former director of the Imperial Theatres, served as the director, and the scenery and costumes were based on the designs by the artist Nikolai Vasilieff (1887–1970).⁵³⁶ The musical section was performed by a large symphony orchestra and conducted by Jean/Ivan Boutnikoff.⁵³⁷ The principal role of 'Scheherazade' was played by the renowned ballerina Elise Gluck, whose picture was later published in the *Le Bosphore*.⁵³⁸ It can be presumed that the aforementioned esteemed individuals mentioned in the promotional material were the driving force behind the overwhelming attendance on the premiere day, 30 December 1921, and the diverse audience, comprised of the 'Russian' community, local theatre enthusiasts and

⁵²⁸ Anonymous. 'Tancovshchica s tamburinom.' *rusimp.su*, <https://www.rusimp.su/ru/collection/object/118>. Accessed 16 July 2023.

⁵²⁹ Cook, *The Transformed Body. Pavel Tchelitchev's Representation of the Modernist Body*, pp. 92–93.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Lejkind, *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh'ya* (2), pp. 581–582.

⁵³² Anonymous. 'Russkoye Iskusstvo v Konstantinopole.' *Zarnitsy*, 8–15 May 1921, p. 27.

⁵³³ Anonymous. 'Ballet russe de M. Zimine.' *Le Bosphore*, 4 March 1922, p. 27.

⁵³⁴ Anonymous. 'Zimniy Teatr P-C.' *Presse du Soir*, 7 January 1922, p. 2.

⁵³⁵ Anonymous. 'Balet 'Scheherazade'.' *Presse du Soir*, 29 December 1921, p. 2.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Anonymous. 'Le ballet russe a Constantinople Mme Gluck.' *Le Bosphore*, 16 February 1922, p. 1.

foreigners in the city. Although the Russian press in Constantinople was generally highly critical of theatrical performances by Russian-speaking emigrants, believing that they did not meet the standards of the former Russian Empire, the premiere was received positively.⁵³⁹ The *Presse du Soir*'s journalists regarded it as a genuine artistic production, crafted with a maximum effort.⁵⁴⁰ They were certain that Constantinople had not yet witnessed such a production. According to them, the orchestra led by Boutnikoff sounded magnificent, Zimin, in the role of the Sultan, exhibited exceptional skills in plastique and dance, and Gluck and other members of the troupe danced with no less elegance.⁵⁴¹ As for the decorations and costumes created by Vasilieff, who before the revolution had worked as Robert Falk's assistant in the painting class at Vkhutemas, they were widely praised for their vivid and colourful paintwork reminiscent of Léon Bakst's best works.⁵⁴² Additionally, they were noted for creating an atmosphere that evoked an oriental fairy tale, captivating the viewer's imagination.⁵⁴³ Despite the acclaim received by the costumes and scenery, to my knowledge, there is only one, not very well-known photograph that captures the performance, which shows the entire troupe in oriental costumes against scenic decorations with large flowers and exotic birds (see Figure 7). The photograph was most likely taken by an amateur photographer, the émigré Ivashentsev, and was published in the book by Eugenia Bumgardner. Bumgardner saw 'Scheherazade' as the most ambitious theatrical attempt by Russian-speaking émigrés in the city, and her account notes that the performance even delighted those who had seen Diaghilev's productions at the Century Theatre in New York and at the Grand Opera House in Paris, as well as those who had worshipped prima ballerina Anna Pavlova for years.⁵⁴⁴

From the available photograph, it can be inferred that the stage for performances in Constantinople was relatively small and not as modern as those in Russian or Parisian theatres.⁵⁴⁵ This may have posed challenges for the organisers, who had to find solutions. In addition, the costs of production were usually extremely high, while the artists' earnings were meagre.⁵⁴⁶ Consequently, the artists focused on productions that were not as large-scale as

⁵³⁹ Anonymous. 'Obozreniye Teatrov.' *Zhizn' i Iskusstvo*, 6 February 1921, pp. 15–16.

⁵⁴⁰ Anonymous. 'Scheherazade.' *Presse du Soir*, 31 December 1921, p. 2.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Lejkind, *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh'ya* (1), pp. 331–332; Anonymous. 'Scheherazade.' *Presse du Soir*, 31 December 1921, p. 2.

⁵⁴³ Anonymous. 'Scheherazade.' *Presse du Soir*, 31 December 1921, p. 2.

⁵⁴⁴ Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, p. 130.

⁵⁴⁵ Anonymous. 'Kopelliya Balet.' *Presse du Soir*, 20 November 1922, n.p.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.; Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, p. 131; Anonymous. 'Teatr i Muzyka. Rigoletto.' *Presse du Soir*, 5 December 1920, no. 286, n.p.

‘Scheherazade’ but still aimed to preserve the tone set by it.⁵⁴⁷ This tone was primarily sustained in 1922 by a group of artists comprising Viktor Zimin, Sergei Nadezhdin and Jean/Ivan Boutnikoff. They presented performances such as ‘Stepan Razin’, ‘Salome’, ‘A Midsummer Night’s Dream’ and many others, both in the winter Théâtre des Petits-Champs and on the summer stage in the Garden Bar, which drew full audiences.⁵⁴⁸ Among them, Viktor Zimin was a standout figure, and a 1922 article in the Russian émigré magazine *Teatr i Zhizn’* [Theatre and Life] identified him as the main ballet master for the Russian theatre Petits-Champs.⁵⁴⁹ It is known that Zimin partnered with the Italian ballerina Bianca Fosca Bennardi during his time in Constantinople, and his energetic dancing in a photo published in the almanac *Zhizn’ i Iskusstvo* [Life and Art] vividly illustrates his passion for his work.⁵⁵⁰ Zimin even suffered a heart attack during one of the Constantinople performances at one point, but he quickly recovered and continued working.⁵⁵¹ Jean/Ivan Boutnikoff, who many years later would serve as a conductor for the company Ballets Russes de Monte-Carlo, and Sergei Nadezhdin were also hardworking professionals.⁵⁵² Nadezhdin, in particular, guided performances such as ‘Vision of Faust’, ‘Don Quixote’, ‘In the Clouds of Opium’, ‘Pan’, ‘The Magic Flute’ and ‘The Mistress and The Slave’.⁵⁵³ However, journalists criticised him for introducing too many pantomimic elements into ‘The Mistress and The Slave’, which, in their opinion, detracted from the balletic essence of the performance.⁵⁵⁴ Nonetheless, this may suggest that Nadezhdin was open to experimentation. Regarding the dancers, several names were frequently mentioned in journalistic accounts, including Gluck, Strelskaya, Foska, Herman, Egrich, Savitskaya, Drozdov, Grechikhin, Pantelev and Alli.⁵⁵⁵ While the theatre painters’ work was frequently praised as splendid, their names were not always mentioned in 1922, with the exception of Vladimir Bobritsky.⁵⁵⁶ He was the emigrant set designer most frequently involved in the

⁵⁴⁷ VĪD. ‘O Russkom baletе v Konstantinopole.’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 May 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Garden P-C.’ *Presse du Soir*, 27 November 1922, n.p.

⁵⁴⁸ Anonymous. ‘Zimniy Teatr P-C.’ *Presse du Soir*, 2 February 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Salome.’ *Le Bosphore*, n.d., p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Garden P-C.’ *Presse du Soir*, 22 March 1922, n.p.; VĪD. ‘K postanovke Salomei.’ *Presse du Soir*, 15 February 1922, n.p.

⁵⁴⁹ Ragozin. ‘Berlin.’ *Teatr i Zhizn’*, no. 8, 1922, p. 16.

⁵⁵⁰ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 78; Anonymous. ‘Zimin.’ *Zhizn’ i Iskusstvo*, 6 February 1921, n.p.

⁵⁵¹ Anonymous. ‘Balet.’ *Presse du Soir*, 17 February 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁵² Anonymous. ‘Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, Public Auditorium, November 9, 1945.’ [gallery.multcolib.org](https://gallery.multcolib.org/document/ballet-russe-de-monte-carlo-public-auditorium-november-9-1945), <https://gallery.multcolib.org/document/ballet-russe-de-monte-carlo-public-auditorium-november-9-1945>. Accessed 16 July 2023.

⁵⁵³ Anonymous. ‘Benefis S. Nadezhdina v teatre P-C.’ *Presse du Soir*, 5 July 1922, n.p.; VĪD. ‘O Russkom baletе v Konstantinopole.’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 May 1922, n.p.; VĪD. ‘V Oblakah Opiya.’ *Presse du Soir*, 29 April 1922, p. 3; VĪD. ‘Volshebnyaya Flejta Balet.’ *Presse du Soir*, 5 May 1922, n.p.; VĪD. ‘Balet Favoritka i Rab.’ *Presse du Soir*, 8 June 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁴ VĪD. ‘Balet Favoritka i Rab.’ *Presse du Soir*, 8 June 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.; VĪD. ‘Volshebnyaya Flejta.’ *Presse du Soir*, 29 May 1922, n.p.

⁵⁵⁶ VĪD. ‘K postanovke Salomei.’ *Presse du Soir*, 15 February 1922, n.p.

productions at the theatre, like Pavel Tchelitchev in his time, while other designers only appeared when additional help was needed. For instance, Leonid Tomiloff worked on the scenery for the production of ‘Pavel I’, Nikolai Uzunov is known to have worked on the decorations for the Italian opera ‘Tosca’, Nikolai Kalmykoff (1896–1951) occasionally worked on costumes at the theatre during that time and Nikolai/Nicholas Kaissaroff created ‘lubok and moderately colourful’ scenery for the ‘Petrushka’ ballet to the music of Stravinsky.⁵⁵⁷

3.2.3 Vladimir Bobritsky/Bobri as an émigré avant-garde artist at the Théâtre des Petits-Champs

Despite the fascinating life story of Vladimir Bobritsky (born 13 May 1898, in Kharkiv; died November 1986 in Rosedale, NY), which includes emigration to both Constantinople and America (specifically, New York in January 1923), where he produced illustrations for publications such as *Vogue*, *Vanity Fair*, *Harper’s Bazaar* and *The New Yorker*, no comprehensive work has yet been written about him as an artist or his creative output.⁵⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that one of the most well-known photographs of him depicts Bobritsky not with a paintbrush and canvas, but rather with a guitar since, in the US, he founded and led the New York City Classical Guitar Society, served as president of the Classical Guitar Society of America, designed album covers and worked as an artist and editor for *Guitar Review* magazine.⁵⁵⁹ It is possible that some photographs featuring him were destroyed in a fire at his home, which led to his death, while the rest are probably held in private archives. In the process of my own search for any of his photographs from the 1920s, I was only able to uncover a little-known image published in the *Star Tribune* newspaper (Minneapolis, Minnesota), which shows a young Bobritsky, who had already moved to America, decorating the shawl of Vera Strelnskaya, a former member of the Russian Imperial Ballet.⁵⁶⁰ In this photograph, he appears exactly as he would later be described in one article, as ‘a tall, scholarly-looking gentleman’.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁷ Anonymous. ‘K postanovke Pavla I.’ *Presse du Soir*, 29 December 1921, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Zimnij Teatr P-C.’ *Presse du Soir*, 7 January 1922, p. 2; Anonymous. ‘Garden P-C.’ *Presse du Soir*, 9 June 1923, p. 23; Anonymous. ‘Petrushka Stravinskogo v P-C.’ *Presse du Soir*, 1 February 1923, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁸ Some of his works created in the US can be seen here: Anonymous. ‘Bobri.’ *ls.vanabbemuseum.nl*, <https://ls.vanabbemuseum.nl/B/bobritsky/text/bobritskii.htm>. Accessed 16 July 2023.

⁵⁵⁹ The photograph can be seen here: Aygün, Ekaterina. ‘Vladimir Bobritsky.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5138-10440367>, last modified: 10-01-2022.

⁵⁶⁰ The portraits of Bobritsky, executed by B. Kosarev in 1916, can be seen here: Kovalenko, Georgiy, et al. *Avangard i teatr 1910-1920-h godov*. Moskva: Nauka, 2008; Anonymous. ‘1924 to be a year of “Nifties”.’ *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, Minnesota), 13 January 1924, p. 65.

⁵⁶¹ Watson, Ernest W. *Forty Illustrators and How They Work*. New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 1947, pp. 45–46.

Vladimir Bobritsky was born in Kharkiv, Ukraine, where he attended the Kharkiv Imperial Art School. He became a member of the group of young artists interested in Cubo-Futurism, the Union of Seven, which organised two exhibitions and published a collection of their works under the title ‘Seven Plus Three’.⁵⁶² In a short period, the Union organised two exhibitions and published a collection of their works under the title ‘Seven Plus Three’.⁵⁶³ A quite detailed article about the group (together with the works of the artists) was published in the *Sbornik Novogo Iskusstva* [The Miscellany of New Art] in 1919, as was Bobritsky’s pencil portrait of the Russian director, dramatist and theatre practitioner Nikolai Evreinov, executed by the artist in the same Cubo-Futurist style as his portrait of Maximilian Voloshin in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art in Moscow.⁵⁶⁴ In addition, starting from the age of seventeen, Bobritsky designed sets for the Drama Theatre in the city and was one of the first to introduce Gordon Craig’s methods that emphasised the use of symbolic imagery, minimalistic staging and collaboration among all aspects of the production to create a unified theatrical experience.⁵⁶⁵ In the theatre, under the direction of Boris Glagolin, he designed productions such as ‘Pan’, ‘Brand’, ‘The Miracle of Saint Anthony’ and others.⁵⁶⁶ Moreover, his works appeared in various publications, including the *Teatral’nyj Zhurnal* [The Theatre Magazine], and he took part in the design of the foyer of the Kharkiv Circus and the House of Actors.⁵⁶⁷

The lack of sources makes it difficult to verify the accuracy of Vladimir Bobritsky’s biography. The majority of available materials are based on his own accounts of his life, which leave one with the impression that he was either an easy-going adventurer or that he deliberately embellished certain episodes of his biography. For instance, it is claimed in some sources that after fighting in the Russian Civil War he fled to Crimea and worked as a wine presser for Tartar fruit and wine growers.⁵⁶⁸ He then allegedly earned his passage to Constantinople thanks to a group of Romani people he had met and for whom he played guitar in their chorus.⁵⁶⁹ Additionally, he is said to have travelled with a handmade passport containing eight pages of closely printed Polish, which passed the scrutiny of consular authorities from various countries

⁵⁶² Lejkind, *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh’ya* (1), p. 272.

⁵⁶³ Anonymous. ‘Soyuz Semi.’ *Sbornik Novogo Iskusstva*, Kiev: Izdaniye Vseukr. Otdela Iskusstv Kom. Nar. Prosv., 1919, p. 8.

⁵⁶⁴ This article holds significance as it offers insights into the early artistic endeavors of two other artists, Kalmykoff/Kalmukoğlu and Cybis, who, like Bobritsky, eventually relocated to Constantinople; Anonymous, ‘Soyuz Semi’, p. 8.

⁵⁶⁵ Viguers et al. *Illustrators of children’s books, 1946-1956*. Boston: Horn Book, 1958, p. 48.

⁵⁶⁶ Lejkind, *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh’ya* (1), pp. 271–272.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Watson, *Forty Illustrators and How They Work*, pp. 45–46.

⁵⁶⁹ Viguers, *Illustrators of children’s books, 1946-1956*, p. 48.

due to his impressive calligraphy skills.⁵⁷⁰ While we cannot confirm the veracity of the claims, based on sources that rely on Bobritsky's own narrative, we know that during his time in Constantinople, he worked with archaeologists, painted icons in a Greek monastery on the island of Heybeliada, created signs around the city, played the piano at cheap vaudeville shows in Pera and gave lectures on art to tourists.⁵⁷¹ What is known for certain is that, together with his colleagues from the Union of Seven, Nikolai Kalmykoff and Boleslaw Cybis, he became a member of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople. He participated in the Union's exhibitions, including those held at the beginning at Mayak and the major one at Taksim Military Barracks. According to newspaper articles about the latter, Bobritsky, who presented sketches of costumes and scenery, had earned a very good reputation as a theatre artist by the summer of 1922, as he was recognised by both Russian-speaking and local journalists in the city as 'so well-known for his costuming and stage settings'.⁵⁷² It can be assumed that the idea of going to the United States arose for Bobritsky in November 1922, when the leaders of the Union began helping its members emigrate there.⁵⁷³ Judging by reports about the second (winter) major exhibition of the Union at Taksim Military Barracks, journalists regretted the absence of Bobritsky, who had already left the city by the end of January.⁵⁷⁴ Two other members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, Nikolai Vasilieff and Constantin Alajalov (1900–1987), left the city at the same time and maintained friendly ties with Bobritsky in New York.⁵⁷⁵ Another intriguing facet of his life in America is that he found a patron in Robert Winthrop Chanler (1872–1930), a philanthropist, painter and admirer of Russian art.⁵⁷⁶ It is uncertain whether Bobritsky's introduction to Chanler resulted from the assistance provided by Americans in Constantinople who actively supported members of the Union.

How did Bobritsky gain widespread recognition in Constantinople for his costuming and stage design? He achieved this through his tireless work for over a year, from late 1921 to early 1923, as a theatrical artist on nearly all of the productions of the Théâtre des Petits-Champs, which were attended by the city's elite, including journalists. Bobritsky's interest in costumes and decorations was no coincidence, as he had often thought about the subject in

⁵⁷⁰ Watson, *Forty Illustrators and How They Work*, pp. 45–46.

⁵⁷¹ Viguers, *Illustrators of children's books, 1946-1956*, p. 48.

⁵⁷² Anonymous. 'Odnodnevnyaya Vystavka Kartin.' *Presse du Soir*, 10 October 1921, p. 4; Anonymous. 'Vystavka Soyuz Russkikh Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 19 June 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. 'L'Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon.' *Journal D'Orient*, 25 June 1922, n.p.

⁵⁷³ Anonymous. 'Soyuz Russkikh Hudozhnikov v Konstantinopole.' *Presse du Soir*, 28 November 1922, n.p.

⁵⁷⁴ Anonymous. 'L'Exposition de l'Union des Peintres russes a la caserne Mac-Mahon.' *Journal D'Orient*, 20 January 1923, n.p.

⁵⁷⁵ Lejkind, *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh'ya* (1), pp. 271–272.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Kharkiv, where he wrote articles and notes for the Union of Seven, most of which were about the theatre.⁵⁷⁷ He believed that the Cubist movement advanced a new perception and interpretation of form that eliminated the flatness and merging of actors with the background, making theatrical productions more real.⁵⁷⁸ It was envisaged that the decorations should cease to be immovable, and the unspoken messages within them would awaken the creative thought of the viewer.⁵⁷⁹ Bobritsky seems to have found his purpose in Constantinople in his work as a theatrical artist at the Théâtre des Petits-Champs, particularly since he was interested in the entire staging process and considered himself the chief implementer of directorial intentions.⁵⁸⁰ Thus, when he first received the opportunity to work on costumes and decorations for productions in Constantinople, he immediately set about realising some of his boldest ideas and concepts. For instance, in the winter of 1922, he created futuristic-style decorations for the productions of ‘Stenka Razin’ and ‘Scriabin’s Etude’, both of which were criticised by journalists who believed that the futuristic aspirations had become a bore.⁵⁸¹ Moreover, they called the decorations ‘primitive and crude’, asserting that the productions would have been beyond praise without them.⁵⁸²

However, fortunately for Bobritsky, in the spring of 1922, he received an abundance of positive feedback from journalists. It all started with Sergei Nadezhdin’s production of ‘In the Clouds of Opium’, held at the Garden Bar. The journalists appreciated the production’s liveliness, flights of fancy and elements of dissonance, especially the scene where a foxtrot breaks into a demonic revelry and dance of visions.⁵⁸³ They found the costumes for the production to be fantastically bright and original.⁵⁸⁴ In this case they criticised only the poorly distributed lighting on the stage.⁵⁸⁵ Later the costumes for ‘The Magic Flute’, with music from Tchaikovsky’s ‘Sleeping Beauty’ at the Garden Bar, were described as an ‘exquisitely moving gamut of colours’.⁵⁸⁶ Finally, the ballet ‘The Mistress and the Slave’ was appreciated solely for the artist’s costumes and scenery, which the journalists described as having ‘unusual

⁵⁷⁷ Kovalenko, *Avangard i teatr 1910-1920-h godov*, p. 57.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵⁸¹ Anonymous. ‘Novye postanovki russkogo baleta.’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 January 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Russkij balet.’ *Presse du Soir*, 1 February 1922, n.p.

⁵⁸² VĪD. ‘K postanovke Salomei.’ *Presse du Soir*, 15 February 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁸³ VĪD. ‘V Oblakah Opiya.’ *Presse du Soir*, 29 April 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁶ VĪD. ‘Volshebnyaya Flejta.’ *Presse du Soir*, 25 May 1922, p. 3; VĪD. ‘O Volshebnoj Flejte.’ *Presse du Soir*, 29 May 1922, n.p.

magnificence and splendour' that 'would have done credit to a first-class European theatre'.⁵⁸⁷ One of Bobritsky's costume sketches, a watercolour, gouache and pencil on paper for 'The Magic Flute' in Constantinople, is currently preserved at the Ukrainian Museum in New York.⁵⁸⁸ The sketch portrays the character ('fiancé Gretchihine') wearing a shirt with yellow embroidered roses, purple baggy pants with a wide yellow belt and yellow Eastern-style shoes with turned-up toes. It's possible to infer that a costume sketch featuring a lady wearing a mask and holding a lyre and a rose, created using watercolour and pencil with orange-green tones, was also made by Bobritsky in Constantinople. This assumption is supported by the fact that the artwork was recently sold at auction alongside works by other members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, including Anatoly/Anatole Morosoff, Viktor Prokopovich-Czartoryski and Vladimir Kadulin/Mitritch.⁵⁸⁹ In my opinion, both works bear similarities to costume sketches made around the same time by Alexandra Exter.⁵⁹⁰

Despite receiving negative feedback from journalists and being advised to avoid a whirl of Cubist and Futurist elements in his set designs, Bobritsky persisted in working in a Cubo-Futurist style.⁵⁹¹ He had already faced confusion over his stage designs in Kharkiv, and since this was not the first time that he had encountered criticism for his artistic choices he seemed to have developed a tolerance for such criticism.⁵⁹² Furthermore, judging by the fact that he continued to work in the same vein, it can be concluded that he encountered no resistance from his colleagues in productions, especially from the director Sergei Nadezhdin. In contrast to the costumes, the scenery designed by Bobritsky in the summer of 1922 for the ballet 'The Halt of the Cavalry' was once again characterised by journalists as 'exaggerated and pretentious', in a futuristic style 'people are weary of'.⁵⁹³ For the set designs of the ballet 'Pan', which was performed on the open stage of the Théâtre des Petits-Champs in the summer of 1922, Bobritsky combined antique elements with futuristic ones. Journalists noted the freshness of the colours, but criticised his choice of style, stating that 'his traditional exaggeration and imbalance towards excessive modernism disrupt the unity of the overall impression'.⁵⁹⁴ Similar comments were made about his new set designs for 'The Magic Flute', with the brightly painted flower pots in

⁵⁸⁷ VID. 'Balet Favoritka i Rab.' *Presse du Soir*, 8 June 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁸⁸ For more information: The Ukrainian Museum. *The Impact of Modernity: Late 19th And Early 20th Century Ukrainian Art*. New York, 2019.

⁵⁸⁹ Anonymous. 'Lot 1004: Vladimir Bobritsky.' *invaluable.com*, <https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/vladimir-bobritsky-1004-c-sapt4iguo4>. Accessed 25 September 2023.

⁵⁹⁰ Cohen, Ronny H. 'Alexandra Exter's Design for the Theater.' *Artforum*, Summer 1981, vol. 19, no. 10, p. 49.

⁵⁹¹ VID. 'V Oblakah Opiya.' *Presse du Soir*, 29 April 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁹² Kovalenko, *Avangard i teatr 1910-1920-h godov*, p. 59.

⁵⁹³ Anonymous. 'Prival Kavalerii.' *Presse du Soir*, 25 July 1922, n.p.

⁵⁹⁴ Anonymous. 'Pan Balet.' *Presse du Soir*, 3 August 1922, p. 3.

the windows creating dissonance in the overall tone.⁵⁹⁵ Despite this, both productions with these same set designs and costumes continued to please the audience.⁵⁹⁶ The manner and visual attributes of Bobritsky's contribution to the second presentation of 'Scheherazade' in the fall of 1922 remain obscure. It is unlikely that he deviated from his established artistic style. In any case, newspaper critics hailed his work as the highlight of the production, much as they hailed his decorations for the 'Harlequinade' ballet that also was held in fall 1922.⁵⁹⁷ A few of his watercolour artworks, which he created in America during the 1920s, are preserved at the Philadelphia Museum of Art as gifts from Christian Brinton. These pieces offer an insight into Bobritsky's artistic style during that era, including his sketches created in Constantinople, which sometimes faced criticism from those opposed to the Cubo-Futurist elements in theatre productions.⁵⁹⁸

To sum up, it is evident that the Théâtre des Petits-Champs served as a workplace for one group of Russian-speaking emigrants, particularly artists including painters, who had performed similar work in the former Russian Empire. For another group of emigrants from the former Russian Empire, it was a space of sociability where not only performances but also balls and other events involving communication, exchange and entertainment took place. It is also important to note that both the emigrants who worked in the theatre and those who attended productions constantly circulated in a cosmopolitan environment consisting of locals, representatives of Allied forces and city visitors. Therefore, it can be assumed that some interactions took place between them, as in the city's hotels. Contrary to the widespread opinion that Russian theatrical productions in Constantinople were generally unsuccessful, the case of the Théâtre des Petits-Champs shows that this was not the case at all, despite all the difficulties encountered by the artists. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the productions were quite successful, even though almost all of the main set designers of the theatre (Pavel Tchelitchew, Nikolai Vasilieff, Vladimir Bobritsky) were avant-garde artists who were not always accepted with enthusiasm elsewhere. Their sets and costumes, with rare exceptions, were always praised, making the Théâtre des Petits-Champs the heart of the 'Russian' or Russian and Ukrainian avant-garde in exile, like no other place in the city.⁵⁹⁹ However, the connection between the

⁵⁹⁵ Anonymous. 'Russkij balet v teatre P-C.' *Presse du Soir*, 9 August 1922, p. 3; Anonymous. 'Volshebnyaya Flejta Balet.' *Presse du Soir*, 10 August 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁶ Anonymous. 'V Teatre P-C.' *Presse du Soir*, 18 December 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁷ Anonymous. 'Scheherazade.' *Presse du Soir*, 1 September 1922, p. 3; Anonymous. 'Arlekinada.' *Presse du Soir*, 13 September 1922, n.p.

⁵⁹⁸ Anonymous. 'Maytime-Ukraine.' *philamuseum.org*, <https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/195846>. Accessed 20 July 2023.

⁵⁹⁹ For more information on the Ukrainian avant-garde: Shkandrij, Myroslav. *Avant-Garde Art in Ukraine, 1910–1930: Contested Memory*. Academic Studies Press, 2018.

Théâtre des Petits-Champs and Russian-speaking émigré artists (especially painters) was unable to develop actively further due to the formation of the Turkish Republic and the radical changes in the country and the city, which resulted in most of the émigré artists leaving the city. Nonetheless, at a later time Nikolai Peroff, a colleague of Vladimir Bobritsky, Nikolai Vasilieff and Nikolai Kalmykoff in the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, would become the main set designer of the theatre (the name of which, however, would change).⁶⁰⁰

3.3 The Émigré Artists and the Vibrant Nightlife of Constantinople's Maxim Club and Rose Noire Club in the 1920s

3.3.1 Nightlife in the occupied Pera district (1918-1923) and the émigré artists

During the occupation of Constantinople, an intriguing phenomenon unfolded as the city experienced an unprecedented surge in its entertainment sector. While this boom penetrated various parts of the city, the Pera district stood out as a frontrunner, being the area where the city's first theatre, cinema and beer hall were opened in their respective times.⁶⁰¹ Entertainment venues, created by foreigners residing in the district in the late 19th century, became important social hubs. Their purpose was to bring together their fellow citizens and increase their influence in the host country.⁶⁰² Despite typically offering amenities such as a library, café, restaurant, billiard room and ballroom, and often hosting various events such as charity functions, concerts, celebrations, conferences and more, the establishments usually closed well before midnight and did not involve the consumption of alcohol to the extent typically seen in the beer bars or nightclubs in the area.⁶⁰³ Among the notable establishments during this era was the Union Française, founded by Léon Berger in the Pera district at the beginning of 1894.⁶⁰⁴ It served as a gathering place for French-speaking individuals and aimed to surpass other European nations in its presence and accomplishments within the city, drawing inspiration from similar organisations established by foreign colonies, such as the Societa Operaia Italiana by Italian-speakers and Teutonia by German-speakers.⁶⁰⁵ The Societa Operaia Italiana (the Italian Workers' Association), was indeed a renowned establishment at the beginning of the 1920s that

⁶⁰⁰ Bek, Nadir. 'Pamyati N.K. Perova.' *Russkaya Mysl'* (Paris), 26 December 1963, n.p.; Ertuğrul, Muhsin. 'Dekorcumuz Nikola Perof.' *Türk Tiyatrosu*, no. 354, January–February 1964, n.p.; Özer, Ayşegül Oral. 'Ressam-Dekoratör Nikola Perof.' *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 150, June 1996, pp. 26–29.

⁶⁰¹ Kumrular, Özlem. *İstanbul Eğleniyor*. İBB Yayınları, 2022, p. 13; 44.

⁶⁰² Yaman, Zeynep. 'Belgelerde Union Française ve İstanbul Kent Yaşamındaki Yeri.' *MSGSÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2019, 3 (20), p. 380.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., pp. 379–392; Maessen, Enno. *Representing Modern Istanbul: Urban History and International Institutions in Twentieth Century Beyoğlu*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2021, pp. 37–40.

⁶⁰⁴ Yaman, 'Belgelerde Union Française ve İstanbul Kent Yaşamındaki Yeri', p. 380.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 382–384.

organised a variety of events and festive gatherings. It was founded in the Pera district in 1863 and moved to its main building, known as the Garibaldi building, in 1885.⁶⁰⁶ Furthermore, at the time the YMCA branches that were run by the American colony in the city served as popular destinations for social engagements, in particular the Mayak and the one situated next to the Palazzo Corpi, which at the time housed the US Embassy.⁶⁰⁷

With the arrival of the refugee artists in Constantinople, a considerable number of the refugees actively took part in the entertainment activities organised by these establishments, especially the Union Française and the local branches of the YMCA. The artists showcased their talents through concerts, theatrical performances and various other artistic displays. Notably, many of the establishments' events were charitable in nature, with the funds raised being directed towards the support of refugees or the Russian church.⁶⁰⁸ One of the numerous examples of joint events at the Societa Operaia Italiana was a concert by Italian opera artists of the Talarico family, featuring opera singer Madame Kozhina and students from the Italian Academy of Singing.⁶⁰⁹ At the Union Française, among other events, there were performances such as a concert by Isa Kremer, a ballet evening by Margarita Froman, an artist from the Imperial Moscow Theatre, Aryeh Friedman-L'vov's concert as a performer of Jewish songs, a concert by the 'Russian Quartet' featuring the artists of the Mariinsky Theatre, a masquerade ball in celebration of Purim and a theatrical performance based on a play by Alexander Ostrovsky.⁶¹⁰ In addition, in September 1924, an exhibition of paintings by the Russian émigré artist Alexandre Roubtzoff (1884–1949), who was living in Tunisia at that time, was held within its walls.⁶¹¹ In the YMCA branch near the American Embassy, under the patronage of Mark Lambert Bristol, concerts by Russian-speaking émigré musicians were quite frequent, and the final exhibition of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople was also held there.⁶¹² Furthermore, there is evidence indicating that one of the events was held at the German Teutonia Club, which served as a venue for dance and theatre shows as well as music-focused

⁶⁰⁶ Bornovalı, Sedat. 'Societa' Operaia-İtalyan İşçi Cemiyeti Binası.' *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı*, 2014, no. 8, pp. 148–155.

⁶⁰⁷ Further details regarding the Mayak will be discussed in Chapter 3.

⁶⁰⁸ Anonymous. 'Duhovnyj koncert.' *Presse du Soir*, 23 February 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Duhovnyj koncert.' *Presse du Soir*, 25 March 1924, n.p.

⁶⁰⁹ Anonymous. 'Koncert Talarico.' *Presse du Soir*, 8 March 1923, n.p.

⁶¹⁰ Anonymous. 'Koncert.' *Presse du Soir*, 25 March 1920, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Balet Margarita Froman.' *Presse du Soir*, 14 October 1920, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Koncert Friedman-L'vov.' *Presse du Soir*, 10 January 1921, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Russkij Kvartet.' *Presse du Soir*, 26 April 1923, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Bal prazdnika Purim.' *Presse du Soir*, 4 March 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. 'U istoka russkoj sily.' *Presse du Soir*, 7 February 1925, n.p.

⁶¹¹ Anonymous. 'K Vystavke Hudozhnika A.A. Roubtzova.' *Presse du Soir*, 20 September 1924, n.p.

⁶¹² Anonymous. 'Interesnyj koncert.' *Presse du Soir*, 4 February 1922, p. 3; Anonymous. 'Vokal'nyj ansambl'.' *Presse du Soir*, 9 February 1922, pp. 2–3; Ted'. 'K Vystavke Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 29 June 1923, n.p.

festivities, and suspended its activities in the aftermath of the First World War until its reopening in 1924.⁶¹³ However, the Russian-speaking community faced a lack of their own entertainment and opportunities for communication in their native language. As a result, sometime after arriving in the city, they had begun establishing their own gathering places. These primarily served to their specific interests but still attracted a diverse audience, including local residents and visitors to the city. The Mayak Club, in a way, exemplified such a space, although it was established not by ‘Russian’ refugees themselves but rather by Americans for the benefit of the ‘Russian’ refugee community (further details will be discussed in Chapter 3). Following the closure of Mayak, ‘Russian’ émigrés opened establishments such as the KKK/Club Commercial de Constantinople (the club’s chief decorator was Leonid Tomiloff) and the ROS/Russian Public Assembly. These were open to everyone, not just Russian speakers, but their main focus remained on serving the local ‘Russian’ community.⁶¹⁴ Until the leaders of the KKK turned their backs on their former compatriots in favour of local Levantine clients, which led to the opening of another ‘Russian’ club in the Pera district, supported by many émigré journalists, writers, poets, artists and painters (including Nikolai Kalmykoff, Ibrahim Safi, Nikolai Saraphanoff, Dimitri Ismailovitch and Roman Bilinski).⁶¹⁵

As for the entertainment venues in Constantinople/Istanbul in the early 20th century that allowed unrestricted alcohol sales, Charles King has pointed out that it was common for locals and guests of the city to visit Greek and Armenian taverns called *meyhane*, which had already been described by the traveller Evliya Çelebi in the 17th century.⁶¹⁶ Such venues provided a chance to delight in the consumption of *rakı*, relish in *meze* (appetizers) and immerse oneself in the magical melodies of the local music.⁶¹⁷ With the advent of the *Tanzimat* reform period, the city witnessed a substantial increase in alcohol-serving establishments, expanding beyond traditional taverns to include bars, clubs, hotels and restaurants that provided a wide variety of alcoholic beverages such as *rakı*, wine and beer.⁶¹⁸ However, despite the growing acceptance

⁶¹³ Anonymous. ‘Duhovnyj koncert.’ *Presse du Soir*, 7 May 1924, n.p. For more information regarding the Teutonia Club: Radt, Barbara. *Geschichte der Teutonia*. Orient Institut, 2001.

⁶¹⁴ Aygün, Ekaterina. ‘Konstantinopol’skiy Kommercheskiy Klub.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5145-10703476>, last modified: 15-09-2021; *Vecherniaia Gazeta*, almost all issues of 1924–1926; Anonymous. ‘V russkom obshchestvennom sobranii.’ *Presse du Soir*, 16 February 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Raspisaniye Nedeli ROS.’ *Presse du Soir*, 3 April 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Nash Klub.’ *Zarubezhnyj Klich*, April 1925, pp. 5–13.

⁶¹⁵ Estet. ‘O Klube Ser’ezno.’ *Vecherniaia Gazeta*, 25 February 1926, n.p.

⁶¹⁶ King, *Pera Palas’ta geceyarısı: modern İstanbul’un doğuşu*, p. 141.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 141–143; Koçu, Reşad Ekrem. *Eski İstanbul’da Meyhaneler ve Meyhane Köçekleri*. Doğan Kitap, 2002.

⁶¹⁸ Kumrular, *İstanbul Eğleniyor*, p. 237; MacArthur-Seal, Daniel-Joseph. ‘Intoxication and Imperialism. Nightlife in Occupied Istanbul, 1918-23.’ *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 2017, no. 37 (2), pp. 299–313.

of alcohol consumption among the Muslim elite in late Ottoman Istanbul, acts of drunkenness continued to have the potential to disturb large segments of the city's population.⁶¹⁹ It's also important to emphasise that during this period, especially for the Turkish population living under occupation, there were few chances for amusement, with only rare events like Ramadan serving as opportunities for celebration.⁶²⁰ Consequently, only a small number of the locals would dare to explore the Pera district at night for entertainment, and even if they did, they would often be easily recognised by their fez hats and were typically greeted disrespectfully. This was exemplified by the experience of Avram Garti, the grandfather of Jak Deleon, who visited the renowned establishment Eftalipos, commonly referred to as the 'first-class casino', in hopes of enjoying a drink, but was treated rudely.⁶²¹

The situation was completely different for representatives of the Allied forces, their entourages, including many Russian-speaking émigrés, non-Muslims in the city and some wealthy Turks who even hosted receptions at home.⁶²² As Charles Harington described it, their lives were filled with joy, particularly during the evenings.⁶²³ The Allied occupation noticeably influenced the district's nightlife, breathing new life into the entertainment industry that had suffered during the hardships of war. By 1921, the city proudly boasted a significant number of licensed establishments serving alcohol, including 257 restaurants, 31 cafes and 471 beer halls (in comparison, there were just over 30 beer halls in the city during the early 1890s, many of which were fashionable establishments opened by German speakers).⁶²⁴ The highest concentration of drinking venues could be found in Pera and Galata, areas that housed numerous embassies, trading centres, hotels and a significant population of Ottoman Christians and foreigners.⁶²⁵ According to research by Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal, bars in Istanbul were predominantly established by individuals like Bertha Proctor, a native of Lancashire who had accompanied British troops during their departure from Allied-occupied Salonica and eventually opened Bertha's Bar in Şişli; J. Christo, who operated the Union Jack Bar in Mudros, Imbros and Salonica before relocating it to Constantinople; and a British soldier who, after being demobilised, decided to open the Britannia Brasserie in the city to which he had been

⁶¹⁹ Georgeon, François. 'Ottomans and Drinkers: The Consumption of Alcohol in Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century.' in *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, edited by Eugene Lawrence Rogan. London: I.B. Tauris, 2002, p. 14.

⁶²⁰ Kumrular, *İstanbul Eğleniyor*, p. 40; 45.

⁶²¹ Gezgin, *İşgal Günlerinde İstanbul*, p. 34; Kumrular, *İstanbul Eğleniyor*, pp. 47–48; 276–277.

⁶²² Kumrular, *İstanbul Eğleniyor*, pp. 40–42; 51.

⁶²³ Ibid., p. 40; King, *Pera Palas'ta geceyarısı*, p. 86.

⁶²⁴ Kabagöz, Murat Can. *Eğlenirken Modernleşmek; Meyhaneden Baloz, İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e İstanbul*. Heretik, 2016, p. 79; Kumrular, *İstanbul Eğleniyor*, pp. 219–225.

⁶²⁵ MacArthur-Seal, 'Intoxication and Imperialism. Nightlife in Occupied Istanbul, 1918-23', p. 301.

transported.⁶²⁶ British journalists observed the seemingly magical appearance of ‘English’, ‘Scotch’, ‘London’ and ‘Gibraltar’ Bars all over the city, reflecting the intention to offer a comforting sense of familiarity to Allied servicemen far from their homes.⁶²⁷ However, these bars also became the scene of frequent drunken fights, often involving the numerous armed Allied soldiers who were present.⁶²⁸

At the same time, there was also an ‘eruption of theatres, music halls, cabarets and similar institutions’ in the city, with a significant number being established or run by Levantines or Russian-speaking émigrés.⁶²⁹ For instance, notable examples include the previously mentioned Théâtre des Petits-Champs, the Luna Park, La Régence Restaurant, the Alhambra Music Hall, Moscovite/the Grand Cercle Moscovite restaurant, the Nicoli club-restaurant and numerous other entertainment venues. Luna Park, opened on 18 June 1922, by an émigré Drankov in the Şişli district, went beyond amusement-park rides and offered Caucasian cuisine, a bar, theatrical performances, operettas, ballet shows and more.⁶³⁰ La Régence café-restaurant, established by the Frenchman Marius Berthet at the beginning of Grand Rue de Pera, not only catered to a large number of Russian-speaking customers but also actively employed them.⁶³¹ The family-oriented music hall, Alhambra, located at Pera 320, gained immense popularity and resembled similar establishments in European countries of that era.⁶³² While primarily functioning as a restaurant, the Moscovite, situated at the end of Grand Rue de Pera, regularly organised masquerade parties with orchestral performances and various decorations, making it a favoured destination of the city’s elite.⁶³³ Eventually, in 1924, a restaurant called Nicoli took over the premises, becoming a beloved spot for Jews from the former Russian Empire. It hosted lectures, such as Anatoliy Bournakine’s presentation on the topic ‘How I Stopped Being an Anti-Semite’, as well as concerts and dance evenings.⁶³⁴ It’s worth noting that some of the establishments not only provided entertainment but also served alcoholic beverages. As Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal rightly points out in his article, these establishments, with their wide-ranging programmes that included both distinctly Western and Oriental themes, offered the local population an opportunity to engage with Europe, while at the same time providing

⁶²⁶ Ibid., p. 301.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., p. 302.

⁶²⁸ Ibid., p. 304.

⁶²⁹ Brigg and ‘Wanderer’, *Constantinople Cameos*, p. 19.

⁶³⁰ Anonymous. ‘Luna-Park.’ *Slovo*, 18 June 1922, p. 1.

⁶³¹ Anonymous. ‘Kafe-restoran La Regence.’ *Presse du Soir*, n.d. 1920, p. 4.

⁶³² Anonymous. ‘Algambra.’ *Put*, 19 October 1924, p. 15.

⁶³³ Anonymous. ‘Intimnyj bal-maskarad Bol’shogo Moskovskogo Kruzhka.’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 January 1923, p. 3.

⁶³⁴ Anonymous. ‘Soyuz Evrejskikh Prepodavatelej.’ *Presse du Soir*, 8 May 1924, n.p.

Europeans with an immersive experience of the Near East.⁶³⁵ The venues were bustling and popular, operating until late hours. However, as a result of regulations regarding inappropriate behaviour, establishments without clear connections to the Allied nations, and thus less likely to receive special treatment, could be penalised or forced to shut down if they violated the imposed restrictions.⁶³⁶

Overall, during that period in the city, individuals with even a modest amount of disposable income didn't have to wonder where they could go or how they could enjoy themselves during the evening or night-time.⁶³⁷ At the time, the city boasted a wide range of choices, vividly depicted by Ernest Hemingway, who described Constantinople as being engulfed in a captivating 'dance of death'.⁶³⁸ Despite the vast array of options for entertainment, two establishments, the Maxim Club and the Rose Noire Club, stood out as particularly favoured among the wealthy members of the 'Russian' community, foreigners and locals alike in the 1920s. Among the numerous establishments opened by Russian-speaking émigrés in the city, only the Maxim Club and the Rose Noire Club⁶³⁹ were featured on the Istanbul map created by the Allied cartographic service.⁶⁴⁰ Furthermore, only these two 'Russian' clubs consistently had their announcements, advertisements and programme updates regularly published in the city's periodicals in various languages. What were the factors that influenced this phenomenon? In what ways did these two establishments stand out from the rest in the city? What were their distinguishing features? Did they meet the standards set by fashionable entertainment venues in European cities during that era, renowned for their lively ambiance that attracted people for socialising, drinking and dancing? Furthermore, did they serve as gathering places for Russian-speaking émigré artists in general, and specifically for émigré painters? To address these inquiries, we must delve into these two specific cases: the Maxim Club and the Rose Noire Club.

3.3.2 *The Maxim Club*

There are only a few surviving photographs of Frederick Bruce Thomas (1872–1928), an émigré from the former Russian Empire who opened the Maxim Club in Constantinople on

⁶³⁵ MacArthur-Seal, 'Intoxication and Imperialism. Nightlife in Occupied Istanbul, 1918-23', p. 303.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁶³⁷ Kumrular, *İstanbul Eğleniyor*, p. 43.

⁶³⁸ Hemingway, Ernest. *İşgal İstanbul'u*. Bilgi Yayınevi, 1988, p. 19.

⁶³⁹ If one doesn't count the Anglo-American Garden Bar (Club Stella) which was founded by a British woman Bertha Proctor and Frederick Bruce Thomas, an émigré from the former Russian Empire.

⁶⁴⁰ Base map/Istanbul map prepared by the Allied cartographic service at the very beginning of the occupation, November 1918 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

22 November 1921. One of the photos shows a young and ambitious African-American man wearing a cap and smoking a pipe, while a couple of others depict him at a more mature age, elegantly dressed with fashionable accessories, including a hat and a full moustache, reflecting upon his worldly experiences.⁶⁴¹ The book *The Black Russian*, written by Professor Vladimir Alexandrov based on archival documents, provides detailed accounts of how Thomas came to be a Russian subject and ended up on one of the ships evacuating refugees from Russia's shores.⁶⁴² The book traces Thomas's "journey" from Mississippi (Coahoma County) as the child of former slaves to his remarkable rise as a prosperous and influential figure in Moscow and Constantinople, where he ultimately died in prison as a debtor in 1928.⁶⁴³ In 1899, Thomas embarked on a journey to Russia, where he utilised his entrepreneurial drive, magnetic personality and exceptional abilities to open flourishing establishments and achieve remarkable success. He repeated this pattern of success when he fled to Constantinople because of the revolution.

It is crucial to comprehend that, as in Moscow before the revolution, the reputation of the Maxim Club in Constantinople was closely tied to the name of its owner, Frederick Bruce Thomas, who settled in the Pera Palace Hotel upon his arrival.⁶⁴⁴ This fact is evident from the newspaper announcements and advertisements, where his name appears alongside the name of the club that he opened on Taksim Square, positioned between the city's well-known Grand Rue de Pera and the emerging entertainment district of Şişli. Thus, visitors didn't just go to a popular venue; they went to Thomas, confident that he would ensure their enjoyment at the highest level. Undoubtedly, one of the defining features of the Maxim Club was the opportunity to listen to jazz for the first time in the city, although contemporary sources often overlook or briefly mention this fact.⁶⁴⁵ During the club's opening week, Thomas secured the services of American drummer Harry A. Carter and his band, the Shimmie Orchestra, for the entire season.⁶⁴⁶ Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic, he successfully assembled a talented jazz band under the guidance of a saxophonist Jean Mussouri. The band comprised

⁶⁴¹ Varoli, John. 'How the son of freed American slaves found fortune and glory in Imperial Russia.' *rbth.com*, <https://www.rbth.com/history/333465-black-russian-frederick-thomas>. Accessed 21 July 2023.

⁶⁴² Alexandrov, Vladimir. *The Black Russian*. Head of Zeus, 2013.

⁶⁴³ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁴ Alexandrov, Vladimir. *Chernyj Russkij: Istoriya odnoj sud'by*. Novoye Literaturnoye Obozreniye, 2017, pp. 235–236.

⁶⁴⁵ As it is rightly pointed out in Kumrular, *İstanbul Eğleniyor*, p. 79: 'Until recently, the emergence of jazz in Istanbul was dated back to the years 1925-1926, based on İlhan Mimaroglu's book "Caz Sanatı" (The Art of Jazz); however, now we can push the arrival of jazz in Istanbul back by seven or eight years. Fikret Adil's "Gardenbar Geceleri" (Gardenbar Nights) and Vladimir Alexandrov's book titled "Siyah Rus" (Black Russian) reveal that the story of jazz in Istanbul actually began with Afro-American Frederick Bruce Thomas, who was a Russian citizen.'

⁶⁴⁶ Anonymous. 'Storonnii soobshcheniya.' *Presse du Soir*, 8 February 1924, n.p.

such Russian-speaking émigré musicians as A. Garachek (pianist), Max Polyakov (banjo) and Mamed Shekhlynsky (drummer).⁶⁴⁷ In addition, visitors to the Maxim Club could take part in the popular dances of the time, such as the foxtrot, which gained immense popularity in the city. A lengthy newspaper article titled ‘The Majesty of the Foxtrot’ praised the Maxim Club as a ‘fashionable and aristocratic’ establishment that ranked first among the top four foxtrot venues in the city.⁶⁴⁸ The author of the article described it as follows: ‘Respected elderly merchants, taking a break from stock market calculations and commercial negotiations, joyfully danced the foxtrot alongside a young diplomat, a trendy doctor, and a serious court prosecutor. They danced with diligence and focus, as if carrying out a responsible task.’⁶⁴⁹ It should be noted, however, that during the first three or four days of the African-American jazz band 7 Palm Beach’s performance, hardly anyone had the courage to hit the dance floor because the jazz tempo was unfamiliar to most.⁶⁵⁰ As the popularity of the Foxtrot declined and the Charleston dance took over, Thomas decided to regularly feature a German duo, Lucy Hudson and Fritz Eckert, renowned artists from the Vienna Opera.⁶⁵¹ In addition to German-speaking dancers, Thomas occasionally invited English, American and French performers.⁶⁵² He had significant experience in this regard, as during his time in Moscow, he travelled to Europe to meet artists in order to include them in the programmes of local establishments.⁶⁵³ Apart from this, the Maxim Club frequently organised tango, foxtrot, Boston waltz and one-step competitions, often awarding half a case of champagne as the prize.⁶⁵⁴ Essentially, the establishment was associated with innovative dance forms and the vibrant sounds of jazz, which were prevalent in many entertainment venues around the world at the time.⁶⁵⁵ American visitors, who had a great affinity for jazz and dance, arrived in the city in large numbers on steamboats and inevitably made their way to the Maxim.⁶⁵⁶ According to Vladimir Alexandrov’s book, they found everything about this establishment astonishing, from the fact that a person of colour led the city’s finest club to the fact that most of the waitresses at Maxim

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁸ STEK. ‘Ego Velichestvo Fokstrot.’ *Presse du Soir*, 18 April 1925, n.p.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ Adil, Fikret. *Avare Gençlik & Gardenbar Geceleri*. Sel Yayıncılık, 2017, pp. 186–187.

⁶⁵¹ STEK. ‘Mimohodom.’ *Presse du Soir*, May 1926, n.p.

⁶⁵² Anonymous. ‘Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 5 January 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 28 June 1922, n.p.

⁶⁵³ Alexandrov, Vladimir. *Siyah Rus*. Translated by Bahar Tırnakçı, İş Bankası Yayınları, 2015, pp. 96–97.

⁶⁵⁴ Anonymous. ‘Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 21 April 1923, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Letnij Sad Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 26 May 1923, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Letnij Sad Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 2 June 1923, n.p.

⁶⁵⁵ Ostende, Florence, and Lotte Johnson. *Into the Night: Die Avantgarde im Nachtcafé*. Prestel Verlag, 2020, p. 16.

⁶⁵⁶ Anonymous. ‘Amerikanskije turisty v Konstantinopole.’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 February 1924, n.p.

were former 'Russian' aristocrats.⁶⁵⁷ Even though at the time the place was already the talk of the town and didn't require any further promotion, Thomas advertised it by strolling down the bustling Grand Rue de Pera accompanied by his employees and the orchestra.⁶⁵⁸

Moreover, the Maxim Club was renowned for its excellent restaurant, which served luxurious four-course lunches (with prices gradually increasing from 150 to 250 piasters during the 1920s) and coffee daily, as well as dinners.⁶⁵⁹ Dishes included borscht, Russian-style sturgeon, goose with apples, grouse in sour cream, guriev porridge, oysters au gratin, Montpellier apples, asparagus cream soup, chipolata turkey stew, plum pudding and more. The Maxim also offered a variety of events with confetti and streamers, ranging from the *matinée dansante*, evening concerts with Maestro Stromberg's orchestra, performances by the Caucasian Trio (featuring Caucasian dances) under the direction of Misha Toporidze, masquerade and costume balls (some of which awarded prizes for the most beautiful legs), themed evenings such as 'Night in Ancient Egypt', 'Polish Ball', 'Evening at Moulin Rouge' or 'Doll Ball', where each lady portrayed a doll, to the Tamburacı Osman Pehlivan Show with *saz/bağlama* playing and *zeybek* dance (at the request of Admiral Bristol).⁶⁶⁰ In my view, such a diverse range of events at the club existed with the aim of keeping the attention of the public, whose tastes were influenced by the modern urban lifestyle, necessitating rapid shifts in perspective, like a kaleidoscope.⁶⁶¹ Nevertheless, the city's Europeans and Levantines, perhaps above all, valued the fact that the club regularly featured a professional ballet troupe (whose composition varied but consistently delivered top performances), which was led at a certain stage by Viktor Zimin and presented a new programme every Saturday.⁶⁶² As journalists rightly pointed out, Thomas's secret to success lay in his constant effort to offer something special to the guests and to satisfy their demanding tastes.⁶⁶³ For instance, after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, he organised vibrant celebrations of local holidays, featuring an arch adorned with Turkish ornaments and a large illuminated crescent at the top of the entrance, as well as a

⁶⁵⁷ Alexandrov, *Siyah Rus*, pp. 222–224.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁶⁵⁹ Anonymous. 'Menu.' *Presse du Soir*, 24 December 1921, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Russkij sochel'nik u Maksima.' *Presse du Soir*, 5 January 1924, p. 3; Anonymous. 'Maxim.' *Presse du Soir*, 17 January 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Maxim.' *Presse du Soir*, 19 January 1924, n.p.

⁶⁶⁰ Alexandrov, *Siyah Rus*, pp. 226–227; Anonymous. 'U Maxima.' *Presse du Soir*, 10 January 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Maxim.' *Presse du Soir*, 19 January 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Maxim.' *Presse du Soir*, 24 January 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Maxim.' *Presse du Soir*, 31 January 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Sad Maxim.' *Presse du Soir*, 24 July 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Maxim.' *Presse du Soir*, 9 August 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Maxim.' *Presse du Soir*, 17 September 1924, n.p.; STEK. 'Ego Velichestvo Fokstrot.' *Presse du Soir*, 18 April 1925, n.p.

⁶⁶¹ Ostende, Florence, and Lotte Johnson. *Into the Night: Die Avantgarde im Nachtcafé*, p. 17.

⁶⁶² Anonymous. 'Maxim Bal Intime.' *Le Journal d'Orient*, n.d. 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Maxim. Le premier debut de la saison.' *Le Journal d'Orient*, n.d. 1922, n.p.

⁶⁶³ STEK. 'Ego Velichestvo Fokstrot.' *Presse du Soir*, 18 April 1925, n.p.

specially decorated hall in Turkish style, with a glowing portrait of Mustafa Kemal Pasha against a backdrop of a Turkish panorama at its centre.⁶⁶⁴

Thomas was highly regarded not only by his clients but also by the Russian émigré community representatives due to his active involvement in philanthropic endeavours and his willingness to support his fellow compatriots (even though they were only partially compatriots).⁶⁶⁵ One of the notable charitable events was the ‘Evening in Support of Georgian Refugees’, which featured a concert, miniatures, ballet performances, Georgian singing and dancing. The event was organised under the patronage of influential individuals in Constantinople, including the Japanese diplomat Uchida Sadatsuchi,⁶⁶⁶ the Belgian representative Michotte de Welle and esteemed members of the ‘Russian’ community such as Baranovskaya and Gvarjaladze.⁶⁶⁷ Additionally, the club regularly celebrated ‘Russian’ community holidays such as Christmas, New Year, Easter, Maslenitsa and more.⁶⁶⁸ Moreover, the club’s artistic programme primarily consisted of émigré artists from the former Russian Empire, making the club a crucial workplace and source of livelihood for them.⁶⁶⁹ Varvara Kostrova eloquently depicted the significance of its existence for the Russian-speaking émigré employees:

One evening, amidst the sounds of fashionable foxtrots emanating from restaurants and cabarets, within the cacophony of the lively southern crowd, filled with laughter, arguments, and the enticing calls of street vendors, a cry for help pierced through. A fire had erupted. [...] The neighbouring building next to the Maxim restaurant was engulfed in flames. In a state of panic, men in tuxedos and women in elegant evening gowns rushed outside. The building appeared empty, but suddenly, a woman emerged onto its doorstep. Her blonde hair glowed crimson in the fire’s glow. She stood there, her hands wringing, unleashing a scream of despair, ‘Why isn’t anyone trying to extinguish the fire? Where will we work if Maxim burns down?’⁶⁷⁰

The newspaper announcements indicated that, apart from the presence of artists such as dancers, singers and musicians, the club actively involved émigré painters in various aspects, especially

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ Anonymous. ‘Besplatnye elki dlya detej.’ *Presse du Soir*, Winter 1925, n.p.

⁶⁶⁶ For more information about Uchida Sadatsuchi in Istanbul: Esenbel, Selçuk. ‘Harbi Umumi’de Japonya-Osmanlı İlişkileri.’ *Toplumsal Tarih*, March 2020, pp. 70–75.

⁶⁶⁷ Anonymous. ‘Sad Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 5 June 1922, n.p.

⁶⁶⁸ Anonymous. ‘Russkij sochel’nik u Maksima.’ *Presse du Soir*, 5 January 1924, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 17 January 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 7 April 1923, n.p.

⁶⁶⁹ STEK. ‘Ego Velichestvo Fokstrot.’ *Presse du Soir*, 18 April 1925, n.p.

⁶⁷⁰ Kostrova, Varvara. *Lica skvoz’ gody. Sobytiya. Vstrechi. Dumy*. Neizvestnyj XX vek, 2006, p. 43.

the creation of murals (which was a prevalent practice in European nightlife venues), decorations and costumes. The writer of the obituary for Thomas in *The New York Times* in 1928 would state that Thomas ‘drew upon the Russian genius’ in matters of decoration, among other things.⁶⁷¹ It should be noted that within the context of Constantinople, this holds great significance due to the fact that Russian-speaking émigré artists left their imprint on the city mainly through their creation of murals – resembling works by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Léon Bakst, Serge Sudeikin and others – that adorned entertainment venues during the 1920s and local apartments during the 1930s, although only a few of them have managed to survive until the present time.⁶⁷² Unfortunately, aside from individuals like Nikolai Vasilieff, who painted two walls of the Maxim restaurant during his stay, and Boris Polunin, who transformed the club into a wintry wonderland for a charitable New Year’s children’s celebration, the names of the artists are largely unknown.⁶⁷³ Nevertheless, it is clear that the club was of immense importance to them, serving as a vital space where they could pursue their professions and earn a living.

Regrettably, despite the club’s huge popularity in the 1920s, to my knowledge, there are no surviving photographs of the interior or of the events held there during that time. The available photos mainly show the exterior and interior after 1927, when Thomas had been imprisoned for debts and the place was renamed the ‘Yeni Maxim’. It can be assumed that it partly resembled the interior of the Yar restaurant in Moscow, which Thomas managed to turn from a restaurant into a nightclub shortly before the revolution.⁶⁷⁴ What is certain is that Thomas was known for his serious approach to the venue’s interior and would occasionally renovate it. For instance, after the formation of the Turkish Republic, the outdoor part of the club overlooking the Bosphorus was redesigned, with a new mirrored platform for dancing, decorated with tropical plants.⁶⁷⁵ He even enlisted the expertise of René Regamey, one of the top Belgian restaurant specialists, in constructing ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin’, a summer venue in the Tarabya

⁶⁷¹ Ostende, Florence, and Lotte Johnson. *Into the Night: Die Avantgarde im Nachtcafé*, p. 12; On July 8, 1928, *The New York Times* reported the death of Frederick Thomas. Source: Varoli, ‘How the son of freed American slaves found fortune and glory in Imperial Russia’.

⁶⁷² Belozerskaya-Bulgakova, *Vospominaniya*, pp. 4–26; Further information on the matter: Bayar, Güven. *Resimli İstanbul Apartmanları*. İBB Yayınları, 2023.

⁶⁷³ Anonymous. ‘Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 17 January 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Sad Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 24 July 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 17 September 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Besplatnye elki dlya detej.’ *Presse du Soir*, Winter 1925, n.p.

⁶⁷⁴ The photograph of the Yar can be seen here: Varoli, ‘How the son of freed American slaves found fortune and glory in Imperial Russia’.

⁶⁷⁵ Anonymous. ‘Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 29 May 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Maxim.’ *Presse du Soir*, 30 May 1924, n.p.

area along the Bosphorus shoreline.⁶⁷⁶ During its grand opening, the city's most famous and influential figures, including the Italian, French, Dutch, Turkish and Russian personalities, arrived in cars, yachts and motorboats.⁶⁷⁷ Unfortunately, Thomas faced a string of failures, starting from the spring of 1924 when the police discovered an illegal gambling game in a club. Although the newspaper did not mention the club's name, presumably to protect its reputation, it was clear that they were referring to the Maxim.⁶⁷⁸ Then, in the autumn of 1925, an Italian named Mario Serra obtained the privilege of leasing Yıldız Palace and opening a casino there.⁶⁷⁹ The establishment not only became an elegant casino but also emerged as the new hub of the city, featuring dance halls, bars and restaurants.⁶⁸⁰ In other words, it became the Maxim's primary competitor, if one doesn't count the 'Russian' club CCC/KKK, which copied the Maxim's eclectic programme and enjoyed great popularity from 1924 to 1926.⁶⁸¹ Additionally, the introduction of new taxes began to burden Thomas. Unable to repay debts, he was arrested in October 1927 and imprisoned in Sultanahmet Prison, where he suffered harsh living conditions, which worsened his health and ultimately led to his death.⁶⁸² Sadly, due to a lack of funds, he wasn't given a gravestone at the Catholic Latin Cemetery in Feriköy, depriving him of a commemoration for his legacy as the 'Sultan of Jazz'.⁶⁸³

Undeniably, his experiences as an immigrant in various cities and countries played a vital role in his achievements. From his time as an employee in hotels in Chicago and New York to his ventures in renowned European cities, Moscow restaurants and earlier entertainment venues in Constantinople, all of these experiences contributed to his success. Without such a diverse background, Thomas would have encountered difficulties in establishing the club as a vibrant hub that represented 'economic exchange, the migration of people, and the dissemination of culture'.⁶⁸⁴ He skilfully created a realm of artistic fusion centred around jazz, and the place quickly became a favourite among foreign visitors, whilst many locals continued to regard it as noisy and debauched. Throughout the 1920s, the Maxim remained an important space where émigrés from the former Russian Empire could earn a

⁶⁷⁶ STEK. 'Chto nam gotovit letnij sezon.' *Presse du Soir*, 26 April 1926, n.p.

⁶⁷⁷ STEK. 'Vchera v Villa Tom.' *Presse du Soir*, May 1926, n.p.

⁶⁷⁸ Anonymous. 'Bor'ba s azartom.' *Presse du Soir*, May 1924, n.p.

⁶⁷⁹ Alexandrov, *Siyah Rus*, pp. 247–249.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁸¹ Aygün, 'Konstantinopol'skiy Kommercheskiy Klub', *METROMOD Archive*.

⁶⁸² Alexandrov, *Siyah Rus*, pp. 253–254.

⁶⁸³ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁴ Ostende, Florence, and Lotte Johnson. *Into the Night: Die Avantgarde im Nachtcafé*, p. 16.

⁶⁸⁵ Alexandrov, *Siyah Rus*.

livelihood and collaborate with colleagues from diverse cities and countries, fostering an environment of exchange.

3.3.3 *The Rose Noire*

In the 1920s, black-and-white photographs of the building on today's Istiklal avenue, now known as Circle d'Orient, captured a magnificent square streetlamp adorned with black roses.⁶⁸⁶ The streetlamp had actually been installed in front of the building in the early 1920s as a marker for the Rose Noire, the entertainment establishment located on the building's right side, on the second floor/ *bel étage* (during the 1920s the address was indicated as Pera 146). The lamp was distinct from the signs of other similar establishments in the city, almost as if it were conveying the message that the place was unique and innovative. The establishment also had another distinctive characteristic: a live advertisement in the form of a large black cardboard figure wearing a top hat and red nose.⁶⁸⁷ This figure would walk along today's Istiklal avenue to advertise the Rose Noire, which was an unconventional method of promotion in Constantinople at the time. Alexander Vertinsky, a well-known poet, musician and singer who had fled to Constantinople from the former Russian Empire, was likely behind these bold promotional ideas. Although the establishment had been opened by a certain entrepreneur (according to Russian sources, Turkish subject, Nurettin Bey; according to other sources, A. Weinbaum, a Jew from Kyiv), the man behind it was Alexander Vertinsky, who took the lead in managing the venue.⁶⁸⁸ According to journalists of the time, everything in the establishment was à la Vertinsky, including the programme and the waitresses, who wore modest black clothes with hairpins with gold roses embroidered on them and whispered Baudelaire's poems into the guests' ears.⁶⁸⁹ Later, however, certain émigrés would recall that Vertinsky's fame was not only based on his performances at the Rose Noire and his management of the place, but also on his remarkably sympathetic response to the misery of his fellow countrymen. For instance, he provided assistance and sustenance, and even allowed those with nowhere to go to stay overnight at the Rose Noire after it shut down at 2am.⁶⁹⁰ Even though Vertinsky did not remain in Constantinople for an extended period (his farewell concert took place on 24 May 1922), the

⁶⁸⁶ The photograph was shared by Necati Göksel. Regrettably, the originator of the image remains unidentified.

⁶⁸⁷ Anonymous. 'Echo des Theatres.' *Zhizn' i Iskusstvo*, 6 February 1921, p. 5.

⁶⁸⁸ Siğirci, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol'!: po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii*, p. 106; Sperco, Willy. *TURCS d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1961, p. 144.

⁶⁸⁹ Alexandrov, *Siyah Rus*, p. 198.

⁶⁹⁰ Bahrushin, *Moya Zhizn'*, pp. 26–27.

unique ambiance and atmosphere of the establishment were maintained by subsequent managers until the end of the 1920s.⁶⁹¹

During the 1920s, the *Presse du Soir* newspaper in Constantinople frequently published announcements for the venue, providing extensive details about its programme and various aspects. The majority of the announcements featured the Rose Noire's symbol, the black rose. Furthermore, one of its announcements contained both a black rose and an excerpt from Alexander Blok's poem 'In a Restaurant': I sat at the window in a crowded hall // Where violins sang of love somewhere // I sent you a black rose in a glass // Of gold Aÿ, like the sky.⁶⁹² Based on this announcement, it seems likely that Vertinsky named the establishment out of his admiration for Alexander Blok, a renowned symbolist poet known for his use of vivid and surreal imagery in exploring themes of love, death and spirituality.⁶⁹³ The black rose, a recurring motif in the poet's work, has been interpreted in different ways depending on the context of the poem, symbolising the uncertain nature of life or representing profound human experiences such as love, grief and the search for meaning – perhaps explaining why Vertinsky, an émigré forced to leave his homeland, chose such a name. According to the first announcement of the venue, the Rose Noire opened on 20 October 1920, and was presented to the readers of the newspaper as an 'intimate' place with two chefs, an imperial chef from the former Russian Empire and a French chef from Paris.⁶⁹⁴ The excellent food was one of the reasons why local intellectuals, Russian-speaking émigrés and representatives of the Allied Forces regularly gathered for nightly meetings. Among them, the American High Commissioner in Constantinople, Admiral Bristol, stood out as one of the most frequent patrons.⁶⁹⁵ He would personally reserve a table via telephone almost every evening, accompanied by his wife and entourage, indulging in champagne and generously spending a significant amount of money.⁶⁹⁶ The venue's musical programme, which featured Vertinsky himself, in the early 1920s, was another draw. Vertinsky recounted in his memoirs that he primarily sang 'gypsy' melodies that the visitors enjoyed, rather than his own songs, which foreigners could not understand.⁶⁹⁷ Nevertheless, it was evident from the gathering of the singer's fans beneath the Rose Noire's windows that he entertained them with more than just

⁶⁹¹ Anonymous. 'Vertinsky.' *Presse du Soir*, 24 May 1922, p. 3.

⁶⁹² Anonymous. 'Rose Noire.' *Presse du Soir*, 12 August 1922, p. 3.

⁶⁹³ Novikov, Vladimir. *Aleksandr Blok*. Moskva: Molodaya Gvardiya, 2012.

⁶⁹⁴ Anonymous. 'Rose Noire.' *Presse du Soir*, 20 October 1920, n.p.

⁶⁹⁵ Vertinsky, Aleksandr. *Dorogoj dlinnoyu... İzdatel'stvo "Pravda"*, 1991, p. 133.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid.

the ‘gypsy’ repertoire.⁶⁹⁸ Apart from Vertinsky, the establishment’s regular visitors also came to listen to esteemed musicians, such as a well-known Hawaiian guitarist at the time, Boris Akiarov, Jean Gulesco (one of the most beloved artists of the last Russian Emperor) and his orchestra, Nikolai Tcherepnin (who conducted the first Paris season of Sergei Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes) and other exceptional musicians from the city.⁶⁹⁹

Furthermore, both regular visitors and new visitors came to the establishment to enjoy a *matinée dansante*, which remained a popular event in Constantinople until at least 1928.⁷⁰⁰ Other notable events included extravagant themed parties such as the ‘Evening of the Geishas’ where guests dressed in Japanese-inspired costumes and enjoyed Japanese scenic backdrops, the lively ‘Wild Foxtrot’ ball and concert, the Polish ball ‘Mazourka Bleue’ complete with appropriate decorations, the ‘Secrets of the Harem’ gathering, the elegant ‘Chrysanthemum Ball’, the splendid ‘Chantecler Ball’ featuring lavish costumes and enchanting decorations, and the vibrant ‘Evening of the Neapolitans’.⁷⁰¹ These types of gatherings attracted a cosmopolitan crowd. However, special evenings were also organised specifically for the Russian-speaking émigré community residing in the city. These events included joyful celebrations of Christmas, Russian New Year (January 13), Tatiana’s Day, Easter and more.⁷⁰² Additionally, there were festivities like a ‘White Night’ adorned with Russian winter-themed decorations and the ‘Boyar Ball’ featuring new decorations and costumes in the traditional Russian style, accompanied by pancakes.⁷⁰³ Examples of exclusively Russian-themed events, such as a soirée featuring Russian sarafans adorned with traditional Russian embellishments and an evening dedicated to the Caucasus, were also frequent at the summer premises of the Rose Noire (Bebek 149), from where a special vehicle provided free transportation to the Pera/Beyoğlu district.⁷⁰⁴ Regrettably, few details are available regarding the interior of the venue’s summer establishment. As described in Alexandra Roubé-Jansky’s novel of 1932, the premises were surrounded by an elaborately carved wooden balustrade, while the floor featured a sizable square of glass that was artfully illuminated from beneath, creating a display of shifting colours.⁷⁰⁵ It is highly likely that changes were made after the summer of 1923, as newspapers reported the installation of a

⁶⁹⁸ Sığircı, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol’! : po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii*, p. 107.

⁶⁹⁹ *Presse du Soir*, 15 January 1924, p. 3; *Presse du Soir*, 9 February 1924, n.p.; *Radio*, 4 March 1928, n.p.; *Presse du Soir*, 1 July 1921, p. 3.

⁷⁰⁰ Anonymous. ‘Matinée dansante.’ *Radio*, 4 March 1928, n.p.

⁷⁰¹ *Presse du Soir*, 4 January 1924, p. 3; *Presse du Soir*, 26 January 1924, p. 3; *Presse du Soir*, 2 February 1924, p. 3; *Presse du Soir*, 29 November 1924, n.p.; *Presse du Soir*, 13 December 1924, n.p.

⁷⁰² *Presse du Soir*, 7 April 1923, n.p.; *Presse du Soir*, 25 January 1923, n.p.; *Presse du Soir*, 10 January 1923, n.p.

⁷⁰³ Anonymous. ‘Belaya noch’.’ *Presse du Soir*, 27 December 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Boyarskij Bal.’ *Presse du Soir*, 15 November 1924, n.p.

⁷⁰⁴ *Presse du Soir*, 6 August 1924, n.p.; *Presse du Soir*, 29 August 1924, n.p.; *Presse du Soir*, 26 May 1923, n.p.

⁷⁰⁵ Roubé-Jansky, Alexandra. *Rose Noire*. Paris: A. Fayard, 1932, pp. 38–39.

dedicated marble platform for dancing. Roubé-Jansky, however, was unable to witness this alteration, as her farewell party, hosted under the patronage of the wife of the French High Commissioner, Maurice Pellé, took place at the Rose Noire on 27 September 1922.⁷⁰⁶

One can assume that the establishment extended invitations to innovative artists. Without a doubt, there existed a relationship between the poet and artist Ilia Zdanevich and the Rose Noire. Sergei Kudriavtsev, a researcher who accessed the Marseille archive of Ilia Zdanevich, reported the discovery of a preliminary sketch in pencil for the announcement of a performance by Zdanevich at the Rose Noire as well as three distinct versions of a promotional poster for the event.⁷⁰⁷ The author wrote the speech announcement using a clever mix of different font sizes and wordplay, making it quite challenging to translate. However, in essence, ‘the poet and famous chairman of 41°’ promised provide an ‘unfading evening’ on 25 December 1920, in which he would scatter ‘armfuls of prickly verses’ at the Rose Noire of Vertinsky in Tsargrad. As for the poster, it was inscribed with the following message: ‘41°//ILIA ZDANEVICH//has arrived in Constantinople//come listen to his poetic sermons//at the Rose Noire// (av. de Pera) Be on your guard // Attend, and repent.’⁷⁰⁸ It is unclear whether the event actually occurred⁷⁰⁹, but the mere fact that Zdanevich, who despised most of the entertainment venues set up by Russian-speaking emigrants, considered performing at the venue says a lot about its unique nature. Furthermore, given that Zdanevich received a letter from the Rose Noire even when already in Paris, it is probable that he had made acquaintances at the venue during his visits there. The envelope, which is also kept in the artist’s archive in Marseille, is noteworthy because it features the same black rose emblem that appeared on the street lamp and all venue advertisements in the *Presse du Soir* newspaper.⁷¹⁰

The artist V.P.-Tch. (1896–?), whom I suspect to be Viktor Propokopovich-Czartoryski, was another individual who maintained strong connections with the venue. He was one of the painters whose presence was crucial for the success of the events, yet regrettably, their identities were omitted from the announcements.⁷¹¹ Likely of Polish descent, he departed Novorossiysk in 1920 aboard the ship Vladimir, alongside fellow military personnel.⁷¹² Unfortunately, there

⁷⁰⁶ *Presse du Soir*, 9 July 1921, n.p.; *Presse du Soir*, 27 September 1922, n.p. The writer’s biography is riddled with numerous inaccuracies, and, overall, it can be said that there is no authentic biography available.

⁷⁰⁷ Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade*, p. 111.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 111–112.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 112–114.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 114–115.

⁷¹¹ Knorrin, L. ‘Na Puti Sblizheniya Tureckogo i Russkogo Iskusstv.’ *Presse du Soir*, 24 April 1926, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Teatr i Muzyka.’ *Presse du Soir*, 19 November 1924, n.p.

⁷¹² For more information regarding the artist: Aygün, Ekaterina. ‘V.P.-Tch.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5138-10440359>, last modified: 14-09-2021.

is a scarcity of information regarding the artist and his body of work. However, based on his contribution depicting the Russian civil war, which was featured on the cover of the almanac *Nash Put* published in Constantinople, it appears he possessed an inclination towards symbolism in his artistic endeavours.⁷¹³ This is confirmed by the sole available brief article about him, found within the pages of the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*. Specifically, it describes him as a decorator with an endless source of imagination and as a painter gravitating towards symbolism ‘where the richness of mysticism goes hand in hand with the consistency of forms and colours’.⁷¹⁴ Among his works featured in the almanac, one entitled ‘Spring Sadness’ serves as another affirmation of the artist’s affinity for symbolism.⁷¹⁵ However, because the piece, much like the other works, was published in black and white, it is impossible to provide any commentary on his utilisation of colour. Nevertheless, based on the accounts of journalists who had the opportunity to witness his creations first-hand, it can be assumed that he was a master of shading, fearlessly embracing contrasts and dissonances.⁷¹⁶ His works created in Constantinople, several of which were acquired by collectors and transported to Paris, London, Copenhagen and Cairo, included the following: sketches from the series ‘Apocalypse’, ‘Boyaryshnya’, ‘Legendary Heroes of the East’, ‘Seven Stars of Solomon’, ‘Spring Sadness’, ‘Odalisque’, ‘Carpet Seller’ and others.⁷¹⁷

At the last exhibition of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, which took place in the summer of 1923, V.P.-Tch. presented works under the title ‘Blanc e Noir’. According to journalists, they were ‘very interesting in terms of execution, Turkish ornament patterns and concept, with deliberately exaggerated drawings’.⁷¹⁸ The almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* also reveals that the artist represented the antithesis of white and black in ‘lush compositions of gold and silver’.⁷¹⁹ These works are of particular interest because, apparently, they were used for a decorative-choreographic performance at the Rose Noire in spring 1925, which was proclaimed as the ‘undeniable artistic highlight of the season’ and a ‘groundbreaking stream in the realm of artistic orientalism’.⁷²⁰ Specifically, V.P.-Tch. presented oriental ‘living’ pictures to the visitors of the venue, for which he painted costumes, and his works ‘Blanc et

⁷¹³ *Nash Put* / *Hau Pym*, February 1921, no. 1, Constantinople.

⁷¹⁴ Bournakine, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁸ Ted’. ‘K Vystavke Hudozhnikov.’ *Presse du Soir*, 29 June 1923, n.p.

⁷¹⁹ Bournakine, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

⁷²⁰ Anonymous. ‘Blanc et Noir.’ *Zarubezhnyj Klich*, 1925, p. 10.

Noir' served as decorations along with other Eastern decor such as doors, carpets and more.⁷²¹ It is also known that the 'living' pictures were accompanied by choreographic 'illustrations', and the costumes for the dancers (such as ballerina Evgenia Vorobieva, who performed in the picture 'Salome' with the dance of Salome, and the Kryukovskaya sisters and Apreleva, who participated in an ancient Persian ballet) were also painted by V.P.-Tch.⁷²² Therefore, the whole production embodied a coherent artistic concept and served as a reflection of the artist's profound fascination with Turkish, Mauritanian, Chinese, Russian and other fairy tales and legends.⁷²³ This avocation was also reflected in some illustrations for newspaper announcements related to the Rose Noire, featuring moving/dancing bodies as 'the ultimate symbol of transcendental self-realisation',⁷²⁴ dressed in Caucasian, Middle Eastern and Far Eastern clothing, as well as in the panels he created for numerous 'Russian' entertainment venues in the city (such as the Sheherazade restaurant in the CCC/KKK club and the Moscovite restaurant), including the 'Chinese Panel' for the Rose Noire.⁷²⁵ While working on photographs in Selahattin Giz's photo archive I discovered a photograph of the panel without any caption, probably taken by the Turkish photographer in the early 1930s (see Figure 8). The panel features Chinese men surrounded by pagodas and twisting trees. In the midst of this scene, a young Chinese girl dances gracefully, captivating the attention of the powerful figures before her. It is highly likely that the artist depicted a Chinese myth or legend on this panel or it could be another example of an 'exotic cliché of non-Western cultures' commonly portrayed in entertainment venues at the time.⁷²⁶ Based on the photograph, it appears that Giz's intention was not solely to document the venue's interior for historical purposes, especially considering the fact that it was likely no longer functioning as the Rose Noire at the time. Instead, his focus was specifically on capturing the panel itself. Nonetheless, certain interior details, previously unknown, accidentally found their way into the frame. The photograph unveils the existence of what seem to be velvet tablecloths as well as a chandelier, wall decorations and table lamps, each designed in the shape of roses. These details are slightly reminiscent of the description of the venue in one of the newspapers: 'Under the colourful little electric lamps and silk lampshades, silks and velvets rustle, gold sparkles [...].'⁷²⁷ However, it remains uncertain whether the interior of the

⁷²¹ Ibid.; Interestingly, while in Constantinople, émigré artists often decorated their rented rooms and flats in a similar way (using local textiles, carpets and more).

⁷²² Ibid.

⁷²³ Bournakine, *Ruskiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

⁷²⁴ Ostende, Florence, and Lotte Johnson. *Into the Night: Die Avantgarde im Nachtcafé*, p. 18.

⁷²⁵ Anonymous. 'Blanc et Noir.' *Zarubezhnyj Klich*, 1925, p. 10.

⁷²⁶ Ostende, Florence, and Lotte Johnson. *Into the Night: Die Avantgarde im Nachtcafé*, p. 20.

⁷²⁷ Kumrular, *İstanbul Eğleniyor*, p. 121.

establishment resembled its interior during the early 1920s, as the place underwent expansion and renovation in September 1924.⁷²⁸

Based on this information, one can assert that the Rose Noire exemplified the vibrant entertainment venues that flourished during the Silver Age of the Russian Empire.⁷²⁹ Functioning simultaneously as a restaurant, cabaret and club (Willy Sperco remembered it for its dancing⁷³⁰), the establishment was incredibly eclectic, to the point where it is more fitting to describe it as ‘a place of refuge from everyday reality’⁷³¹ rather than attempting to provide a strict definition. While academic research has predominantly centred around the establishment’s prominent clientele⁷³² – the elite of the city – a view of the features and individuals associated with the club, including artists like Vertinsky, Zdanevich and V.P.-Tch., reveals the distinctiveness of this venue compared to numerous other establishments founded by Russian-speakers in Constantinople. It seems that the Rose Noire functioned as a platform where artists could defy conventions and push the boundaries of creativity. It also encompassed almost all the defining traits that characterised the entertainment establishments of the era in general and of the Silver Age in Russia in particular, including a bohemian atmosphere, artistic performances that blended music, poetry, dance and theatre, an inclination for experimentation, a cosmopolitan environment and active interaction with the audience, among other features.⁷³³ According to recollections of members of the émigré community, the establishment also shared another common characteristic with many renowned venues during Russia’s Silver Age – the affinity of both employees and visitors for substances such as alcohol and drugs, particularly cocaine.⁷³⁴ Casual social interactions of an intimate nature within the club were not uncommon, as could be observed in clubs of Berlin during that period.⁷³⁵ One can assume that the ambiance there was precisely as depicted by the painters of that era – ‘a diverse audience comprising bourgeois intellectuals, social outsiders, immigrants and prostitutes’.⁷³⁶ A novel titled *Rose Noire* by Alexandra Roubé-Jansky, which delves into various of the abovementioned subjects,

⁷²⁸ Anonymous. ‘Otkrytie Chernoj Rozy.’ *Presse du Soir*, 1 September 1924, p. 3.

⁷²⁹ According to John E. Bowlt, the Silver Age was an era of unprecedented flowering which affected many walks of artistic life, especially literature, painting, architecture, music, dance, and cinema, and which lasted little more than twenty years (from the late 1890s until the late 1910s) primarily in Russia’s two great cities, Moscow and St. Petersburg. // Bowlt, *Moscow and St. Petersburg in Russia’s Silver Age*, p. 9.

⁷³⁰ Sperco, *TURCS d’hier et d’aujourd’hui*, p. 144.

⁷³¹ Ostende, Florence, and Lotte Johnson. *Into the Night: Die Avantgarde im Nachtcafé*, p. 19.

⁷³² Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade*, p. 114.

⁷³³ *Presse du Soir*, 16 October 1925, n.p.; Buks, Nora et al. *Russkaya razvlekatel’naya kul’tura Serebryanogo veka, 1908–1918*. Moskva: Izdatel’skij dom VShE/HSE, 2018.

⁷³⁴ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 77; Alexandrov, *Siyah Rus*, p. 146.

⁷³⁵ Ibid.; Ostende, Florence, and Lotte Johnson. *Into the Night: Die Avantgarde im Nachtcafé*, p. 15.

⁷³⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

particularly the challenging lives of émigré female club employees (the preference for female staff is evidenced by numerous advertisements in newspapers⁷³⁷), would be subsequently published in Paris. The author would write in the book that at the time the venue was ‘one of the main crossroads of the world where all nations mingled’, which was a trait frequently observed in numerous urban areas’ night-time entertainment venues during that era.⁷³⁸

3.4 Conclusion II

Regrettably, a scarcity of sources prevents us from formulating more comprehensive conclusions concerning such establishments. Almost no interior photographs can be found, which, however, is not an isolated case, since there remain considerable debates regarding the accurate depiction of many establishments, such as the Voltaire Cabaret in Zurich, for instance.⁷³⁹ Nevertheless, considering the above-mentioned information regarding the Maxim Club and the Rose Noire, it can be firmly stated that prior to the influx of Russian-speaking émigrés, there were no entertainment venues of comparable scale and character in the city. Like numerous other nightlife establishments throughout the world during that period, they emerged in response to a significant political and social crisis, and were founded by individuals who sought refuge from unrest in another country.⁷⁴⁰ The newly established venues in Constantinople were in line with those that existed elsewhere during that period. Or, to be precise, the Maxim Club recreated the atmosphere of American Jazz-cities, while the Rose Noire made its guests feel as if they were in Berlin, Vienna or Paris. Nonetheless, despite the fact that they too were ‘symbols of urban modernity’, these establishments have consistently remained overlooked and in the shadow of more extensively explored venues in cities like Berlin, Paris and New York.⁷⁴¹

Despite their contrasting concepts (the Maxim was more of a jazz club, while the Rose Noire was more of an intimate cabaret), these two establishments shared many similarities. They were initially led by successful individuals who entertained diverse audiences, were supported and patronised by the representatives of the Allied Forces and Americans in the city, and both exuded a cosmopolitan and eclectic atmosphere in every way. Visitors were treated to a collage of art forms, indulged in the finest cuisine, experienced a wide range of ever-changing performances and enjoyed both legal and illegal entertainment throughout the night. It could be

⁷³⁷ For instance, *Presse du Soir*, 29 January 1921, n.p.

⁷³⁸ Ostende, Florence, and Lotte Johnson. *Into the Night: Die Avantgarde im Nachtcafé*, p. 16.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 13–16.

argued that this unique combination could not be found in any other entertainment venue in the city at the time. Furthermore, both the Maxim and Rose Noire played significant roles for refugees, serving as sources of charity, assistance and employment for a large number of émigrés from the former Russian Empire. The establishments maintained close connections with numerous Russian-speaking émigré painters, who contributed to the creation of murals, posters, costumes, decorations and occasionally even entire performances. For instance, the émigré painter V.P.-Tch., who collaborated closely with the Rose Noire, exemplifies how a Symbolist artist integrated into the venue's artistic concept and found purpose there. Similarly, Vladimir Bobritsky, renowned for his Cubo-Futurist style, discovered a fitting space for his talent at the Théâtre des Petits-Champs, while the 'Society Portrait Artist'⁷⁴² Nikolai Becker perfectly suited the Pera Palace Hotel. This period came to an end with the departure of the artists, some in 1923 and others in 1927. Nevertheless, a few of the émigré artists, having left a lasting impact on local cultural life and shaped the entertainment industry for years to come, chose to continue their artistic quests in Istanbul. They served in new or renamed/reshaped establishments throughout the city, fusing their creative essence with the ethos of the newly formed Turkish Republic.

⁷⁴² Anonymous, 'Nikolai Becker: Portraitist of Russian Royalty', *ninecarolineantiques.com*.

4.1 *The Mayak as a hub of the collective of the émigré artists before the formation of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople*

In May 1920 in Constantinople, an interesting conversation took place between the émigré artist Alexis Gritchenko and Sergey Makovsky, an art critic and exhibition organiser from the former Russian Empire. The latter quite harshly criticised the style of Gritchenko's works, practically describing it as crazy and calling for a return to more academic painting, since the 'new art', in his opinion, was slipping into the 'primitive', into the 'art of savage ones'.⁷⁴³ The dialogue demonstrates that not all representatives of the arts were prepared to accept each other's views on different artistic movements and ways of depicting the world. This could be a reason why the formation of an émigré artistic collective in Constantinople took some time, nearly two years. At least, it is known that until the end of 1921, no major émigré artistic associations had been announced in Constantinople, although the first émigré artists had begun arriving in the city in 1919. This disconnect, and the fact that 'the artists didn't team up', was noted in February 1921 by the journalists of the Russian almanac *Zhizn' i Iskusstvo* [Life and Art] published in the city.⁷⁴⁴ Indeed, from 1919 to 1921 most émigré artists in Constantinople worked independently and were the architects of their own fortunes. Many of them were busy with selling their works right on the streets of the city. The previously mentioned Red Cross relief worker from the United States, Eugenia S. Bumgardner, compared the city's streets to an open-air gallery. The émigré artists and their relatives or assistants exhibited their wares by hanging them on fences or on strings across store windows and standing by their wares all day long in every kind of weather, forming '[...] a long, long gallery, running from Taxim Square down Pera to the Tunnel, and from Pera, around Cabristan, straight away to the Galata Bridge, and over the Bridge to old Stamboul, and right on up to the long hill to the Grand Bazaar'.⁷⁴⁵

Nevertheless, at that time in the city, there was a small collective of émigré artists with no official status as a union or association. The group gathered at Wladimir Ivanoff's apartment for 'Drawing Thursdays', where artists representing both the classical art taught in academies

⁷⁴³ Gritchenko, *İstanbul'da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 98.

⁷⁴⁴ Anonymous. 'Kaleydoskop.' *Zhizn' i Iskusstvo*, 6 February 1921, p. 14.

⁷⁴⁵ Nayadin. 'Konstantinopol'skiye Dni. Venizelos.' *Zarnitsy*, 28 August 1921, pp. 6–8; Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 148; Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, pp. 141–142.

and modern art communicated and worked beneath the same roof.⁷⁴⁶ As an artist who had studied at the Rerberg School in Moscow, which was characterised by a flexible teaching system with great sensitivity to each student's individuality, Wladimir Ivanoff (1885–1964) kept his doors open to colleagues of all artistic movements.⁷⁴⁷ Émigré artists such as architect Vladimir Freedolin (1879–1934), painter Nikolai Becker, painter Andrei Khudiakoff (1894–1985), painter Nikolai Pinegin, painter Nikolai Saretzki (1876–1959), set designer Vladimir Bobritsky, painter Nikolai Vasilieff, architect Nikolai Vasilyev (Nicholas B. Vassilieve) (1875–1958) and others were regular visitors of 'Drawing Thursdays': 'At first, everyone painted from life (usually models were also invited), afterwards everyone drank tea and hotly discussed the burning issues of the day.'⁷⁴⁸ While the identities of the models for the émigré artists remain unknown, it is evident from numerous preserved photographs of the era that local artists greatly benefited from Russian-speaking émigré women who were not hesitant to pose nude.⁷⁴⁹ Subsequently, as a result of these 'Thursdays', Wladimir Ivanoff developed an interest in architectural artworks, which he acquired from architect Nicholas B. Vassilieve.⁷⁵⁰ It can be assumed that the group at some stage expanded and was ready to struggle for artistic recognition. Probably the best way to obtain this was to make their presence in the city felt and known through an exhibition, or even several exhibitions. Like Russian-speaking émigré writers and musicians, the artists needed an audience that could appreciate the value of their work. For this, in turn, they needed the right venue in order 'to achieve an effect' with their works.⁷⁵¹ It would have made sense to organise an exhibition at a local gallery. However, despite the fact that galleries were active in European countries and the United States at the beginning of the 20th century, they did not exist in Istanbul at the time, if one excludes local framers such as the Austro-Hungarian national Max Fruchtermann, who commissioned pictures from artists to better sell his frames (a photograph of him standing in front of his shop on Yüksek Kaldırım Street in Galata has been preserved at the Mert Sandalcı Archive).⁷⁵² Thus, the group desperately needed some other premises that would meet all the requirements of the artists.

⁷⁴⁶ Novitsky, G. 'Pamyati hudozhnika V.S. Ivanova.' *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, 23 December 1965, n.p.

⁷⁴⁷ Buksha, Kseniya. *Malevich*. Moskva: Molodaya Gvardiya, 2013, n.p. ('U Rerberga').

⁷⁴⁸ Novitsky G., 'Pamyati hudozhnika V.S. Ivanova', n.p.

⁷⁴⁹ Most of the photographs are in private archives in Turkey. Some of them can be seen here: Giray, Kıymet. *Çallı ve Atölyesi*. Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1997, p. 141, p. 158.

⁷⁵⁰ Zavalishin, V. 'V Studii Wladimira Ivanova.' *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, 19 November 1964, n.p.

⁷⁵¹ Boll, Dirk. *Art for sale: a candid view of the art market*. Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2011, p. 13.

⁷⁵² Kartseva, Ekaterina. *Dinamika Hudozhestvennoj Vystavki. Kul'turnaya Interpretaciya*. DirectMEDIA, 2019, p. 24; Kürkman, Garo. *Armenian painters in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1923*. İstanbul: Matüsalemlik ve Yayıncılık, 2004, p. 75.

There is no doubt that the artists from the former Russian Empire were familiar with the organisation of artistic events, since from only the second half of the nineteenth century until the Russian Revolution of 1917, some 1500 art exhibitions were held in St. Petersburg alone.⁷⁵³ According to Yelena Logutova, the exhibitions often took place at temporary premises such as private apartments and villas, shops and banks, palaces and museums, as well as hotels, theatres and churches.⁷⁵⁴ It is worth noting that in terms of the diversity of spaces the situation in Istanbul at the beginning of the 1920s was not much different. For instance, apart from the local annual exhibition that was organised at the Galatasaray High School on Grande Rue de Péra, an exhibition of Ottoman artists was held at the Osmanbey Printing House in Çemberlitaş (1921), an exhibition of the Greek artist Alexandridi-Stefanopoulo took place at the Au Bon Marché department store (1921), an exhibition of the Armenian artist Yervand Kocharyan (1899–1979) was held at the Üç Horan church (1922) and an exhibition of Leonardo De Mango (1843–1930), an Italian-born orientalist painter, took place on the 3rd floor of the clothing store Maison Carlmann (1921).⁷⁵⁵ Nearly all the premises were located at the very heart of the cosmopolitan and modern Pera district, in close proximity to or on Grande Rue de Péra. However, although a good location increased the chances of success, this was by no means guaranteed. Judging from the newspaper reports regarding the aforementioned exhibitions, hardly any of them generated much excitement, as was the case with the émigré artist Leonid Sologub (1884–1956), whose works were displayed at the photo studio of Crimean émigré Jules Kanzler.⁷⁵⁶ Although Wladimir Ivanoff and his colleagues sought close proximity to the Grande Rue de Péra for their exhibitions, they probably realised that this was not enough for success. What kind of premises were they looking for? What were the main criteria? Why did they choose the Mayak as an exhibition venue and not some other place in the city? In order to answer these questions, one needs to delve into the history of the Mayak and investigate its protagonists as well as the activities that took place there.

4.1.1. *The Mayak as a refugee centre and a meeting place for the émigré intellectuals*

What did the Mayak look like? The Russkij Mayak ('Russian Lighthouse' in English or 'Phare Russe' in French) at number 40 Bursa Street (today's Sadri Alışık) was opened in April

⁷⁵³ Logutova, Y.V. 'K istorii hudozhestvennyh vystavok v Sankt-Peterburge XIX-nachala XX veka.' *Trudy Istoricheskogo fakul'teta*, Sankt-Peterburg, 2010, Vyp. 2, p. 291.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 291–293.

⁷⁵⁵ Şerifoğlu, Ö.F. *Resim tarihimizden: Galatasaray sergileri, 1916-1951*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık A.Ş., 2003; Kürkman, *Armenian painters in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1923*, p. 53; Anonymous. 'Vystavka kartin hudozhnicy Alexandridi-Stefanopoulo.' *Nashi Dni*, March 1921, p. 27; Anonymous. 'Une exposition privée.' *Stamboul*, 17 July 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. 'L'exposition du peintre De Mango.' *Stamboul*, 26 November 1921, n.p.

⁷⁵⁶ Anonymous. 'Photo Russe Electrique.' *Presse du Soir*, 7 May 1920, p. 6.

1920 by the Americans – to be more precise, by the YMCA – to help the refugees from the former Russian Empire.⁷⁵⁷ According to émigré musician Vladimir Dukelsky, who had started as a concert manager at the Mayak, it was a white ‘villa-like’ building.⁷⁵⁸ Unfortunately, it no longer exists today; in its place there is an ordinary residential building. Judging by the photographs in the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, the Mayak had a garden.⁷⁵⁹ It can be assumed that the photograph preserved in the Springfield College Archives and Special Collections of the YMCA in Constantinople is indeed of that particular branch, the Mayak, as the building and adjacent garden it depicts are fully consistent with descriptions; unfortunately, however, this is not clearly indicated in the caption.⁷⁶⁰ The Mayak functioned for a total of about three years, and during this time it was run first by the civic leader and collector Stanley Harrison and his assistants (Mr Alpine, Mr Becker and Secretary Mr Ottosson) and later, from February 1922, by Mr Alexander and Mr Brady.⁷⁶¹ The assistants of the American directors also included Russian speakers (for instance, Mr Berestnev and Mrs. Ivanova).⁷⁶² Interestingly, in the reference guide for Russians abroad, Constantinople is given a total of three pages, and the fact that the Mayak is mentioned there as item 11 out of 17 speaks volumes.⁷⁶³ Indeed, it was a unique venue in the sense that it met not only the basic needs of the refugees but also had cultural and educational purposes. On the ground floor, one could see ‘the offices of the American director and lesser employees, along with a well-appointed gym’.⁷⁶⁴ Apart from the gym, there was a sports club where those who wished could play tennis, jiu-jitsu, football and practice boxing and fencing under the guidance of one of the centre’s employees.⁷⁶⁵ Visitors were charged a fee of 10 piastres per month, which at the time was considered a fairly low price.⁷⁶⁶ This fee included weekly sports festivals in Taksim Square, most likely on the territory of the military barracks.⁷⁶⁷ Over time, the tennis circle was expanded to a tennis club, which actively participated in competitions with other tennis clubs in Constantinople and even won

⁷⁵⁷ N.L. ‘Russkij Mayak.’ *Russkaya Volna*, Novogodnij vypusk [New Year edition], December 1921, pp. 21–22.

⁷⁵⁸ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 75; 70.

⁷⁵⁹ Bournakine and Valery, editors, *Al’manah Na Proschaniye. The Farewell Almanac*, pp. XXIII–XXIV.

⁷⁶⁰ Springfield College Archives and Special Collections Box: 13900-14249, Cliff Smith YMCA Postcard Collection, Young Men’s Christian Associations Buildings, Turkey, Istanbul: <https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search/commonwealth:vm417463z>.

⁷⁶¹ Bournakine and Valery, editors, *The Farewell Almanac*, pp. XXIII–XXIV; N.L., ‘Russkij Mayak’, pp. 21–22; Anonymous. ‘K ot’ezdu Arissona i Bekkera.’ *Presse du Soir*, 2 February 1922, p. 3.

⁷⁶² Anonymous. ‘Russkiye Hudozhniki v Konstantinopole.’ *Zarnitsy*, 23 October 1921, p. 27; N.L., ‘Russkij Mayak’, pp. 21–22.

⁷⁶³ Burtsev, V.L. *Russkij nastolnyj kalendar na 1921 god: spravochnik i putevoditel’ dlya russkih zagranitsey*. Paris: Slavyanskoe izdatel’stvo v Parizhe, 1921, p. 159.

⁷⁶⁴ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 70.

⁷⁶⁵ Anonymous. ‘Russkij Mayak.’ *Presse du Soir*, 6 November 1920, p. 3.

⁷⁶⁶ Anonymous. ‘Russkij Mayak.’ *Nashi Dni*, June 1921, p. 27.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid.

quite frequently.⁷⁶⁸ Interestingly, the activities of the club were followed and supported by Russian-speaking female émigrés, among whom was the sculptor Iraida Barry (1899–1980).⁷⁶⁹ In addition, the Mayak was also an important place for Russian-speaking Boy and Girl Scouts.⁷⁷⁰ Moreover, the journalists wrote that the Russian-speaking scouts of Constantinople, who actively helped during the Crimean evacuation, were ‘the largest unit in the family of Russian scouts scattered throughout Europe’.⁷⁷¹

A ‘wide marble staircase’ led visitors to the dining hall and library on the second floor.⁷⁷² It is known that the Mayak’s canteen dispensed up to 300 free meals daily.⁷⁷³ But apart from this, meals in the dining room were paid for by visitors. Hearty lunches were provided at reasonable prices, while dinners, according to visitors, were rather expensive, which could not help but provoke some journalists to mock the family evenings for the ‘well-fed bourgeois’, where ‘there is no smell of refugees’.⁷⁷⁴ As for the library, it functioned throughout the existence of the Mayak and provided readers with books (in 1920 there were already about 600 of them).⁷⁷⁵ There was also the opportunity to spend time in the reading room looking through all kinds of newspapers and illustrated magazines.⁷⁷⁶ According to Vernon Duke, next to the dining hall and the library one could see ‘an adjoining salon of considerable elegance’ that ‘boasted an excellent Steinway, as it was sometimes used as a chamber-concert hall’.⁷⁷⁷ This salon was no doubt a place of paramount importance for Russian-speaking émigré artists (especially concert artists, ballet dancers and opera stars such as Nina Koshetz) from the former Russian Empire, since lectures and concerts were regularly held there, and therefore the artists could perform and make some money.⁷⁷⁸ As remembered by the émigrés, musical performances were visited by many foreigners and locals of the city.⁷⁷⁹ Vernon Duke, who himself received three meals a day and the use of the club facilities for organising the concerts, wrote that the artists ‘were anxious to appear at the Mayak because it meant desirable American contracts and

⁷⁶⁸ Anonymous. ‘Sport.’ *Presse du Soir*, 16 August 1922, p. 3.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁰ Anonymous. ‘Russkij Mayak.’ *Presse du Soir*, 6 November 1920, p. 3.

⁷⁷¹ Anonymous. ‘Russkie skauty na Bosfore.’ *Zarnitsy*, 20 February 1921, p. 29.

⁷⁷² Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 70.

⁷⁷³ N.L., ‘Russkij Mayak’, pp. 21–22.

⁷⁷⁴ Anonymous, ‘Russkij Mayak’, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Russkij Mayak v Stambule.’ *Slovo*, 18 June 1922, p. 3; Anonymous, ‘Russkij Mayak’, p. 27; Ex-Mason. ‘Russkij Mayak.’ *Zarubezhnyj Klich*, 1921 (Sofia), p. 23.

⁷⁷⁵ Anonymous, ‘Russkij Mayak v Stambule’, p. 3.

⁷⁷⁶ Anonymous. ‘Russkij Mayak.’ *Presse du Soir*, 6 November 1920, p. 3.

⁷⁷⁷ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 70.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 73.

⁷⁷⁹ This is stated in F.P. Burcev/Бурцев’s diary (‘Poltora goda emigrantom v Konstantinopole’, p. 48), which is kept in the GARF (the Russian State Archives in Moscow).

a few Turkish liras'.⁷⁸⁰ Moreover, the Mayak was replete with networking possibilities, as famous personalities including Alexander Vertinsky were frequent guests there.⁷⁸¹

Journalists wrote that the cultural events there 'brightened the hard life of a refugee and made it possible to take a little break from the hard worries of the day'.⁷⁸² Almost every evening, even on weekdays, there were events for every taste. Wednesdays were always allocated for free concerts with a rather rich programme, in which well-known émigré singer Kapiton Zaporozhets and cellist Yascha Bunchuk took part.⁷⁸³ On other days there were lectures and meetings, which, unlike the free concerts on Wednesdays, were only for the members of the Mayak.⁷⁸⁴ Members had the opportunity to listen to Ilyin's religious and philosophical lectures accompanied by music, lectures by P.D. Uspensky about new trends in psychology and philosophy (for example, 'Problems of a new worldview'), Professor Thomas de Hartmann's course on the history of music with performances of excerpts from classical pieces, a lecture by Metropolitan Anthony of Kyiv on Dostoevsky, a reading of the cycle 'In the expanses of Siberia' by the writer Georgy Grebenshchikov, an open meeting of Russian-speaking scientists and writers in Constantinople on the topic 'Russia in the dark' and others.⁷⁸⁵ In addition, the periodic Friday performances of the émigré theatre 'Nest of Migratory Birds', the 'soul' of which was the writer Arkady Averchenko, and the artist of the Russian Imperial Theatres V.P. Svobodin were very popular and attracted a large audience.⁷⁸⁶ Even though the names of the artists who participated in the Mayak's activities speak for themselves, some journalists still managed to find a pretext for criticising the place. Thus, one of them wrote the following description, implying that the activities there were all frivolous: 'A Moscow reporter in the role of a professor of white and black magic and almost a doctor of occult sciences... several hoarse singers from the church choir... two poets reciting verses stolen from each other... [and a] stray tongue-tied negro with a tap dance from a Galata bar....'⁷⁸⁷ With regard to the two poets, he most likely had in mind the 'Manufactory of Poets', organised by Vernon Duke (Dukelsky) and

⁷⁸⁰ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, pp. 72-73.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁷⁸² Anonymous, 'Russkij Mayak v Stambule', p. 3.

⁷⁸³ Anonymous, 'Russkij Mayak', p. 3; Anonymous. 'V Mayake.' *Russkaya Volna*, Novogodnij vypusk [New Year edition], December 1921, p. 32.

⁷⁸⁴ Anonymous. 'Russkij Mayak.' *Presse du Soir*, 6 November 1920, p. 3.

⁷⁸⁵ *Ibid.*; Anonymous. 'Russkij Mayak.' *Presse du Soir*, 28 October 1920, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Russkij Mayak.' *Presse du Soir*, 13 December 1920, n.p.; Grebenshchikov G. 'Pis'ma iz Tsar'grada. Russkij Mayak.' *Obshchee delo*, Parizh, 16 December 1920, no. 154, n.p.; Anonymous. 'V Obshchestve uchenyh i pisatelej.' *Ekonomicheskaya i Literaturnaya Zhizn*, 27 March 1921, p. 2.

⁷⁸⁶ Anonymous. 'Gnezdo pereletnyh ptic.' *Russkaya Volna*, Novogodnij vypusk [New Year edition], December 1921, p. 30-31; Anonymous. 'Russkij Mayak.' *Russkaya Volna*, no. 4, August 1921, p. 12.

⁷⁸⁷ Ex-Mason, 'Russkij Mayak', p. 23.

Boris Poplavsky.⁷⁸⁸ In his memoirs, Dukelsky claimed to be the one who encouraged Russian-speaking poets such as Valentin Goryansky and Zavyalov to gather at the Mayak.⁷⁸⁹ According to the memoirs of Ilia Zdanevich, these poets faced enmity from another, more leftist poetic circle in Constantinople.⁷⁹⁰

The third floor of the Mayak was given over to a 'progressive kindergarten' where Dukelsky's mother worked for a salary that was 'barely sufficient for a Spartan existence'.⁷⁹¹ In fact, there is every reason to believe that the 'progressive kindergarten' was actually the elementary school for Russian-speaking children, which is mentioned in other sources. From the newspapers, it is known that the school was founded almost at the very beginning of the Mayak's activities.⁷⁹² In the autumn of 1920, it had about 70 pupils, who, in addition to the usual subjects, studied French and English, participated in rhythmic gymnastics, received religious education from Archbishop Anastassiy Kishinevskiy and also went on weekly excursions to the outskirts of Constantinople.⁷⁹³ Most likely, when concerts were held on the second floor in the evenings, lectures were given on the third. This can be assumed from the fact that the reading of Grebenshchikov's work took place in the Mayak's 'school premises'.⁷⁹⁴ According to the description by the musician Dukelsky, there were no other rooms on the three floors of the Mayak, and therefore it can be assumed that the numerous courses for 'Russian' refugees were located in some additional premises of the Mayak (or even in some other buildings in the city), possibly in the garden. Among the courses offered by the Mayak were evening language courses in English and French, Italian and Turkish, music lessons, driving courses, as well as instruction in crafts (metalwork, car repair and carpentry).⁷⁹⁵ The latter courses cost money, lasted about one and a half months each, and included both theoretical teaching and practical workshops.⁷⁹⁶ The idea of offering the courses came from the director of the Mayak, Stanley Harrison, who was a passionate supporter of providing refugees the opportunity to study those sectors of labour that were in demand, since a significant number of the Russian-speaking refugees whose professions and skills no longer allowed them to earn a

⁷⁸⁸ Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade*, p. 86.

⁷⁸⁹ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 74.

⁷⁹⁰ Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade*, p. 86.

⁷⁹¹ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 75.

⁷⁹² Anonymous, 'Russkij Mayak', p. 3.

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁴ Grebenshchikov G., 'Pis'ma iz Tsar'grada. Russkij Mayak', n.p.

⁷⁹⁵ Anonymous. 'Russkij Mayak.' *Presse du Soir*, May 1920, p. 6; Anonymous, 'Russkij Mayak', p. 3; Anonymous. 'Kursy shoferov.' *Konstantinopol'skij Kur'yer*, no. 7 (45), 30 July May 1923, p. 3; Anonymous. 'Kursy remesel.' *Russkaya Volna*, Novogodnij vypusk [New Year edition], December 1921, p. 23.

⁷⁹⁶ Anonymous, 'Kursy remesel', p. 23.

living had never done physical labour before.⁷⁹⁷ In addition to the courses at the Mayak, there was also a free walk-in clinic (up to 75 patients were seen daily), a ‘wardrobe’ for the needy (along with the distribution of clothes to the needy, up to 20,000 metres of cloth were given away for free), sewing and cobblers shops employing Russian refugees, and a labour office.⁷⁹⁸ As for the latter, thanks to the bulletin board at the Mayak, émigré Mikhail Bahrushin managed to get a job as a manual labour teacher at Robert College.⁷⁹⁹ The Mayak’s officials also posted letters to refugee camps (islands: Lemnos, Malta, Cyprus; cities: Alexandria and Cairo) and the cities of Serbia and Bulgaria.⁸⁰⁰

As noted by journalists, people with a variety of needs came to the Mayak, and rarely was anyone left without a sense of gratitude for the help and support provided.⁸⁰¹ Despite this, the émigré artist Ilia Zdanevich disliked the Mayak because of the anti-Semitic sentiments that prevailed there, while others, on the contrary, refrained from visiting the centre because they believed that everything at the Mayak was done with American money containing ‘a slight admixture of Jewish blood’ and not without the participation of Masons.⁸⁰² Nevertheless, as the émigré writer Grebenshchikov wrote, for most of the Mayak’s artists and visitors, the preservation of Russian culture and the opportunity to perform in a ‘Russian’ environment were much more important than hostility towards the Freemasons, who ‘could hardly do anything harmful’.⁸⁰³ Further evidence of the fact that the Mayak retained its significance despite all the gossip surrounding it is a newspaper note dated 28 October 1922, regarding the abrupt closure of the Mayak, which says that the Mayak played a very important cultural role in the life of Russian refugees.⁸⁰⁴ Moreover, later, in December 1922, the former members of the Mayak would recreate it, using the same name and concept (lectures, talks, concerts) but at another location, Asmalimescit 11 in the Pera district.⁸⁰⁵ Judging by the lack of mention of the new Mayak in the sources, this initiative did not achieve substantial success.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid.; Anonymous, ‘Kursy shoferov’, p. 3.

⁷⁹⁸ Anonymous, ‘Russkij Mayak’, 13 December 1920, n.p.; N.L., ‘Russkij Mayak’, pp. 21–22; Anonymous, ‘Russkij Mayak’, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Masterskie.’ *Russkaya Volna*, Novogodnij vypusk [New Year edition], December 1921, p. 23; Edition du Comité de l’Eglise de l’Ambassade de Russie à Constantinople. *Pravoslavnyj Russkij Kalendar’ na 1921 god*. Konstantinopol’: Tipografiya L. Babok & fils, 1921, p. 26.

⁷⁹⁹ Bahrushin, *Moya Zhizn’*, p. 31.

⁸⁰⁰ Anonymous. ‘Pis’ma.’ *Presse du Soir*, 26 May 1920, p. 4.

⁸⁰¹ N.L., ‘Russkij Mayak’, pp. 21–22.

⁸⁰² Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade*, p. 85.

⁸⁰³ Grebenshchikov G., ‘Pis’ma iz Tsar’grada. Russkij Mayak’, n.p.

⁸⁰⁴ Anonymous. ‘Zakrytie Russkogo Mayaka.’ *Presse du Soir*, 28 October 1922, p. 3.

⁸⁰⁵ Anonymous. ‘Novyj russkij Mayak.’ *Presse du Soir*, 1 December 1922, p. 3.

4.1.2 *The Mayak as an artistic hub that paved the way for the official formation of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople*

Russian-speaking émigré musicians, singers, writers and poets discovered the Mayak much earlier than visual artists, most likely because the contacts between them were closer than among the artists, who, as mentioned above, did not immediately unite. In 1920, artistic events were held in the Mayak, but there were few of them. Thus, for instance, several times a week, in the evenings, courses of applied art were held there, which were almost certainly organised by the representatives of the Artel of Russian Craftsmen that would later, in November 1921, open its studio in Pera (today's Beyoğlu) on Misk (now Mis) Street.⁸⁰⁶ Apart from that, at the end of 1920, the lecture of the émigré artist and writer Nikolai Pinegin was held at the Mayak. The topic of the lecture is unfortunately unknown, but there is every reason to believe that it was devoted to the theme of the Arctic, which Pinegin began to be interested in while studying at the Kazan Art School and the Imperial Academy of Arts, and he later even became widely known in St. Petersburg as the first Russian artist to participate in a polar expedition.⁸⁰⁷ Most likely, he showed works from the 1912–1914 expedition of Georgy Sedov, in which he participated as an artist, photographer and cameraman.⁸⁰⁸ During the expedition, he created such works as 'New Earth. In the Bay of St. Foka', 'Northern Lights', 'The Killed Polar Bear' and 'The Hut on Great Hare Island'. These works are distinguished by their intense portrayal of the nuances of northern nature and rather bright colours. It is known that before leaving for Constantinople, he received official permission to take his paintings and slides with him.⁸⁰⁹ While in the city, he had to work as a porter, sign painter and tour guide of Byzantine Constantinople to make a living.⁸¹⁰

It was nearly at the same time that a lecture by certain Radkevich entitled 'Paintings of Constantinople based on its historical monuments' took place within the walls of the Mayak.⁸¹¹ This lecture was interesting from the point of view of artistic technique, as it was accompanied by the 'foggy paintings' that were quite popular at the time.⁸¹² For such pictures, drawings or photographs on transparent glass plates were shown to the guests with the help of a 'magic

⁸⁰⁶ Anonymous. 'Russkij Mayak.' *Presse du Soir*, 5 November 1920, n.p.

⁸⁰⁷ Ivanov A.N. *Nikolaj Pinegin: ocharovannyj Severom*. Elabuga: Elabuzhskij gos. istoriko-arhitekturnyj i hudozh. muzej-zapovednik, 2009, pp. 13–16.

⁸⁰⁸ Pinegin, N.V. *V ledyanyh prostrorah. Ekspeditsiya G. Y. Sedova k Severnomu polyusu (1912–1914)*. Moskva: OGI, 2009, pp. 49–74.

⁸⁰⁹ Ivanov A.N., *Nikolaj Pinegin: ocharovannyj Severom*, pp. 78–82; Rosov, V. A. 'Pisatel' G. D. Grebenshchikov v Konstantinopole.' *Slavyanovedenie*, 2009, no. 4, p. 100.

⁸¹⁰ Chernyshev V.B., and Shirmakov P.P. (ed.). *Vospominaniya ob I. S. Sokolove-Mikitove*. Moskva: Sovetskij pisatel', 1984, pp. 53–54.

⁸¹¹ Anonymous. 'Russkij Mayak.' *Presse du Soir*, 28 October 1920, n.p.

⁸¹² Ibid.

lantern', inside of which was a light source (at the very beginning, a candle; later, an electric lamp).⁸¹³ This *Laterna Magica* (Latin), was one of the favourite toys of the artist Alexandre Benois as a child: 'Our apparatus itself was unattractive and it stood on a shelf next to other children's belongings, but it also could evoke the most amazing images in a dark room on an empty white sheet [...].'⁸¹⁴ Benois wrote that the landscape scenes of his collection, such as 'View in Saxon Switzerland' or 'Chapel in Winter by Moonlight' were built/carved into wood and painted by hand, and therefore cost more than other pictures: 'The Chapel was especially good. Thanks to a not particularly cunning trick, its doors could open, and then the inside was flooded with light.'⁸¹⁵ It can be assumed that something similar was shown during Radkevich's lecture, but with views and architectural monuments of Constantinople.

In addition to Pinegin and Radkevich (although it is not known whether he was an artist), a fairly well-known painter at the time, Pavel Tchelitchev, was also a visitor to the *Mayak*.⁸¹⁶ Acquaintance with the latter, as well as with the ballet masters Viktor Zimin and Boris Knyazev at the *Mayak*, turned out to be very useful and productive for the musician and composer Vladimir Dukelsky, since subsequently, together with Tchelitchev, at the suggestion of Zimin, he would work on the ballet 'Conte d'une Nuit Syrienne' [Tale of a Syrian Night] for the Theatre des Petits-Champs in Constantinople: 'I wrote out parts for the eight- or nine-piece orchestra' and 'Tchelitchev designed Bakst-like sets and costumes'.⁸¹⁷ Thus, it is evident that the *Mayak* was a meeting place for artists and intellectuals. Although it wasn't a contact zone as described in the theories of literary scholar Mary Louise Pratt,⁸¹⁸ that is to say, a space where different cultures clashed, it was definitely a contact zone in the sense that it was a site for the exchange of ideas and the emergence of collaborations.

However, the full presence of artists at the *Mayak* became tangible only starting from the autumn of 1921, when the first collective exhibitions of Russian-speaking émigré artists were organised. The *Mayak*'s representatives encouraged the artists to organise exhibitions within the walls of the centre, since this form of art, unlike, for example, dance – which, according to the journalists, was banned there – corresponded to the strict morality of the YMCA.⁸¹⁹ It is quite possible that due to such restrictions, not all paintings by artists were

⁸¹³ Grau, Oliver. 'Remember the Phantasmagoria! Illusion Politics of the Eighteenth Century and its Multimedial Afterlife.' *MediaArtHistories*, edited by Oliver Grau, The MIT Press, 2007, p. 144.

⁸¹⁴ Benois, Alexandre. *Zhizn' Hudozhnika*. New York: Izdatel'stvo im. Chehova, 1955, chap. 28.

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁶ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, pp. 78–79.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁸ Pratt, Mary Louise. 'Arts of the Contact Zone.' *Profession*, 1991, pp. 33–40.

⁸¹⁹ Anonymous, 'Russkij Mayak', p. 27; Some of the Russian speakers, nevertheless, mention dancing on the second floor of *Mayak*. Perhaps this took place in the absence of *Mayak*'s representatives. Source: Dekhterev, A.Y. 'Yunyj Grebenshchikov.' *Novaya Zarya*, 4 July 1947.

allowed to be shown at exhibitions, in the same way that programmes for performances by émigré writers and poets were ‘always strictly censored’ by the centre’s staff.⁸²⁰ The only thing that is known for sure is that the works for the exhibitions were selected by a jury consisting of Nikolai Vasilieff (in Constantinople he was known as a portrait painter), Dimitri Ismailovitch (in Constantinople he painted numerous city views, architecture and made copies of frescoes) and Nikolai Saretzki (in Constantinople he was known as a graphic artist), who were chosen during the organisational meeting led by Wladimir Ivanoff.⁸²¹ Among the artists who showed their work at the Mayak at the time were Wladimir Ivanoff, Dimitri Ismailovitch, Roman Bilinski (1897–1981), Nikolai Saretzki, Nikolai Kalmykoff (Naci Kalmukoğlu), Nikolai Peroff, Georges Artemoff (1892–1965), Konstantin Astafiev (Astori) (1889–1975), Vladimir Bobritsky (Bobri), Boleslaw Cybis (1895–1957), Theodore Sabaneeff, Aleksandr Kozmin and Nikolai Artamonoff (1884–1963), Victor Tchetchett, as well as Bodritsin, Fedoroff, Demidov, and Douvan, whose names are not indicated in the sources.⁸²² Among the female artists, only two names are known, the portrait painter Tatiana Alexinsky-Loukina (1884–1957) and Barbara Rode, who copied the frescoes of the Chora Church/Kariye Mosque while in the city.⁸²³ The journalists noted that the works at the one- or two-day collective exhibitions of the artists, which were organised approximately once every two weeks, were mainly small, which was most likely due to both the fact that the Mayak was not spacious and the fact that the artists, lacking studios and funds for materials, were not able to create substantial works.⁸²⁴ Despite the small size of the works, the exhibitions quickly became popular: according to journalists, the first one was visited by more than 600 visitors, and the second by about 500.⁸²⁵ It was noted that there were many foreigners, as well as Turkish and Greek artists.⁸²⁶ Alas, the lack of sources does not reveal the names of the Greek artists, but it is quite clear that the Turkish artists were represented by the 1914 Generation Artists, namely İbrahim Çallı (1882–1960), Namık İsmail (1890–1935), Hüseyin Avni Lifij (1886–1927) and others.⁸²⁷ It is known that the visitors were impressed by the wooden pieces (toys, decorative boxes, frames and others) made by the Pantukhoff family and Natalia Grekova (1884?–1956), representatives of the Artel of Russian

⁸²⁰ Anonymous, ‘Russkij Mayak’, p. 27.

⁸²¹ Anonymous. ‘Vystavka kartin. Une exposition de Beaux-Arts.’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 October 1921, p. 4.

⁸²² Anonymous. ‘Odnodnevnyaya vystavka kartin. Une exposition d’un jour.’ *Presse du Soir*, 10 October 1921, p. 4; Anonymous, ‘Vystavka kartin. Une exposition de Beaux-Arts’, p. 4; Anonymous. ‘Russkiye Hudozhniki v Konstantinopole.’ *Zarnitsy*, 23 October 1921, p. 27.

⁸²³ Anonymous, ‘Odnodnevnyaya vystavka kartin. Une exposition d’un jour’, p. 4; Anonymous. ‘Vystavka kartin. Exposition de tableaux.’ *Presse du Soir*, 27 October 1921, p. 4.

⁸²⁴ Anonymous, ‘Odnodnevnyaya vystavka kartin. Une exposition d’un jour’, p. 4.

⁸²⁵ Anonymous, ‘Vystavka kartin. Une exposition de Beaux-Arts’, p. 4.

⁸²⁶ Anonymous, ‘Russkiye Hudozhniki v Konstantinopole’, p. 27.

⁸²⁷ Gritchenko, *İstanbul’da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*.

Craftsmen who participated in the exhibitions.⁸²⁸ At first Oleg Pantukhoff (1882–1973) and his wife, Nina Pantukhoff (1883–1942), carved figures from wood, such as Russian women, Vanka-vstanka (dolls with a weight attached to base) as well as Russian boyars, and painted them themselves, but when the workload increased, they decided to hire assistants, one of whom, apparently, was the émigré artist Natalia Grekova.⁸²⁹ A head of a moustachioed Turk, a Turkish woman in a green dress with a jug, a seller of grape must and dolls in chic Ottoman clothes (which are presumably some of the works created by the Artel), now belong to the Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation.⁸³⁰

The first artist from the collective who was lucky enough to have a solo show at the Mayak was Dimitri Ismailovitch.⁸³¹ As a very active member of the collective who was known as an organiser of exhibitions, he even tried to arrange an exhibition for his colleagues in Sofia, Bulgaria.⁸³² According to a newspaper report, he worked avidly and thoughtfully depicting views of Constantinople, focusing on the reproduction of the images of Byzantine church architecture with great love: ‘There is a lot of taste in the choice of subjects and the selection of colours. The old walls and porticoes of the temples on some of the canvases are just excellent, and they deserve more than just a one-day “refugee” exhibition.’⁸³³ Since this first individual exhibition at the Mayak was successful, it was decided to organise a second one, which happened to be of the graphic artist Nikolai Saretzki, a great admirer of the 19th century.⁸³⁴ Most likely the works presented at his Mayak exhibition resembled the work titled ‘Fish trade’, which was probably created in Constantinople and which is now preserved at the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art in Moscow.⁸³⁵ In this colour graphic work, one can see a lady (most likely an émigré) enquiring about fish from a fez-wearing local market vendor. Journalists noted not only the ‘thoughtfulness in the choice of subject, love of antiquity and gracefulness’ of his drawings, but also ‘a small but valuable collection of old Russian porcelain, collected by the artist’ that was also presented at the exhibition.⁸³⁶ One might assume that he acquired this collection of porcelain at Constantinople auctions, but according to the text *Zhizn’ na Fuksa*,

⁸²⁸ Anonymous, ‘Vystavka kartin. Exposition de tableaux’, p. 4; Anonymous. ‘Hudozhestvennaya vystavka. Exposition de beaux-arts.’ *Presse du Soir*, 19 November 1921, p. 4.

⁸²⁹ Anonymous, ‘Vystavka kartin. Exposition de tableaux’, p. 4; Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, pp. 137–141.

⁸³⁰ They were presented at the exhibition called ‘Russian Constantinople’, which was held at the Museum of the Oriental Art in Moscow from December 2021 to February 2022.

⁸³¹ Anonymous, ‘Hudozhestvennaya vystavka. Exposition de beaux-arts’, p. 4.

⁸³² Anonymous. ‘Announcement.’ *Svobodnaya Rech’*, Sofiya, 24 November 1921, n.p.

⁸³³ Anonymous. ‘Vystavka Kartin Ismailovitcha.’ *Presse du Soir*, 21 November 1921, p. 4.

⁸³⁴ Brodsky, Nina A. ‘Nikolai Saretzki Als Illustrator.’ *Gebrauchsgraphik*, October 1928, pp. 54–65.

⁸³⁵ The work can be seen here: Aygün, Ekaterina. ‘Nikolai Saretzki.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5138-10439119>, last modified: 14.09.2021.

⁸³⁶ Anonymous. ‘Vystavka Kartin Hudozhnika N. V. Zaretskogo.’ *Presse du Soir*, 21 December 1921, p. 3.

he contrived to bring it by sea from the Russian Empire.⁸³⁷ Interestingly, collecting was Saretzki's favourite pastime, continuing throughout his life. According to a Russian journalist who visited him at a nursing home for the elderly near Paris, his tiny room was littered with books, albums, photographs, engravings and many other materials that he had collected over the years.⁸³⁸ Taking into consideration the fact that he continued to collect newspaper articles on the history and culture of Turkey even after leaving Constantinople, the country left a lasting impression on him.⁸³⁹ The exhibitions in the Mayak, collective ones as well as solo shows, were well summarised by one of the journalists, who wrote that Russian-speaking émigré artists who literally starved in Constantinople worked stubbornly in spite of everything, devoting all their energy to art.⁸⁴⁰

To sum up, it is quite possible that Nikolai Pinegin, one of the regular participants in 'Drawing Thursdays', might have suggested the Mayak as a place for exhibitions to Wladimir Ivanoff and his émigré colleagues, since he had given a lecture there and knew the venue well.⁸⁴¹ However, it is much more likely that the Mayak, as a meeting place of intellectuals and creative people where the exchange of ideas took place and collaborations emerged, was already on the émigré artists' radar. They might have heard about how helpful it could be in terms of networking and finding supporters, as the location was frequently visited by wealthy and important Americans and Europeans with whom it was often easier to find common ground because of cultural resemblance and language.⁸⁴² The Mayak also had an advantage in terms of its central location as well as its owners, representatives of the YMCA who did their best to help Russian-speaking émigrés in Constantinople. If one compares it, for instance, to the 'German' émigré venues in London in the 1930s, the Mayak was a mix of the Woburn house, where the German-Jewish Aid Committee assisted with such tasks as finding accommodation, English language lessons and free meals; the Free German League of Culture, where exhibitions, concerts and plays by German-speaking émigrés were organised in order to preserve German culture; and also the so-called Isokon Building, a place for communicating

⁸³⁷ Gul', R. *Zhizn' na Fuksa*. Moskva-Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoye Izdatel'stvo, 1927.

⁸³⁸ N.A.B. 'Po vystavkam. Tvorchestvo A.V. Zaretskogo.' *Russkiye Novosti*, 27 June 1952, n.p.; VI. Z. 'Vystavka Hudozhnika N.V. Zaretskogo.' *Russkaya Mysl'*, no date 1953, n.p.

⁸³⁹ The newspaper articles that were collected by Nikolai Saretzki can be seen in the Archive at the Memorial of National Literature in Prague.

⁸⁴⁰ Anonymous, 'Russkiye Hudozhniki v Konstantinopole', p. 27.

⁸⁴¹ Anonymous, 'Russkij Mayak', 13 December 1920, n.p.

⁸⁴² Most of the émigré artists, by virtue of their education, spoke European languages well. Many of them began to learn the Turkish language while in Constantinople, but only few of them could use this language actively in everyday life.

and forming networks.⁸⁴³ All this made the Mayak the perfect venue for the exhibitions of the newly emerging collective of émigré artists. And, as it turned out, this was the right choice, because the artists' exhibitions there could be considered successful, and their other aims, such as returning to work and finding supporters, were achieved. This paved the way for the official formation of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, the exhibitions of which, however, were later organised in other locations in the city, due to the increasing number of member artists.

4.2 All in this together: Belonging to the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople

A collective of artists working together towards shared aims is not a rare phenomenon in art history.⁸⁴⁴ United for different reasons, including historical, economic and/or political circumstances, artists sometimes gathered in small groups, sometimes in fairly large ones. In some cases, they expressed themselves creatively through collaborative works, while in others they organised joint exhibitions. In the first half of the 20th century, many artistic collectives emerged and developed in different corners of the world.⁸⁴⁵ Among such collectives were the *Artistas del Pueblo* (People's Artists) from Buenos Aires (the 1910s), the *Kokuga Sosaku Kyokai* (Association for the Creation of National Painting) formed by painters in Kyoto (1918), the *Grupo dos Cinco* (Group of Five) which was a collaboration between painters and writers in Sao Paulo (1922), and others.⁸⁴⁶ 'Enjoying unprecedented mobility' and interested in exchanges of ideas and social interactions, some of the artists joined the collectives of other cities and even countries.⁸⁴⁷ For instance, the artist Varvara Bubnova (1886–1983), who belonged to the avant-garde circle in Russia, moved to Japan in 1922 and joined local collectives there such as *Nika Society* (*Nikakai*), *Sanka* and *Mavo*.⁸⁴⁸ Despite the fact that she was not, initially, an émigré, she was forced to become one later when, while already in Japan, in the mid-1930s.⁸⁴⁹ There were many artists like Varvara Bubnova at the time, and they also formed collectives to support each other or joined already existing local societies so as not to live in a bubble and to integrate faster. These formed a special category of artists whose mobility was

⁸⁴³ Dogramaci, Burcu. 'London.' *METROMOD Walks*, 2021, <https://walks.metromod.net/walks.p/17.m/london>, last modified: 16.7.2021.

⁸⁴⁴ Anonymous. 'Collective.' *tate.org.uk*, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/c/collective>. Accessed 05 May 2023.

⁸⁴⁵ Mühlhling, Matthias, and Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau München. *Gruppendynamik: Kollektive der Moderne (Zeitgenössische Kunst)*. Hatje Cantz Verlag, 1. Edition, 2 May 2022.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁸ Weisenfeld, Gennifer. *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931 (Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power)*. University of California Press, 2001, pp. 60–64.

⁸⁴⁹ Kozhevnikova, Irina. *Varvara Bubnova. Russkij hudozhnik v Yaponii i Abhazii*. Tri kvadrata, 2009.

not voluntary but forced – in other words, these were creative people who were forced to flee their homelands due to war, persecution, violence or other reasons that prevented them from remaining and continuing to work in their native countries.

Collectives used to be an important part of life in exile as they helped (and still help) individuals ‘to evolve in groups and to move forward’.⁸⁵⁰ If one analyses metropolitan destinations for refugee artists between 1900 and 1950, one can find many examples of this.⁸⁵¹ For instance, Magda Nachmann (1889–1951), a student of Léon Bakst in pre-Revolutionary Russia, was one of the foreign émigré artists who joined the already existing Bombay Art Society (BAS, founded in 1888).⁸⁵² Other collectives that were joined by European émigrés were the Asociación Amigos del Arte (Friends of Art Association, founded in 1924), the main art society in Buenos Aires at the time, as well as the Association of Intellectuals, Artists, Journalists and Writers in Buenos Aires (AIAPE, founded in 1936), where the newcomers worked side by side with Argentinians ‘committed to contemporary aesthetics and current political issues’.⁸⁵³ The collective La Carpeta de los Diez (The Folder of the Ten, founded in 1953 in Buenos Aires), which brought together local and émigré photographers in order to exchange ideas, practice together and prepare exhibitions, is of particular note.⁸⁵⁴ The Black Star Photo Agency (founded in 1936) in New York, which had a branch in London, also brought together émigré and local photographers but its purpose differed from that of the La Carpeta de los Diez, as its aim was ‘to foster an economic network between photographers and the magazines/newspapers developing new visual aesthetics for photo stories’.⁸⁵⁵ However, as mentioned above, many of the émigrés created their own collectives for their former compatriots rather than join existing art societies. As an example, in 1929, in Shanghai, an art society called Ponedel’nik (Monday), which consisted of Russian-speaking artists, designers, architects, writers and journalists, was formed. According to Katya Knyazeva, the purpose of

⁸⁵⁰ Dogramaci et al. *Arrival Cities. Migrating Artists and New Metropolitan Topographies in the 20th Century*. Leuven University Press, 2020, pp. 13–16.

⁸⁵¹ The METROMOD Project I was a part of focused on six metropolitan destinations for European refugee artists between 1900 and 1950.

⁸⁵² Mitter, Partha. ‘Bombay Art Society.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2951/object/5145-11881496>, last modified: 24.06.2021.

⁸⁵³ Lugo, Laura Karp. ‘Asociación Amigos del Arte.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2950/object/5145-9030943>, last modified: 12.05.2021; Lugo, Laura Karp. ‘Agrupación de Intelectuales, Artistas, Periodistas y Escritores (AIAPE).’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2950/object/5145-11009051>, last modified: 12.05.2021.

⁸⁵⁴ Lugo, Laura Karp. ‘La Carpeta de los Diez.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2950/object/5145-11259268>, last modified: 12.05.2021.

⁸⁵⁵ Roth, Helene. ‘Black Star Agency.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2948/object/5145-8103043>, last modified: 22.09.2021; Roth, Helene. ‘Black Star Publishing Company London.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/1470/object/5145-11066717>, last modified: 23.09.2021.

the art society was not only to bring together creative former compatriots but also to expand their knowledge of Chinese culture while maintaining links with artists in European countries.⁸⁵⁶ Shanghai also hosted the HLAM art society, which was founded in 1933 and consisted of Russian-speaking émigré artists, writers, entertainers and musicians who were in desperate need of ‘a sense of camaraderie’,⁸⁵⁷ as well as the Association of Jewish Artists and Fine Art Lovers (ARTA, founded in 1943), whose shared task was to organise exhibitions, lectures and other events for the sake of cultivation and promotion of the fine arts.⁸⁵⁸

In the context of ‘Russians’ abroad, unions and societies were quite commonplace. This is primarily connected to the fact that the Russian-speaking refugees found themselves in a situation where their class and/or status no longer played the most important role in their lives.⁸⁵⁹ After fleeing from the former Russian Empire and settling in another country, a professor might end up approaching passers-by for alms, while a talented journalist could be found shouting out the names of local newspapers to make a living.⁸⁶⁰ In such circumstances it was much easier to “fight” and win the “battle” as a team. In many cases, it was membership in a particular union created by the émigrés in their host cities (the Union of Disabled People, the Union of Cossacks, the Union of Engineers, the Union of Writers and Journalists, the Union of Artists, and others) that enabled refugees to stay afloat.⁸⁶¹ Membership in one of the unions was no guarantee, but it significantly increased the chances of receiving moral and material assistance, as well as of being visible to those who could help. Thus, a meeting of Russian-speaking émigré writers and journalists in Constantinople in 1920, at which it was decided to create a commission for mutual assistance for émigré writers, can be considered an important step in this sense.⁸⁶² Later, in 1921, the Union of Russian Writers and Journalists in Constantinople was established.⁸⁶³ As for Unions of Russian Émigré Artists, it is known that they existed in such European centres of Russian emigration as Berlin (1923–1925), Prague (1928–1946) and Paris (1921–1930, with a split in 1925).⁸⁶⁴ Taking into account the fact that

⁸⁵⁶ Knyazeva, Katya. ‘Ponedelnik.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021,

<https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2952/object/5145-11320447>, last modified: 08.05.2021.

⁸⁵⁷ Knyazeva, Katya. ‘HLAM – Society for Artists, Writers, Entertainers and Musicians.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2952/object/5145-11304837>, last modified: 20.06.2021.

⁸⁵⁸ Hetschold, Mareike. ‘Association of Jewish Artists and Fine Art Lovers (ARTA).’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2952/object/5145-8103911>, last modified: 14.09.2021.

⁸⁵⁹ Aygün, Ekaterina. ‘What Russian-language Publications Tell Us about Refugee Life in Occupied Istanbul.’ *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies*, no. 4, 2022, pp. 99–105.

⁸⁶⁰ Treplev, ‘Na rekah vavilonskih’, p. 18.

⁸⁶¹ Aygün, ‘What Russian-language Publications Tell Us about Refugee Life in Occupied Istanbul.’, pp. 99–105.

⁸⁶² Olcay, Türkan. ‘Shtrihy Ku’turnoj Zhizni Russkoj Emigratsii v Stambule (1919-1929).’ *Russkaya Belaya Emigraciya v Turcii vek spustya 1919–2019*, edited by Türkan Olcay, Moskva: DRZ, 2019, pp. 182–183.

⁸⁶³ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁴ Severyuhin, Dmitriy. *Russkaya Hudozhestvennaya Emigraciya 1917-1939*. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel’stvo N.I. Novikova, 2003, pp. 37–116.

the first organisational meeting of the Union in Paris took place on 4 May 1921, and the fact that the eyes of many Russian-speaking émigré artists in Constantinople at the time were directed to Paris, it can be assumed that they took the Parisian Union as an example and, starting from the autumn of 1921, worked hard to bring this idea to life.⁸⁶⁵

4.2.1 Structure of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople and its Members

By January 1922 the collective of Russian-speaking émigré artists was officially transformed into the Union or Society⁸⁶⁶ of Russian Artists in Constantinople.⁸⁶⁷ The Union functioned in the following way: there was a board periodically replenished with temporary members, membership fees were paid, new members were elected by ballot, meetings were regularly held and reports of exhibition commissions were heard, and announcements about the activities of the Union were published from time to time in the *Presse du Soir* newspaper published by Russian-speaking émigrés in Constantinople.⁸⁶⁸ It is known that members of the Union worked in the studio at Küçük Yazıcı Street 4 (in the Pera district, in close proximity to the Grande Rue de Péra and Mayak), which was provided for them by their American supporters in Constantinople – to be precise, by the Stearns family, which will be touched upon later. The artists worked there in the evenings from 7pm to 10pm, usually drawing from life and creating portraits.⁸⁶⁹ Union members paid 50 piastres per month to use the studio, while non-members paid 10 piastres per visit.⁸⁷⁰ Later, at the end of November 1922, the board of the Union would use the studio as the registration site for all émigré artists wishing to leave for America.⁸⁷¹ Another important feature of the Union was that its artists were issued membership cards, which, apparently, gave them some privileges in the city. Later it turned out that some people even pretended to be members of the Union for personal gain but the lack of membership cards revealed them as impostors.⁸⁷² One of the cards, with the number 1, has been preserved in the

⁸⁶⁵ Lejkind O.L., and D.Y. Severyuhin. 'L'Union [professionnelle] des artistes russes en France.' *Iskusstvo i Arhitektura Russkogo Zarubezh'ya*, <https://artz.ru/authors/1804649615/1805201874.html>, last modified: 15.10.2012.

⁸⁶⁶ Materials that belonged to the Union members reveal that in the English language, they named the Union as the Society of Russian Artists in Constantinople. However, English speakers living in Constantinople at the time mentioned it as the Union of Russian Painters in Constantinople, which is the word-for-word translation of the collective's name in the Russian language (Союз Русских Художников в Константинополе/Союз Русских Художников Константинополя).

⁸⁶⁷ Bournakine and Valery, editors, *Al'manah Na Proschaniye. The Farewell Almanac*, p. XLIII.

⁸⁶⁸ Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 29 June 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 10 August 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 23 December 1922, p. 3; Anonymous. 'Sobranije Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 20 November 1922, p. 3.

⁸⁶⁹ Anonymous. 'Soyuz Russkih Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 21 October 1922, n.p.

⁸⁷⁰ Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Russkih Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 3 January 1923, n.p.

⁸⁷¹ Anonymous. 'Soyuz Russkih Hudozhnikov v Konstantinopole.' *Presse du Soir*, 28 November 1922, n.p.

⁸⁷² Ibid.

archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch. The card, which features an elegant official seal displaying a scorpion, was printed by the émigré printing house Pressa and signed by the Chairman of the Union, Wladimir Ivanoff, in 1922.⁸⁷³ Most likely, a scorpion was chosen for the seal because some of the artists had organised their first successful exhibitions at the Mayak in the Autumn (October–November) of 1921, under the zodiac sign of Scorpio.

In the announcement concerning the establishment of the Union, published in the magazine *Teatr i Zhizn'* [Theater and Life] in January 1922, its leaders were named as follows: the painter and sculptor Wladimir Stepanovich Ivanoff was elected as Chairman of the Union, the painter Nikolai Kalmykoff (Naci Kalmukoğlu) was elected as Assistant Chairman, the painter Kravchenko became the Secretary, the architect Vladimir Freedolin and sculptor Fyodor Makurin (1884–1937) became members of the board, while sculptor Roman Bilinski, painter Nikolai Vasilieff and painter Nikolai Saretzki were chosen as the jury.⁸⁷⁴ Interestingly, one year after the formation of the Union, confidence in the board was expressed unanimously, which can be explained by the fact that the board members were incredibly dynamic and hard-working. Wladimir Stepanovich Ivanoff, a founder and chairman of the Union, had presumably settled in Constantinople in 1920 and had become well known for the 'Drawing Thursdays' that took place at his apartment.⁸⁷⁵ Despite the absence of much detailed information about him, from his obituary it is clear that he was a man with an enterprising nature, not least because he came from a merchant family and received his first education in the commercial field (graduating from the Kharkiv School of Commerce).⁸⁷⁶ However, having then studied at the Art School of Rerberg in Moscow (he considered Konstantin Korovin and Fyodor Rerberg to be his teachers), he was clearly a qualified artist as well.⁸⁷⁷ Judging by the newspapers, critics considered Ivanoff's work in Constantinople to be highly successful. For example, in 1922 the following was written about him: 'A talented artist. The ships created in epic style are very colourful and good.'⁸⁷⁸ And from 1923: 'This artist interprets the nature he contemplates in a very special way. His landscapes form whole symphonies of clouds. Since Mr Ivanoff conveys them as something spiritualised, his landscapes are extremely interesting.'⁸⁷⁹ It is highly likely that he became the leader of the Union precisely because of this combination of skills, both

⁸⁷³ The membership card is in the Private Archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch that belongs to Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti.

⁸⁷⁴ Anonymous. 'Russkoye Iskusstvo Za Granicey.' *Teatr i Zhizn'*, January 1922, no.7, n.p.

⁸⁷⁵ Anonymous, 'V Soyuze Russkikh Hudozhnikov', 3 January 1923, n.p.; Novitsky G., 'Pamyati hudozhnika V.S. Ivanova', n.p.

⁸⁷⁶ Novitsky G., 'Pamyati hudozhnika V.S. Ivanova', n.p.

⁸⁷⁷ Zavalishin, Vyacheslav. 'V studii Wladimira Ivanova.' *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, 19 November 1964, n.p.

⁸⁷⁸ Anonymous. 'Vystavka Soyuza Russkikh Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 19 June 1922, n.p.

⁸⁷⁹ Ted. 'K Vystavke Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 29 June 1923, n.p.

commercial and artistic. Further evidence of this is that the Union not only operated and organised exhibitions but also ‘helped its members to find work, supported them in difficult times, and did not let those who were tired and exhausted become despondent’.⁸⁸⁰ Similarly, before the revolution of 1917, the Union of Russian Artists in the former Russian Empire had allocated funds for the treatment of the ill Mikhail Vrubel, deducted interest from the works sold at one of the exhibitions for a fund to help artists and families affected by World War I, and given money from floating assets to poor student artists.⁸⁸¹ While in Constantinople, Wladimir Ivanoff delegated his responsibilities only once, to Nikolai Kalmykoff, in the summer of 1922 when he fell ill.⁸⁸²

It is also important to highlight that the membership of the Union was constantly changing. It is known that by June 1922 the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople consisted of up to 60 members, among whom were young little-known artists whose works were not mentioned by the journalists in the newspapers. As an example, the abovementioned Eugenia S. Bumgardner wrote in her book about a young refugee girl of twenty with the surname Shaumine who, while in Constantinople, ‘belonged to that ambitious Society – the “Union of Painters”’, although there is no mention of her in any other sources.⁸⁸³ In comparison with the Union of Russian Artists of the former Russian Empire, which from 1910 to 1923 had a little more than 30 people and by the end of the association had grown to 46, the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople can be considered crowded.⁸⁸⁴ These are some of the member artists of the Union listed in the *Farewell* almanac: ‘Tatiana Alexinsky-Loukina, Astafiev (Astori), Vladimir Bobritsky, Roman Bilinski, Nikolai Saretzki, Wladimir Ivanoff, Dimitri Ismailovitch, Nikolai Kalmykoff, Kaissaroff, Nikolai Peroff, Sabaneeff, Fedoroff.’⁸⁸⁵ As can be seen, the names of émigré artists were often omitted, which is why not all the members of the Union have yet been identified. Almost all of the artists, among whom were painters, sculptors and architects, came to Constantinople primarily because of its geographical proximity: some of them had lived and worked in the territories of present-day Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan, while others had been in Crimea because it was a popular resort location among the ‘Russian’ intelligentsia which, at the beginning, was far from the revolutionary hot spots. However, most of them, especially male artists, found themselves in the Ottoman Empire along with the troops of the retreating White army. The members of the Union were people of different

⁸⁸⁰ Novitsky G., ‘Pamyati hudozhnika V.S. Ivanova’, n.p.

⁸⁸¹ Lapshin, V.P. *Soyuz Russkikh Hudozhnikov*. Leningrad: Hudozhnik RSFSR, 1974, p. 186.

⁸⁸² Anonymous, ‘V Soyuze Hudozhnikov’, 29 June 1922, n.p.

⁸⁸³ Anonymous, ‘Vystavka Soyuza Russkikh Hudozhnikov’, n.p.; Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, p. 206.

⁸⁸⁴ Lapshin, *Soyuz Russkikh Hudozhnikov*, p. 169.

⁸⁸⁵ Bournakine and Valery, editors, *Al'manah Na Proschaniye. The Farewell Almanac*, p. XLIII.

ethnic origin (Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Jewish people, Armenians and Georgians) and religions (Orthodox, Catholics, Jews) who came from various parts of the former Russian Empire. Among the male painters in the Union, who made up a clear majority, were both experienced and recognised artists (such as the aforementioned portrait and landscape painter Nikolai Becker), as well as young beginners (like Borstchoff, who mainly painted Byzantine architecture, or Konstantin Astafiev, who was engaged in etchings and wood engraving). As for the sculptors and architects, there were much fewer of them. Whilst sculptors such as Roman Bilinski and Fyodor Makurin,⁸⁸⁶ both of whom many years later would be mentioned in the anniversary catalogue of exhibitions by the Turkish Fine Arts Union due to their participation, were able to work to a greater or lesser extent in the city, architects such as Vladimir Petrovich Freedolin, Nikolai Nikolaevich Gvozdev and Mikhail Anatolyevich (Khaimovich) Doubinsky (1877–1955), who were graduates of the St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Arts, were in low demand primarily because funds were not allocated for urban projects in the city, which was under occupation in the early 1920s.⁸⁸⁷ Doubinsky created a project for the Florya resort on the Marmara Sea, which, however, was never realised due to changes in the political situation in the country.⁸⁸⁸ Subsequently, already in Paris in 1930, at an exhibition there, he would present monotypes with views of Istanbul, ‘drawn in an impressionistic-sweeping manner, with the gift of architectural fantasy inherent in the artist’.⁸⁸⁹

Seven women (though there may have been more), not all of whose full names are known to us, belonged to the Union.⁸⁹⁰ Given the persistent male dominance throughout the history of art, the details of each and every one of these women matter. As Karen Petersen and J.J. Wilson rightly pointed out in their book *Women Artists*: ‘The works of women need exposure; they need sharing with their largest possible audience to develop a special vocabulary of appreciation and the same joy of recognition that men’s art has received over the centuries.’⁸⁹¹ Taking into account that there were significantly fewer women than men in the

⁸⁸⁶ Later, in 1923, Leon Yakovlevich Muradov from Tbilisi, who presented a large bas-relief ‘Three Graces’ at one of the Union’s exhibitions, and the novice sculptor Zelensky, about whom, alas, nothing is known, would join the Union.

⁸⁸⁷ Anonymous. ‘Vladimir Freedolin; Russian Lawyer and Artist Was on Czar’s Budget Commission.’ *The New York Times*, 6 September 1934, p. 19; Gümüř, Müjde. ‘Esir Şehrin Mimarları: İstanbul’un İşgal Yıllarında Türk Mimarların Çalışmaları.’ *Koç Üniversitesi Suna Kıraç Kütüphanesi “İstanbul’u Dinliyorum...” Podcast Serisi*, 9 July 2021, <https://open.spotify.com/episode/2czqJVzSXBhnhw9tJj1Md>.

⁸⁸⁸ Makovsky, Sergey. ‘Predrevolyucionnoye nashe stroitel’stvo.’ *Vozrozhdenie*, 8 June 1930, n.p.

⁸⁸⁹ S.M. ‘Monotipii M. Doubinskago.’ *Vozrozhdenie*, 13 February 1930, n.p.

⁸⁹⁰ In addition to the five female émigré artists listed, there was a certain ‘Madam Solov’yova’, whose still lifes were noted by critics in 1923, and a young refugee girl of twenty with the surname Shaumine, who also belonged to the Union.

⁸⁹¹ Petersen, Karen, and J.J. Wilson. *Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal From the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*. New York University Press, 1976, p. 10.

artistic field of the former Russian Empire, it is unsurprising that there were so few of them in the Union.⁸⁹² In Constantinople, the situation was aggravated by the fact that the Russian-speaking women were in exile. Often they had to earn a living (émigré women were mainly employed as waitresses, translators or teachers for children of local wealthy families), take care of children or help their compatriots through charitable activities.⁸⁹³ Nevertheless, some of them managed to move forward in the artistic field despite these circumstances. For instance, Barbara Rode (who studied at the Odessa Art School), while in Constantinople with her little child, worked as a waitress and at the same time became one of the first artists to copy the Kariye Mosque's frescoes, in 1921.⁸⁹⁴ Even though she left the Ottoman Empire before the official formation of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, her works were exhibited at the Mayak, and she was well acquainted with many of its future members, including Tatyana Alexinsky-Loukina and Lydia Nikanorova (1895–1938), the only two female artists who were captured in the preserved collective photograph of members of the Union: both in long summer dresses and graceful shoes – but in contrast to self-confident Tatiana, Lydia sits modestly with her head slightly tilted (see Figure 9).

When the artist Tatiana Alexinsky-Loukina arrived in Constantinople, she was a 36-year-old mother of 10-year-old Vladimir Ivanovich Alexinsky.⁸⁹⁵ Being married to Ivan Alexinsky, who was not only a professor of medicine but also a confidant of Pyotr Wrangel, she was in a safe position in terms of welfare. Judging from the fact that she participated in all the exhibitions of the Union, even those that were organised before its official formation, it was clearly not in her plans to give up painting, and most likely she would have continued her close cooperation with the Union if it had existed longer. While in Constantinople, she mainly worked on portraits. The most successful of her works mentioned by journalists at the time were the portraits of the famous émigré writer Arkady Averchenko and of her own husband, Ivan Alexinsky.⁸⁹⁶ As for the artist Lydia Nikanorova, before the revolution she had attended the courses of Mstislav Dobuzhinsky and Aleksandr Yakovlev in St. Petersburg and later, already in Crimea, the courses of Vardges Surenyants.⁸⁹⁷ While in Constantinople, she worked in a

⁸⁹² Lapshin, *Soyuz Russkikh Hudozhnikov*, pp. 250–265.

⁸⁹³ Numerous job adverts in the Russian periodicals published in Constantinople are evidence of this.

⁸⁹⁴ Anonymous, 'Russkiye Hudozhniki v Konstantinopole', p. 27; Bulakh, A.G. *Model of the Artist K. Somov and French Impressionism in Nelson (Canada)*. Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'skiy Dom 'Kolo', 2005, pp. 15–16.

⁸⁹⁵ For more information about Tatiana Alexinsky-Loukina: Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Tatiana Alexinsky-Loukina.' *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5138-10440330>, last modified: 14.09.2021.

⁸⁹⁶ Anonymous. 'Vystavka Soyuza Russkikh Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 19 June 1922, n.p.; Ted'. 'K Vystavke Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 29 June 1923, n.p.

⁸⁹⁷ For more information about Lydia Nikanorova: Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Lydia Nikanorova.' *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5138-11019537>, last modified: 16.09.2021.

variety of low-paying jobs, including her position as a translator at Hidiv Palace, which was quite far from the Union's studio and the Kariye Mosque/Chora Church, where Nikanorova worked on studying and copying frescoes and mosaics. Some of the copies of frescoes and mosaics that she created (despite the fact that walking in the area of Kariye Mosque alone was sometimes dangerous for women) were presented at the first major exhibition of the Union⁸⁹⁸ and much later were purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.⁸⁹⁹ Yet the landscapes she showed in 1923 at another exhibition of the Union did not impress 'Russian' critics, according to whom Nikanorova had yet to discover her artistic path and style.⁹⁰⁰ How professional and objective this criticism was, however, is not known. Most likely, she didn't give up not least thanks to the support of her friend from the Union (who later became her partner and, later in France, her husband), Georges Artemoff. As a memento of this relationship, there is a photograph taken at one of the Constantinople apartments in 1922/23, where Nikanorova, in a long elegant dress, is posing for Artemoff.⁹⁰¹

The preserved collective photograph featuring the members of the Union should have included Natalia Grekova, but for some reason she is not in the picture. A student of Léon Bakst as well as of Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin and a graduate of the Zvantseva Art School in Moscow, Grekova arrived in Constantinople with her family at the age of about 36, having previously endured terrible hardships and nights spent in a detached railway car.⁹⁰² Grekova, who questioned whether she had the right to paint when people were struggling to survive, was encouraged by Petrov-Vodkin's letter with the following words: 'As far as I know you, you have nothing else to do except to paint...'⁹⁰³ Perhaps thanks to this letter, during her stay in Constantinople she showed herself as an artist in three guises at once: firstly, she created wooden toys for the Artel of Russian Craftsmen (some of which were exhibited in 1921 at the Mayak); secondly, she created illustrations for one of the Russian fairy tales at the summer exhibition of the Union in 1922 (which may well have resembled her illustrations for the Little Humpbacked Horse made in 1918); and thirdly, she painted a self-portrait in oil on cardboard in response to Petrov-Vodkin's portrait of her, which he called 'Cossack (woman)', in a style reminiscent of the works of her teacher.⁹⁰⁴ According to Lina Bernstein, this might have been

⁸⁹⁸ They can be seen on the photo of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople's exhibition in Summer 1922. Source: Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters', p. 10 (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

⁸⁹⁹ Kaverin, Veniamin. *Pered Zerkalom*. Sovetskij pisatel', 1972, pp. 176–181.

⁹⁰⁰ Ted', 'K Vystavke Hudozhnikov', n.p.

⁹⁰¹ The photograph capturing Georges Artemoff painting Lydia Nikanorova's portrait in Istanbul is part of the Private Archive of Marie Artemoff-Testa.

⁹⁰² Bernstein, Lina. *Magda Nachman: Hudozhnik v Izgnanii*. Academic Studies Press, 2020, pp. 115–217.

⁹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 115–116.

⁹⁰⁴ Bernstein, Lina. 'Dve raboty Natalii Grekovej.' *Nashe Nasledie*, no. 129130, 2019, n.p.

Grekoval's attempt to offer her teacher a different reading of her face, contrasting with that of the 'Cossack (woman)': 'aged, wise with the experience of what she had to go through'.⁹⁰⁵ It is noteworthy that for Grekova, as well as for Alexinsky-Loukina and Nikanorova, the next stop on the émigré journey was France, but apparently their paths did not cross again there, despite the fact that Grekova had been on friendly terms with Nikanorova.⁹⁰⁶

In the later period of the existence of the Union, presumably, when the Grekoff family had already left the city, the young (at the time of her arrival in Constantinople she was most likely about 20 years old) sculptor Iraida Barry began to take part in its activities.⁹⁰⁷ In Constantinople, she married the local dentist Albert Barry, who was fond of photography. The story of this émigré sculptress saw the light thanks to the photographs taken by her husband, which were found by chance much later in antique shops in Istanbul by Cengiz Kahraman.⁹⁰⁸ It is known that they not only lived at the Mısır Apartments in the very heart of the Pera district, but that Iraida also used parts of its terrace as her studio.⁹⁰⁹ While still a child and living in Crimea, Barry was interested in painting and planned to enter the Imperial Academy of Arts in the Russian Empire. As a result of her exile, she studied at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, where she was taught by Ihsan Özsoy.⁹¹⁰ Her name was mentioned by journalists in connection with the Union only twice. After the exhibition in June 1923, the Russian press wrote the following: 'The field of sculpture is represented by very few objects; it is pleasant to note the small figurines by Barry, in which the talent and immediacy of perception can be felt, but these things, unfortunately, are spoiled by bad casting.'⁹¹¹ Her name, along with the names of a few other talented artists of the Union in regard to the same exhibition, was also mentioned in the French press.⁹¹² Because she was educated in Turkey and worked there all her life, she is now remembered as one of the first female sculptors of the Turkish Republic.

4.2.2 An extraordinarily diverse group: What united members of the Union?

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁶ The evidence of this is the photograph featuring them together in Constantinople that was sent by Nikanorova to her close friend who still lived in Russia. Her letter (6. VII. 26) where the photograph is mentioned is kept at the RGALI (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art in Moscow).

⁹⁰⁷ For more information about Iraida Barry: Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Iraida Barry.' *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5138-10436677>, last modified: 16.09.2021.

⁹⁰⁸ Dirican, Gül. 'Uzak ve Yalnız İraida.' *Gazete Pazar*, 16 February 1997, p. 19.

⁹⁰⁹ Kadioğlu, Ayşe. 'Exile, dignity and love: An Istanbul story.' *t24.com.tr*, <https://t24.com.tr/k24/yazi/exile-dignity-and-love-an-istanbul-story,2682>. Accessed 25 November 2020.

⁹¹⁰ Akpamuk, Günce. 'İraida Barry'nin İstanbul günleri.' *Atlas Tarih*, January–February, 2020, pp. 116–121.

⁹¹¹ Ted', 'K Vystavke Hudozhnikov', n.p.

⁹¹² Anonymous. 'Les artistes russes.' *Stamboul*, 26 June 1923, n.p.

The members of the Union were educated in various art institutions of the former Russian Empire and gravitated toward different art movements. Whilst a few of the émigré artists of the Union studied in such cities as Tbilisi,⁹¹³ the great majority of them graduated from well-known art institutions in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkiv and Kyiv, some of which were considered prestigious at the time, but (being too “academic”) were not ideal for all artists. Some of the émigré artists (for instance, the portrait painters Nikolai Becker, Boris Eguize and Eugene Agafonov, as well as the graphic artist and illustrator Nikolai Saretzki) studied at the Imperial Academy of Arts informally known as the Saint Petersburg Academy of Arts, which was the limit of ambitions for many artists of the time.⁹¹⁴ Whereas most graduates of the academy adhered to the traditional academic canons of painting, Eugene Agafonov (1879–1955), a native of Kharkiv and the leader of various local avant-garde associations, stood out for his modern/unconventional style.⁹¹⁵ The Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, which was considered another important institution for many artists and where such members of the Union as Georges Artemoff and Nikolai Vasilieff had studied, also had an impeccable reputation. The Constantinople period of Georges Artemoff was noted by critics as mostly impressionistic, while Nikolai Vasilieff, before fleeing to the Ottoman Empire, had been influenced by the neo-primitivism of Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov, for a while worked as an assistant to Robert Falk at Vkhutemas and even took part in the 1919 exhibition ‘From Impressionism to Non-Objectivity’.⁹¹⁶ The founder and chairman of the Union, Wladimir Ivanoff, also studied in Moscow but at the Rerberg Art School (1865–1938), the teaching methods of which were based on attention to the individuality of a student and their artistic preferences, regardless of whether such preferences were innovative or not.⁹¹⁷ As for the territory of today’s Ukraine, Dimitri Ismailovitch and Roman Bilinski studied at the National Ukrainian Academy of Arts in Kyiv, which was just being formed in 1917 and was trying to lure local young artists who, by inertia, usually went to Moscow and St. Petersburg for their education.⁹¹⁸ A whole group of artists, including Vladimir Bobritsky, Nikolai Kalmykoff, Boleslaw Cybis and Nikolai Peroff, graduated from the Kharkiv Art School. The first three, before fleeing to Constantinople, had been part of the avant-garde circle in Kharkiv

⁹¹³ The portrait painter Basile Dzhordzhadze was one of the representatives of the Georgian Art Society in Tbilisi.

⁹¹⁴ Biographies of the artists can be seen in the Istanbul section of the *METROMOD Archive*: <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/types/all/geo/>.

⁹¹⁵ Lejkind, Oleg, et al. *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh'ya* (1). Izd.dom ‘Mir’, 2019, pp. 118–119.

⁹¹⁶ Anonymous. ‘L’Exposition de l’Union des Peintres russes à la caserne Mac-Mahon.’ *Journal D’Orient*, 20 January 1923, n.p.; Goldenthal, Jolene. ‘Art/A Vasilieff Retrospective.’ *Hartford Courant (Connecticut)*, 27 March 1977, p. 143.

⁹¹⁷ Buksha, *Malevich*, n.p. (‘U Rerberga’).

⁹¹⁸ Burachek, Mykola. ‘Mistectvo u Kiivi.’ *Muzaget*, January–March 1919, pp. 99–115.

and even founded an association of Cubo-futurists called the Union of Seven, which existed from 1917 to 1919. In contrast, Nikolai Peroff, from Ryazan province, worked a lot in the 'Nesterov style', in other words, on ecclesiastical topics connected to the quest for national identity, which in turn was an echo of the Silver Age of the former Russian Empire.⁹¹⁹ Thus, along with the classical repertoire of the art academies, works inspired by the Silver Age and works of a Cubo-Futuristic character were created by the émigrés in Constantinople. As Léon Bakst wrote in 1914:

There are two dominant movements in art at the moment. One is slavishly retrospective and the other, hostile to the former, is futuristic, with its sights set far ahead. [...] The former movement pulls us back to our predecessors, to the art of the deceased, to their illumined canons, while the latter destroys everything old and builds the foundation for the art of the future that will be judged by our great-grandchildren.⁹²⁰

The fact that the Russian-speaking émigré artists were so different but still belonged to one Union and worked together was noted by many journalists in Constantinople. All of them highlighted the uniqueness of the Union from this point of view: 'The pictures are done by Russians now living in Constantinople and represent many schools of painting. [...] Works by Cubists, Futurists and Impressionists hang side by side with highly finished landscapes and portraits of a more conventional style.'⁹²¹ *Journal D'Orient* also noted 'the incredible variety in terms of composition, technique, colour and state of mind'.⁹²² In addition to a variety of artistic movements, a rich palette of genres was also plain to see. Among the works created by the émigrés were copies of Byzantine frescoes (Rode, Ismailovitch, Nikanorova), theatrical art (Bobritsky, Kalmykoff, Bodritsin, Artemoff), graphics (Saretzki, Sabaneeff, Astafiev, Kozmin, Starikoff, Kadulin, Radchenko, Pankoff), and decorative and applied arts (Doubinsky, Grekova). Easel painting consisted of portraits (those by Nikolai Becker, Boris Eguize, and Boris Luban were especially popular in the city, although Alexinsky-Loukina, Vasilieff, Agafonov and Dzhordzhadze also worked a lot in this genre), landscapes (Atamian, Artemoff, Kalmykoff, Gvozdev, Freedolin, Ivanoff, Nikanorova), still lifes (Ismailovitch, Nikiforov, Solovyova), architecture and interiors (Ismailovitch, Borstchoff, Fedorov, Lebedeff, Saraphanoff, Semianovsky), genre painting (Alajalov, Cybis) and religious compositions

⁹¹⁹ Bowlt, *Moscow and St. Petersburg in Russia's Silver Age*, p. 70.

⁹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁹²¹ Anonymous. 'Exhibition of Russian Paintings.' *The Orient News*, June 1922, n.p.

⁹²² L. de K. 'L'Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon.' *Journal D'Orient*, 25 June 1922, n.p.

(Peroff).⁹²³ Photographs of the first major exhibition of the Union in the summer of 1922, which have been preserved in the Stearns Archive, are further evidence of this: they clearly show both the variety of genres and the variety of artistic movements (see Figure 11, Figure 12).

The most important component of the activities of the members of the Union and one of the forms of their collaboration was exhibitions. These helped the artists of the collective to become more visible. This is where the differences among the artists were an advantage rather than a drawback. After the formation of the Union, exhibitions continued to take place in the Mayak for some time. The first exhibition of the Union, which was also the seventh exhibition of Russian-speaking émigré artists' collective, took place there in early January 1922. According to newspaper notes, it was supposed to last three days, from 5 January to 7 January, but it was quite possible that it was extended, since the journalists wrote about it only on 18 January.⁹²⁴ The works of such artists as Michel Starikoff (1882–1950), Vladimir Kadulin, Kornilov, Yermolaev and Alexandre V. Pankoff, who had just joined the Union and were exhibiting for the first time in the Mayak, were noted.⁹²⁵ In addition, pieces by the Artel of Russian Craftsmen were once again presented.⁹²⁶ While in Constantinople, the Artel adhered to the precepts of the Stroganov School for Technical Drawing and fashioned predominantly wooden objects (frames, chests, caskets).⁹²⁷ Apart from this event, the Mayak hosted two more similar small-scale exhibitions.⁹²⁸ On the one hand, it made sense to continue such activities in the Mayak, since this venue had begun to be associated with exhibitions of Russian-speaking emigrant artists even before the formation of the Union was announced and was known to many locals and guests of the city. On the other hand, the number of members of the Union grew day by day and it was clear that the Union would soon need a larger space for its events. The relatively small Mayak was not suitable for large-scale exhibitions.

In this regard, in the spring of 1922, the members of the Union decided to organise an exhibition at the Taksim Military Barracks. During the occupation of Istanbul, this place was more commonly known by the name MacMahon, and that is also how Russian speakers referred

⁹²³ Anonymous, 'Russkiye Hudozhniki v Konstantinopole', p. 27; Ted', 'K Vystavke Hudozhnikov', n.p.; L. de K., 'L'Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon', n.p.; Anonymous, 'Les artistes russes', n.p.;

⁹²⁴ Anonymous. 'Exposition-Bazar.' *Stamboul*, 6 January 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 18 January 1922, p. 3.

⁹²⁵ Anonymous, 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov', 18 January 1922, p. 3.

⁹²⁶ Ibid.

⁹²⁷ Anonymous, 'Vystavka Soyuz Russkih Hudozhnikov', 19 June 1922, n.p.

⁹²⁸ Bournakine and Valery, editors, *Al'manah Na Proschaniye. The Farewell Almanac*, p. XLIII.

to it.⁹²⁹ It was located on the grounds of today's Gezi Park and, in parts, Taksim Square.⁹³⁰ This is how A. Slobodskoy, in his memoirs, described this large military complex with its mosque, cistern, stables and other premises:

Opposite Taksim Square, across the road, there are old Turkish barracks, dilapidated and with broken glass. For a time, they were occupied by French troops and technical teams [...]. A number of refugee enterprises also settled in the MacMahon barracks: a shelter, a Russian-American garage, driving courses, a veterinary infirmary, horse training and racing with their own stable of racehorses.⁹³¹

At the time this huge building was indeed multifunctional, further proof of which is the fact that Slobodskoy forgot to mention the public lectures that were periodically held by the Russian-speaking émigrés in the barracks.⁹³² The spaciousness of the premises and its convenient location (between the Grande Rue de Péra and the Şişli area, where the cultural and entertainment life of the city was in full swing) made the Taksim Military Barracks ideal for the first major exhibition of the Union. This was held there in the Summer of 1922 (see Figure 10), and lasted one month, from 18 June to 18 July. In addition to brief information about talented Russian-speaking émigré artists in Constantinople, the announcements for the exhibition included the information that it was organised for the benefit of their starving colleagues who remained in Russia.⁹³³ This explains the fact that the exhibition attracted many visitors, among whom the first to visit the vernissage were Ottoman crown prince and painter Abdulmejid II, French writer and navy officer Claude Farrère and the highest ranks of foreign missions.⁹³⁴ Moreover, it was noted in the press that the number of visitors to the exhibition increased every day.⁹³⁵ This was connected not only with the desire to help the emigrants themselves and their 'Russian' colleagues in distress, but also with the fact that 294 well-executed works (another source states that about 500 works were exhibited, which is unlikely judging by the photographs of the exhibition⁹³⁶) by 34 of 60 members of the Union of Russian

⁹²⁹ Çelik, Yüksel. 'Mit ve Gerçek Arasında: Taksim Topçu Kışlası (Beyoğlu Kışla-i Hümayunu).' *Osmanlı İstanbulu. III. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu*, edited by Feridun M. Emecen, Istanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi, 2015, pp. 443–476.

⁹³⁰ Ibid.

⁹³¹ Slobodskoy, A. *Sredi Emigracii: Moi Vospominaniya*. Izdatel'stvo 'Proletarij', 1925.

⁹³² Anonymous. 'Narodnyj Universitet.' *Presse du Soir*, 7 February 1922, n.p.

⁹³³ Anonymous. 'Union des peintres russes.' *Stamboul*, 17 June 1922, n.p.; L. de K., 'L'Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon', n.p.

⁹³⁴ Anonymous. 'Vystavka russkih hudozhnikov v pol'zu golodayushchih hudozhnikov Rossii.' *Presse du Soir*, 16 June 1922, n.p.

⁹³⁵ Anonymous, 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov', 29 June 1922, n.p.

⁹³⁶ Source: Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters' (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

Artists in Constantinople were presented there.⁹³⁷ The city press wrote about this exhibition as an important event that should not be missed. For instance, *Presse du Soir* shared the following thoughts on the matter: ‘There have been attempts to arrange exhibitions before, and they have always gone down perfectly well with the public but the current exhibition is already an undertaking on a large scale and takes on the character of a real artistic event.’⁹³⁸ *The Orient News* journalists commented on the exhibition as follows: ‘The exhibition would be interesting and important in any city, and in Constantinople, it provides a rare opportunity to see original and sincere artistic effort.’⁹³⁹ This was echoed by French-speaking colleagues from the *Le Bosphore*:

[...] very serious efforts of the group of Russian artists of Constantinople who pursue their sacred ministry in particularly difficult conditions, who know how to rise to great Art and who offer us visions of radiant beauty rendered with pure and sincere simplicity and a perfect technique testifying to their in-depth studies and tireless research. To those who have not yet visited this exhibition, it promises moments of pure and elevated enjoyment, so rare to find in the midst of the hustle and bustle in Constantinople.⁹⁴⁰

Turkish journalists also strongly recommended that their readers visit the exhibition, where along with works by painters and sculptors of the Union (Becker, Bobritsky, Ismailovitch, Peroff, Artemoff, Bilinski and others) one could see 110 objects, ranging from famous carved woodpeckers to busts made of wood, produced by the members of the Artel of Russian Craftsmen.⁹⁴¹ It is also worth noting that several publications immediately mentioned the high spirits of the works presented at the exhibition of the Union. For instance, *Journal D’Orient* was pleasantly surprised by what the émigré artists, who were struggling desperately to survive, presented to the visitors: ‘Shouldn’t their works presented at the exhibition scream about their moral decline and physical privation? Well, on the contrary, this is an incredible miracle.’⁹⁴² In other words, the journalists were surprised by lively, colourful and life-affirming exhibits (the only thing that united the works presented at the exhibition), having expected the opposite from

⁹³⁷ Anonymous, ‘Vystavka Soyuz Russkikh Hudozhnikov’, 19 June 1922, n.p.; L. de K., ‘L’Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon’, n.p.

⁹³⁸ Anonymous, ‘Vystavka Soyuz Russkikh Hudozhnikov’, 19 June 1922, n.p.

⁹³⁹ Anonymous, ‘Exhibition of Russian Paintings’, June 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘L’Exposition de Peinture de la Caserne Mc Mahon.’ *Journal D’Orient*, 7 July 1922, n.p.

⁹⁴⁰ Anonymous. ‘L’Art a Pera. L’exposition des peintres russes a la Caserne Mac Mahon.’ *Le Bosphore*, n.d., n.p.

⁹⁴¹ Anonymous, ‘Rus Resim Sergisi.’, *Peyam-i Sabah*, 17 June 1922, n.p.; Anonymous, ‘Rus Resim Sergisi.’, *Vakit*, 17 June 1922, n.p.; Anonymous, ‘Vystavka Soyuz Russkikh Hudozhnikov’, 19 June 1922, n.p.; L. de K., ‘L’Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon’, n.p.; Anonymous, ‘Exhibition of Russian Paintings’, June 1922, n.p.; Anonymous, ‘L’Exposition de Peinture de la Caserne Mc Mahon’, n.p.

⁹⁴² L. de K., ‘L’Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon’, n.p.

émigrés who had lost their homes as well as income and often had to work with cheap paints that quickly faded.⁹⁴³

The second major exhibition was opened at the same place in winter, on 10 December 1922.⁹⁴⁴ It lasted approximately two months, until 4 February 1923.⁹⁴⁵ According to the newspapers, the main organiser was Dimitri Ismailovitch, whilst the decorative part of the exhibition was entrusted to Nikolai Kalmykoff.⁹⁴⁶ Despite the fact that many members of the Union had received visas and left Constantinople by the time of the opening of the exhibition, there was a much larger number of exhibits than in the summer.⁹⁴⁷ Moreover, the exhibition was highly acclaimed by the public as ‘a collection of the finest works of art ever seen in the city’.⁹⁴⁸ Confirmation of these words can be found in the French press, which noted the progress of the artists compared to the previous exhibition: ‘[...] this new exhibition offers a collection of works as varied as it is interesting, and will allow art connoisseurs to judge the ever-increasing progress obtained – and at what price – by the courageous artists.’⁹⁴⁹ The journalists of the newspaper *Presse du Soir* also considered the members of the Union to be courageous and committed: ‘In such an “evacuation” time, when the fate of the Russians in Constantinople seems so uncertain, exceptional energy and love for their work were needed to create this exhibition – if not “against reason”, then at least “against the tide”.’⁹⁵⁰ This time the journalists praised works by Becker, Sabaneeff, Artemoff, W. Ivanoff, Borstchoff, Ismailovitch, Kalmykoff, Tchetchett⁹⁵¹, Peroff, Morosoff, Lebedeff and Astafiev.⁹⁵² It is also known that the highlight of the event was the architect Doubinsky, who was highly respected by his colleagues.⁹⁵³ The works presented at the exhibition were created by Doubinsky and Konstantin Astafiev with the aim of reconstructing the architecture of Ancient Judea.⁹⁵⁴ It was noted that these works were more artistic than archaeologically accurate.⁹⁵⁵ Unfortunately, it is not known

⁹⁴³ Anonymous, ‘Vystavka Soyuz Russkih Hudozhnikov’, 19 June 1922, n.p.

⁹⁴⁴ Anonymous. ‘Announcement.’ *Presse du Soir*, 7 December 1922, n.p.

⁹⁴⁵ Anonymous. ‘Na vystavke kartin.’ *Presse du Soir*, 3 February 1923, n.p.

⁹⁴⁶ Anonymous. ‘Vystavka Russkih Hudozhnikov.’ *Presse du Soir*, 8 December 1922, p. 3.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid.; L. de K., ‘L’Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon’, n.p.

⁹⁴⁸ Bournakine and Valery, editors, *The Farewell Almanac (1920–1923)*, p. XLIII.

⁹⁴⁹ L. de K., ‘L’Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon’, n.p.

⁹⁵⁰ Anonymous. ‘Otkrytiye Vystavki Russkih Hudozhnikov.’ *Presse du Soir*, 12 December 1922, p. 3.

⁹⁵¹ A large watercolour of Istanbul by the artist (signed and dated 1923) was recently sold at auction: Anonymous. ‘Lot 379: Victor Tchetchet (American, 1891-1974): A Large Watercolour of Istanbul.’ *invaluable.com*, <https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/victor-tchetchet-american-1891-1974-a-large-water-379-c-73e407ca86>. Accessed 25 April 2024; For more information regarding the artist: Gachot, Richard Michael. *Nicholas B. Vassiliev: Modernism in Flight*. Master’s Thesis, The University of Texas at Austin, 2007, pp. 70–71.

⁹⁵² L. de K., ‘L’Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon’, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Cvety na minarete (Russkoe iskusstvo v Konstantinopole).’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 January 1923, n.p.

⁹⁵³ Anonymous, ‘Vystavka Russkih Hudozhnikov’, 8 December 1922, p. 3.

⁹⁵⁴ L. de K., ‘L’Exposition des Peintres russes a la Caserne Mac-Mahon’, n.p.

⁹⁵⁵ Anonymous, ‘Cvety na minarete (Russkoe iskusstvo v Konstantinopole)’, n.p.

whether the photographs of this exhibition have been preserved in any private archives. As for the premises where two major exhibitions of the Union were held, in 1940, after the formation of the Turkish Republic, the park next to the barracks was expanded, and the building, with its famous exotic and ‘oriental’ onion-shaped domes, was demolished.⁹⁵⁶

The last exhibition of the Union, which opened on 24 June 1923, was much more modest than the previous two, which was due to both the fact that some of the artists of the Union had left Constantinople and the fact that disagreements had begun among the remaining artists, which eventually led to the dissolution of the Union.⁹⁵⁷ This time the artists’ works were exhibited not in the Taksim military barracks, but in one of the YMCA branches in Istanbul, at Kabristan Street 40.⁹⁵⁸ Judging by the maps of Charles Goad, this building was next to the American Embassy at the time and today is known as Beyoğlu Öğretmenevi (Meşrutiyet Caddesi 58).⁹⁵⁹ In connection with the warm attitude of US Admiral Mark Lambert Bristol and his subordinates to the artists of the former Russian Empire, ‘Russian’ events, including concerts and performances with scenery created by émigré artist Nikolai Ouzunoff, were often held at this venue.⁹⁶⁰ The journalists who visited the exhibition noted that the audience at the opening was not numerous, but ‘elite’.⁹⁶¹ In their opinion, the works by such ‘old-timers’ of the Union as Tatiana Alexinsky-Loukina, Wladimir Ivanoff, Nikolai Vasilieff, Vladimir Freedolin, Eugene Agafonov and Nikolai Peroff stood out sharply against the background of other artists.⁹⁶² The journalists also did not fail to notice that a number of new exhibitors, such as Boris Luban (1881–1968), Gvozdev, V.P.-Tch. (1896–?) and Solovyeva, took part in the event.⁹⁶³ However, the most appreciated comments went to the Karaite artist Boris Eguize/Bari Egizas (1869–1946), who was regarded as ‘certainly a valuable acquisition for the Union’ and who presented 15 works at the exhibition, one of which (titled ‘Billet-doux’) was brought by the artist from Russia, where it had previously been exhibited at the exhibition of South Russian

⁹⁵⁶ Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası. Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sinde Mimari Kültür*. Istanbul: Metis, 2020, p. 46; Çelik, ‘Mit ve Gerçek Arasında: Taksim Topçu Kışlası (Beyoğlu Kışla-i Hümayunu)’, pp. 443–476.

⁹⁵⁷ Anonymous. ‘Rus resm-i meşheri.’ *Vatan*, 25 June 1923, n.p.; Ted’, ‘K Vystavke Hudozhnikov’, n.p.

⁹⁵⁸ Anonymous, ‘Rus resm-i meşheri’, n.p.

⁹⁵⁹ Charles Edward Goad, Plan d’assurance de Constantinople. vol. II - Péra & Galata. No: 36, 1905 (SALT Research, Istanbul); ‘Young Men’s Christian Association Binası.’ *kulturenvanteri.com*, <https://kulturenvanteri.com/tr/yer/young-mens-christian-association-binasi/#16/41.030033/28.973034>. Accessed 29 November 2022.

⁹⁶⁰ Anonymous. ‘İnteresnyj koncert.’ *Presse du Soir*, 4 February 1922, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Vokal’nyj ansambl’.’ *Presse du Soir*, 9 February 1922, pp. 2–3.

⁹⁶¹ Anonymous. ‘Les artistes russes.’ *Stamboul*, 26 June 1923, n.p.

⁹⁶² Ibid.; Ted’, ‘K Vystavke Hudozhnikov’, n.p.

⁹⁶³ Ted’, ‘K Vystavke Hudozhnikov’, n.p.

Artists in Odessa.⁹⁶⁴ Moreover, Eguize had also brought from Russia several small sketches by the artist Kyriak Kostandi, his teacher, which were also displayed at the exhibition.⁹⁶⁵ According to those who visited the exhibition, portraits clearly predominated among the exhibits, indicating that the portrait genre remained one of the favourite and most profitable genres for émigré artists in Constantinople. The most successful portrait painters at the event were Eguize (numerous portraits), Alexinsky-Loukina (portrait of her husband Professor Aleksinsky), Vasilieff (portraits of Volkonskaya, Freedolina, Kuskova) and Agafonov (portrait of Shamashinova).⁹⁶⁶ As for sculpture, this was represented by the works of Iraida Barry and a certain Zelensky.⁹⁶⁷

Thus, the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople was one of the brightest examples of the collectives created by Russian-speaking refugees in exile. As was the case with other unions, it provided its members with moral and (if needed) material support. Moreover, the Union's strong leadership, its structure and its well-organised meetings in the studio helped the émigré artists to get back to work and therefore to rediscover their reason for existence and the meaning of life in complete disorientation. The high spirit of their works as well as their attempts to save their colleagues in Russia from hunger eloquently express the spiritual nourishment that they received from each other in the Union. This was no less true for female representatives of the Union who, by practicing in the studio, as well as preparing and participating in the exhibitions, demonstrated their unwillingness to interrupt their careers even under the difficult circumstances of exile – most probably because work helped them regain the confidence that they were 'of some use in this world'.⁹⁶⁸ Moreover, there is no doubt that belonging to the Union also helped many of the artists with visibility. With their wealth of diversity, the exhibitions of the Union drew a lot of attention and attracted visitors with different preferences in terms of genres and artistic movements, thanks to which many of the émigré artists were able to find supporters and clients. Last but not least, membership in such a 'motley' collective contributed to the expansion of the artists' networks, which later, when some of them decide to leave Constantinople for good, would play a crucial role. It is likely that there were misunderstandings and perhaps even disagreements between the artists, as is often the case in collectives. However, as these cases are not documented in the sources, it wouldn't be appropriate for me to speculate further.

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid.; Anonymous, 'Les artistes russes', n.p.

⁹⁶⁸ Arendt, Hannah. *The Jewish Writings*. Edited by Jerome Kohn, Ron H. Feldman. New York, 2007, p. 264.

4.3 Making success possible: The Supporters and Clients of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople

4.3.1 The Art market in the city and the émigré artists

An art market is a system of sociocultural and economic relations, which involves payment or some other reward for a particular piece of art.⁹⁶⁹ As Dmitry Severyukhin correctly points out, this is connected to the fact that any work of art, be it a sculpture or a painting, is of material value, which, apart from everything else, includes such potential expenses as the cost of materials, payment for a model, rent of a studio, life necessities of the artist and more.⁹⁷⁰ Indeed, many masterpieces that today please the eyes of visitors to famous museums and galleries would not exist had the many years of work on them not been paid for by clients or patrons.⁹⁷¹ As such, the basis of an art market is a purchasing arrangement between the artist and the buyer/ordering customer, whether ‘a private person, public organization, monarch, church or government agency’.⁹⁷² The sale of the art, in turn, is often arranged with the help of commission agents, auctions or through shops, galleries and other places.⁹⁷³

In this sense, the Russian art market before the revolution of 1917 not only functioned but actively developed. In large Russian cities in the early 20th century, auctions were popular, art magazines and articles in the press were published, competing associations of artists were created, exhibitions were regularly organised and galleries as well as ‘fine art shops’ were opened.⁹⁷⁴ An important role in this process at the turn of the century was played by such personalities as Pavel Tretyakov (1832–1898), Savva Mamontov (1841–1918), who founded an artists’ colony at the Abramtsevo Estate, major collectors Mikhail Morozov (1870–1903) and Ivan Morozov (1871–1921) and the much lesser known Pavel Kharitonenko,⁹⁷⁵ as well as Sergei Diaghilev (1872–1929), populariser of Russian art in Europe and the world ‘who managed to build into a principle the combination of the indispensable aesthetic integrity of the exhibition with a well-thought-out commercial strategy’⁹⁷⁶ – in other words, wealthy Russian

⁹⁶⁹ Severyukhin, Dmitriy. ‘Art Market: how it should be understood in art history.’ *Vestnik SPbGUKI*, Sankt-Peterburg, September 2011, p. 69.

⁹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁹⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷⁴ Severyukhin, Dmitriy. *Istoriya razvitiya peterburgskogo hudozhestvennogo rynka XVIII – pervyh dvuh desyatiletij XX vv.* Dissertation, The Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia, 2005.

⁹⁷⁵ Olga Yurkina presented her research regarding the famous industrialist and entrepreneur, philanthropist and collector Pavel Ivanovich Kharitonenko during the lecture ‘Pavel Kharitonenko and Russian Artists at’ the Museum of Russian Impressionism in December 2022.

⁹⁷⁶ Severyukhin, *Istoriya razvitiya peterburgskogo hudozhestvennogo rynka XVIII - pervyh dvuh desyatiletij XX vv.* Dissertation.

merchants and entrepreneurs who were fond of art and collecting.⁹⁷⁷ Unfortunately, the same cannot be said regarding the situation in the capital of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Although not only Turkish but also Armenian and Greek artists worked in Istanbul at the time, there was no a serious competition between them. Just as there were no art magazines, if one does not count the *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Mecmuası*, which was published from 1910 to 1914 and, according to Wendy M.K. Shaw, in a sense limited the capacity of the Turkish people to appreciate art as a result of the aesthetics in the magazine, which promoted parallels between the pleasure of nature and the pleasure of art, to suit the tastes of the local religious society.⁹⁷⁸ There were no entrepreneurs like Pavel Tretyakov to support artists, but there were a few local collectors, such as the Ottoman Armenian Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian and the Ottoman Jewish Camondo Family.⁹⁷⁹ Auctions began to take place regularly and gained steam only starting from 1923.⁹⁸⁰ Local shops sometimes acted as intermediaries but not regularly. Despite facing budgetary challenges, the School for Calligraphers, officially established in 1915, managed to hold its annual public exhibition showcasing calligraphic works created by both students and master artists.⁹⁸¹ Another paramount exhibition was held at the Galatasaray High School, but it also took place only once a year.⁹⁸² And, most importantly, the great majority of Ottoman artists were backed by the government or patronised by local churches, as in the case of the Levantine artists who mainly worked on religious topics, which of course hindered the development of the art market in the city.⁹⁸³ At the time of the arrival of Russian-speaking emigrants to Istanbul, the main group of artists in the city was called *1914 Kuşağı* also known as ‘Çallı Generation’, mainly consisting of local artists who had studied abroad with the help of state money and recently returned.⁹⁸⁴ They worked in the Şişli studio located in a wooden shed that resembled a hangar and intermingled in the Şişli area.⁹⁸⁵ At least, as the émigré artist Alexis Gritchenko wrote in his diary, ‘the whole Ottoman Montparnasse’ including Sami Yetik (1878–1945), Feyhaman

⁹⁷⁷ Bowlit, *Moscow and St. Petersburg in Russia's Silver Age*, pp. 303–306; pp. 264–265; pp. 270–271.

⁹⁷⁸ Shaw, Wendy M.K. *Osmanlı Resmi*. Translated by Zeynep Şen, Bozlu Art Project, 2022, p. 194.

⁹⁷⁹ Bali, Rıfat N. *Türkiye'de antikaçılar, koleksiyonerler ve müzayedeler (1855-1980)*. İstanbul: Libra, 2021, p. 39.

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁹⁸¹ Tongo, Gizem and Schick, Irvin Cemil. ‘Islamic art and visualities of war from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic.’ *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 2023, pp. 1–29.

⁹⁸² Starting from 1917, the exhibitions were held at the Galatasaray High School during the summer holidays until 1951. Lifij, Avni. *Sanat Yazıları*. Kırmızı Kedi, 2019, p. 31.

⁹⁸³ Those who worked for private clients sometimes were not paid for their works because the clients found the portrayals of their noses or mouths not beautiful enough. Source: Gritchenko, *İstanbul'da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 186; Gören, Ahmet Kamil. *Türk resim sanatında Şişli atölyesi ve Viyana sergisi*. İstanbul: Şişli Belediye Başkanlığı, Resim ve Heykel Müzeleri Derneği, 1997, pp. 34; 44–49.

⁹⁸⁴ Artun, Ali. *Modernizm kavramı ve Türkiye'de Modernist Sanatın Doğuşu*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2021, p. 201.

⁹⁸⁵ Aksel, Malik. *Sanat ve Folklor*. Kapı Yayınları, 2011, p. 43; Gören, *Türk resim sanatında Şişli atölyesi ve Viyana sergisi*, p. 49; Gritchenko, *İstanbul'da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 190.

Duran (1886–1970), Nazmi Ziya Güran (1881–1937) and Hikmet Onat (1882–1977) gathered there.⁹⁸⁶ According to Elif Dastarlı, the studio was founded by the Ottoman government ‘for a propagandistic purpose’,⁹⁸⁷ and the artists working in the studio were supposed to create artworks on the topic of war and heroism, which was relevant during the years of military engagements. In the few photographs preserved in the private archive of Professor Adnan Çoker, one can see the Ottoman artists with their works on a military theme and their models, real Ottoman soldiers.⁹⁸⁸ Considering that the time was very unfortunate for the artists (civil war, occupation of Istanbul and economic crisis), this was an opportunity for them, which is why they worked there tirelessly, even at night.⁹⁸⁹

However, even after World War I and the Turkish War of Independence, in the late 1920s, the artistic environment of Istanbul could hardly be called vibrant if one compares it to that of Paris, London or New York.⁹⁹⁰ This was evident in the fact that local people were not very accustomed to spending time enjoying art at exhibitions, not to mention purchasing artworks.⁹⁹¹ The first gallery in the city, named Maya, was opened many years later, in 1950.⁹⁹² This issue was quite frustrating for one of the leading artists of *1914 Kuşağı*, Avni Lifij: ‘The first thing that the foreigners we saw at our exhibitions, or met here and there, did was almost always to ask where our national galleries were located; we sometimes had to confess, and sometimes we switched the conversation to another topic. One should have seen the surprise of our interlocutor when we told the truth....’⁹⁹³ Thus, the Russian-speaking émigré artists after the revolution suddenly found themselves in occupied Istanbul where they had to start from scratch, far away from the generous art-lover entrepreneurs and highly dynamic art life they had known. How did they find clients and sell their works in this situation? Did their clients consist mainly of wealthy Russian speakers or foreigners and guests of the city? Were there any local, Ottoman, clients and supporters among them?

Addressing the question of how Russian-speaking émigré artists sold their works in their host city, some researchers refer to the information published in the almanac *Les Russes sur le*

⁹⁸⁶ Gritchenko, *İstanbul’da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 190.

⁹⁸⁷ Gören, *Türk resim sanatında Şişli atölyesi ve Viyana sergisi*, pp. 40–45.

⁹⁸⁸ Ibid.; Dastarlı, Elif. *Yan Kapıdan Girenler. Modern Türk Resminin Analizi*. Hayalperest Yayınevi, 2021, p. 41.

⁹⁸⁹ Gören, *Türk resim sanatında Şişli atölyesi ve Viyana sergisi*, p. 56.

⁹⁹⁰ Boll, *Art for sale: a candid view of the art market*, pp. 16–17; pp. 21–22.

⁹⁹¹ Multiple caricatures and illustrations from the *Akbaba* magazine are evidence of this state of affairs. Naci, Elif. ‘Resim: On yıl zarfında Türkiye resim aleminde neler oldu? 1923-1933.’ *Milliyet*, 29 October 1933, p. 19; Şerifoğlu, Ömer Faruk. *Resim Tarihimizden: Galatasaray sergileri: 1916-1951*. YKY, 2003.

⁹⁹² Güvemli, Zahir. ‘Allahaısmarladık, Maya!’ *Vatan*, 21 May 1954, p. 4.

⁹⁹³ Lifij, *Sanat Yazıları*, p. 131.

Bosphore created by the émigrés themselves.⁹⁹⁴ According to the information in the almanac, a certain Pyotr Nikolaevich Kareev not only helped émigré artists with the search for clients but pioneered in introducing ‘Russian’ art in exile to wide circles of local and foreign communities of the city: ‘P.N. knew how to find not only buyers of Russian paintings, but also connoisseurs of Russian art and supporters of Russian artists, whose works he introduced.’⁹⁹⁵ However, the name of this person, who judging by the photograph from the almanac at the time was a presentable middle-aged man with a large moustache, is not mentioned in any known sources concerning Russian-speaking émigré artists in Constantinople at the beginning of the 1920s. Given that the authors of *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* were the contemporaries of the émigré artists and knew them personally, there is no reason not to believe them. In this regard, it can be assumed that Kareev did carry out activities of this kind, but much later, in the second half of the 1920s, when the almanac containing a short text about him was published. The only thing known for sure is that Kareev was included in one of the Lists of Emigrants of 1922 by the Information Bureau of Constantinople (account number 136217, age 32) which means that he did live in the city.⁹⁹⁶

The ways that the émigré artists sold their works at the very beginning of the 1920s shows us that they successfully managed to cope without intermediaries like Kareev. As in times past, ‘artists themselves were the primary sellers of art, offering their own works for sale’.⁹⁹⁷ Rather than going through art dealers, artists made use of previous networks, their own contacts and newly formed relationships with wealthy Russians, locals and foreigners of the city – in other words, personal acquaintances – to find clients. This reinforces the perspective advocated by Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, who suggests viewing the art market ‘in terms of flows and exchanges rather than in terms of stock, prices, and quantities sold or bought’, that is to say considering ‘the channels and networks that make up the art market’.⁹⁹⁸ For instance, the émigré artist Leonid Sologub took advantage of his friendship with the émigré photographer Jules Kanzler to hang his works in the Kanzler studio. Thanks to his friendship with the Turkish artist Ibrahim Çallı, who after studying in Paris became a teacher at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul and was the leader of *1914 Kuşağı*, the émigré artist Alexis Gritchenko found clients

⁹⁹⁴ Lejkind, Oleg, et al. *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh'ya* (1). Izd.dom ‘Mir’, 2019, pp. 44–45;

⁹⁹⁵ Bournakine, *Ruskiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

⁹⁹⁶ Yefimov, A.V. *Glavnoe Spravochnoe Byuro v Konstantinopole, 1920-1922 gg. Imennye spiski bezhencev i chinov Russkoj Armii* (2). Moskva: Institut Naslediya, 2022, p. 117.

⁹⁹⁷ Boll, *Art for sale: a candid view of the art market*, p. 14.

⁹⁹⁸ Joyeux-Prunel, Béatrice. ‘Circulation and the Art Market.’ *Journal for Art Market Studies*, 2 (2017), p. 1.

among the wealthy Turks of Istanbul.⁹⁹⁹ In addition, getting to know Thomas Whittemore, an American philanthropist and archaeologist, who his friends called ‘a flying mystery’ because he was always on the move, could significantly affect the fate of an émigré artist.¹⁰⁰⁰ Since many of the émigrés knew this, they would wait for him in the lobby as well as other places in the Pera Palace Hotel, where Whittemore used to stay, in order to meet Whittemore and/or sell him their artworks right there.¹⁰⁰¹ As mentioned earlier, the émigré artist Alexis Gritchenko left Constantinople for Paris with the help of the money he received from Whittemore for 66 works featuring Byzantine city walls and churches.¹⁰⁰² Another émigré artist, Leonid Brailovsky, was also personally acquainted with Thomas Whittemore.¹⁰⁰³ He and his colleagues from the Art Studio of the All-Russian Zemsky Union, located on Prinkipo/Büyükdada Island, created for him architectural models of ‘Russian’ historical monuments, intended for exhibition in major cities of the United States.¹⁰⁰⁴ Among the models were the Kolomna Palace in Moscow, the House of Yusupov in Moscow, the Church of John the Baptist in Yaroslavl, the Bazaar in Orel, the Carnival in Chuhuiv and others.¹⁰⁰⁵ Some of them, such as the Troika (team of three horses), the Russian Teahouse and the Kremlin were photographed by the Russian émigré intellectual Boris Ivashentsev and published by Eugenia S. Bumgardner in her book on Constantinople and the Russian-speaking émigrés.¹⁰⁰⁶ The architectural models, along with five tapestries made by Rimma Brailovskaya (1877–1959), as well as icons embroidered with silk and pearls, small bags, boxes and jewellery, were presented at an exhibition with an ethnographic focus titled ‘The Picturesque Past of Russia’, which took place in October 1920 at the Russian Embassy in Constantinople, in the famous Blue Hall, in which from time to time bazaars and auctions were organised.¹⁰⁰⁷ As for Thomas Whittemore himself, already in the 1930s his name would be associated with the Byzantine Institute of America in Boston (1929), the Byzantine Library in Paris (1930) and the reconstruction of Hagia Sophia, all of which would have been, if not

⁹⁹⁹ Arsal, Oğur. *Modern Osmanlı resminin sosyolojisi, (1839-1924)*. Translated by Tuncay Birkan. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat ve Yayıncılık, 2000, p. 82; Gritchenko, *İstanbul’da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 132.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, p. 29; King, *Pera Palas’ta Geceyarısı. Modern İstanbul’un Doğuşu*, pp. 107–108.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107–108.

¹⁰⁰² Güler, Ayşenur, and Vita Susak, *Alexis Gritchenko. The Constantinople Years*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁰³ For more information about Leonid Brailovsky: Shahanova, Antonina. *Leonid Mihajlovich Brailovskij. Lichnost’ hudozhnika Serebryanogo veka*. Liki Rossii, 2018.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Chevalier Des Grioux. ‘L’exposition des travaux des refugies russes.’ *Presse du Soir*, 18 October 1920, n.p.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰⁶ In E. Bumgardner’s *Undaunted exiles* his surname is indicated as Ivaschenzeff; In E. Bumgardner’s *Undaunted exiles* (between 142 and 143 pages) there are photographs of the studio and the models.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Anonymous. ‘Zhivopisnoe proshloe Rossii.’ *Presse du Soir*, 11 November 1920, p. 3. The exhibition lasted from 18 October to 14 November; Anonymous. ‘Aukcion dragotsennostej i veshchej russkih bezhencev v zdanii Russkogo Posol’stva.’ *Presse du Soir*, 8 May 1920, p. 3; Chevalier Des Grioux, ‘L’exposition des travaux des refugies russes’, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Vystavka.’ *Presse du Soir*, 18 October 1920, p. 3.

impossible, then at least more difficult without the help of his Russian-speaking émigré assistants.¹⁰⁰⁸

In this way, the émigré artists found their clients and, in a sense, created an art market themselves, either with the help of their personal acquaintances or by selling their works in all possible places, including the streets of the city, the local hotels and venues opened by their compatriots. Many of these artists, graduates of prestigious institutions, paved their way without any intermediaries thanks to their education and knowledge of European languages, which helped them substantially in the process of communicating with locals (many of whom spoke French) and foreigners of the city. Did the members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople practice the same methods of finding supporters and clients? Were their measures any different from those of the émigré artists mentioned above who left Istanbul before the Union's formation? Finally, who were their main supporters and clients? Written sources (newspapers and 'ego-documents') as well as visual/semi-visual sources, such as scrapbooks and albums (which serve as examples of handicraft work by the émigrés), contribute to addressing these questions. Information derived from these sources is crucial primarily due to the lack of preserved archives for most Union artists, making it nearly impossible to obtain personal documents that would provide insights into their supporters and clients.

4.3.2. What Written Sources tell us about the Supporters and Clients of the members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople

It was the *Presse du Soir* newspaper of 1922 that wrote about the Union's owing its development mainly to the wide support provided to Russian-speaking émigré artists by the Americans.¹⁰⁰⁹ Moreover, this applied not only to the Union, but also to the Artel of Russian Craftsmen, which managed to open a studio thanks to an order for one of the bazaars at the American Embassy and to stay afloat (there was no money even for advertisements, and hard-working 12-hour days barely paid for room and board for five members of the Artel) thanks to their major American customer, a certain Flynn, who subsequently helped them attract other clients, Americans and British.¹⁰¹⁰ Judging from the fact that most of the honorary members elected by the Union consisted of well-known Americans in Constantinople, the Americans were definitely the chief supporters of Russian-speaking artists. The first elected honorary member was the Mayak's President and American public figure Stanley Harrison, 'the well-

¹⁰⁰⁸ Güler, and Susak. *Alexis Gritchenko. The Constantinople Years*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 18 January 1920, p. 3.

¹⁰¹⁰ Anonymous. 'Vystavka Soyuzu Russkikh Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 19 June 1922, n.p.

known antique collector'.¹⁰¹¹ In June 1922, he was followed by Foster Waterman Stearns (1881–1956) and Martha Stearns.¹⁰¹² Later, in August 1922, a certain Philip Chotburn (spelled in Cyrillic, as *Чотбурн*), presumably American, became an honorary member.¹⁰¹³ Finally, in December 1922, the secretary of the American Embassy Gardiner Howland Shaw (1893–1965) was elected by the members of the Union.¹⁰¹⁴ These people are linked by the fact that they were in the city at the time in connection with official United States business. Foster W. Stearns was in Istanbul with his wife Martha Stearns (maiden name, Genung) from 1921 to 1923 in connection with his work as the third secretary at the American Embassy.¹⁰¹⁵ His friend and colleague, Gardiner Howland Shaw, was a native Bostonian who, after graduating with honours from Harvard College, joined the United States Department of State and began his foreign service in Turkey.¹⁰¹⁶ As for Philip Chotburn, this may well have been Philip Chadbourn, one of the representatives of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant.¹⁰¹⁷

However, not all honorary members were Americans. According to *Presse du Soir*, in December 1922, the director of the Société Immobilière, Max Pompée, whose visiting card has been preserved among the personal belongings of Dimitri Ismailovitch, was elected as an honorary member of the Union.¹⁰¹⁸ While little is known about Max Pompée himself, the full name of the estate agency where he worked as a director was the Société Immobilière Ottomane de Constantinople, which was located in the Galata area, on Voivoda Street 37 (today's Bankacılar Caddesi), and operated within the Taksim Military Barracks when the city was occupied.¹⁰¹⁹ Later, in 1923, the director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, Cemil Cem (1882–1950), became another honorary member.¹⁰²⁰ After studying law in Istanbul, Cemil Cem had first worked in a number of Ottoman consulates and embassies in Europe, including in Paris

¹⁰¹¹ Bournakine and Valery, editors, *The Farewell Almanac (1920–1923)*, p. XLVI.

¹⁰¹² Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 29 June 1922, n.p.

¹⁰¹³ Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 10 August 1922, n.p.

¹⁰¹⁴ Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 23 December 1922, n.p.

¹⁰¹⁵ For more information: Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Foster Waterman Stearns.' *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5138-11017193>, last modified: 15.04.2021.

¹⁰¹⁶ Anonymous. 'About Gardiner Howland Shaw.' *shawfoundation.org*, <http://www.shawfoundation.org/about.php>. Accessed 30 November 2022.

¹⁰¹⁷ Anonymous. 'No name.' *Levant Trade Review*, August 1922, no. 8, n.p.

¹⁰¹⁸ The visiting card is in the Private Archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch that belongs to Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil); Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 23 December 1922, n.p.

¹⁰¹⁹ Anonymous. 'Societe Immobiliere Ottomane De Constantinople antetli doküman, 1910'lar.' *phebusmuzayede.com*, <https://phebusmuzayede.com/48224-societe-immobiliere-ottomane-de-constantinople-antetli-dokuman-1910-lar-21x28-cm.html>. Accessed 30 November 2022; The evidence supporting this information is a black and white photograph displayed at the exhibition commemorating the inaugural year of the Turkish Republic. The exhibiton's catalogue: İşlet, Banu, et al. *Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yılı (29 Ekim 1923 - 29 Ekim 1924)*. YKY, June 2023.

¹⁰²⁰ Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Russkih Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 3 January 1923, n.p.

and Vienna.¹⁰²¹ As a person interested in art, he met and communicated with various artists in these cities and also drew caricatures himself.¹⁰²² At first, he occasionally sent his work to the Ottoman magazine *Kalem* but later decided to quit his diplomatic career and become a professional cartoonist in Istanbul.¹⁰²³ There, he began publishing his own magazine, *Cem*, in which he was not afraid to satirise famous political figures and the social follies of his day.¹⁰²⁴ Two years later, in 1912, the magazine was shut down and its owner left, first for Izmir, and then for Europe.¹⁰²⁵ He later returned to Istanbul and from 1921 to 1925 was director of the Academy of Fine Arts in the city.¹⁰²⁶ According to the artist Avni Lifij, he was the best director of the Academy after Osman Hamdi Bey, primarily because he opened two additional departments, one for the decorative arts and one to teach drawing.¹⁰²⁷ It was during this period, in 1923, that he provided assistance to the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople. Unfortunately, it is not known how exactly this assistance was expressed (there is every reason to believe that Cemil Cem helped with organising the final exhibition of the Union), but the fact that Cemil Cem was the first Turkish honorary member of the Union speaks volumes about the changes in the Ottoman Empire, which was a step away from becoming the Turkish Republic. It is worth noting that such first signs of Turkey's shift from its Ottoman past to its Turkish present appeared after 1923 (few émigré events did not feature portraits or sculptures of Atatürk). From the perspective of Istanbul's émigré artists, however, this shift became much more apparent in the early 1930s.

As noted earlier, it is unknown why the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople awarded honorary status to certain individuals. Most likely, this was a display of gratitude to many of the individuals for having provided support of various kinds, including financial help for purchasing artistic materials or exhibition decorations as well as providing premises for exhibitions. This means that not all of them were clients of the Union, i.e. purchasers of the artworks created by the émigré artists. Similarly, it is unclear whether the art-loving Ottoman Prince Abdulmejid II (well acquainted with some of the works by Russian-speaking émigré artists in Constantinople) and the writer Claude Farrer (quite a close friend and supporter of

¹⁰²¹ For more information: Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Mehmet Cemil Cem.' *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5138-10703442>, last modified: 14.09.2021.

¹⁰²² Anonymous. 'Cem magazine and Cemil Cem as an opponent caricaturist.' *Koç Üniversitesi Digital Collections*, <https://librarydigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/en/digital-exhibitions/cem-magazine-and-cemil-cem-as-an-opponent-caricaturist/>. Accessed 21 December 2022.

¹⁰²³ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁴ Kayış, Yasin. 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Cemil Cem ve Cem Mizah Dergisi.' *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 36, Spring 2018, pp. 89–105.

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁶ Anonymous, 'Cem magazine and Cemil Cem as an opponent caricaturist'.

¹⁰²⁷ Lifij, *Sanat Yazıları*, pp. 172–177.

some of the Russian-speaking émigré artists), who were invited to the opening day of one of the exhibitions of the Union, were also clients.¹⁰²⁸ However, there is no doubt that the Stearns family, whose archive contains numerous drawings and paintings by Russian-speaking émigré artists, and Gardiner Howland Shaw, who commissioned some of the works by émigré painter Alexis Gritchenko (who never belonged to the Union), a copy of one of the Kariye Mosque's mosaics created by Gritchenko's close friend and a member of the Union, Dimitri Ismailovitch,¹⁰²⁹ as well as works by other members of the Union, can be listed among the clients.¹⁰³⁰ Apart from them, in the *Le Bosphore* newspaper, the Italians Mongeri, Porta and Rossi were listed as clients of the Union, which is not surprising, since Russian-speaking émigrés were on friendly terms with Italian speakers in the city, including the journalist Gilberto Primi¹⁰³¹ and the representatives of the Societa Operaia.¹⁰³² The first two, Giulio Mongeri (1873–1953) and a certain Porta (his first name is unknown), were both architects who belonged to La Società Dante Alighieri da Costantinopoli, which aimed to promote Italian language and culture in the city.¹⁰³³ After the summer exhibition of 1922, both of them received letters of gratitude from the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople.¹⁰³⁴ Whilst nothing is known about Mr Porta, Giulio Mongeri was a rather famous Istanbul-born Italian architect who, at the beginning of the 20th century designed such buildings as St. Antonio Church, Bulgur Palas, Majik Sineması/Maxim Club, Karaköy Palas, Maçka Palas, the building known today as Bozlu Holding Binası in Şişli and others.¹⁰³⁵ Interestingly, in the entrance hall of one of his buildings,

¹⁰²⁸ Gritchenko, *İstanbul'da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 153; The evidence of this is an autographed manuscript preface by Claude Farrere in the album by Alexandre Pankoff for Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Crane (The Ömer Koç Collection).

¹⁰²⁹ It is mentioned in the letter from Dimitri Ismailovitch to the Directore of the Fine Arts Museum in Bordeaux, Monsieur Lemoine. The letter is preserved in the Dimitri Ismailovitch Archive that belongs to Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti.

¹⁰³⁰ Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross (Worcester, Massachusetts); Güler, and Susak. *Alexis Gritchenko. The Constantinople Years*, p. 48; Nadia Podzemskaia, 'A propos des copies d'art byzantin à Istanbul: les artistes russes émigrés et l'Institut Byzantin d'Amérique.' *Histoire de l'art* 44, June 1999, pp. 127–128; Anonymous. 'L'Art a Pera. L'exposition des peintres russes a la Caserne Mac Mahon.' *Le Bosphore*, n.d., n.p.

¹⁰³¹ For more information on Gilberto Primi and his wide network at the time: Bali, Rıfat N. *Gilberto Primi. Bir Levanten Gazetecinin Hayat Hikayesi ve Türkçe Yazıları*. Libra, 2023.

¹⁰³² Anonymous. 'L'Art a Pera. L'exposition des peintres russes a la Caserne Mac Mahon.' *Le Bosphore*, n.d., n.p.; Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 10 August 1922, n.p.; Bournakine and Valery, editors, *The Farewell Almanac (1920–1923)*, p. 1; Gören, *Türk resim sanatında Şişli atölyesi ve Viyana sergisi*, pp. 39–40. Further evidence of this is one of the letters (30.VII. 28) by Lydia Nikanorova, where she wrote that she was on friendly terms with Italian speakers in Constantinople (the letters are kept at the RGALI in Moscow).

¹⁰³³ Nardis, Stefania de. 'La Società Dante Alighieri da Costantinopoli a Istanbul. 1895-1922: diffusione della lingua e pedagogia nazionale.' *Diacronie. Studi di Storia Contemporanea*, no. 20, April 2014, pp. 27–29, <https://journals.openedition.org/diacronie/1785>. Accessed 30 November 2022.

¹⁰³⁴ Anonymous, 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov', 10 August 1922, n.p.

¹⁰³⁵ For the full list of the works by Giulio Mongeri: Çinici, Damla. *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti mimarlığının modernleşme sürecinde mimar Giulio Mongeri: Bursa Çelik Palas Oteli ve kaplıcası*. Bursa: Nilüfer Belediyesi, 2017.

which now houses the Bozlu Art Project, one can see two murals ‘displaying the influences of the Barbizon school painters’ that were created by a certain Lev Kar who came to Istanbul from the former Russian Empire.¹⁰³⁶ It is not surprising that Mongeri was a client of the Union for several reasons: firstly, he himself took part in mixed exhibitions in Pera in his early years in Istanbul, with designs and architectural projects such as churches, mansions and commercial complexes; secondly, he was a well-known collector who was regularly informed about interesting items by the shopkeepers in the Grand Bazaar; and thirdly, he himself was a child of émigrés who was forced to leave his post at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul twice because of his Italian origins (in 1911 due to the Turco-Italian War and later in 1915 when Italy joined World War I as part of the Allied Forces).¹⁰³⁷ Unfortunately, one part of his archive, which was donated to the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, was destroyed in the great fire in 1948, whilst the other part, donated to the Brera Academy where he studied, was destroyed during World War II.¹⁰³⁸ As for Italo Rossi, it seems he was a banker who for some time headed the Constantinople department of Deutsche Bank.¹⁰³⁹ Judging from the fact that in 1932, an auction was held at one of the apartments near the Teşvikiye Mosque (not far from the Mongeri family’s house designed by Giulio), at which numerous valuable and rare items belonging to Mr Rossi were sold, including silverware, a tile collection, Moroccan and English furniture, tea sets, vases and chandeliers, a carpet collection, Amedeo Preziosi engravings, Persian miniatures and paintings, he was a major collector.¹⁰⁴⁰ In addition to the Italians, the *Le Bosphore* newspaper also mentioned a certain Chambrun as a client.¹⁰⁴¹ It can be assumed that he was the French count and diplomat Charles de Chambrun (1875–1952), who in the early 1920s worked as an adviser to the French embassy in Constantinople, and, being the head of the Russian department (previously he was the first secretary of the French embassy in Petrograd), was well known to the Russian-speaking emigrants of the city for his sympathetic attitude towards them.¹⁰⁴²

¹⁰³⁶ Erten, Özlem İnay. *Şişli’de bir konak ve mimar Giulio Mongeri = A mansion in Şişli and architect Giulio Mongeri*. İstanbul: Bozlu Art Project, 2016, p. 140.

¹⁰³⁷ Ibid., p. 61; 72; 96–97; Çinici, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti mimarlığının modernleşme sürecinde mimar Giulio Mongeri: Bursa Çelik Palas Oteli ve kaplıcası*, p. 32.

¹⁰³⁸ Çinici, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti mimarlığının modernleşme sürecinde mimar Giulio Mongeri*, p. 38.

¹⁰³⁹ Anonymous, ‘L’Art a Pera. L’exposition des peintres russes a la Caserne Mac Mahon’, n.p.; Historical Association of Deutsche Bank. *A Century of Deutsche Bank in Turkey*. Aksoy Printing, 2009, p. 32; Tekerek, Meltem. ‘İtibar-ı Millî Bankası.’ *Atatürk Ansiklopedisi*, <https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/itibar-i-milli-bankasi/>. Accessed 30 November 2022.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Çinici, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti mimarlığının modernleşme sürecinde mimar Giulio Mongeri*, p. 37; Anonymous. ‘Müzayede ile satış.’ *Akşam*, 14 January 1932, p. 11.

¹⁰⁴¹ Anonymous, ‘L’Art a Pera. L’exposition des peintres russes a la Caserne Mac Mahon’, n.p.

¹⁰⁴² Chambrun, Charles de. *Lettres a Marie. Petersbourg-Petrograd, 1914-1917/1918*. Paris: Plon, 1941; Anonymous. ‘Naznachenie grafa Shambren.’ *Presse du Soir*, 27 April 1922, p. 3.

It can also be assumed that certain members of the Union had their own personal supporters, as evidenced in the memoirs by Boris Luban. Luban joined the Union towards the end of its existence, already having his own clientele from the American community in the city, particularly representatives of the American Navy.¹⁰⁴³ As a talented portraitist educated in Europe, Luban received commissions to paint portraits, specifically portrait miniatures, for Americans. He met the Henderson Family (Navy) through American Red Cross personnel, likely through the wife of Foster Waterman Stearns, in Constantinople.¹⁰⁴⁴ Through the Hendersons, Luban also became acquainted with the Capern Family (Navy), Adams Family (Navy), Lee Family (General Motors), a certain Mrs. Brown, and others.¹⁰⁴⁵ Major Charles Claflin Davis (1879–1957), the Director of the American Red Cross in the city at the time, mentioned that Luban had painted nearly everybody in the American Colony.¹⁰⁴⁶ Interestingly, some of his clients, especially the Henderson Family, not only paid for his artworks but also provided moral and financial support during a particularly difficult period when Luban and his family had recently lost everything in a fire at rented rooms of a wooden hotel on the historical peninsula.¹⁰⁴⁷ The reasons for Luban's immediate success in finding clients can be attributed to a combination of his persistence, driven by his desperate financial situation at the time of his first child's birth, his undeniable talent, and the popularity of the genre.¹⁰⁴⁸ During that time, it was common for visitors and foreigners in Constantinople to have a portrait painted by one of the masters from the former Russian Empire. After spending almost a year in Constantinople, Luban moved to the United States based on the suggestion of one of his clients and entered under the Russian quota. According to his memoirs, he received help from individuals such as Henderson (presumably Robert William Henderson), Lieutenant Adams, and Major Davis at almost every stage of the visa receiving process.¹⁰⁴⁹ During his years in New York, he painted many people, including Thomas A. Edison. His studio in New York, adorned with textiles throughout the room, had an oriental flair, reflecting his experiences of living in Central Asia and Turkey.¹⁰⁵⁰

¹⁰⁴³ Anonymous. 'Les Artistes Russes.' *Stamboul*, 26 June 1923, n.p.; The Memoirs by Boris Luban (as told to Betty Loughran) is titled 'No Moss'. The memoirs were sent to me by Kira King, the granddaughter of Luban, who resides in the US.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Luban, Boris. *No Moss*. New York, n.d., p. 328. (unpublished).

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 319–346.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 332–334.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Luban, *No Moss*, p. 324; Some of Luban's works, along with an excerpt from his memoirs, are in the process of being published in the Memoria Series by the Orient-Institut in Istanbul.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Luban, *No Moss*, pp. 341–344.

¹⁰⁵⁰ NYC artist studio, circa 1940s, Private Archive of the Luban Family.

4.3.3 What Visual and Semi-Visual Sources tell us about the Supporters and Clients of the members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople

Scrapbooks and albums are another important source providing information about the Union's supporters and clients, to supplement the information published in the written sources. They were created by Russian-speaking émigré artists either as personal gifts or as presents from their clients to colleagues. The latter situation was not uncommon, since it is known that at the end of the 19th century in the Russian Empire, albums with watercolours were commissioned by clients from one or several artists as gifts for higher officials.¹⁰⁵¹ Mounted on large pages in albums, the watercolours often represented views of cities or other areas.¹⁰⁵² The number of scrapbooks and albums produced by the Russian-speakers in Constantinople is unknown. I have managed to locate two such scrapbooks and three albums, but it can be assumed that more of them have been preserved in private archives. Whether as presents from the artists or made-to-order, the scrapbooks were created as mementoes, containing photographs, drawings by the émigré artists, meaningful newspaper clippings and other small items serving to evoke recollections. As for the albums, depending on the purpose (order from a client or promotion of art), they were filled almost entirely with original drawings and paintings by the émigré artists (mainly views of Constantinople), or conversely, almost entirely with photographs of their artworks. The covers of most scrapbooks and albums are modest, which can be easily explained by the fact that the émigré artists lived on a stringent budget. There is no doubt that they could have been made differently, since artists in the Russian Empire had experience in creating albums from pieces of carved amaranth wood, also decorated with metal figures and iron ornaments,¹⁰⁵³ but in their circumstances in Constantinople the artists had neither the time nor financial means for such luxury. It can be assumed that the idea of creating such scrapbooks and albums arose because of the possibility to do so cheaply. Based on the fact that scrapbooks and albums of this nature were actively created, including by representatives of the Allied Forces and for supporters of refugees from the former Imperial Russia, it appears that such memorabilia-items were fairly widespread throughout the city.¹⁰⁵⁴

¹⁰⁵¹ Anonymous. *Hudozhestvennye Novosti*. Sankt-Peterburg: Izd. pri Akademii Hudozhestv, 1888, pp. 395–396; pp. 505–507.

¹⁰⁵² Ibid.

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Photographer Unknown. *Corps D'occupation Français De Constantinople: 415me Régiment D'infanterie, 1ème Bataillon*, 1920 (1920). https://rosettaapp.getty.edu/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE2594166. Other albums from the *Pierre de Gigord collection of photographs of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey/Series II. Albums of various formats* (Getty Library) are also good examples of this; A scrapbook presented to Charles Claflin Davis by children in a Russian refugee camp. From The Charles Claflin Davis Papers, 1917–1923, Scrapbooks, box 6, Sequence number 711 (Harvard Law School Library, Historical & Special Collections); An album presented to Anna V.S. Mitchell and Alma L'H. Ruggles by Russian-speaking émigrés. According to

This could be attributed to the fact that such albums most likely required lower expenses compared to typographical or printed products such as catalogs, magazines, or books. In addition, a printed catalogue or a book would not have contained original drawings, paintings, or the exquisite beadwork in the form of a *kokoshnik* (woman's headdress worn in old Russia) as in the case of the album gifted to Anna V.S. Mitchell and Alma L'H. Ruggles by Russian-speaking émigrés. As genuine creations by the members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, both the scrapbooks and the albums are invaluable sources on the Union's members, activities and contacts.

As the title of the scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters' implies, it was created as a gift, or to be more precise, as an expression of gratitude to the Stearns family for their support of the members of the Union Russian Artists in Constantinople.¹⁰⁵⁵ The cover is modest but solid and presentable (see Figure 15). The scrapbook itself consists of twelve pages. The title page containing the inscription 'A Happy New Year!' and a coloured logo of the Union was created by the émigré artist Sabaneeff (presumably Theodore, who passed away in New York, 1885/1890–1964¹⁰⁵⁶). The scrapbook mainly contains photographs taken during the first major exhibition of the Union, in the summer of 1922. Among them are eight black-and-white photographs of the hall (in the Taksim Military Barracks) with exhibits, as well as photographs of the works presented at the exhibition (by such members of the Union as Ismailovitch, Ivanoff, Peroff, Becker, Lebedeff and others). In addition, in the scrapbook, one can see a little-known photograph of Dimitri Ismailovitch sitting next to a bust of him created by Roman Bilinski (see Figure 16), as well as the only surviving collective photograph of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, which became a well-known image in connection with its publication in the almanac *Farewell* (1923).¹⁰⁵⁷ Of no small importance is the fact that the scrapbook includes written thanks to Foster and Martha Stearns, decorated by Nikolai Kalmykoff and signed by the émigré artists (President: Wladimir Ivanoff, Secretary: Pavel Kravčinko; Artists: Roman Bilinsky, H. Stamm, Macourin, Constantin Aladjalov, D. Ismailovitch, Zaretskij, N. Kaissaroff (Woronkoff), B. Cybis, M. Starikoff, Grekova,

Edward Kasinec, it is a sizeable album consisting of 12 watercolor-adorned leaves by A. Gan, accompanied by calligraphic texts, boasting over 400 signatures, and executed in the year 1929 (Hoover IL&A).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Box 4: Photo and Art Albums from Turkey, 1922-1925. Folder 2: Photo Album of Art, etc. 'From Russian Painters,' in Turkey, 1922. Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters' (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Anonymous. 'Theodore Sabaneeff in the 1940 Census.' *archives.com*, <http://www.archives.com/1940-census/theodore-sabaneff-ny-53944644>. Accessed 30 November 2022; Anonymous. 'Admiral and Mrs. Wilson Have Guests at Annapolis.' *The Sunday Star*, Washington D.C., 15 January 1939, p. D-7.

¹⁰⁵⁷ The photograph can be seen here: Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople.' *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5145-10440425>, last modified: 15.09.2021.

Zavialoff, Astafiev, Zyubeiko, Artemoff, Fredolin, Lebedeff, Kozmin, Bortchoff, Sabaneeff, A. Ivanoff, N. Kalmikoff, Lydia Nika, N. Vassilieff, A. Morosof, N. Peroff and others¹⁰⁵⁸). As this allows us to hear the voices of the artists, allow me to quote an example:

Dear Mr. Stearns, Will You allow us artists members of the Society to express our deepest and warmest thanks for Your kindness and sympathy which have enabled us to continue our work to go studying our favourite art, in a word to take up our studies, after an interval of eight years caused by the outbreak of the world war and afterwards the civil war in Russia. We left Russia without having any means of existence and had to use our strength and energy to earn our daily bread here so as not to be positively homeless in the street. We dared not hope to find means to study seriously to have a studio and models which are as necessary to an artist as the air he breathes. We felt that we were perishing spiritually without any hope for the future. It is hard for you to imagine Dear Sir, how much You have done for us what immence [sic] moral support You have afforded us, to us who were worn out with the struggle for life and with what new strength and courage you have filled us ...¹⁰⁵⁹

This statement of gratitude speaks for itself. From this, it follows that Foster Waterman Stearns was not merely some client or occasional supporter. It is perhaps for this reason that the Stearns Family was awarded an honorary lifetime membership. An art connoisseur, Foster Waterman Stearns not only actively and regularly supported the members of the Union of Russian Artists during his work at the American Embassy in Constantinople but also assembled a collection of their works, which has survived to this day. From the brief biography of Foster Waterman Stearns written for the Stearns Family Papers collection at the College of the Holy Cross, we learn that he was a native of Hull, Massachusetts, and graduated from Amherst College in 1903, Harvard University in 1906 and Boston College in 1915.¹⁰⁶⁰ His professional path began with the position of librarian at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, a profession he returned to in 1925, this time at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester.¹⁰⁶¹ This despite three years in Constantinople as third secretary at the American Embassy (1921–1923) and almost two years

¹⁰⁵⁸ The way of writing the surnames has been preserved. Not all the surnames are legible.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Formal letter of thanks to Foster Waterman Stearns from the members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, 1922. Source: Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Artists', p. 2 (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

¹⁰⁶⁰ According to the materials from the Archives & Special Collections at the College of the Holy Cross (Worcester, Massachusetts).

¹⁰⁶¹ Anonymous. 'Foster Stearns.' *College of the Holy Cross. Estate and Financial Planning Quarterly*, Summer 1975, n.p.

at the American Embassy in Paris as second secretary (1923–1924).¹⁰⁶² After five years at the College of the Holy Cross and a period of studies in Rome, where he reorganised the Vatican Library, he would again change profession, this time from librarian to politician.¹⁰⁶³ His natural ability as a collector was noted by many.¹⁰⁶⁴ The fact that such an art connoisseur should come to Constantinople as a diplomat in the 1920s, at a time when Russian-speaking émigré artists were in dire need of help and support, can be considered the rarest stroke of good fortune. It is with his aid that the first major exhibition of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople was organised.¹⁰⁶⁵ Later, at the end of November 1922, Stearns was invited to the émigré artists' studio, opened by dint of his own efforts, where he was presented with this very scrapbook titled 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters'.¹⁰⁶⁶

It is clear that apart from supporting the collective as a whole, Foster Waterman Stearns also had personal dealings with some of the Union's émigré artists in particular. For instance, Stearns commissioned his own portrait, which now belongs to the College of the Holy Cross, from Nikolai Becker.¹⁰⁶⁷ The work is very impressive and important in the sense that we see Mr Stearns as he looked in the 1920s when he worked in Constantinople (and later in Paris) and helped the refugees of the former Russian Empire. He was also most likely in close contact with Dimitri Ismailovitch, since the artist sent Mrs Stearns an album containing black and white photographs of his drawings and paintings.¹⁰⁶⁸ A photograph mounted on the dark-red hard cover of the album, depicting the Hagia Sophia, undoubtedly sets the tone for the content. Thus, it is not surprising that the album largely consists of photographs of small-size views of the Byzantine sites of Istanbul such as Pamakaristos, Tekfur, Aya Irini, Bodrum Camii, Fenari Isa Camii, Zeyrek Camii and others. The fact that the works were created in 1923–1924, and the album itself was made in 1925, is evidence that the artist stayed in touch with the Stearns Family even after the latter left Constantinople in 1923. Although the motive for sending the album is unknown, it can be assumed that Ismailovitch, with the help of the album, was hoping to find clients (Mr Stearns himself and his circle) for his new works. Another aim could have been to organise an exhibition in the United States, one that was actually held – first in Washington

¹⁰⁶² Ibid.

¹⁰⁶³ Anonymous. 'Foster Waterman Stearns.' *The Times-Tribune* (Scranton, Pennsylvania), 21 November 1931, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶⁴ C.S.B. 'Foster Stearns.' *American Antiquarian Society*, n.d. (presumably 1956), pp. 64–65.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Anonymous. 'Vystavka Soyuza Russkikh Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 19 June 1922, n.p.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Anonymous. 'Témoignage de sa gratitude de l'Association des Peintres russes à M. Stearns/Testimony of its gratitude from the Association of Russian Painters to Mr. Stearns.' *Presse du Soir*, 27 November 1922, n.p.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Foster Waterman Stearns, by Nikolai Becker, 1923. (The Holy Cross Archives, Worcester, MA). It can be seen here: <https://www.holycross.edu/archives-and-special-collections/foster-waterman-stearns>.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Box 4: Photo and Art Albums from Turkey, 1922-1925. Folder 3: Photo Album of Turkish Art from D. Ismailovitch (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

(May 1927), then in New York (June 1927), where in 1928 Thomas Whittemore would exhibit Alexis Gritchenko's works, and later (September 1927) at the American Embassy in Rio de Janeiro (quite possibly not without the assistance of the Stearns Family and its network).¹⁰⁶⁹ Further evidence of individual relationships between Foster Waterman Stearns and some of the members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople is the album from the émigré artist Alexandre Pankoff, which has been preserved in the Stearns Family Papers.¹⁰⁷⁰ Created as a gift for Mr Stearns (on the occasion of Easter), rather than having been ordered, it seems rather modest from the point of view of the cover and the design in general. However, the content of the album is quite impressive, as it consists of well-executed original works by the artist. Whilst the album starts with a work dedicated to the 'Russian' Easter in Constantinople, a work that was quite well-known at that time in the local émigré circles as its variants were published in a few newspapers,¹⁰⁷¹ on the other pages of the album one can see drawings of different mosques of the city, including the Hagia Sophia, Valide, Süleymaniye, Yeni Camii and others. According to the note that was attached to the album, Alexandre Pankoff created it not only to express his gratitude to a person who had a 'continued interest' in him and his art but also to apologise for a commission that the artist had completed with which Mr Stearns had been displeased. The note surprises the reader with its sincerity and suggests that the artist-client relationship between them was quite close and regular.

Two similar albums (from the point of view that they also contained the artist's original works) were created by Pankoff as gifts for the Crane family.¹⁰⁷² One of them is an album of drawings titled 'Constantinople. Original Designs and Paintings of Alexandre Pankoff' that was created partly in Constantinople in 1922–1923 and partly in Paris in 1923–1924. As was the case with Foster Waterman Stearns, the album was presented with 'the feeling of profound gratitude', this time not on the occasion of Easter but on the occasion of Christmas and New Year. The fact that the album is described as consisting of 'thirty-five pen-and-ink, watercolour and gouache drawings, some heightened with gold paint, all with gold paint borders, on paper

¹⁰⁶⁹ Güler, and Susak. *Alexis Gritchenko. The Constantinople Years*, p. 54; Mechlin, Leila. 'A Special Exhibition of Oil Paintings made in Constantinople by Dimitry Ismailovitch.' *The Sunday Star*, Washington D.C., 22 May 1927, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Brief Notes of the Art World.' *The New York Times*, 3 July 1927, Section 7; The photograph (Mr Edwin V. Morgan, American Ambassador with D. Ismailovitch and N. Vassilieff-Kadik, Russian artists, on the inauguration day of the exhibition at the American Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, 14 September 1927) from one of the newspapers (the name is not indicated) has been preserved in the Dimitri Ismailovitch Archive that belongs to Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Box 4: Photo and Art Albums from Turkey, 1922-1925. Folder 4: Album of Art from Aleksander Pankauff (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

¹⁰⁷¹ Viktorinovitch, A. 'Hristos Voskrese!' *Derzhavnaya Rus'*, April 1922, no. 2, p. 11; Il'yinsky, V. 'Hristos i Antihrist.' *Nashi Dni/Nos Jours*, n.d., no. 7, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷² Both albums belong to the Ömer Koç Collection.

(...) mounted on 28 leaves of strong textured paper'¹⁰⁷³ tells us that it was much larger than the one that was created by Pankoff for Foster Waterman Stearns. There were again at least fifteen works depicting the mosques of Constantinople along with other silhouettes and views of the city. Why would the émigré artist Alexandre Pankoff spend so much time on the album? Who was Charles Richard Crane (1858–1939) to him? First of all, it can be assumed that Alexandre Pankoff met Charles Richard Crane with the help of Foster Waterman Stearns or through Thomas Whittemore, who was Crane's long-time friend from at least 1915.¹⁰⁷⁴ The only thing which is known for sure is that Charles Richard Crane, an American philanthropist and diplomat, was famous for his vivid interest in Russian (especially pre-Bolshevik) culture and his assistance to the émigré Russian community. He not only patronised such artists as Vasily Vereshchagin, Nicholas Roerich, Boris Grigorev and Ivan Bilibin, but also organised a rescue operation for the bells of the Danilevsky Monastery in Moscow, which the Soviet government had intended to melt down.¹⁰⁷⁵ Moreover, he commissioned the Slav Epic of twenty-one large scale paintings that were completed by Alphonse Mucha mostly during World War I.¹⁰⁷⁶ Mucha, in turn, would later create a portrait of a Turkish female writer, Halide Edib Adivar (1884–1964), who was on friendly terms with Charles Richard Crane.¹⁰⁷⁷ Most likely these friendly terms were the reason why some works in the abovementioned album by Pankoff were later used as frontispieces for Halide Edib's books, *Memoirs* (1926) and *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928).¹⁰⁷⁸ As for the second album ('Constantinople, an album of drawings and autographs', 1924–1929) presented to Crane by Pankoff in 1929, it contained inscriptions from such well-known representatives of the Russian community in Paris as Aleksei Remizov, Sergei Volkonskii, Feodor Chaliapin, Konstantin Somov, Ivan Bunin and others. In this way, Pankoff and his former compatriots wished to express their gratitude for the assistance so 'nobly and heartily' provided to the Russians 'at the moment of great disaster'.¹⁰⁷⁹ This album was much more well-executed than the first one, which had probably been created in haste while moving from Constantinople to Paris. The second album is described as consisting of 30 pen-and-ink, watercolour and gouache drawings on paper mounted on 30 leaves of strong woven paper but 'the compositions are certainly bolder, more ambitious, more self-assured; and the production

¹⁰⁷³ Both albums are thoroughly analyzed here: Becker, Sven. 'Impressions of Istanbul Voyage to Constantinople 1891-1938.' *The Ömer Koç Collection Volume IV*, Vehbi Koç Foundation, 2022, pp. 234–251.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Saul, Norman E. *The life and times of Charles R. Crane: 1858 - 1939; American businessman, philanthropist, and a founder of Russian studies in America*. Lexington Books, 2012, p. 228.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 228; 260.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Adivar, Halide Edib. *Memoirs*. The Century Co., 1926; Adivar, Halide Edib. *The Turkish Ordeal*. The Century Co., 1928.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Becker, 'Impressions of Istanbul Voyage to Constantinople 1891-1938', p. 246.

is altogether more opulent'.¹⁰⁸⁰ Interestingly, the album was prefaced with an autographed manuscript by Claude Farrère. It is highly likely that Pankoff became acquainted with him during the writer's visit to the first major exhibition of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople in 1922, and they remained well acquainted at least until the 1930s.

Another scrapbook that was very probably created by Alexandre Pankoff and Anatole Morosoff, both of whom were members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, reveals the connection of the émigré artists to the Bristol Family, since the album was presented as a gift from the Bristols to the Stearns Family.¹⁰⁸¹ Consisting mostly of photographs, it has little in common with the three albums just described, apart from containing one small New Year's postcard that features a drawing of Constantinople by Pankoff. The sixty-one photographs on twenty-four leaves of the scrapbook can be conditionally divided into four groups: photographs of Constantinople (most of them with sea views or of American ships on the Bosphorus), photographs of prominent figures of the American community in Constantinople and their activities (including a dog that belonged either to the Bristols or to the Stearns Family and to whose photograph an entire page of the scrapbook is dedicated), photographs of Russian-speaking refugees and orphan children who were supported by the Americans in Constantinople, and photographs of celebrations in honour of the end of the occupation of the city, which must have been taken in October 1923. Of interest are also the following items mounted on the leaves of the scrapbook: a quite cosmopolitan menu with various dishes served at the US Destroyer Detachment in Turkish Waters, a letter of thanks on behalf of Russian-speaking children and a newspaper clipping concerning the first Eucharistic procession through Pera since the Turkish conquest in 1923.

All of this speaks of a deep understanding of the American mission in Constantinople/Istanbul. Further evidence of this is the caption for a photograph by Frank G. Carpenter, who in 1923 captured Admiral Bristol in his uniform standing on a balcony with Constantinople apartments in the background: 'Admiral Mark Bristol who since the armistice has been the American High Commissioner in Constantinople and has protected American interests in stormy Allied days even at times using his strong fleet of American destroyers.'¹⁰⁸² The content of the scrapbook leaves the impression that Bristol wanted Stearns to have a

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸¹ Box 4: Photo and Art Albums from Turkey, 1922-1925. Folder 1: Photo Album of Turkey, 1922-23. (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

¹⁰⁸² Carpenter, Frank G, photographer. *Admiral Bristol the American High Commissioner in Constantinople tells Mr. Carpenter that the Turks should be given a chance and he believes they will make progress.* Turkey, Istanbul, 1923. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2011660183/>. (Library of Congress).

memory of the Constantinople period, during which the American representatives carried out many of the assigned tasks. The scrapbook seems to have been created in a hurry, and this was most likely connected to the fact that in 1923 the Allied Forces were expelled, and the Stearns Family was about to leave Istanbul for Paris. So, it is highly likely that the Bristols wanted to present the gift before their departure. The only thing showing that the scrapbook was custom-made is its presentable cover featuring the Rumeli Fortress and its surroundings (see Figure 14).

4.4. Conclusion III

As a result of the disagreements that led to some members leaving the Union in the summer of 1923, and due to the departure of the Russian-speaking émigrés from Istanbul to the United States and other countries, the Union soon folded. Despite the brevity of its existence, the Union undoubtedly remained in the memory of its contemporaries, since there was no analogue to it and its activities in Constantinople/Istanbul at the time. The clientele of the émigré artists of the Union was accurately described by Eugenia S. Bumgardner, who wrote in her memoirs that the exhibitions ‘were crowded with appreciative Russians – unable to do more than encourage the artists by their presence – and occasionally visited by an American, an Englishman, or a Frenchman, able to purchase a picture’.¹⁰⁸³ Artists’ works were indeed bought mainly by wealthy Europeans and Americans (diplomats, philanthropists, entrepreneurs, architects, bankers) for the simple reason that art lovers from the former Russian Empire, as well as the vast majority of the local residents of the occupied city, simply could not afford purchases of this nature. Since many of the aforementioned clients were mentioned in the press in connection with the exhibitions organised by the Union, it can be assumed that they also comprised the exhibitions’ visitors. This implies that the Union’s members were relying on the ‘exhibition method’ of finding clients that many of them had effectively used in pre-revolutionary Russia.¹⁰⁸⁴ For this reason, the artists attempted to hold exhibits more or less regularly, without waiting for the local annual Galatasaray Exhibition.

As written and visual/semi-visual sources show, the Union’s clients, especially Americans, not only purchased works from émigré artists but also supported them in every possible way. It can be assumed that such support was sometimes carried out because of sincere admiration for the artists’ talents and sometimes simply for charitable purposes. At least to

¹⁰⁸³ Bumgardner, *Undaunted exiles*, pp. 206–207.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Severyuhin, Dmitriy. *Istoriya razvitiya peterburgskogo hudozhestvennogo rynka XVIII - pervyh dvuh desyatiletij XX vv.* Dissertation, The Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia, 2005.

some extent, the engagement of the Americans can be explained by their interest in Russian culture, associated with the development of trade, tourism and diplomatic relations with pre-revolutionary Russia. Another factor was their interest in the Byzantium past of Istanbul, which Russian-speaking émigré artists were also fond of and frequently explored in their works.¹⁰⁸⁵ Thirdly, purchasers might have understood the value of the works because of their émigré context, and perhaps wanted ‘to acquire a certain kind of posthumous fame not for their fortunes but for their art collections’.¹⁰⁸⁶ Finally, the favourable economic situation in the United States, which the European states couldn’t help but envy at the time, contributed to the phenomenon of the American collector.¹⁰⁸⁷ Nearly all of the American supporters of the Union were prominent figures of the American colony in Constantinople who knew each other. Most likely some of them began to patronise the members of the Union because of Foster Waterman Stearns, who had done so from the very beginning of the Union’s existence, when the first exhibitions of the émigré artists were held at the YMCA premises known as the Mayak. Foster Waterman Stearns, Thomas Whittemore, Stanley Harrison, Gardiner Howland Shaw, Charles Richard Crane and Mark Lambert Bristol are only some of the figures known to us who stand behind the Union’s success. At the time there were definitely more of them. For instance, artworks by the Russian-speaking émigré artists were often purchased by the representatives of the American Robert College in Istanbul.¹⁰⁸⁸ Relations with the Americans turned out to be fruitful for the artists not only in terms of staying afloat in Constantinople but also when it came to leaving Constantinople for various cities in the United States, since in 1923 many émigré artists of the Union, including Agafonov, Alajalov, Astafiev, Bobritsky, Freedolin, Kadulin, Kaissaroff, Luban, Sabaneeff and Vasilieff, moved to the US for good (see Figure 23). In other words, their supporters gave them another chance to start from scratch. Almost all of them succeeded there as artists, even though some had to reconsider their artistic preferences in order to achieve success on the American art market. In this regard, a *gramota* (certificate of appreciation) presented by Russian-speaking refugees to Anna V.S. Mitchell, an American philanthropist based in Constantinople (backed by influential Americans supporting her

¹⁰⁸⁵ Pavlovskaya, Anna. *Formirovanie obraza Rossii v Amerike, 1850-1880-e gody: Problemy vzaimodejstviya kul'tur*. Dissertation, Moskovskij gosudarstvennyj universitet imeni M.V.Lomonosova, 1999.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Boll, *Art for sale: a candid view of the art market*, pp. 43–44.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Migan, Darla. ‘What Was the Art Market Like During the Real Roaring ’20s? History Offers Some Lessons as We Enter Another Decade of Decadence.’ *news.artnet.com*, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/history-lesson-1920s-art-scene-2030894>. Accessed 30 November 2022.

¹⁰⁸⁸ This is mentioned in some of the Bulletins of the American College for Girls in Istanbul that have been preserved in the Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Arşiv ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi, Istanbul. For instance, ‘Picture of Turkish Hodja by Russian artist’ as well as ‘Eleven artistic figures in cloth and wire of Turkish types (vendors, etc.) made by Russian woman’ are mentioned in the list of Accessions by Purchase (Bulletin Constantinople Woman’s College, President’s Report 1924–1925, p. 41).

endeavors), carries significant symbolic importance.¹⁰⁸⁹ The certificate features imagery of the Moscow Kremlin, a mosque with minarets, and the Statue of Liberty framed by skyscrapers, serving as a representation of the challenging migration path endured by Russian speakers through Istanbul to America.

¹⁰⁸⁹ The 1926 certificate is held by The Russian History Foundation in Jordanville, NY. It can be seen here: Edward Kasinec, 'Conference. Cultural Encounters: Istanbul and Refugees from the Russian Empire (1919-1923) / American Elite Philanthropy, Anna V.S. Mitchell and The Constantinople/Istanbul Russians, 1920-1929', YouTube video, June 3 2022, <https://harriman.columbia.edu/event/conference-cultural-encounters-istanbul-and-refugees-from-the-russian-empire-1919-1923/>.

5 CHAPTER IV. DEPICTIONS OF CONSTANTINOPLE/ISTANBUL AND ITS CULTURAL LEGACY BY THE ÉMIGRÉ ARTISTS IN THE 1920s

Throughout history, it has not been uncommon for exiled painters and photographers to depict in their works the cities and places to which they had to flee for one reason or another. Much as cities were changed by the presence of exiled artists (buildings were constructed, murals in various venues were created – imprints of migrants on cities were left in various ways), in the same way cities shaped their art.¹⁰⁹⁰ For instance, in 1937–1938 the émigré painter Danila Vassilieff (1897–1958) from the former Russian Empire portrayed Fitzroy, an inner-city suburb in Melbourne, whilst an Austrian-born archaeologist, artist and printmaker, Emma Bormann (1887–1974), created prints featuring Shanghai in the 1940s, and emigrant European photographers captured New York in the 1930s and 1940s.¹⁰⁹¹ Often such works by the émigré artists evoked a sense of belonging to the city, since migrants forced to leave their homelands behind sought to feel at home in the new environment and tried to construct a space of belonging in this or that metropolis.¹⁰⁹² As the French philosopher Simone Weil rightly pointed out, ‘(r)ooting is perhaps the most important and most overlooked need of the human soul’.¹⁰⁹³

The Russian-speaking émigré painters and photographers in Constantinople/Istanbul in the 1920s weren’t exceptions. They started to depict and capture the city immediately upon their arrival. However, despite the heterogeneous religious and cultural reality of the city, most artists concentrated on the Byzantine past of the city. Although very few of their works of the time have been preserved, there is still enough visual material to provide a more or less complete picture of the matter. Thus, by analysing the artworks from public archives, private archives and auctions as well as information from the periodicals of the time, in this chapter I aim to answer the following questions: What was the relationship between the Byzantine heritage (including monuments) of the city and the Russian-speaking émigrés in general and émigré artists from the former Russian Empire in particular? What was the artists’ relationship with non-Byzantine Constantinople? Did the émigré artists and photographers depict/capture the neighbourhoods they lived and worked in, i.e. mainly Pera and Galata? Why they were

¹⁰⁹⁰ Dogramaci et al. *Arrival Cities*, p. 10–20.

¹⁰⁹¹ Robert Pascoe and Chris McConville. ‘The Exilic Vision of a Once Fashionable Quarter: Danila Vassilieff and Interwar Fitzroy.’ *Urban Exile: Theories, Methods, Research Practices*, edited by Burcu Dogramaci et al., 2023, pp. 140–145; Hetschold, Mareike. ‘Suzhou River and Garden Bridge: Reading Images of Exile in Shanghai.’ *Urban Exile: Theories, Methods, Research Practices*, edited by Burcu Dogramaci et al., 2023, pp. 327–341; Roth, Helene. “‘First Pictures’”: New York through the Lens of Emigrated European Photographers in the 1930s and 1940s.’ *Contact Zones. Photography, Migration, and Cultural Encounters in the United States*, edited by Justin Carville and Sigrid Lien, 2021, pp. 111–132.

¹⁰⁹² Dogramaci et al. *Urban Exile: Theories, Methods, Research Practices*, p.14.

¹⁰⁹³ Ibid.

interested in and inspired by some of the districts in the city more than by others? Did this have any connection to their sense of belonging? And, finally, were there similarities in terms of depicting/capturing the city between émigré painters and photographers from the former Russian Empire?

5.1 Émigrés from the former Russian Empire and Byzantine Constantinople in the 1920s

5.1.1 Émigrés from the former Russian Empire in general

For the Orthodox (and not only) residents of the former Russian Empire, Constantinople was not only a fantastically picturesque city praised by Orientalists but also the former capital of the Byzantine Empire, with which Russia had various mutual interactions, beginning with the conversion of Vladimir of Kyiv to Orthodoxy in 988.¹⁰⁹⁴ The connection between the Byzantine Empire and Russia became especially relevant in the 19th century. Based on the 16th-century belief that Moscow should be the third Rome, the Russian leaders concluded that the Orthodox residents of the Ottoman Empire, particularly Orthodox Slavs, required their protection.¹⁰⁹⁵ However, it is believed that the real reason for their interest was the desire of Russia and other states to take possession of a number of territories of the Ottoman Empire. As Sergey Kudriavtsev rightly points out, this geopolitical ambition was given international legitimisation during the First World War, when a secret agreement was concluded between Russia and its allies to divide the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁹⁶ Another issue arises from the fact that just prior to the 1917 revolution, certain individuals, many of whom advocated the old formula of Autocracy, Orthodoxy and Nationality, variously interpreted the doctrine of ‘The Third Rome’ that was continuously reflected in different forms of emerging developing Russian nationalism, interrupted by Communism after the First World War.¹⁰⁹⁷ As a result, by the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, there was a growing interest in the Byzantine past, particularly in the Ottoman Empire and specifically in Constantinople, which held significant spiritual importance for the ‘Russian’ intelligentsia. Individuals who had the chance to visit Constantinople tried to experience and connect with Byzantium in their own way. For instance, journalist Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams (1869–1962) spent multiple days in local

¹⁰⁹⁴ Üre, Pınar. *Reclaiming Byzantium: Russia, Turkey and the Archaeological Claim to the Middle East in the 19th Century*. I.B. Tauris, 2020, p. 24.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade*, p. 123.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Stone, Norman, et al. ‘The Russians and the Turks: Imperialism and Nationalism in the Era of Empires.’ *Imperial Rule*, Central European University Press, 2004, pp. 27–42.

libraries reading about the Byzantine empire.¹⁰⁹⁸ She had the opportunity to meet Fyodor Uspensky, the director of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (hereinafter RAIC), who not only showed her the city's most captivating Byzantine locations but also provided detailed explanations about them.¹⁰⁹⁹ Those, especially poets and writers, who remained in the former Russian Empire, created their own imagined Byzantine realm, frequently referenced in their literary endeavors.¹¹⁰⁰

It can be assumed that some of the individuals who were unable to visit Constantinople followed the RAIC's discoveries through its annual journal, which published the results of the work.¹¹⁰¹ Established in 1894, the RAIC functioned under the direct patronage of the Russian embassy, headed by Ambassador Nelidov for twenty years (1894–1914), but, according to Lora Gerd, was never used as a political instrument and remained purely scientific:

Thanks to the institute's activities, archaeological excavations were conducted throughout Constantinople and in its environs, including at the Great Palace in Constantinople, the Chora Monastery church, Chalcedon, Nicomedia, and so on. A great deal of research was carried out in the Near East and the Balkans, including an expedition to Syria and Palestine, excavations in Aboba–Pliska in Bulgaria, a joint French–Russian expedition to Mount Athos, as well as research on the later ruined Assumption church in Nicea.¹¹⁰²

The studies of the RAIC, as Pınar Üre correctly notes, were 'marked by an ideological undertone, explained by Russia's perception of itself as the legitimate heir to the Byzantine civilization'.¹¹⁰³ The byzantologist Fyodor Uspensky confirmed that Byzantine studies were closely related to Russian consciousness long before becoming the subject of scientific research. He emphasised that removing all the details resulting from the relationship between Russia and Byzantium from Russian history would deprive it of its colourful character and the typical, prominent superstructures in its architecture.¹¹⁰⁴ Another significant figure at the RAIC, Nikodim Kondakov, expressed a similar idea in the preface of his work titled *Byzantine*

¹⁰⁹⁸ Borman, Arkadiy. *A.V. Tyrkova-Williams po ee pis'mam i vospominaniyam syna*. Washington, 1964, p. 96.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁰ Sergey Ivanov, 'Vizantiya v Rossii: hudozhestvennoe vospriyatie', YouTube video, 22:09, June 29 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WAKeH53zUvo&t=508s>; Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade*, p. 124.

¹¹⁰¹ Basargina, Ekaterina. *Russkij Arheologicheskij Institut v Konstantinopole. Ocherki istorii*. Sankt-Peterburg: Dmitrij Bulanin, 1999.

¹¹⁰² Gerd, Lora. 'Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople: Research Work and Political Perspectives.' *Discovering Byzantium in Istanbul: Scholars, Institutions, and Challenges (1800–1955)*, Pera Museum-Symposium, Istanbul Research Institute, November 2017, p. 25.

¹¹⁰³ Üre, *Reclaiming Byzantium*, p. 26.

¹¹⁰⁴ Anonymous. 'Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.' *Presse du Soir*, 1 May 1924, p. 3.

Churches and Monuments of Constantinople. Kondakov stated that Russian science must focus on building a scientific foundation for its subject in Byzantium. He argued that the science of antiquities and Eastern art was essential for Russian archaeological science, not only because it was a related and familiar environment but also because it was historically inherited.¹¹⁰⁵

Already in 1919, many ‘heirs of the Byzantine Legacy’ managed to reach the shores of the Bosphorus – not as conquerors of the city or even as tourists, but as refugees. This situation is perfectly reflected in one of the cartoons in the *Russkaya Volna* almanac, where a newly arrived couple (apparently husband and wife) are sitting on bags and suitcases against the backdrop of mosques with minarets (see Figure 3). One of them is helping to affix a shield to the advertisement post, but it is not cooperating. The cartoon, of course, is a reference to Russia’s plans to hang a shield on the gates of Constantinople, that is, to take possession of it. However, in reality, everything turned out differently. ‘Russian’ subjects who fled from the revolution and civil war in the former Russian Empire arrived in the city desperately in need of help and tried to survive in every possible way, including by opening businesses. In 1920, the émigré politician and publicist Vasily Shulgin suggested that the signs, posters and job announcements of ‘Russian’ businesses had taken over the streets of Constantinople in a peaceful conquest. These ‘shields’, as he referred to them, had become emblematic of this takeover, appearing throughout the city and even seeming to fit in perfectly with the city’s chaotic atmosphere.¹¹⁰⁶

Despite the forced relocation and the extremely difficult situation in which they found themselves, emigrants from the Imperial Russia were keenly interested in the Byzantine heritage of the city in which they arrived, and studied it in their free time. The fact that already in the first issues of Russian newspapers in Constantinople there appeared such pieces as an article entitled ‘Shadows of Byzantium’ and excerpts from the historical novel ‘Russians in Byzance’ by Arkady Averchenko suggests that the Byzantine past began to inspire some of the emigrants from the moment they reached the shore.¹¹⁰⁷ The Russian press journalists were incredibly attentive to any news that had to do with Byzantium. For instance, they reported on the discovery of an old colonnade’s remains found in a funnel-shaped hole along the tram line.¹¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, it was not just a matter of curiosity and fascination with the topic; many

¹¹⁰⁵ Ainalov, D. V. ‘N.P. Kondakov, comme historien de l’art et methodologue.’ *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Prague, 1928, p. 316.

¹¹⁰⁶ Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade*, p. 60.

¹¹⁰⁷ B.G. ‘Ombres de Byzance.’ *Presse du Soir*, 25 May 1920, n.p.; Avertchenko, Arkadiy. ‘Les Russes a Byzance.’ *Presse du Soir*, 9 July 1921, p. 2.

¹¹⁰⁸ Anonymous. ‘Podzemnaya kolonnada.’ *Presse du Soir*, n.d. 1922, p. 2.

educated emigrants felt that by ending up in Constantinople, they had a responsibility to engage in Byzantine studies, contribute to it and carry on the work of the RAIC, which had ceased its operations.¹¹⁰⁹ It's possible to assume that the enthusiasm of Western scholars, as well as Ottoman and Turkish intellectuals such as Celal Esad (1875–1971) and Ahmed Refik (1881–1937), who were also interested in Byzantine history and archaeology, contributed to the excitement. This was especially true because at the time, Byzantine history and archaeology was 'a new field of competitive scientific exploration in the former Byzantine capital' (along with classical antiquity).¹¹¹⁰ The main advocate for continuing the work of the RAIC was, above all, Nikolai Mikhailoff.¹¹¹¹ From the newspaper of the time one can learn that he was an orientalist, had worked at the Department of Classical Philology of Kyiv University of St. Vladimir (today's Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University) and was for some time a student of Yulian Kulakovsky, the author of *The History of Byzantium*.¹¹¹² Mikhailoff had a good knowledge of the works of Kondakov, who wrote on various topics such as Byzantine enamel, mosaics of the Kariye Mosque and Byzantine churches and monuments of Constantinople. While in Constantinople, he primarily relied on these works to write newspaper articles and prepare lectures.¹¹¹³ Mikhailoff does not mention as sources the works of Uspensky, who for 20 years (1894–1914) led the RAIC and published the *Proceedings* (in Russian *Izvestiya*) of the *Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople* and the *Byzantine Vremennik*, although it is quite possible that he benefited from them as well.¹¹¹⁴ These lines written by him for the *Presse du Soir* newspaper highlight the kind of person and expert he was, as he sought to draw attention to the issue of searching and researching valuable manuscripts and rare books in the Istanbul book depositories located in mosques:

How pleasant and valuable it would be if Turkey, on her way to progress and in her impulses towards true culture and science, would sort out these great 'deposits' of intellectual treasures! And if we, representatives of Russian science, experts in this field, could work for the development and glory of the intellectual life of the country that sheltered us, gave us a hospitable and cordial refuge. In this way, we would consider

¹¹⁰⁹ Anonymous. 'Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.' *Presse du Soir*, 1 May 1924, p. 3.

¹¹¹⁰ Yıldız, Şule Kılıç. 'Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Entelektüellerin Gözüyle Bizans İstanbul'u.' *Doğu Batı*, February-March-April 2014, pp. 103–126; Anonymous. 'Introduction.' *Discovering Byzantium in Istanbul: Scholars, Institutions, and Challenges (1800–1955)*, Pera Museum-Symposium, Istanbul Research Institute, November 2017, p. 5.

¹¹¹¹ Anonymous. 'Ekskursii.' *Konstantinopol'skij Kommercheskij Kur'er*, 18 June 1923, p. 3.

¹¹¹² Anonymous. 'Narodnyj Universitet.' *Konstantinopol'skij Kommercheskij Kur'er*, 30 July 1923, p. 3; Mikhailoff, Nikolai. 'Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.' *Presse du Soir*, 26 September 1924, p. 3.

¹¹¹³ Mikhailoff, Nikolai. 'Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.' *Presse du Soir*, 10 October 1924, p. 3.

¹¹¹⁴ Toll, N. P. 'Th. J. Uspenskiy, de l'Academie Russe.' *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Prague, 1928, p. 328.

ourselves to have fulfilled the duty of gratitude and not in vain burden the land that sheltered us and has become for us a home and a peaceful haven.¹¹¹⁵

To help familiarise Russian-speaking emigrants with the Byzantine heritage of Istanbul, Mikhailoff published short articles in the Russian press on such topics as the number 7 in the history of Byzantium, Ivan III and Sofia, Byzantine Defence and the Greeks, the academician N.I. Kondakov, a note on Middle (Mese) Street in Constantinople, and others.¹¹¹⁶ Truly inspired by the city, he did not limit himself to notes and articles alone, but also arranged lectures and walking tours around Byzantine Istanbul.¹¹¹⁷ Before the formation of the Republic of Turkey, lectures were most often held on Saturday evenings in Narmanlı Han (that is, in the Russian Consulate) and after the formation of the Republic of Turkey on Wednesday evenings in the Constantinople Commercial Club on the Grand Rue de Péra.¹¹¹⁸ At Narmanlı Han, both free and paid lectures were delivered on such topics as the history and topography of Ancient Byzantium, horse races in ancient Rome and Byzantium, the history of Byzantine art and the Church of Hagia Sophia, the life of the Byzantine Patriarchate, and others.¹¹¹⁹ It is known that these events were regularly attended not only by Russian-speaking emigrants but also by other foreigners.¹¹²⁰ Moreover, according to journalists of the time, one of the lectures on the history of Byzantium (alas, it is not known which one) attracted a ‘mass of listeners’ and 75 people took part in the excursion that took place after this lecture.¹¹²¹ At the Constantinople Commercial Club, Mikhailoff gave at least 11 free lectures on the history of Byzantium, including such topics as ‘The intrigues of the Byzantine Patriarchate in the establishment of the Patriarchate in Ancient Rus in the 16th century’, and ‘The Collapse of the Byzantine Empire’.¹¹²² As for walking tours, these were led by Mikhailoff and continued until at least 1925 (I have no information about whether they were held in subsequent years).¹¹²³ Mikhailoff’s excursion programmes included locations such as the Hagia Sophia, Kariye

¹¹¹⁵ Mikhailoff, Nikolai. ‘Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.’ *Presse du Soir*, 26 September 1924, p. 3.

¹¹¹⁶ Anonymous. ‘Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.’ *Presse du Soir*, 1 May 1924, p. 3; Mikhailoff, Nikolai. ‘Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.’ *Presse du Soir*, 15 May 1924, p. 3; Mikhailoff, Nikolai. ‘Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.’ *Presse du Soir*, 10 October 1924, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Smert’ Akademika Kondakova.’ *Presse du Soir*, 18 February 1925, n.p.; Mikhailoff, Nikolai. ‘Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.’ *Presse du Soir*, 22 January 1925, n.p.

¹¹¹⁷ Anonymous. ‘Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.’ *Presse du Soir*, 1 May 1924, p. 3.

¹¹¹⁸ Anonymous. ‘Ekspursii.’ *Konstantinopol’skij Kommercheskij Kur’er*, 18 June 1923, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘KKK/Nedel’naya Programma.’ *Presse du Soir*, 24 February 1925, p. 3.

¹¹¹⁹ Anonymous. ‘Narodnyj Universitet.’ *Presse du Soir*, no. 242, 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Narodnyj Universitet.’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 October 1922, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Ekspursiya.’ *Presse du Soir*, 3 November 1922, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Narodnyj Universitet.’ *Konstantinopol’skij Kommercheskij Kur’er*, 30 July 1923, p. 3.

¹¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹¹²¹ Anonymous. ‘Narodnyj Universitet.’ *Presse du Soir*, 11 November 1922, p. 3.

¹¹²² Anonymous. ‘KKK/Nedel’naya Programma.’ *Presse du Soir*, 13 December 1924, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘KKK/Nedel’naya Programma.’ *Presse du Soir*, 24 February 1925, p. 3.

¹¹²³ Anonymous. ‘Ekspursii.’ *Konstantinopol’skij Kommercheskij Kur’er*, 18 June 1923, p. 3.

Mosque, Hippodrome, Yedikule, the Great Palace of Constantinople, the Tower of Isaac Angelos, the Walls of Heraclius, the Church of St. Mary of the Spring, Vlaherna Meryem Ana Church, the Byzantine cisterns and others.¹¹²⁴ Many of these places were also highly recommended as destinations in the Russian Religious Calendar published in Constantinople for emigrants.¹¹²⁵ The list of monuments includes only a few of the Byzantine churches and monasteries that were converted into mosques. It's possible that this is because the mosque guards demanded large bribes from visitors, or perhaps it was not always easy to reach these places.¹¹²⁶ I was also unable to find in Mikhailoff's excursion programmes the Hagia Irene Church, which was visited by many emigrants on their own. Most likely, he chose not to focus his attention on it due to the fact that at the time it housed the Military Museum. When examining black-and-white photographs of the church from that era, one can't help but notice the excessive number of flags protruding from every angle, as well as paintings, photographs, and other objects hung on the walls, making the church appear somewhat bizarre, lacking in taste, and cluttered.¹¹²⁷ Additionally, it's highly probable that all these objects, along with the exhibition tables set up against the walls, hindered visitors from appreciating the church's architectural details.

5.1.2 *The émigré artists*

Immediately upon arrival in the city, some of the émigré artists, relying on knowledge obtained in the artistic institutions of the former Russian Empire, began to acquaint their compatriots with local Byzantine art. For instance, it is known that in the summer of 1921, the artist Nikolai Pinegin repeatedly took members of the Mayak to Byzantine sites, including those near the Gate of Charisius (or the Adrianople Gate) and to Kariye Mosque to inspect mosaics.¹¹²⁸ Vladimir Borbitsky, too, lectured tourists in the city on Byzantine art and allegedly even found a Byzantine mural in one of the Turkish mosques, which was later restored by the Ottoman/Turkish government.¹¹²⁹ Nevertheless, there is no doubt that none of the émigré artists at the time could present Byzantine Istanbul better than Nikolai Kluge, an artist, photographer and restorer. Having been an unofficial member of the RAIC even before the revolution of

¹¹²⁴ Anonymous. 'Akademicheskaya Gruppya.' *Presse du Soir*, 10 September 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Narodnyj Universitet.' *Konstantinopol'skij Kommercheskij Kur'er*, 30 July 1923, p. 3.

¹¹²⁵ *Pravoslavnyj Russkij Kalendar' na 1921 god*, p. 22

¹¹²⁶ This is evident from the letters by Mikhail Alpatov, which were exhibited at the 'Puteshestvie v Vizantiyu' exhibition held in Moscow in 2019/2020 (stored in the Manuscripts Department of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow), as well as from the letters by Lydia Nikanorova that are kept at RGALI in Moscow.

¹¹²⁷ Some of them can be seen here: Cephaneçigil, Gül. 'Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbul Müzeleri.' *Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, <https://istanbultarihi.ist/281-osmanli-donemi-istanbul-muzeleri>. Accessed 11 January 2023.

¹¹²⁸ Anonymous. 'Ekskursiya.' *Presse du Soir*, no. 178, July 1921, p. 5.

¹¹²⁹ Watson, *Forty Illustrators and How They Work*, pp. 45–46.

1917, he was the most professional guide to the Byzantine world of the city. It is known that sometimes on Saturday evenings Kluge gave lectures as part of the events of the so-called Russian Narodnyj University (a Russian émigré academic institution in Constantinople), held at Narmanlı Han. One of the lectures was about mosaic paintings in Byzantine churches, accompanied with photographs taken by Kluge.¹¹³⁰ Another lecture, on the types of Byzantine churches, was illustrated by his drawings.¹¹³¹ In addition, on Sundays, he sometimes invited the visitors to his lectures to examine the churches of St. Sergius and Bacchus, Justinian's Palace, the remains of the former Palace, Hagia Sophia and especially the mosaics and frescoes of the Chora Church/Kariye Mosque, which he personally uncovered, cleaned and sketched while working at the RAIC.¹¹³² It is also noteworthy that in 1924 Kluge met his Soviet colleagues, Nikolai Brunov (1898–1971) and Mikhail Alpatov (1902–1986), in Istanbul.¹¹³³ Young scientists had arrived in the city as part of a scientific trip on the instructions of the USSR Academy of Architecture. Since the purpose of the trip was not only to study Byzantine monuments, but also to search for the collections of the RAIC, it is easy to assume that they sought out Kluge themselves, as he was a former employee of the institution. In the process of research, they not only examined the Byzantine monuments and photographed them from both outside and inside, but also made measurements, studied the masonry and looked for wall paintings. Despite the fact that Kluge is mentioned only in passing, it can be assumed that his role in this process was not insignificant. Most likely, the young scientists did not miss the opportunity to be in contact with him as an authority on the subject; however, being Soviet citizens, they probably chose not to document all the details in their letters, manuscripts, and other records. Perhaps a skilfully taken and artistically composed photograph of Brunov and Alpatov in front of the Lips Monastery/Fenari Isa Camii in Istanbul, captured by an unidentified photographer with whom both individuals appear to be familiar, was actually taken by Kluge.¹¹³⁴

It should be noted that emigrants in general and émigré artists, in particular, developed especially warm feelings for the Chora Church/Kariye Mosque. This was primarily due to the fact that, unlike the frescoes and mosaics of Hagia Sophia, the frescoes and mosaics of the

¹¹³⁰ Anonymous. 'Narodnyj Universitet.' *Presse du Soir*, 23 November 1922, n.p.

¹¹³¹ Anonymous. 'Lekciya N.M. Kluge.' *Presse du Soir*, 8 December 1922, p. 3.

¹¹³² Ibid.; Anonymous. 'Narodnyj Universitet.' *Presse du Soir*, 23 November 1922, n.p.

¹¹³³ This is evident from the information provided by the organizers of the exhibition titled 'Brunov. Puteshestvie v Vizantiyu' that took place at the Museum of Architecture in Moscow in 2019/2020.

¹¹³⁴ The photo is now part of the collection of the Museum of Architecture in Moscow.

Chora Church were open for viewing and admiration. Here is how emigrants who visited the Chora Church as a group described it:

...right in front of us, a fabulous mosaic carpet sparkled and shimmered. For the first minutes we were completely stunned. On our way there, we had been told about the excellent preservation and diversity of the mosaics, about the extraordinary freshness of the talent of their unknown creators. What we saw, however, was completely unexpected.¹¹³⁵

In addition, as mentioned above, one could get first-hand information about the mosaics from the very person, Nikolai Kluge, who had uncovered and cleaned them – which, of course, was priceless. Perhaps this is why the Chora Church was depicted even by those émigré artists who were not very keen on the exteriors of the ancient buildings of the city. For instance, Georges Artemoff created a work depicting the exterior of Kariye from the back (or, more precisely, from the left corner of its back).¹¹³⁶ It is quite possible that the artist, like the contemporary Russian Historian and Byzantinist Sergey Ivanov, was fascinated both by the trees and greenery surrounding this part and by the architectural features of the church/mosque visible from this side (including buttresse built to retain soil creep, and traces of the original substructures upon which the previous monastery structure was erected).¹¹³⁷ It is possible that the work was done by the artist during or after his visit to the mosque in the company of Nikolai Kluge, Lydia Nikanorova and Sergei Bulgakov (1871–1944).¹¹³⁸ Alexis Gritchenko, Nikolai Kalmykoff and Dimitri Ismailovitch also couldn't help but portray the Chora Church and depicted it from the front, as was often the case with postcards of the time.¹¹³⁹ Although the colours used in the works of Gritchenko and Ismailovitch are relatively similar (light yellow/golden), there are distinct differences in their styles. Gritchenko's portrayal of the Chora Church is light, lacking the weightiness and severity present in Ismailovitch's depiction, which is incredibly neat and unnaturally perfect, evoking a sense of awe. On the other hand, Kalmykoff's Chora Church is partly dark, giving it a worn appearance, as if it has endured the hardships for centuries. Surrounded by old local houses and grass apparently frequented by roosters and chickens, it

¹¹³⁵ Levitskij, Valerij. 'Kariye Camii.' *Zarnitsy*, 17 July 1921, p. 12.

¹¹³⁶ Ruffié, Paul. *Georges Artemoff (1892–1965)*. Privat, 2018, p. 35.

¹¹³⁷ Ivanov, Sergey A. *V Poiskah Konstantinopolya. Putevoditel' po Vizantijskomu Stambulu i Okrestnostyam*. Moskva: Vokrug Sveta, 2013, p. 473.

¹¹³⁸ According to the information from the Private Archive of Marie Artemoff-Testa, France.

¹¹³⁹ The Kariye (Chora) Mosque by Alexis Gritchenko, Collection of the National Art Museum of Ukraine; The photograph of the artwork was sent to me by Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti, who owns the archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch; The work by Nikolai Kalmykoff/Naci Kalmukoğlu was sold at the auction – 'Kariye Camii.' [artpointgallery.com](https://www.artpointgallery.com), <https://www.artpointgallery.com/urun/6784614/naci-kalmukoglu-cami-peyzaji-45x48-cm-pres-tuval-uzerine-yagli-boya-imzasiz-sert>. Accessed 25 June 2023.

exudes a casual and pastoral ambiance. However, some of the artists (including Dimitri Ismailovitch, who will be discussed later) were much more interested in the interior of the church, or more precisely in its frescoes and mosaics, which, both then and now, often engaged the imagination of even unprepared visitors. No pieces portraying the Chora church were found among the works by Roman Bilinski, but in his archive there is a postcard from the church titled ‘Kahriye-Djami-Le Christe Pantocrator (12e Siecle)’.¹¹⁴⁰ It can be assumed that he kept the postcard as a souvenir. A fragment of a mosaic in the Chora Church was depicted by Alexis Gritchenko (watercolour and pencil on paper) in June 1920.¹¹⁴¹ It is undoubtedly different from similar works by other émigré artists in Constantinople, and, as Nadia Podzemskaia rightly points out in her article, it is ‘free of specific details and complex compositions, built exclusively on a simplified dynamic of colour’.¹¹⁴² It is known that almost at the same time, Barbara Rode was one of the first to make sketches of Chora’s frescoes.¹¹⁴³ These works were presented at one of the exhibitions of Russian-speaking émigré artists at Mayak and attracted the special attention of journalists. However, it is not known where they are now located.

At a later time, Lydia Nikanorova, a member of the Union of Russian Painters in Constantinople, would also be involved in the reproduction of these frescoes. Nikanorova’s copies of frescoes and mosaics from the Chora Church were presented at the major exhibition of the Union in Summer 1922 (they can be seen in photographs of the exhibition that have been preserved) and were later purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.¹¹⁴⁴ The artist worked in the church despite numerous obstacles, such as a long distance from her place of work to the church (Nikanorova worked as a translator at the Khedive’s Palace also known as Çubuklu, which is very far from Chora/Kariye), the demand for bribes (sometimes unreasonably high) from those guarding the church/mosque and the harassment of women in the streets leading to the church, which was in a fairly conservative area compared to the Pera

¹¹⁴⁰ Private Archive of Diana Bilinski (Italy).

¹¹⁴¹ Fragment of a Mosaic in the Kariye Mosque by Alexis Gritchenko. Collection of Gizella Lopusanszky and Alexander Demko, USA.

¹¹⁴² Podzemskaia, Nadia. ‘Chapter 7. Dimitri Ismailovitch’s Copies of the Mosaics and Frescoes at the Kariye Camii: on the Destiny of Byzantine Artistic Heritage in Istanbul.’ *Biography of a Landmark, The Chora Monastery and Kariye Camii in Constantinople/Istanbul from Late Antiquity to the 21st Century*, edited by Manuela Studer-Karlen, Brill, 2023, pp. 149–177.

¹¹⁴³ Anonymous. ‘Russkiye Hudozhniki v Konstantinopole.’ *Zarnitsy*, 23 October 1921, p. 27.

¹¹⁴⁴ One of the exhibitions of the Union of Russian Painters in Constantinople, Summer 1922. Source: Scrapbook ‘To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters’, p. 10 (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross); Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design & Department of Paintings, Accessions 1924, published under the Authority of the Board of Education, London, 1926. *collections.vam.ac.uk*, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/search/?q=nikanorova>. Accessed 18 April 2023.

district.¹¹⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the unsafe environment of the city significantly hampered the ability of female émigré artists to work on Byzantine or other monuments, and explains why some of them preferred to give lessons to rich local children instead of working outside. The persistent efforts of Nikanorova in the Chora Church are interesting in the sense that Nikanorova turned to Byzantine art mainly in order to understand and work on her technique, rather than out of a spiritual rethinking of art.¹¹⁴⁶ It is possible, and highly probable, that even while outside the former Russian Empire, she maintained a strong interest in icons and sought to understand how Russian iconography adopted certain visual traditions from Byzantine art. Judging by her letters to a close friend, one of her main sources on this topic in the Russian language was an illustrated large edition by Igor Grabar that contained some essays on Byzantine art.¹¹⁴⁷ Following her time in Constantinople, Nikanorova relocated to Paris, where she maintained her fascination with Byzantine culture. She attended lectures at the Sorbonne and was frequently invited by the French archaeologist and historian Gabriel Millet to present papers as part of the Byzantine courses offered there.¹¹⁴⁸ Additionally, she expressed a desire to view Byzantine frescoes in Italy.¹¹⁴⁹

However, the Chora Church/Kariye mosque was not the sole focus of attention for emigrant artists. The Stearns Archive contains the work of a painter known as P. Fedoroff, a member of the Union of Russian Painters in Constantinople, who depicted one of the massive parts of the Church of Pantokrator.¹¹⁵⁰ This work, titled ‘Christos Pancratos’ is dated 1922 (see Figure 17). Despite the fact that the details of the structure are not accurately depicted, it is easy to determine which Byzantine structure it is, thanks to the well-drawn general shapes, which are not overly obscured by the use of white and golden yellow highlights. Additionally, press reports indicate that other Byzantine churches (although it is unclear which ones) were also painted by Borstchoff, a student of Georges Artemoff.¹¹⁵¹ A review of photographs from a major exhibition of the Union suggests that other artists were also interested in depicting

¹¹⁴⁵ According to the information from the Private Archive of Marie Artemoff-Testa, France; Kaverin, Veniamin. *Pered Zerkalom*. Sovetskij pisatel’, 1972. More on the matter: Aygün, Ekaterina. ‘Lydia Nikanorova.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5138-11019537>, last modified: 16-09-2021.

¹¹⁴⁶ Kulakova, Asia V. ‘The Image of Byzantium in the Novel in Front of the Mirror by Veniamin Kaverin.’ *Slověne*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2017, pp. 485–497.

¹¹⁴⁷ This is evident from the letters by Lydia Nikanorova (1926-1930) that are kept at RGALI in Moscow.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵⁰ Presumably the artist was Pyotr Fedoroff, who settled in Paris in 1924 and mainly worked as a painter of icons.

¹¹⁵¹ Anonymous. ‘L’Exposition de l’Union des Peintres russes a la caserne Mac-Mahon.’ *Journal D’Orient*, 20 January 1923, n.p.

Byzantine heritage, as well.¹¹⁵² As for artists outside the Union, Ilia Zdanevich (Iliazd) liked to wander around the quarters of the old city, making sketches of Hagia Sophia and other Byzantine churches; some of these were preserved in Zdanevich's Marseille archive.¹¹⁵³ Moreover, according to Sergei Kudriavtsev, after leaving Constantinople, Iliazd compiled a manuscript called 'Comments on the Layout of Hagia Sophia' of 12 chapters and 160 pages, to which it was planned to add drawings.¹¹⁵⁴ According to Kudriavtsev, another of Iliazd's unpublished manuscripts, which is in the Marseille archive, is dedicated to the Hagia Irene Church.¹¹⁵⁵

The artist Alexis Gritchenko was particularly interested in the connection between Russian and Byzantine art, as evidenced by his book *On the Ties of Russian Painting with Byzantium and the West in the 18th-20th centuries* (1913), which he wrote before he emigrated. In his discussion of the subject, he stated that the fire sparked by the Byzantine flame in his homeland was so strong that nothing could extinguish it.¹¹⁵⁶ Given his vast knowledge of the subject, it is not surprising that Gritchenko was happy to move to Constantinople despite all the circumstances. From December 1919 to March 1921, he explored the city, including its buildings, flora and local residents dressed in fez and charshaf, and depicted it in a manner that he described as requiring 'naivety, rhythm, simplicity and depth of feeling' – which he believed was the 'soul of the primitives'.¹¹⁵⁷ Many of his works are devoted to Hagia Sophia (for example, 'Rain over Hagia Sophia', 1920, 'Interior of Hagia Sophia', September 1920, and 'Interior Decoration Detail from the Hagia Sophia', March 1921), where, according to Gritchenko, the genius of Byzantine art could be felt in all its reality and its influence throughout the world could be understood even though the mosaics inside were covered at the time.¹¹⁵⁸ In addition, among his works dedicated to Byzantine Istanbul were, for instance, 'Byzantine Church Converted Into a Mosque', March 1920 (Collection of the National Art Museum of Ukraine) and 'The Byzantine Walls', August 1920 (Collection of the National Art Museum of

¹¹⁵² Source: Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters' (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross). Some of the photographs can be seen here: Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Union of Russian Painters in Constantinople.' *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5145-10440425>, last modified: 29-05-2023.

¹¹⁵³ Kudriavtsev, *Zaumnik v Tsargrade*, pp. 79–80.

¹¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 160–161.

¹¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

¹¹⁵⁶ L'vov, Konstantin. 'Tsar'grad glazami avangardista.' *theartnewspaper.ru*, <https://www.theartnewspaper.ru/posts/8947/>. Accessed 25 June 2023.

¹¹⁵⁷ Gritchenko, *Istanbul'da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Ukraine).¹¹⁵⁹ These works give an impression of effortlessness (as one of the journalists wrote, ‘watercolours which keep the freshness of a sketch’) and reflect the inspiration of the city.¹¹⁶⁰ Perhaps that is why others appreciated them: first, the American archaeologist Thomas Whittemore, to whom Gritchenko sold 66 artworks featuring Byzantine city walls and churches in 1921, and then Parisian experts, who gave him the opportunity to organise his first solo exhibition *Constantinople Bleu et Rose* (Constantinople Blue and Rose; for Gritchenko, pink was associated with Byzantine Istanbul, especially churches, whilst blue with Ottoman Istanbul, especially mosques with tiles), which took place in 1922.¹¹⁶¹

5.1.3 Ukrainian émigré painter Dimitri Ismailovitch

Each of the above émigré artists interacted in their own way with Byzantine Constantinople/Istanbul. Each of them contributed to its study either by conducting tours of Byzantine sites and sharing their knowledge or by displaying the Byzantine heritage in paintings. Without a doubt, Nikolai Kluge, who was first involved in the restoration of the Chora Church/Kariye Mosque as part of the work of the RAIC, and then, at an advanced age, in the restoration of the Hagia Sophia as part of the work of the American Archaeological Institute, deserves to be singled out among these artists.¹¹⁶² Apart from Nikolai Kluge, there was another artist who was an émigré and equally deserving of attention. However, compared to Kluge and even more so with Alexis Gritchenko, this artist has received little attention until recently. This person is Dimitri Ismailovitch, who had an extended stay in Constantinople from 1919 to 1927, allowing him to engage with the Byzantine heritage in various ways.

Before being evacuated to the Ottoman Empire with the White Army, the artist had a prosperous military career in the former Russian Empire and at some point even participated in military manoeuvres as a young lieutenant in France, where he was able to visit the museums of Paris.¹¹⁶³ His brief sojourn in France gave some of the journalists reason to claim that he had studied art there, although it is unclear whether this is true. However, we do know that while he

¹¹⁵⁹ The Meşher Gallery in Istanbul hosted a remarkable exhibition in 2020, where an extensive collection of artworks from his Constantinople period were gathered and showcased, drawing pieces from various corners of the world.

¹¹⁶⁰ Donohoe, Victoria. ‘A Roman Portfolio, And a Ukrainian Soul.’ *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 26 November 1971, p. 22.

¹¹⁶¹ Güler Ayşenur, and Susak Vita (ed.). *Alexis Gritchenko. The Constantinople Years*.

¹¹⁶² Iodko, Olga. ‘Nikolai Karlovich Kluge (1869–1947) kopiist i restavrator vizantijskih pamyatnikov.’ *Nemcy v Sankt-Peterburge: Biograficheskiy aspekt XVIII–XX vv.*, no. X: *Kunstkamera RAN*, 2016, pp. 197–222. *lib.kunstkamera.ru*, http://lib.kunstkamera.ru/files/lib/978-5-88431-320-0/978-5-88431-320-0_13.pdf. Accessed 5 September 2022; Anonymous. ‘Nekrolog.’ *Russkiye Novosti* (Paris), 10 October 1947, n.p.

¹¹⁶³ According to materials from the private archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch, which is owned by Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

was training to become a military officer, he also studied painting under the tutelage of at least three graduates of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg.¹¹⁶⁴ The trip to France as well as the atrocities of the First World War, along with an interest in art since childhood, could be the reason he decided to leave his military career and enter the Ukrainian Academy of Arts in Kyiv, where his first solo exhibition was held.¹¹⁶⁵ However, due to the tumultuous events of the revolution, the artist was compelled to move to Constantinople. There, Ismailovitch was eager to carry on the work of the RAIC, which had been forced to suspend its activities and was eventually shut down.¹¹⁶⁶ A newspaper article recounted how the artist appealed to Halil Ethem Bey (the brother of the renowned Turkish artist Osman Hamdi Bey, who achieved great success as a pioneer of Islamic archaeology, museology and art history) to take measures to preserve a Byzantine fresco he had discovered in a former Byzantine church (the Odalar Mosque, also Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa Camii).¹¹⁶⁷ Additionally, Ismailovitch wrote a report on the state of the wall paintings in the Chora Church at the request of the Soviet art historian who specialized in medieval Byzantine art, Viktor Lazarev (1897–1976), with whom he was engaged in a correspondence and a profound intellectual exchange.¹¹⁶⁸ These actions suggest that he was a capable successor to the officials of the Russian Archaeological Institute. As explained by Gerol'd Vzdornov: ‘Thanks to Ismailovitch, historians of Byzantine painting have the opportunity to imagine what Kariye’s mosaics and frescoes were like in the interval between their description in 1906 by Fyodor Schmidt and the beginning of the restoration work of the American Byzantine Institute after the Second World War.’¹¹⁶⁹

It can be assumed that Ismailovitch based such a serious independent academic study of the frescoes and mosaics of the Chora Church on the knowledge he gained while studying with Ivan Seleznev (1856–1936), a graduate of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg and a friend of Victor Borisov-Musatov, who worked as the director of the Kyiv Art School from 1911 to 1914.¹¹⁷⁰ An important point in Seleznev’s biography is that almost immediately after graduating from the Academy of Arts, he participated in the restoration of 12th-century frescoes

¹¹⁶⁴ Mechlin, Leila. ‘Dimitry V. Ismailovitch.’ *The Sunday Star* (Washington D.C.), 22 May 1927, n.p.; Lejkind, *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh'ya* (1), p. 576; Pereleshin, V. ‘Zamechatel’nyj Russkij Hudozhnik.’ *Russkaya Mysl'* (Paris), 18 November 1976, n.p.

¹¹⁶⁵ According to materials from the private archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch, which is owned by Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

¹¹⁶⁶ Vzdornov, ‘Russkiye hudozhniki i vizantiyskaya starina v Konstantinopole.’, pp. 30–32.

¹¹⁶⁷ Anonymous. ‘Otkrytiye Vizantijskoj Freski.’ *Presse du Soir*, 2 November 1922, p. 3.

¹¹⁶⁸ Vzdornov, ‘Russkiye hudozhniki i vizantiyskaya starina v Konstantinopole.’, pp. 30–32; letters from the Archive of Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti, Rio de Janeiro.

¹¹⁶⁹ Vzdornov, ‘Russkiye hudozhniki i vizantiyskaya starina v Konstantinopole.’, pp. 30–32

¹¹⁷⁰ Kondakov, S.N. *Yubilejnyj spravochnik Imperatorskoj Akademii hudozhestv. 1764-1914*. Sankt-Peterburg: t-vo R. Golike i A. Vil’borg, 1915, vol. 2, p. 177.

in St. Cyril's Monastery in Kyiv, after which he was also entrusted with two works in St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv in those places where the ancient frescoes were not preserved.¹¹⁷¹ Simultaneously, Ismailovitch was engaged in replicating the frescoes and mosaics found in the Chora Church, which had been hidden under layers of whitewash for several years. Some of the copies he made have survived and are now owned by Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and the Image Collection and Fieldwork Archive at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C.¹¹⁷² One of the most well-known photographs of the artist was taken in front of his own copy of the head of Virgin Mary located in the Chora Church.¹¹⁷³ The starting point for this was the commissioning of a copy of one of the Chora Church's mosaics by the secretary of the American Embassy, Gardiner Howland Shaw.¹¹⁷⁴ And at a later time, in 1926, Thomas Whittemore became interested in Ismailovitch's work on the frescoes and mosaics of the Chora Church and arranged to meet with him in Istanbul. After their meeting, Whittemore received photographs of the artist's reproductions in the mail.¹¹⁷⁵ As Holger A. Klein suggests, Whittemore's acquaintance with Ismailovitch's activities could have had a connection to the Byzantine Institute of America, which was founded only a few years later and was engaged in the preservation of Istanbul's Byzantine heritage.¹¹⁷⁶ Active work on Byzantine frescoes and mosaics undoubtedly affected Ismailovitch's works in Brazil, where he moved after Turkey and chiefly occupied himself with portraits.¹¹⁷⁷ According to Rafael Cardoso, 'press coverage in Brazil often associated his work with Russian and Byzantine icons, as well as with religious mysticism'.¹¹⁷⁸ And it's hard not to agree with this, looking at the preserved portraits painted by Ismailovitch in Brazil.

During his time in Constantinople, Dimitri Ismailovitch was highly active as a painter. His depictions of Byzantine exteriors and interiors suggest that he was able to combine his passion with his work. The fact that he loved to depict this subject matter is confirmed by the words of Alexis Gritchenko that Ismailovitch was 'passionately attached to art, Istanbul, its

¹¹⁷¹ Марголіна, Ірина. *Оповиті серпанком забуття. Живопис українських художників у Кирилівській церкві*. Либідь, 2016, pp. 32–44.

¹¹⁷² Klein, 'From Robert College to the Byzantine Institute: The American Contribution to the Rediscovery, Study, and Preservation of Byzantine Monuments in Istanbul, ca. 1830–1950', p. 233.

¹¹⁷³ Bournakine, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹¹⁷⁴ According to materials from the private archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch, which is owned by Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

¹¹⁷⁵ Klein, 'From Robert College to the Byzantine Institute', pp. 226–227.

¹¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 229–230.

¹¹⁷⁷ There is a high probability that Ismailovitch's portrait technique was shaped by one of his instructors in Kyiv, Mikhailo Zhuk.

¹¹⁷⁸ Cardoso, Rafael. *Modernity in black and white: art and image, race and identity in Brazil, 1890-1945*. Cambridge University Press, 2021, p. 237.

Byzantine walls'¹¹⁷⁹, and this choice was also practical, given that works on the Byzantine theme were in demand and were thus likely to have brought the artist some income. Works of this kind (mostly sketches and watercolours) were presented by the artist in Mayak at least twice: at a collective exhibition of Russian-speaking émigré artists in October 1921 and at a solo exhibition in November 1921¹¹⁸⁰, which one of the journalists described as follows:

The artist worked a lot and thoughtfully on the views of Constantinople, focusing on the reproduction of the immortal images of Byzantine church architecture with great love. There is a lot of taste in the choice of subjects and in the selection of colours. The old walls and porticoes of the temples on some of the canvases are just excellent, and they deserve more than just a one-day 'refugee' exhibition.¹¹⁸¹

Works on this theme were also presented at two major exhibitions of the Union of Russian Painters in Constantinople, in which the artist took part (and one of which he even managed) in the summer and winter of 1922.¹¹⁸² In addition, in 1924, after the formation of the Republic of Turkey, Ismailovitch had two solo exhibitions: one was held in the spring at the premises of the Russian club R.O.S. at 15 Telegraf Street (today 15 Tel Sokak), and another in the autumn at the American Robert College in Bebek, accompanied by Russian-speaking émigré musicians.¹¹⁸³ At both exhibitions, journalists praised the numerous sketches presented and noted the artist's 'enthusiastic love for the beauties of the Orient, especially for the old districts of Constantinople'.¹¹⁸⁴

Despite seven incredibly fruitful years in Constantinople, Dimitri Ismailovitch nevertheless left Turkey in March 1927 and moved to Rio de Janeiro. After he left Istanbul, his works, particularly those on Byzantine themes (whether copies of frescoes and mosaics or exteriors and interiors of Byzantine buildings), were eagerly anticipated at exhibitions in Greece and America. The Athens press responded warmly, paying particular attention to the churches converted into mosques, at an exhibition that took place at the Splendid Hotel located on Rue du Stade, reminiscent of Istanbul's Grand Rue de Pera.¹¹⁸⁵ Unfortunately, the hotel no longer

¹¹⁷⁹ Gritchenko, *İstanbul'da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 94.

¹¹⁸⁰ Anonymous. 'Russkiye Hudozhniki v Konstantinopole.' *Zarnitsy*, 23 October 1921, p. 27.

¹¹⁸¹ Anonymous. 'Vystavka Kartin Ismailovitcha.' *Presse du Soir*, 21 November 1921, p. 4.

¹¹⁸² Anonymous. 'Vystavka Soyuzu Russkih Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 19 June 1922, n.p.

¹¹⁸³ Anonymous. 'Vystavka Rabot Hudozhnika Ismailovitcha.' *Presse du Soir*, 31 March 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'L'exposition du peintre russe Izmailowitch.' *Journal D'Orient*, 5 April 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Vystavka-koncert.' *Presse du Soir*, 31 October 1924, n.p.;

¹¹⁸⁴ Anonymous. 'L'exposition du peintre russe Izmailowitch.' *Journal D'Orient*, 5 April 1924, n.p.

¹¹⁸⁵ Anonymous. 'Exposition de peinture de l'Artiste russe Mr. Dimitri Ismailovitch a la Salle de l'Hotel Splendit.' *Eleftheron Vima*, 8 March 1927, n.p.; Anonymous. 'L'Exposition du Peintre İsmailovitch.' *Le Messenger D'Athenes*, 9 March 1927, n.p.

exists. A similar exhibition in Washington followed the one in Athens, made possible with the help of Jefferson Patterson (1891–1977), the second secretary of the American Embassy in Ankara, who had met the artist at the Robert College exhibition, and through contacts with Gardiner Howland Shaw.¹¹⁸⁶ The invitation to this exhibition, which received many favourable comments in the Washington press, is preserved in the artist’s archive: ‘Gordon Dunthorne has the pleasure to invite you to a special exhibition of oil paintings of Constantinople by Dimitry V. Ismailovitch which owing to lack of space in his gallery will be held at 1110 Connecticut Avenue Washington D.C. From May 14th to 25th, 1927’.¹¹⁸⁷ With the assistance of the widow of former US president Woodrow Wilson, whom the artist had met in Istanbul, a similar exhibition was arranged for him at the Brooklyn Museum in the summer of 1927.¹¹⁸⁸ According to one of the New York journalists, the artist’s copies of frescoes and mosaics were executed so carefully and precisely that if anything were to happen to the Chora Church today, they could be perfectly reproduced.¹¹⁸⁹ Another exhibition took place immediately upon the arrival of Ismailovitch in Rio de Janeiro, in September 1927; a newspaper clipping has been preserved in the Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti archive, on which one can see a photo with the following caption ‘Mr. Edwin V. Morgan, American Ambassador with D. Ismailovitch and N. Vassilieff-Kadik, Russian artists, on the inauguration day of the exhibition at the American Embassy’.¹¹⁹⁰ In 1928, another solo exhibition of the artist was held, this time at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Fortunately, the museum archive still has a catalogue of the exhibition, according to which, copies of frescoes and mosaics, images of Byzantine monuments and fallen mosaic pieces collected by the artist in the Chora Church were presented.¹¹⁹¹ The catalogue noted that the copies of frescoes from the Odalar Mosque were especially valuable, as the mosque had burnt down in 1919 and the frescoes had remained exposed to the weather since then.¹¹⁹² According to a catalogue of Ismailovitch’s another solo exhibition titled ‘Prestiges de Constantinople. La Lumière et l’Art Byzantin’ that took place in Bordeaux, France, in 1948 (at

¹¹⁸⁶ Mechlin, Leila. ‘Dimitry V. Ismailovitch.’ *The Sunday Star* (Washington D.C.), 22 May 1927, n.p.; Rainey, Ada. ‘Constantinople Scenes.’ *The Washington Post*, 22 May 1927, n.p.

¹¹⁸⁷ According to materials from the private archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch, which is owned by Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

¹¹⁸⁸ Pereleshin, V. ‘Zamechatel’nij Russkij Hudozhnik.’ *Russkaya Mysl’* (Paris), 18 November 1976, n.p.

¹¹⁸⁹ Anonymous. ‘Brief notes of the Art World.’ *The New York Times*, 3 July 1927, n.p.

¹¹⁹⁰ According to materials from the private archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch, which is owned by Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

¹¹⁹¹ Victoria and Albert Museum. *Mosaics and frescoes in Kahrie-Djami Constantinople copied by Dmitri Ismailovitch*. London, 1928.

¹¹⁹² *Ibid.*

that time he was already a citizen of Brazil), among other works, copies of frescoes and mosaics from the Chora Church and works with Byzantine monuments were presented.¹¹⁹³

Dimitri Ismailovitch's works on the exteriors and interiors of Byzantine structures in Istanbul, which he painted from 1919 to 1927, can be roughly divided into two periods. The works of the first and rather short period were clearly created under the influence of Alexis Gritchenko's artistic inclinations (they can be found both in the Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti archive and in the Harvard University archive).¹¹⁹⁴ This is not surprising, as the artists met by chance on one of the streets of Istanbul, became friends, spent a lot of time together, and apparently sometimes went on walks around the city together.¹¹⁹⁵ Like Gritchenko's works, Ismailovitch's works of the time exhibit a great deal of movement: the ancient Byzantine (and not only) structures of Istanbul seem to be rushing somewhere, which may indicate that the artist made these sketches on the go and had limited time, as he had just moved to the city as a refugee and needed to somehow earn a living.¹¹⁹⁶ In addition, the fact that the works of that period are very schematic may indicate that Ismailovitch, a recent immigrant to the city, was only getting acquainted with the structures and still in the grip of strong emotions. In these works, specifically in how he depicts the windows and doors of the structures, one can feel sympathy and a lively interest in these historical buildings. They look alive, able to see and hear, as well as capable of dialogue. In addition, in some of the works of this period, although very rarely, one can see figures of animals and people. Overall, these sketches definitely look more personal than the works that were executed by Ismailovitch later, after Gritchenko had left Constantinople. They lack the same statics, thoroughness and thoughtfulness that characterise the works of 1923–1924, most likely executed by the artist after a thorough study of history and multiple inspections of each individual monument.¹¹⁹⁷

One of the journalists of the time wrote that 'The Splendour of Byzantium is merely a tradition; few souvenirs of it exist today, and they require a fertile imagination to translate into anything glorious or romantic [...]'.¹¹⁹⁸ However, Dimitri Ismailovitch seemed to find all these

¹¹⁹³ Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux. *Prestiges de Constantinople. La Lumière et l'Art Byzantin*. Bordeaux, 1948.

¹¹⁹⁴ 'A Mosque', Dimitri Ismailovitch, Watercolor (Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Gift of Kenneth Conant). *hollis.harvard.edu*, <http://id.lib.harvard.edu/via/HUAM295643/catalog>. Accessed 11 July 2023.

¹¹⁹⁵ Gritchenko, *İstanbul'da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*.

¹¹⁹⁶ The works belong to Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). To my knowledge, they weren't published in any source.

¹¹⁹⁷ Some of the works from this period belong to Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The photographs of some of the works from this period can also be seen here: Album 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from D. Ismailovitch' (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

¹¹⁹⁸ Briggs and 'Wanderer', *Constantinople Cameos*, p. 4.

ruins and under-maintained objects of Byzantine heritage in the city, if not romantic, then at least mysterious and extremely important. They look mystical in his works, not least because of the artist's chosen colour palette. This colour palette, which is abundant in rather strange combinations, was repeatedly commented on by journalists of the time:

Don't ask these canvases [...] why one of them accurately conveys the slightest colour shades and why others seem to be painted in some imaginary lighting. [...] just as a poet uses ordinary words to compose unprecedented but possible combinations, so the artist demands the freedom to combine colours into those [...] new chords that seem most harmonious to his inner eye.¹¹⁹⁹

Some explained this choice as being influenced by new trends in art, but upon closer examination of the artist's life and work, it becomes clear that he was only fascinated by trends at the end of his life, when he tried his hand at abstract painting.¹²⁰⁰ During his time in Constantinople, he was interested in Byzantine art, and in particular, he was fascinated by the Chora Church with its frescoes and mosaics. Therefore, it can be assumed that all the strange combinations and 'new chords' appeared as a result of Ismailovitch's tireless work on the palette of the church's frescoes and mosaics.¹²⁰¹ Most likely he transferred Kariye's palette to his interior and exterior works (mainly executed in oil) of 1923–24, experimenting with colours such as dark blue, light blue, dark green, light green, yellow ochre, brown ochre, blush, pink and others. It appears that, following the advice of one of his teachers at the Ukrainian Academy of Arts in Kyiv, Mykola Burachek (1871–1942), who convinced students that Ukraine should not be painted like Tver or Paris, Ismailovitch tried to find the key to depicting Istanbul and found it in the colour palette, deciding to depict Byzantine monuments in the city with colours from Byzantine mosaics.¹²⁰²

Nevertheless, colour is not the only thing that catches one's attention in Ismailovitch's works dedicated to Byzantine Istanbul. The eye is also drawn to the architectural details of each depicted monument, be it a former monastery, church or gate. They are rendered with academic precision, which leaves little doubt as to which specific structure is depicted in a given work of the artist.¹²⁰³ A somewhat attentive person who has seen these monuments in real life or in photographs is likely to recognise them immediately. This is obviously the result of

¹¹⁹⁹ Prokopenko, A. 'K Vystavke Hudozhnika D. Ismailovitcha.' *Presse du Soir*, 9 April 1924, p. 3.

¹²⁰⁰ Ibid.; Lejkind, *Hudozhniki Russkogo Zarubezh'ya* (1), p. 576.

¹²⁰¹ More on the matter: Vzdornov, 'Russkiye hudozhniki i vizantiyskaya starina v Konstantinopole.', pp. 30–32.

¹²⁰² Burachek, Mykola. 'Mistectvo u Kiivi.' *Muzaget*, January-March 1919, p. 111.

¹²⁰³ The photographs of the artworks in the album titled 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from D. Izmaylovich' (Stearns Family Papers, Archives & Special Collections, The College of the Holy Cross) can serve as an example.

“documenting” the forms and structures, which, it should be noted, Ismailovitch had done before, as during his service in the First World War, he painted numerous canvases with ancient Ukrainian churches, among which, according to journalist A.V., ‘the most valuable were views of wooden churches: Tuchan, Chortkiv, Drohobych, Tysmenytsia, Knyazhdvir, Bistrets’.¹²⁰⁴ Most likely he meant the Assumption Church in Chortkiv, the St-George Church and Church of the Holy Cross in Drohobych, the Church of the Nativity of Mary in Tysmenytsia, the unique Hutsul church in Knyazhdvir that was burned down in 1982, Church of the Assumption of St. Anna in Bistrets and others. It is likely that Ismailovitch feared their destruction (moreover, according to Nadia Podzemskaia, there is evidence suggesting that one of the churches he depicted was very soon destroyed, and he was aware of this¹²⁰⁵), just as he would later fear the destruction of Byzantine monuments in Istanbul (but there would be no war, only neglect). That is why Ismailovitch’s artistic works can be compared to photographic works made by the émigré photographer Vladimir Zender, as well as to those created at a later time by the émigré Nicholas Artamonoff (1908–1989), which, according to Günder Varinlioğlu, are ‘an encyclopaedic, albeit incomplete, survey of the city’s Byzantine urban fabric’.¹²⁰⁶ In my opinion, the same can be said about Ismailovitch’s works created after the founding of the Turkish Republic. It is likely that it was important for the artist to “document” these monuments at that time, as many of them were in a neglected and semi-collapsed state. Here is how he commented on this moment himself:

In some of these mosques, the Muslim service is celebrated, while others are closed or, more precisely, abandoned. It must be recognised that the protection of both [closed and abandoned] is insufficient. Particularly insufficient is the protection of the famous Kahrié-Djami. The destruction of Byzantine antiquities becomes clear when one sees the state of the Church of Saint Mary Panachrantos (Chaladjilar), Mireleion (Bodroum Djami), Odalar Djami. Livestock roam around the ruins, the interior spaces are dirty with filth, and the precious coverings are subject to barbaric pillaging.¹²⁰⁷

As Nikolai Brunov wrote in his ‘Brief report on a trip to the East’, monuments such as the Studion Monastery, Bodrum Mosque and Fenari Isa Mosque were literally standing without

¹²⁰⁴ A.V. ‘Vystavka Hudozhnika Ismailovitcha.’ *The name is not indicated* (most likely was published in Brazil), 1936, pp. 31–32.

¹²⁰⁵ According to the newspaper article which was found by Nadia Podzemskaia: Salatko-Petritsche, Valeriy F. ‘Vydayutschijsya russkij khudozhnik: K pyatidesyatiletiiyu D.V. Izmajlovitcha.’ *Vozrozhdenie*, 197, May 1968, p. 117.

¹²⁰⁶ Detailed information about him and his photographs can be found in section 5.3.3.; Varinlioğlu, Günder. *Artamonoff. Bizans İstanbul’u İmgeleri, 1930-1947*. Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2013, p. 1.

¹²⁰⁷ Klein, ‘From Robert College to the Byzantine Institute’, p. 229.

windows and doors at the time.¹²⁰⁸ Interestingly, photographs taken by Brunov and Alpatov reveal that these two walked literally the same paths in 1924 that Ismailovitch had walked earlier to capture Byzantine monuments on his canvases. This suggests that Brunov and Alpatov might have encountered not only Kluge but also Ismailovitch and possibly other experts on Byzantine heritage in the city. The following monuments were depicted at approximately the same time by Ismailovitch and, in photographs, by Brunov and Alpatov: Chora Church/Kariye Mosque, Hagia Irene Church, Hagia Sophia, Pammakaristos Church/Fethiye Mosque, Monastery of Lips/ Fenari Isa Mosque, Odalar Mosque, Church-Mosque of Vefa (Molla Gürani Camii), Monastery of the Pantokrator/ Zeyrek Mosque, Myrelaion Church/Bodrum Mosque, Hiramî Ahmet Pasha Mosque, Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus/ the Little Hagia Sophia Mosque, Kalenderhane Mosque, Church of Saint Mary of the Mongols, Blachernae Palace/Tekfur Palace, the ruins of the Great Byzantine Palace, the walls of Constantinople, the Golden Gate and others.¹²⁰⁹ The paintings and photographs of these structures are valuable primarily because many of the listed monuments look completely different today, after multiple reconstructions, and some of them have simply not survived (in a sense that they nearly disappeared now persisting only in the form of a few remnants). These depictions are also interesting because, at that time, many monuments in the urban context looked different than they do today. For instance, some of Ismailovitch's works as well as photographs by Brunov and Alpatov are devoted to the Church of Saint Theodosia/Gül Mosque, which is not surprising since at the time it was not yet obstructed by other buildings and was therefore visible from afar, attracting attention and even awe with its massive size. Now one has to work hard to find it among other structures. This is precisely why, although the route of these artists can be reconstructed based on their works, it is impossible to share the same experience and create similar works today due to the urban transformations of the city over the past hundred years. As De Certeau observed, 'while it is possible to trace or mark a walker's journey on a map such representations fail to capture the quality or nature of the experience or act of walking'.¹²¹⁰ Ismailovitch's works differ from the photographs of Brunov and Alpatov in that he idealises the subject matter he depicts, sometimes making the buildings look much neater and more perfect (journalists in the late 1920s referred to his style as 'idealistic realism'). It is possible

¹²⁰⁸ This is evident from the information provided by the organizers of the exhibition titled 'Brunov. Puteshestvie v Vizantiyu' that took place at the Museum of Architecture in Moscow in 2019/2020.

¹²⁰⁹ Some of the works from this period belong to Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The photographs of some of the works from this period can also be seen here: Album 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from D. Ismailovitch' (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross); The photographs by Brunov and Alpatov are part of the collection of the Museum of Architecture in Moscow.

¹²¹⁰ Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall, University of California Press, 1988, p. 97.

that while doing this, the artist, like some other emigrants, was contemplating the greatness of the past, the homeland, its strongholds and the glory of bygone eras.¹²¹¹

Thus, the interest in the Byzantine legacy of Constantinople/Istanbul was significant among Russian-speaking émigrés, including artists. Many of those who worked on ‘Byzantium’ saw themselves as successors to the work of the RAIC. By continuing this work, the émigrés felt a sense of purpose, which was crucial for them as displaced individuals. Their contribution was significant, as many Byzantine monuments today bear little resemblance to their original appearance, nor to their appearance in the 1920s, when they suffered from neglect and other problems, as described by leading Byzantine scholar Sergey Ivanov in his guidebook through Byzantine Istanbul and its surroundings.¹²¹² The demand for the ‘Byzantine’ among Europeans and Americans in the city (be it for a tour of Byzantine Istanbul, a lecture on the topic, copies of mosaics and frescoes, paintings or photographs of Byzantine monuments) was an important consideration for the Russian-speaking émigré artists, who had lost their homes and livelihoods, and needed to make a living. However, the question remains as to whether these artists were solely driven by commercial considerations when they explored, painted and photographed Byzantine monuments. In my opinion, previous studies have overlooked the desire of these artists to feel a sense of belonging in the alien and unfamiliar city, since ‘a sense of a displacement in the present space and time usually implies a command for a deeper integrity between past and present’.¹²¹³ The emigrants themselves compared visiting the Chora Church/Kariye Mosque to visiting their homeland, equating the Byzantine monuments with the primary sources of their own spiritual treasures, such as ancient Russian writing and religious architecture.¹²¹⁴ They found a sense of belonging mainly through Istanbul’s Byzantine architectural heritage, and this could not help but be reflected in their work.

5.2 Émigrés from the former Russian Empire and non-Byzantine Constantinople/Istanbul in the 1920s

5.2.1 Émigrés from the former Russian Empire in general

¹²¹¹ Bournakine, editor, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.; Levitskij, Valerij. ‘U Sten Konstantinopolya.’ *Zarnitsy*, 1921, p. 12. pp. 17–18.

¹²¹² Ivanov, *V Poiskah Konstantinopolya*, 2013 / Ivanov, Sergey A. *In Search of Constantinople*. Kitap Yayınevi, 2022.

¹²¹³ Papastergiadis, Nikos. *Modernity as exile. The stranger in John Berger’s writing*. Manchester University Press, 1993, p. 169.

¹²¹⁴ Levitskij, Valerij. ‘Kariye Camii.’ *Zarnitsy*, 17 July 1921, p. 12; B.T. ‘U Istokov Russkoj Kul’tury.’ *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, 27 June 1927, n.p.

The Ottoman treasures of Istanbul were slightly less in demand among Russian-speaking émigrés than the Byzantine legacy of the city. This is evidenced by the fact that there were many more newspaper articles on the topic of Byzantine Istanbul in the Russian press from 1920 to 1928. Perhaps this was partly due to the sense of a shared heritage with the Byzantine in the city. Interest in the Islamic legacy was associated with the desire to diversify one's leisure time while in the city, but also with a general interest in the East, which was high in Russia during the Silver Age. This included not only the Ottoman Empire, but also India, Japan and other countries.¹²¹⁵ To be more precise, there was a grand interest in non-Western countries with their non-Western culture.¹²¹⁶ An example of such an artist inspired by Eastern motifs was, for instance, Ilya Mashkov (1881–1944), who in 1913 created 'Portrait of a Lady in an Armchair', on which a lady depicted in a seemingly quite traditional European style has the whitened face of a Japanese geisha, and in the background are depicted figures of riders in the style of Persian miniatures.¹²¹⁷ In addition, it should not be forgotten that many of the refugees from the former Russian Empire were Muslims (for instance, Tatars from Kazan or Crimea), and were thus, according to Tahir İlyâsî, interested in both the Muslim quarters and Islamic art in the city.¹²¹⁸

Emigrants from the former Russian Empire explored the Islamic heritage in the city both in independent walks to Muslim landmarks and in organised tours with guides. According to the memoirs of the émigré journalist Nikolai Chebyshev, who claimed to have visited 'everywhere a tourist should visit' in Istanbul, including the Ottoman Museum, the Fountain of Ahmed III and the Janissary Plane tree, it is evident that the main source of information for his walks was most likely the guidebook for refugees analysed in the first chapter.¹²¹⁹ It is likely that many émigrés also gathered information from books, magazines and newspapers in the numerous free Russian libraries in the city. It can be assumed that they read publications by Konstantin Bazili (1809–1884) and Osip Senkovsky (1800–1858) about Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire, as well as guidebooks to Istanbul by Korkmas and Skakovskaya (1919) and Celal Essad (1919).¹²²⁰ Moreover, it is entirely possible that in the libraries, émigrés could have

¹²¹⁵ Shvets, Mariya. *Glavnoe v istorii russkogo iskusstva*. Mann, Ivanov i Ferber, 2021, p. 168.

¹²¹⁶ Gurevich, P.S. *Vozrozhden li misticizm? Kriticheskie ocherki*. Moskva: Politizdat, 1984, pp. 37–40.

¹²¹⁷ Shvets, *Glavnoe v istorii russkogo iskusstva*, p. 168.

¹²¹⁸ İlyâsî, *İstanbul Hatıratı 1922*.

¹²¹⁹ Chebyshev, Nikolai. 'Blizkaya Dal'.' *Beloe delo. Kn. 13: Konstantinopol' - Gallipoli*, Moskva, Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj gumanitarnyj universtitet, 2003, p. 126.

¹²²⁰ Bazili, Konstantin. *Ocherki Konstantinopolya*. Sankt-Peterburg: tip. N. Grecha, 1835; Senkovskiy, Osip. *Sobranie sochinenij Senkovskogo (Barona Brambeusa)*. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, 1858; Korkmas, D., and M. Skakovskaya. *Putevoditel' po Konstantinopolyu i ego okrestnostyam*. 2-ye Izdaniye. Konstantinopol': Izdatel'stvo L. Babok i Synov'ya, 1919; Essad, Celal. *Konstantinopol'. Ot Vizantii do Stambula*. Moskva: Izdaniye M. i S. Sabashnikovyh, 1919.

read old issues of the weekly illustrated newspaper in the Russian language called *Stambul'skiye Novosti* (Istanbul News), which was published in the city before the First World War. Some issues of this newspaper contain quite detailed articles about Ottoman art and architecture. For instance, one of the articles not only encouraged visits to ancient palaces, mosques and fountains but also extolled the artistry of the Muslim world:

Of course, the ban on depicting human faces significantly narrowed the horizon of creativity for Muslim artists, but at the same time, it forced them to endlessly develop and vary various motifs of ornamentation taken from the world of plants and geometric figures. In this field, Islamic art has created magnificent works that are admired by the whole world.¹²²¹

Another issue of the same newspaper strongly recommended visiting the Archaeological Museum, where, along with other exhibits, objects of Muslim civilisation such as ancient carpets, various treasures and antique manuscripts were presented.¹²²² Similarly, encouraging articles, though rare, were also published in the émigré press. For instance, in one of these the topical issue of the independence of Turkish art was raised, and the author, relying on the work of the German art historian and museum professional Otto von Falke (most likely referring to his work *Majolika*), aimed to convince readers that fabrics with carpets and Turkish tiles – with their carnations, tulips and wild hyacinths, as well as painted faience dishes – were not copies of Persian objects, but unique in their kind.¹²²³ The author strongly recommended paying attention to local art and not perceiving it as imitative of Persian, Armenian or Arabic art.¹²²⁴

As part of their independent walks, emigrants visited local libraries and other places that kept manuscripts of Eastern poets, writers and religious figures.¹²²⁵ The émigré writer Nadezhda Teffi, for instance, visited second-hand booksellers near the Grand Bazaar. In one of her stories, she vividly described the ‘bearded men in turbans and glasses’ who ran their small shops, eager for clients and connoisseurs of calligraphy.¹²²⁶ She wrote: ‘In the East, the manuscript plays the role of painting. A simple page on which a small utterance is written, touched up with gold and paint, is sometimes valued more than an entire handwritten Quran. In my presence, one such

¹²²¹ Cemal Bey. ‘Ottomanskoye Iskusstvo.’ *Stambul'skiye Novosti*, no. 10, 25 December 1909, pp. 4–6.

¹²²² Kemal Bey. ‘Ottomanskij Muzej.’ *Stambul'skiye Novosti*, no. 17, 23 April 1910, pp. 4–6.

¹²²³ Falke, Otto von. *Majolika*. Handbücher der Kgl. Museen zu Berlin - Kunstgewerbe Museum. Berlin, Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1907; Anonymous. ‘Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.’ *Presse du Soir*, 30 May 1924, p. 3.

¹²²⁴ Ibid.

¹²²⁵ K. ‘Les trésors de Stamboul/Les littératures d’Orient.’ *Presse du Soir*, no. 187, n.d., p. 3.

¹²²⁶ Teffi, *Stambul i solnce*, pp. 32–34.

leaf was sold for several hundred liras.’¹²²⁷ Émigré journalists from the former Russian Empire often preferred to visit such places accompanied by representatives of the Turkish intelligentsia who spoke French fluently and could comment on a particular manuscript and explain its importance and value.¹²²⁸ It is known that Russian-speaking emigrants made visits to the library of the elderly researcher of Ottoman manuscripts, bibliophile and poet Ali Emîrî Efendi, who spent all his means on books and manuscripts, many of which existed in only one copy. He was said to categorically refuse to sell copies from his collection to foreigners, even for large sums of money (explaining that he collected them for his country and its people) and was extremely concerned about them during the occupation of Constantinople.¹²²⁹ According to one newspaper, during the emigrants’ visit, Ali Emîrî Efendi personally showed valuable editions of his library, which consisted mainly of rare printed volumes and manuscripts in Ottoman, Persian and Arabic.¹²³⁰ Russian-speaking émigrés at the time could not have known that they were among the last to see Ali Emîrî Efendi (the self-made librarian died in early 1924; his library is currently known as the Millet Manuscript Library).¹²³¹ Despite Ali Emîrî Efendi’s hospitality, his library made a lesser impression on the emigrants than the manuscript department of the Evkaf-ı İslâmiye Museum, which was located in the *imaret* next to the Süleymaniye Mosque at the time.¹²³² One description of the sacred Muslim books displayed there in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman enthused: ‘These unique objects are decorated with such rich and rare ornaments, the finesse of the design, the inexhaustibility of the imagination, the variety of colours and tones are so striking that it is difficult to tear yourself away from each showcase [...] And there are so many showcases!’¹²³³ The attention of the emigrants was drawn not only to calligraphy but also to Persian miniatures and ornamentation in ancient Qurans, tiles and faience ware.¹²³⁴ It is known that Alexis Gritchenko, who visited the museum several times accompanied by the Turkish writer and diplomat Ruşen Eşref (1892–1959) and the Turkish painter İbrahim Çallı, was fascinated with its manuscripts, miniatures, kaftans and other objects.¹²³⁵ The émigré photographer Vladimir Zender apparently visited the museum as well, since he made a photograph of a miniature from a manuscript book titled *Maktel* displayed

¹²²⁷ Ibid., p. 33.

¹²²⁸ K. ‘Les tresors de Stamboul/Le Musee Islamique.’ *Presse du Soir*, n.d., p. 3.

¹²²⁹ Koçu, Reşad Ekrem. ‘Ali Emiri Efendi’, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1958, Volume 2, pp. 659–662.

¹²³⁰ K. ‘Les tresors de Stamboul/Les litteratures d’Orient.’ *Presse du Soir*, no. 187, n.d., p. 3.

¹²³¹ Koçu, ‘Ali Emiri Efendi’, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 2, pp. 659–662.

¹²³² K. ‘Les tresors de Stamboul/Le Musee Islamique.’ *Presse du Soir*, n.d., p. 3.

¹²³³ Ibid.

¹²³⁴ Anonymous. ‘Nauchno-literaturnyj otdel.’ *Presse du Soir*, 30 May 1924, p. 3.

¹²³⁵ Gritchenko, *Istanbul’da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 139; p. 208.

there.¹²³⁶ However, it is worth noting that this department was admired not only by emigrants from the former Russian Empire but also by many other visitors to the city. One of the foreign journalists of the time wrote about the content of the museum with words very similar to those of the Russian-speaking émigré journalists:

... illuminated books and manuscripts, some [...] more than a thousand years old, written in strange characters which even the hodja cannot read; volumes of later periods rich in colour and variegated in calligraphy, gleaming with gold and blue and often illustrated with paintings by long-forgotten Persian craftsmen. Writing materials, too, are there – quills and ink-carriers, knives with handles of ivory, coral or amber for sharpening the pens, and elaborate scissors for cutting the paper.¹²³⁷

It is interesting that the Süleymaniye complex was popular among emigrants also for the reason that from 1918 to 1924, it contained many books that had been purchased by esteemed Ottoman statesmen and scientists from a Turkologist of Kazan University in Russia, Nikolai Fedorovich Katanov (1862–1922), who had studies in different fields on Turkic peoples in Central Asia and Siberia.¹²³⁸ Most likely, emigrants from the former Russian Empire were aware that shortly before the revolution of 1917, Katanov had been forced to sell his library to representatives of the Ottoman Empire due to the difficult financial situation of his family (among other reasons), which was a consequence of the political situation in the country.¹²³⁹ After Katanov's death in 1922, another part of his library arrived in Istanbul with the assistance of his good Turkish acquaintances.¹²⁴⁰ Later, in the second half of the 1920s, Russian-speaking émigrés eagerly visited the newly opened Topkapı Museum.¹²⁴¹ However, to be fair, they went there not only to look at the clothes and sabres of the sultans, the collection of coffee cups and the lecterns for the Quran, but also to admire the gifts from Russian rulers to representatives of the Ottoman Empire (for instance, a dressing table brought from Russia by Baltacı Mehmet Paşa).¹²⁴²

Regarding organised walks – or scientific excursions, as émigré journalists often called them – these were usually preceded by lectures at the Mayak, Constantinople Commercial Club,

¹²³⁶ Refik Ahmet Sevengil Arşivinden: [Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi'nde Maktel adlı yazma kitaptan bir minyatür fotoğrafı], Foto: Sender, n.d. (İstanbul, İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı, FOTO_008978).

¹²³⁷ Brigg and 'Wanderer', *Constantinople Cameos*, p. 31.

¹²³⁸ Inalcık, Gülcan. 'Nikolay Fedoroviç Katanov'un Kütüphanesinin Türkiye'ye Getirilmesine Dair Bir İnceleme.' *Marmara Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 7, 2020, pp. 361–376; K. 'Les tresors de Stamboul/ Une bibliotheque russe.' *Presse du Soir*, no. 181, n.d., p. 3.

¹²³⁹ Ibid.; Sibgatullina, Alfina. *Kontakty Tyurok-Musul'man Rossijskoj i Osmanskoj İmperij na rubezhe XIX-XX vv. İzatel'stvo Istok*, 2010, pp. 186–187.

¹²⁴⁰ K. 'Les tresors de Stamboul/ Une bibliotheque russe.' *Presse du Soir*, no. 181, n.d., p. 3.

¹²⁴¹ Anonymous. 'Muzej v Top-Kapı.' *Radio*, 30 January 1927, n.p.

¹²⁴² Ibid.

or Dormitory No. 9 (in Nişantaşı, near the Teşvikiye Mosque), but most often at Narodnyj University. Tours of Islamic art began every Sunday at Narodnyj University, which was located in Narmanlı Han, and lectures on the topic were held on Saturday evenings.¹²⁴³ In most cases, these were conducted by the orientalist Nikolai Mikhailoff, who took the émigrés for walks around the city. Among the lectures given by Mikhailoff were ‘The origins of the Turkish people’, ‘Byzantine and Ottoman art’, ‘An outline of Ottoman religious architecture’, ‘The essence of Islam and Muslim shrines of Istanbul’, ‘The philosophical and moral teachings of the Quran’, as well as a series of lectures on ‘Legends and Traditions of Constantinople’.¹²⁴⁴ Among the Turkish neighbourhoods included in the tours were today’s Sultanahmet, Eyüp and Üsküdar.¹²⁴⁵ One of the routes on the historical peninsula, which began at the doors of the Narmalı Han, included the Archaeological Museum, Hagia Sophia, Bayezid II Mosque, Süleymaniye Mosque and Evkaf-ı İslâmiye Museum.¹²⁴⁶ From the route, it becomes clear that Mikhailoff tried to present Islamic art to his former compatriots in all its forms, from architecture to calligraphy.

5.2.2 *The émigré artists and the Historical Peninsula*

Due to the fact that very few photographs, diaries, letters or memoirs of the artists of the time remain, it is unknown whether they participated in these organised tours of the city aimed at studying Islamic art. Looking at their works, one can only assume that during their stay in Istanbul, they somehow (whether through independent visits or visits with a guide) became acquainted with or even intrigued by it. Perhaps the most passionate émigré artist in this sense was the sculptor and painter Roman Bilinski. Bilinski differed from most of his émigré colleagues in the city in terms of financial well-being (he was born into a wealthy and influential family and, judging by how he lived in Constantinople, he did not come to the city empty-handed).¹²⁴⁷ Moreover, being Polish by origin, he could move freely around the Ottoman Empire (Poland gained independence in 1917, as a result of which many Poles from the former Russian Empire became Polish citizens).¹²⁴⁸ These two factors allowed Bilinski, unlike many

¹²⁴³ Anonymous. ‘Ekskursii.’ *Konstantinopol’skij Kommercheskij Kur’er*, no. 4 (42), n.d., p. 3.

¹²⁴⁴ Anonymous. ‘Akademicheskaya Gruppy.’ *Presse du Soir*, 17 September 1924, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Russkij Narodnyj Universitet v Konstantinopole.’ *Presse du Soir*, 3 October 1922, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Narodnyj Universitet.’ *Presse du Soir*, 27 October 1922, p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Narodnyj Universitet.’ *Konstantinopol’skij Kommercheskij Kur’er*, no. 4 (42), n.d., p. 3; Anonymous. ‘Akademicheskaya Gruppy.’ *Presse du Soir*, 24 July 1924, p. 3.

¹²⁴⁵ According to *Presse du Soir* and *Konstantinopol’skij Kommercheskij Kur’er*.

¹²⁴⁶ Anonymous. ‘Russkij Narodnyj Universitet v Konstantinopole.’ *Presse du Soir*, 3 October 1922, p. 3.

¹²⁴⁷ Aygün, Ekaterina. ‘Roman Bilinski.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021,

<https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5138-12057969>, last modified: 29-05-2023.

¹²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

of his compatriots, to collect various Ottoman objects including tiles, ceramics, textiles and others.¹²⁴⁹ Unfortunately, it is unknown when and from whom exactly he purchased these items. It can only be assumed that he collected them during the 1920s and 1930s in Constantinople. Many items, including carpets, fabrics, ceramics, tiles, *feslik/kavukluk* (shelf for a fez or turban) and hookah, can be seen in a photograph from the Bilinski family archive, featuring Roman Bilinski's second partner, French artist Claire Duriez, in their Istanbul apartment.¹²⁵⁰ It is known that many years later some of these items would be given to the Ariana Museum in Switzerland.¹²⁵¹ Another photograph from the Bilinski family archive shows Roman's third partner, Marcella Conte, standing in front of the items that, according to the Bilinski family, were sold to the museum. The other items that remained with Bilinski were painted by him after he settled in Italy. Ottoman fabrics, utensils and weapons were featured by the artist in numerous vibrant still-life paintings.¹²⁵² It is highly likely that some of the items were also depicted in the mid-1920s by Roman Bilinski's colleague from the Union of Russian Painters in Constantinople, Dimitri Ismailovitch, whose bust Bilinski had sculpted and presented at a major Union exhibition in 1922.¹²⁵³ Fine examples of such works include a depiction of a traditional Turkish bath set consisting of Turkish *hamam* slippers and towel; a piece with one large and one double Turkish teapot in the foreground; as well as pieces with a *şamdan* (candle holder), *mirra* coffee pot, *feslik/kavukluk* (shelf for a fez or turban) and reproductions of carpets.¹²⁵⁴ Critics observed that these artworks by Ismailovitch were the outcome of prolonged and difficult practice in the area of colour and texture, and that they thoroughly delved into the physical and colourful essence of the East.¹²⁵⁵ In fact, the paintings present objects that are depicted very realistically, and the materials such as fabric, glass or ceramics are presented in a natural way. Dimitri Ismailovitch's émigré colleagues accurately pointed out that his still lifes

¹²⁴⁹ According to materials from the private archive of Roman Bilinski, which is owned by the Bilinski Family in Italy.

¹²⁵⁰ The photograph was published here: Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Konstantinopolis Rus Ressamlar Birliği'nin (1921-1923) Üyeleri olan Leh Sanatçıların İstanbul'daki Yaşamı.' *Toplumsal Tarih*, January 2023, pp. 68–75.

¹²⁵¹ According to materials from the private archive of Roman Bilinski, which is owned by the Bilinski Family in Italy.

¹²⁵² Some of the works can be seen here: Carta, M., and A. Jacob. *Roman Bilinski*. Published following the exhibition of Roman Bilinski, 1985.

¹²⁵³ Dimitri Ismailovitch with his bust created by Polish sculptor Roman Bilinski, Istanbul, Summer 1922. Source: Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters', p. 8 (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

¹²⁵⁴ Photographs of the artworks by Dimitri Ismailovitch. Source: Album 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from D. Ismailovitch' (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross). Some of these works are owned by Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti.

¹²⁵⁵ Prokopenko, A. 'K Vystavke Hudozhnika D. Ismailovitcha.' *Presse du Soir*, 9 April 1924, p. 3; Anonymous. 'L'exposition du peintre russe Izmailovitch.' *Journal D'Orient*, 5 April 1924, n.p.; B-in. 'V Konstantinopole.' *Rus*, 7 July 1926, n.p.

were more akin to ‘nature *vivante*’ rather than ‘nature *morte*’.¹²⁵⁶ It is possible that Ismailovitch honed his ability to depict such objects while studying at the studio of Lev Dmitriev-Kavkazsky (1849–1916) in St. Petersburg, where they worked intensively on depicting not only jugs and utensils but also carpets and fabrics.¹²⁵⁷

However, the influence of the Ottoman legacy in the city was not limited to still-life paintings. The émigré artist Theodore Sabaneeff showcased his talent in the Persian miniature genre. He was praised for his skill in recreating ancient miniatures in a small format, as reported in both the Russian and French press.¹²⁵⁸ The French press described his work as ‘each a little pearl of grace’, executed in graphics.¹²⁵⁹ One of his miniatures, featuring two warriors on horses and likely created in Istanbul, was recently sold at an American auction (which is not surprising since Sabaneeff moved to America after leaving Turkey).¹²⁶⁰ Along with a fascination for miniatures, there was also an interest in Turkish ornaments. Alexandre Pankoff and V.P.-Tch. (presumably Viktor Prokopovich-Czartoryski) were known for their copies of the Turkish floral ornamentation style. The émigré artist Pankoff was previously mentioned for his creation of albums for some Americans while in Constantinople and Paris. His ‘imitations of Eastern ornaments’ received praise in the Russian press, while V.P.-Tch.’s Turkish ornaments for ‘the Blanc et Noir decorations’ were noted.¹²⁶¹ V.P.-Tch.’s works ‘Odalisque’ and ‘Carpet Seller’ in the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* reflect a fascination with Turkish culture and ornaments, albeit with an Orientalist approach.¹²⁶² It’s uncertain whether the émigré artists were interested in calligraphy, but it is quite possible, since they likely visited the above-mentioned local museums and may have seen the exhibition of the Ottoman School of Calligraphy in 1921 that was mentioned on the same newspaper page as information about various expensive pastimes invented by the émigrés for the Istanbul public.¹²⁶³ Only a few of Pankoff’s album covers among the surviving works of émigré artists indicate an interest in this type of Islamic

¹²⁵⁶ Bournakine, editor. *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹²⁵⁷ Dmitriev-Kavkazskij, Lev. *Po Srednej Azii: zapiski hudozh. L.E. Dmitrieva-Kavkazskogo*. Sankt-Peterburg: A.F. Devrien, 1894.

¹²⁵⁸ Anonymous. ‘Cvety na minarete.’ *Presse du Soir*, 20 January 1923, n.p.

¹²⁵⁹ Anonymous. ‘L’Exposition de l’Union des Peintres russes a la caserne Mac-Mahon.’ *Journal D’Orient*, 20 January 1923, n.p.

¹²⁶⁰ Anonymous. ‘Lot 742: (4pc) Theodore Sabaneeff (American, 20th C.)’ *invaluable.com*, <https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/4pc-theodore-sabaneeff-american-20th-c-742-c-6ba4385815>. Accessed 16 January 2022.

¹²⁶¹ Anonymous. ‘Vystavka Soyuz Russkih Hudozhnikov.’ *Presse du Soir*, 19 June 1922, n.p.; Ted. ‘K Vystavke Hudozhnikov.’ *Presse du Soir*, 29 June 1923, n.p.

¹²⁶² Bournakine, editor. *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹²⁶³ Anonymous. ‘Medresetü’l-Hattâtin sergisinde bir köşe.’ *Akşam*, 26 May 1921, n.p.

art.¹²⁶⁴ Last but not least, some of the works by Gritchenko, Ismailovitch and Fedoroff reveal the émigré artists' interest in the Ottoman shadow play. One gets the impression that the first was fascinated by the performance itself, the second by the interplay of light and shadow, and the third by the characters of the shadow play.¹²⁶⁵

More frequently, however, Islamic art in the paintings of Russian-speaking émigré artists portrayed architectural forms, both exterior and interior. Rarely did an émigré artist refrain from depicting one or another mosque with their towering minarets, which is certainly related to the fact that minarets are visible from great distances. It's no wonder that one of the journalists of the time wrote, 'The eye of the newly arrived traveller passes from mosque to mosque, guided by a forest of minarets [...]'¹²⁶⁶ – no one could escape their sight, especially not artists. Even Boris Eguize, who while in Istanbul was considered almost exclusively a portrait painter, had works of this kind executed in a pretty realistic manner.¹²⁶⁷ Impressionist émigré Alexander Rubtsov (1884–1949), who came from Tunisia for his three-day exhibition at Union Française, also couldn't resist creating works with silhouettes of mosques and minarets.¹²⁶⁸ Moreover, self-taught émigré artists also created drawings of cityscapes that were in high demand and sold successfully. For example, the album of vivid and colourful watercolour landscapes by A. D. Gan, the wife of a Russian naval officer, has survived to this day.¹²⁶⁹ According to Andrei Tolstoy, her works have a serene quality that is reminiscent of tourist postcards.¹²⁷⁰ Another example is a drawing by Tatiana Surguchova. The drawing was likely created at the Karaköy pier during sunset while looking across to the opposite bank, where the light blue waters of the Bosphorus contrast with the dark blue silhouettes of Hagia Sophia, Yeni Camii and Süleymaniye.¹²⁷¹

¹²⁶⁴ The covers were published here: Becker, Sven. 'Impressions of Istanbul Voyage to Constantinople 1891-1938.' *The Ömer Koç Collection*, vol. IV, edited by y Julie Pickard, Vehbi Koç Foundation, 2022, pp. 234–251.

¹²⁶⁵ Gritchenko, *İstanbul'da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 247; Album 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from D. Ismailovitch', p. 28 (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross); Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters', p. 6 (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

¹²⁶⁶ Brigg and 'Wanderer', *Constantinople Cameos*, p. 22.

¹²⁶⁷ Meçetê Stambule by Boris Eguize/Bari Egizas can be seen here: Zajančkovskaja, Nadežda. 'Bari Egizas - dailininkas karaimas.' *tinp.lt*, <https://tinp.lt/bari-egizas---dailininkas-karaimas-n-zajan268kovskaja-2019-m.html>. Accessed 16 June 2023.

¹²⁶⁸ Anonymous. 'Priezd Hudozhnika A. A. Rubtsova.' *Presse du Soir*, 21 August 1924, n.p.; Anonymous. 'K vystavke A.A. Rubtsova.' *Presse du Soir*, 20 September 1924, p. 3.

¹²⁶⁹ Tolstoy, *Hudozhniki Russkoj Emigracii*, p. 52.

According to Edward Kasinec, several of her works can be seen at the Hoover Institution Library & Archives and The Russian History Foundation in Jordanville, New York.

¹²⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁷¹ From the archive of emigrant Boris Lazarevsky (on page 13 of one of his notebooks), which is located in the Museum of Czech Literature in Prague.

One of the émigré artists who was most interested in the city's Muslim architecture was Alexis Gritchenko. Although, as correctly noted by Emir Alışık and Tarkan Okçuoğlu, he did not always possess accurate information regarding the buildings (as becomes clear from his diary), he generally drew correct parallels and comparisons between the Byzantine and Muslim architecture of Istanbul, emphasising that their connection was based on continuity.¹²⁷² That is to say, he pointed out the uninterrupted progression of architectural style between the Ottoman mosques and Byzantine churches. Although he was extremely fascinated with Byzantine monuments, he was also very interested in Muslim architecture and the daily lives of Muslims living in the city. While he had some schematic drawings that only showed 'the essential elements of Ottoman urban life', such as mosques, markets, public baths and cemeteries, he also depicted *mahalles* (town quarters or residential areas that were established around a mosque, church or synagogue), another defining characteristic of the Ottoman city.¹²⁷³ In his artwork, he portrayed the vibrant and dynamic atmosphere of *mahalles*, filled with local people, men wearing fezzes, women wearing hijabs or chadors, praying Muslims, merchants, porters, dervishes and homeless people.¹²⁷⁴ His paintings of Ottoman coffeehouses were especially lively (see Figure 18), depicting diverse groups of people drinking tea and coffee, smoking water pipes, playing cards, making music and watching shadow puppet shows.

Dimitri Ismailovitch, a friend of Alexis Gritchenko who shared his passion for everything 'Byzantine', also showed an interest in the Ottoman aspect of the city. When he arrived, he primarily made sketches of Turkish baths and mosques, and after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, he meticulously "documented" the interiors and exteriors of Ottoman-era constructions in the city, sometimes idealising their condition much as he did with Byzantine monuments.¹²⁷⁵ He painted both famous mosques, such as Sultanahmet Camii and Dolmabahçe Camii, and lesser-known ones like Cerrahpaşa Davutpaşa Camii, along with Turkish baths, *sebils* (public fountains: Divanyolu Koca Sinan Paşa Sebili, Hacı Beşir Ağa Sebili), *çeşmes* (Fountain of Ahmed III) and the cemetery in Eyüp. Furthermore, both Alexis Gritchenko and Dimitri Ismailovitch observed and depicted the Piyale Paşa Mosque, which was

¹²⁷² Tarkan Okçuoğlu and Emir Alışık, 'Meşher Podcast / Alexis Gritchenko. İstanbul Mavi ve Pembe', YouTube video, 1:10:05, November 26 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qkDFH01tGww>.

¹²⁷³ Boyar, Ebru. 'The Ottoman City: 1500-1800.' *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, edited by Peter Clark, 2013, pp. 277–279.

¹²⁷⁴ Some of the works can be seen here: Güler Ayşenur, and Susak Vita (ed.). *Alexis Gritchenko. The Constantinople Years*. Istanbul: exh. cat. Meşher, 2020.

¹²⁷⁵ Some of the works belong to Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). The photographs of some of the works can also be seen here: Album 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from D. Ismailovitch' (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross).

designed by Mimar Sinan.¹²⁷⁶ Based on the evidence that Ismailovitch possessed a photograph of himself in front of his work featuring this mosque, it appears that the structure held a significant place in his heart.¹²⁷⁷ Apart from Gritchenko and Ismailovitch, Alexandre Pankoff, was also passionate about the city's mosques and depicted nearly all of them in his albums, including Süleymaniye Mosque, Sultanahmet Mosque, Yeni Mosque, Bayezid II Mosque, Hırka-i Şerif Mosque, Bebek Mosque, Fatih Mosque, Yeni Valide Mosque, Nusretiye Mosque, Laleli Mosque, Piyale Paşa Mosque, Eyüp Sultan Mosque and others.¹²⁷⁸ In addition to his interest in portraying mosques, he also had a fondness for painting the old districts, houses, *sebils*, *çeşmes*, kiosks and cemeteries, often including the mosques in the background.¹²⁷⁹ His works give a subtle indication of the human presence in the city through depictions of ships, sailboats and laundry hanging on ropes, unlike Gritchenko's works. Like Ismailovitch's paintings, Pankoff's works are primarily concerned with showcasing the diverse architectural constructions of the city rather than portraying human figures.

However, not all works of this kind were created because of a truly genuine interest on the part of émigré artists toward the Islamic legacy in the city. In many cases, they were related to the demand for this type of work in the market. Judging by newspapers and the memoirs of Russian-speaking emigrants, works depicting architectural monuments of the historical peninsula or the interiors of mosques, whether they were executed in the form of postcards or large serious canvases, found buyers fairly quickly. One of the main artists to take advantage of this was Vladimir Konstantinovich Petrov, who received his education at the Tbilisi Art School, worked independently and, judging by available data, had no relation to the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople and did not participate in its exhibitions.¹²⁸⁰ While in Istanbul, Petrov focused a great deal on the interiors and exteriors (although there were clearly more interiors) of numerous architectural monuments, creating works that were actively bought by foreign tourists to the city.¹²⁸¹ The authors of the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* noted: 'V.K., depicting the interiors of mosques, palaces, ancient structures, seeks an original approach that allows for a perspective scope and rich play of light and shadow.'¹²⁸² An example of numerous works of this kind is his genre work of 1935 titled 'Istanbul', in which three Muslims

¹²⁷⁶ Gritchenko, *İstanbul'da İki Yıl 1919–1921. Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, p. 159.

¹²⁷⁷ The photograph originates from Dimitri Ismailovitch's private archive, currently under the ownership of Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

¹²⁷⁸ Becker, 'Impressions of Istanbul Voyage to Constantinople 1891-1938', pp. 234–251.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁰ Bournakine, *Ruskiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹²⁸¹ Ibid.

¹²⁸² Ibid.

pray in front of the entrance to the Rüstem Paşa Mosque.¹²⁸³ However, the praying figures are not the most important element there, since the artist's attention was actually focused on the mosque, covered with tiles from the outside, and on the massive column supporting it. Judging by the artist's other works, in addition to the Rüstem Paşa Mosque, his favourite architectural landmarks in the city were also the Hagia Sophia and the Sultanahmet Mosque.¹²⁸⁴ In my opinion, they have a lot in common with the works of the Turkish artist Şevket Dağ, who was no less interested in mosque interiors. It is quite possible that Petrov was even personally acquainted with him. Today, Petrov's works can be seen quite often among those exhibited at Turkish auctions.

In contrast to Petrov, Nikolai Saraphanoff, an artist with a complicated biography, focused more on exteriors. Saraphanoff was born in St. Petersburg and fled in the early 1920s to Istanbul, where he briefly became a member of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople and participated in its exhibitions.¹²⁸⁵ He was admitted to membership on 21 December 1922, and continued to maintain close ties with local Russian-speaking émigrés after the Union's collapse in 1923. For example, in 1926, he actively participated in a significant event dedicated to Russian culture at one of the city's Russian clubs, where he created decorations.¹²⁸⁶ At some point during his life in Turkey, he was sentenced to 25 years in prison by a military court for 'political guilt'.¹²⁸⁷ According to Roxana Umarova, an émigré with whom researcher Marina Sığircı spoke, shortly before the start of World War II, the artist was falsely accused by the Turkish authorities of spying for Soviet Russia.¹²⁸⁸ Despite the fact that he was a talented portrait painter, as is evident from his self-portrait published in the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, in Istanbul he almost exclusively painted different views of the city, focusing mainly on the various mosques and streets in the old town. These can often be found at local auctions as well. Some of the works of this kind, completed between 1930 and 1935, now belong to the Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation and were shown at the exhibition 'Russian Constantinople' that opened in Moscow in December 2021.¹²⁸⁹ In Saraphanoff's

¹²⁸³ Anonymous. 'Petrov Vladimir Konstantinovich.' *russianartcollection.com*, <https://www.russianartcollection.com/product/%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1%80-%D1%85%D0%B0%D0%B3%D0%B8%D1%8F-%D1%81%D0%BE%D1%84%D0%B8%D1%8F/>. Accessed 23 May 2023.

¹²⁸⁴ The conclusion is made based on artworks sold at auctions.

¹²⁸⁵ Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 23 December 1922, p. 3.

¹²⁸⁶ Anonymous. 'Den' Russkoj Kul'tury.' *Vecherniaia Gazeta*, 3 June 1926, n.p.

¹²⁸⁷ Anonymous. 'Ankara cinayeti etrafında dünkü yeni ifşaat.' *Cumhuriyet*, 30 May 1946, p. 2.

¹²⁸⁸ Sığircı, *Spasibo, Konstantinopol'!: po sledam beloemigrantov v Turcii*, p. 79.

¹²⁸⁹ Bournakine, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Nikolai Saraphanoff.' *vassilievfoundation.com*, <https://catalog.vassilievfoundation.com/index.php/Detail/entities/32>. Accessed 12 July 2023; Gosudarstvennyj Muzej Vostoka. *Russkij Konstantinopol'*. Moskva, 2021.

watercolour paintings from the exhibition as well as auctions, there are almost always local residents, but from their tiny size it is obvious that the main role is still assigned to the mosques, including the Sultanahmet and Nuruosmaniye, surrounded by the ancient buildings of the Muslim neighbourhoods. The artist's priority seemed to be capturing the essence of the neighbourhoods and creating a postcard-like piece, rather than focusing on the specifics of Muslim architectural structures. It's possible that the reason why the pieces include no modern-looking people is due to the desire to create a postcard-like aesthetic. This gives the artwork a similar feel to those created by Orientalists and captures the atmosphere of the Ottoman Empire's capital in the 1920s, rather than portraying the cultural centre of the 10-year-old Republic of Turkey. This can be seen as a form of 'romantic escapism', which Michelle H. Craig discussed in her article about travel photographer Burton Holmes, who relied on old Orientalist stereotypes to represent Fez in order to appeal to American audiences.¹²⁹⁰ It is evident that Saraphanoff visited the historical peninsula frequently, as some of his works were created from the same location, albeit at different times and days. Additionally, it is notable that some of his pieces were hastily made, suggesting that the artist may have wanted to sell them quickly to acquire funds.

One should also mention Nikolai Kalmykoff (Turkish name – Naci Kalmukoğlu), a very active member of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, who, as a versatile artist, successfully worked in a variety of genres. In his works (dates of many of which are not indicated), one can find practically all of the subjects mentioned above, especially Ottoman art objects and the exteriors of Ottoman architecture in Istanbul. Sample works include 'Flowers' (with an Ottoman box), 'Fortune Teller and Model' (with an Ottoman *sehpa*, or coffee table), 'Mosque', 'In Front of the Fountain', 'Sultanahmet Mosque', and 'Süleymaniye from the perspective of the Golden Horn'.¹²⁹¹ Furthermore, the artist had an interest in depicting historical events of the Ottoman Empire that took place in Constantinople. This is evident in his works representing the Tulip Era and the Saadabad Period, as well as the Conquest of Constantinople and the arrival of the Emperor at Valide Sultan Mosque for Friday prayers.¹²⁹² Nevertheless, possibly the most captivating piece is his lesser-known early work titled 'Tuna Sellers', procured through auction by Alexandre Vassiliev.¹²⁹³ Crafted in Constantinople in

¹²⁹⁰ Craig, Michelle H. 'No Place for a Tourist: Imagining Fez in the Burton Holmes Travelogue.' *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers, Culture and Civilization in the Middle East*, edited by Mohammad Gharipour and Nilay Özlü, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015, pp. 256–278.

¹²⁹¹ Dostal, Halilhan İ. *Naci Kalmukoğlu. O, bir Yıldızdı*. Arkas Sanat Merkezi, 20 Ocak 2013–28 Nisan 2013 Sergi Kataloğu, İzmir, pp. 81–108.

¹²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 59; p. 74; p. 94.

¹²⁹³ The painting can be seen here: Sığircı, *My Rodom iz Stambula*, p. 233.

1922, the piece distinguishes itself from the artist's later paintings executed in Republican Turkey, exhibiting the discernible influence of the Kharkiv avant-garde "circle", to which the artist was affiliated prior to his life in Istanbul. Such a wide range can be attributed to the fact that he lived in Istanbul for most of his life, giving him ample time to thoroughly study the local culture and immerse himself in all its nuances. According to Kıymet Giray, the city with its historical texture and monuments was an endless source of inspiration for him.¹²⁹⁴

5.2.3 *The émigré artists and the Pera/Beyoğlu district and Galata area*

In the first chapter, it was mentioned that Russian-speaking émigrés did not hold the Pera district in high regard. This was due to the fact that most of them struggled to make a living there, and also because the district's 'European' architecture did not impress them, similar as it was to major cities in the former Russian Empire, especially Saint Petersburg. The writer Nadezhda Teffi even described it as a 'European mould and mound', making it difficult to see the East behind it.¹²⁹⁵ For émigré artists, the Pera district only found its way into illustrations for advertisements in the local Russian press. The almanac *Nashi Dni* featured many such illustrations of Pera, created by members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, including Vladimir Kadulin, Alexandre Pankoff and Alexander Kozmin. Kozmin created large and frequently published illustrations for advertisements of various entertainment establishments in Pera (see Figure 19), such as La Régence/Rejans restaurant (Grand Rue de Péra 76), Casino Moderne (Şişli, rue Bomonti 1) and Luna Park (Şişli, Osmanbey).¹²⁹⁶ All the illustrations in the *Nashi Dni* almanac are skilfully executed and effectively capture the atmosphere of the area during the period when the regulars of the area were dressed in the latest fashion, the European-style restaurants were always busy with both locals and visitors to the city, who were accessorised with premium items ('armed with a Longines watch and shod with a pair of freshly shined Walk-over shoes'¹²⁹⁷), and artistic performances were a regular feature, accompanied by music and dancing. Other émigré artists, whose names are unfortunately unknown, created illustrations of popular spots in the area, including the Yar restaurant, Novotny bar-restaurant, Café Mimosa, Carlmann store, Mayer clothing store and other shops which typically employed Levantines, Jews and Greeks.¹²⁹⁸ The shop illustrations are

¹²⁹⁴ Giray, Kıymet. 'Naci Kalmukoğlu'nun Paletinden İstanbul.' *Naci Kalmukoğlu*, Emlak Bankası Beyoğlu Sanat Galerisi 16 Aralık 1997–9 Ocak 1998 Sergi Kataloğu, İstanbul, pp. 3–5.

¹²⁹⁵ Teffi, *Stambul i solnce*, p. 39.

¹²⁹⁶ *Nashi Dni/Nos Jours* 7 [1921], n.p.; *Nashi Dni/Nos Jours* 9 [1921], n.p.; *Nashi Dni/Nos Jours* 9 [1921], n.p.

¹²⁹⁷ Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 71.

¹²⁹⁸ *Nashi Dni/Nos Jours* 1–14 [1921]; For more information regarding the stores: Köse, Yavuz. 'Pera'dan İstanbul'a Modern Çağın Çarşıları ve Çalışanları.' *İstanbul: İmparatorluk Başkentinden Megakente*, edited by Yavuz Köse (translated by Ayşe Dağlı), Kitapyayınevi, 2011, pp. 388–425.

particularly interesting, as they depict well-dressed men and women discussing products displayed in the shop windows. This is reminiscent of Everett Shinn's pastel 'Window Shopping', created in 1903 in New York.¹²⁹⁹ Overall, these works depict the Pera district as no different from other large cities of the time, where streets served as sites for interaction, display and demonstration.¹³⁰⁰ It is, however, important to note once again that the works were created as commissioned illustrations for advertisements in the press, rather than as a result of the artists' personal interest in depicting life in the Pera district. With the exception of a few works by Ismailovitch and Pankoff, which depict modern and spacious buildings in Pera and its surroundings, there are no other similar works found in archives or exhibition descriptions of the time.¹³⁰¹

In a completely different position (in terms of the interest of emigrants from the former Russian Empire) was the Galata area, which was located in close proximity to the Pera district and, in a sense, served as a bridge between the conservative opposite coast and the modern Pera, which was open to all the latest innovations. Despite the fact that Galata had a very bad reputation due to the large number of brothels and tales of crime at the port, it was popular with some emigrants. For instance, Vladimir Dukelsky wrote the following about the area:

I was not so much attracted by the universally known landmarks of Constantinople – the Aya Sophia, the Golden Horn, the interminable staircase which was used as a street to lead into the mercantile Galata from our district of Pera; it was the mysterious zigzagging side streets that intrigued me, peopled with masked matriarchs stolidly sitting on the kerbs, vendors hawking pungent foods and liquids in fiercely polytonal counterpoint while whipping their donkeys along, bearded philosophers in white-tiled cafes tugging at their waterpipes or sipping the vile *duziko*, the baby lambs being roasted on a spit right in the street and being eaten without benefit of cutlery, the terrifying fat whores in Galata, their faces immobile and grotesquely painted, their bodies like gallons of inferior vanilla ice cream, squatting in cages to be gaped at by pencil-slim American sailors.¹³⁰²

¹²⁹⁹ Zurier, Rebecca. *Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School*. University of California Press, 2006, p. 131.

¹³⁰⁰ Elkin, Lauren. *Flaneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*. Chatto & Windus, 2016.

¹³⁰¹ 'A Group of Buildings', watercolor drawing by Dimitri Ismailovitch, Constantinople, 1921 (Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Gift of Kenneth Conant). <https://hvrd.art/o/296069>. Accessed 13 July 2023; From the Ömer Koç Collection. 1924–29 'Constantinople', an album of drawings and autographs by Alexandre V. Pankoff. (24) Neighbourhood of Pera.

¹³⁰² Duke, *Passport to Paris*, p. 70.

Some of the émigré artists eagerly depicted the colourful and vibrant Galata district. Constantin Alajalov's 'well-executed' sketches of life in Galata were exhibited at a Union of Russian Artists exhibition in Constantinople.¹³⁰³ Unfortunately, the sketches cannot be found in any archive. However, an examination of Constantin Alajalov's covers for *The New Yorker* magazine and *The Saturday Evening Post*, which he created after moving to America, give an idea as to what they might have looked like.¹³⁰⁴ Boleslaw Cybis, a friend of Alajalov and another member of the Union, probably also depicted Galata, given his work 'The Sailor and the Family'.¹³⁰⁵ Regrettably, little is known about the piece, leaving ambiguity regarding the artist's message. However, it is evident that the work is executed in rather dark colours, evoking a tense atmosphere. It suggests a narrative involving a sailor and his family (apparently wife and daughter) seemingly attempting to prevent the drunken sailor from going to another pub or *meyhane*, the curtains of which can be seen in the background. Caricatures of the characters mentioned by Vladimir Dukelsky in the excerpt above were depicted by Vladimir Kadulin, a Kyiv artist who used such pseudonyms as Nayadin (under this pseudonym he worked for the almanac *Zarnitsy*, where his caricatures were dedicated to the difficult life of 'Russian' émigrés abroad and the mockery of the Bolsheviks) and Mitritch Karelin¹³⁰⁶ (caricatures of Galata, its inhabitants and regulars were produced under this pseudonym) while in Constantinople.¹³⁰⁷ It is not surprising that Kadulin turned to this genre and topic since he was known for his satirical drawings and humorous postcards, such as 'Types of Students', 'Types of Schoolgirls' and the 'Drunken Series' long before fleeing to the Ottoman Empire.¹³⁰⁸ It is evident that he was drawn to people whom he approached with the belief that naturalness is not unattractive. While these individuals were not always integrated into the urban landscapes of the former Russian Empire, those characters depicted in Constantinople almost always had the city in the background.

¹³⁰³ Anonymous. 'Vystavka Soyuza Russkikh Hudozhnikov.' *Presse du Soir*, 19 June 1922, n.p.

¹³⁰⁴ Denny, Diana. 'Classic Covers: Constantin Alajalov.' *saturdayeveningpost.com*, <https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2011/12/artist-constantin-alajalov/>. Accessed 12 July 2023.

For his published illustrations and covers from *The New Yorker*: Constantin Alajalov Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

¹³⁰⁵ The work can be seen here: Anonymous. 'Boleslaw Cybis Drawings from the 1920s.' *cybisarchive.com*, <https://cybisarchive.com/2021/05/10/boleslaw-cybis-drawings-from-the-1920s/>. Accessed 12 July 2023.

¹³⁰⁶ Vladimir Kadulin is known to have worked in Constantinople for the almanac *Zarnitsy* using the pseudonym Nayadin. While conducting my research, I had a hypothesis that the caricatures credited by a certain Mitritch (Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross) closely resembled Kadulin's works. Subsequently, I discovered supporting evidence: one of the newspapers stated that the caricatures were created by 'Mitritch (Nayadin)' (Anonymous. 'V Soyuze Hudozhnikov. 7-ya Vystavka.' *Presse du Soir*, January 1922, n.p.).

¹³⁰⁷ Üçgül, Sevinç. 'İzdatel'skaya deyatel'nost' Russkoj emigracii v Stambule: po materialam al'manaha Zarnitsy.' *Russkaya belaya emigraciya v Turcii vek spustya 1919–2019*, edited by Türkan Olcay, DRZ, 2019, pp. 194–221.

¹³⁰⁸ Zhukov, V. 'Student İĞİ sto let nazad glazami hudozhnika-karikaturista V.F. Kadulina.' *Za Stroitel'niye Kadry*, April 2017, p. 1.

Mykhailo Zabochen', a collector of postcards, noted that Kadulin's work required a deep understanding of the environment.¹³⁰⁹ Based on his caricatures of Galata created in 1922–1923, which display his excellent observational skills and sharp wit, it is likely that he was intimately familiar with the district, possibly even living nearby. There is evidence that he and his wife resided in a cheap hotel in Galata for some time.¹³¹⁰ Kadulin's caricatures in Constantinople featured a diverse range of subjects, including local residents such as Galata prostitutes, porters, hookah smokers, street musicians and various street vendors selling everything from *simit* (Turkish bagel) and fruits and vegetables to coffee and sherbet.¹³¹¹ In addition, he also depicted representatives of the Allied forces and American sailors.¹³¹² He was an artist 'who sought out the variety of the city's human spectacle'.¹³¹³ As for the urban environment itself, as Tuğba Öztürk rightly points out, 'the fact that caricatures take their references from daily life allows an analysis of the city to be made by reading caricatures'.¹³¹⁴ Kadulin's portrayal of the city is not always static, and he does not always depict it as a background of mosques with minarets. Some of his works include depictions of the payment of the toll for crossing the Galata Bridge, a standard practice at the time, as well as the chaotic traffic on the road near the bridge (see Figure 20). Kadulin found it amusing that the traffic participants included not only modern cars, trams and bicycles but also horse-drawn carts loaded with goods.¹³¹⁵ This perfectly showcased the position of Galata and the Galata Bridge at the intersection of past and present. Furthermore, Kadulin's works convey the noise and bustle of the location accurately. One can read Pyotr Pavlenko's description of loud horns and screaming newspaper boys ('Cars in Constantinople, due to the general noise, are equipped with especially loud horns. Trams ring non-stop. Newspaper boys scream like they've been slaughtered'), or one can observe Kadulin's caricatures and feel the same way.¹³¹⁶

The illustrations created by Alexander Kozmin for advertisements of restaurants and shops in the Russian press, along with Vladimir Kadulin's caricatures, indicate that the works

¹³⁰⁹ Zabochen', M.S. 'Otkrytki izdatel'stva "Rassvet" // Sredi kollekcionerov.' *Nashe Naslediye*, 1992, Vyp. 1, pp. 48–58.

¹³¹⁰ Nayadin. 'Konstantinopol'skiye Dni. Venizelos.' *Zarnitsy*, 28 August 1921, pp. 6–8.

¹³¹¹ The works can be seen here: Stearns Family Papers. Archives & Special Collections. The College of the Holy Cross.

¹³¹² One of such works can be seen here: Kültigin, Kağan Akbulut, and K. Mehmet Kentel, Gizen Tongo, Daniel-Joseph Macarthur-Seal. 'Bir Şehir Nasıl "Meşgüle Düşer"?' *Sanat Dünyamız*, March-April 2023, pp. 22–33.

¹³¹³ Zurier, *Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School*, p. 87.

¹³¹⁴ Öztürk, Tuğba. *Postmodern kentin izinde mizah heterotopyaları: İstanbul üzerine bir değerlendirme / Humour heterotopias in the trace of postmodern city: An assessment on İstanbul*. M.A. Thesis, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2019.

¹³¹⁵ One of such works can be seen on the cover of the *Toplumsal Tarih* magazine: Aygün, Ekaterina. 'Boğaz'ın Rusları: 1920'li Yıllarda Beyoğlu'ndaki Rus Göçmen Sanatçılar.' *Toplumsal Tarih*, June 2021, pp. 9–15.

¹³¹⁶ Pavlenko, Pyotr. *Stambul i Turciya (1927)*. Moskva: Federaciya, 1932, pp. 18–19.

produced by emigrants were influenced by the changes in the city's aesthetics during that time, becoming more similar to those found in Paris and Berlin. In contrast to the works of other artists, such as Ismailovitch or Petrov, who meticulously depicted the city's monuments and houses of worship, the Constantinople depicted in the works of Kozmin and Kadulin is a city where the focus is on the urban lifestyle with its 'ordinary citizens, chaoticism and energy of life'¹³¹⁷. It is uncertain whether Ilia Zdanevich, an emigrant artist who advocated for the portrayal of modernity and street fights in metropolitan areas during the 1912 conference in St. Petersburg, had any exposure or opinion of these works, but he would have most likely appreciated them.¹³¹⁸

5.3 The émigré photographers and their relationship with Constantinople/Istanbul in the 1920s

5.3.1 The émigré photographers in the city in the 1920s

Although there has been some research on the Russian-speaking émigré painters in Constantinople, the photographers have not received the same level of attention. Like many emigrants, they remained in limbo, belonging neither to the groups of Russian/Ukrainian photographers nor to the Ottoman Empire/Turkey photographers who have been studied.¹³¹⁹ This lack of attention to the history of migrant photography seems frequently to be the case in other countries as well, such as in the United States, where the relationship between migration histories and American photography history is seldom explored, as noted by Justin Carville and Sigrid Lien.¹³²⁰

Following their migration to Constantinople, some Russian-speaking émigré painters who had an interest in or knowledge of photography switched to becoming photographers and established studios. This trend had also been observed earlier in the Ottoman Empire, where well-known miniature painter Viçen Abdullah (1820–1902) and his brother Kevork Abdullah (1839–1918), who was educated in the Murad-Rafaelian School in Venice, became involved in photography.¹³²¹ Advertisements published in the Russian press by the émigré photographers often indicated their affiliation as 'photographer-painter' or 'painter-photographer'. It is likely

¹³¹⁷ Vasil'ev, I. E. 'Il'yazd: Vekhi zhizni i Tvorchestva I. M. Zdanevicha.' *Izvestiya ural'skogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, no. 24, 2002, p. 178. Original source - *Peterburgskaya gazeta*, 1912, p. 119.

¹³¹⁸ Ibid.

¹³¹⁹ Up until now, Burçak Evren (later he was joined by his daughter, Irmak Evren) has been the sole researcher of Russian-speaking émigré photographers in Constantinople, with his works published in Turkish.

¹³²⁰ Carville, Justin, and Sigrid Lien. *Contact Zones. Photography, Migration, and Cultural Encounters in the United States*. Leuven University Press, 2021, p. 11.

¹³²¹ Acar, Sibel. *Capturing Constantinople: Travel Albums (1884-1910)*. Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, Middle East Technical University, 2015, p. 280.

that they chose to prioritise photography because they were aware of the challenges painters faced in earning a stable income in Istanbul. The Narodnyj University, which was established by Russian-speaking émigrés for their compatriots in Constantinople, offered short-term courses not only in soap making, perfumery and hat making, but also in photography and retouching, suggesting that emigrants could earn a relatively stable income through these skills. In addition, there were fewer Russian-speaking émigré photographers in Constantinople compared to painters during that time, resulting in less competition. It seems that the émigrés from the former Russian Empire did not seek the services of professional Turkish and foreign photographers, such as Sébah & Joaillier, Paul Tarkul/ Phébus, and Jean Weinberg/ Foto Français, probably due to the high cost of their services. Instead, those with limited financial resources preferred the cheap and often low-quality services of the local Greek photographers (many emigrants later recalled that their faces in such photographs were distorted) who operated near the Russian Consulate (Narmanlı Han), where they could have their passport photos taken in just five minutes.¹³²² On the other hand, those who were more financially stable selected high-quality shots at the studios of Russian-speaking émigré photographers located on Grand Rue de Péra and nearby.

Among the known Russian-speaking émigré photographers of the time were Alexander Belikov (according to Burçak Evren, he was known in Turkey as Alex Belikoff), Mark Bezugly, Lev Karpov, Jules Kanzler and Vladimir Zender. The first two were among those who positioned themselves as ‘painter-photographers’. Apparently, Belikov had received an art education, but it is not known at what institution. In his studio at Grand Rue de Péra 350 (at that time the site of a Zeman manufacturing store), next to the Russian Embassy, he fulfilled photographic orders of all sizes and enlarged photos.¹³²³ One of his studio’s advertisements listed the following services: ‘Boudoir and cabinet photos, as well as postcards. Enlargement of portraits with ink, oil paints, and watercolours. Passport photos on the same day.’¹³²⁴ Mark Savvich Bezugly (his image was published in the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*) graduated shortly before the 1917 Revolution from the Imperial Stroganov School of Art, one of the most prestigious art schools of the time.¹³²⁵ There, he studied in the portrait class and, in

¹³²² Anonymous. ‘Narodnyj Universitet.’ *Konstantinopol’skij Kommercheskij Kur’yer*, no. 8 (46), 10 September 1923, p. 3; Evren, B., and I. Evren, ‘Istanbul’un Beyaz Rus Fotoğrafçısı: Jules Kanzler (İzzet Kaya Kanzler)’, p. 39; Fedorov, *Puteshestviye bez sentimentov*, p. 112.

¹³²³ Evren, B., and I. Evren, ‘Istanbul’un Beyaz Rus Fotoğrafçısı: Jules Kanzler (İzzet Kaya Kanzler)’, p. 39; Anonymous. ‘Reklama.’ *Zarubezhnyj klich*, 1925, p. 16.

¹³²⁴ Newspaper clipping from *Presse du Soir*: ‘Artistic Photography of Alexander Belikov’. No page number or date provided.

¹³²⁵ Bournakine, editor, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

parallel, was a student of Moscow photographer Karl/Carl Fischer (whose studio was engaged in portrait, theatrical, architectural and chronological photography), one of the founders of the Russian Photographic Society created in 1894.¹³²⁶ Bezugly was able to utilise all the knowledge he had acquired once he arrived in Istanbul, where he lived until at least 1927. Similarly, the photographer Lev Karpov lived in Istanbul until 1927 (his surname is also sometimes written as Karpoff in Latin letters; his image was published in the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*), although, as a military man, he had no prior photographic education before settling there.¹³²⁷ He started studying photography after purchasing a camera with his last money in an English refugee camp in Tuzla. Despite being a self-taught photographer, Karpov was able to achieve success and attract clients among Russian-speaking émigrés, foreigners and embassy staff.¹³²⁸ Like Jules Kanzler and the other abovementioned photographers (except Vladimir Zender), they mainly earned their living through portrait photography. The demand for portraits was high and it provided the necessary income for émigré painters (Nikolai Becker, Boris Eguize, Boris Luban, Nikolai Vasilieff, Tatiana Alexinsky-Loukina and others) and photographers.

The aforementioned photographers captured not only the faces of the ‘Russian’ emigration of the time, but also the representatives of occupied Constantinople from 1919 to 1923, and at a later time the main figures of Republican Istanbul from 1923 until at least 1927. Their Istanbul was composed of lost, destitute refugees, ladies in fashionable dresses and hats, self-assured influential men, and many other figures of the era, some of whom took pictures for themselves and some of whom sent them to their loved ones who were far away. However, the fact that in the 1924 issues of the magazine *Put’/La Voie* edited by A. A. Gurlyand, which was published for émigrés in general and Russian-speaking Jews in particular, one can see photographs by Belikov and Zender dedicated to émigrés in the city (‘Arrival of the Mountain Jews from Batumi to Constantinople’ by Zender, ‘Female emigrants arriving from Batumi to Constantinople on the ship Kerch’ by Zender, ‘Emigrants working on land in Ortaköy’ by Belikov, ‘Émigré porters. Loading wool at the Golden Horn’ by Belikov, ‘Departure of emigrants. On the Umbria ship, leaving from Constantinople to Jaffa’ by Belikov, and others), indicates that some of the émigré photographers not only focused on portrait photography but also worked in other genres (see Figure 21).¹³²⁹ The photographs demonstrate that emigrants from the former Russian Empire had various backgrounds and did not shy away from hard

¹³²⁶ Iskovskij, A. *Carl Fischer. Fotograf v Orenburge*. Orenburg: OOO Izdatel’stvo Orenburgskaya Kniga, 2015.

¹³²⁷ Bournakine, editor, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹³²⁸ Ibid.

¹³²⁹ *Put’*, no. 1, 1924, p. 7; *Put’*, no. 2, 1924, p. 11; *Put’*, no. 4, 1924, p. 9; *Put’*, no. 5, 1924, p. 9; *Put’*, no. 7, 1924, p. 10.

work, working both within the city and far beyond. It's difficult to determine whether émigré photographers had the resources and desire to take photos of the city's attractions, entertainment spots, people and neighbourhoods, as did the local photographer Selahattin Giz in the 1930s.¹³³⁰ Based on their studios' working hours (typically from 9am to 7pm), most photographers had little spare time for leisurely strolls around the city.

5.3.2 *Émigré Photographer Jules Kanzler (?–1975)*

Perhaps the main sources of information on Russian-speaking émigré photographers in Istanbul are advertisements for photo studios placed in the press and other publications of the time. Working with these sources, it is difficult not to notice that the vast majority of such notices (whether in Russian, Turkish or English) advertise the photo studio of Jules Kanzler, a graduate of the Odessa Academy of Fine Arts in 1905.¹³³¹ However, it should be noted that his name was not always mentioned as Jules Kanzler: for the Russian press, he sometimes identified himself as Yuliy Kanzler, and for the Turkish press, after obtaining Turkish citizenship, he became Izzet Kaya Kanzler. At least two images of the photographer himself have been preserved, one published in the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* and the other located in the private collection of Burçak Evren – in both, he looks like a responsible, serious and intelligent person. Little is known about his life before the revolution, except that he was born and raised in Crimea, studied painting in Paris, opened his first solo exhibition in Meudon in 1907 and participated in a charity exhibition organised by French-speaking artists in Istanbul in 1910.¹³³² Unfortunately, it is unknown whether any of his works from the period have been preserved (the State Archives of the Republic of Crimea claimed not to have any information about the artist). One can only see his work in the impressionist style titled 'Crimean Etude. Sobachya Balka [Dog Gully] – Simferopol' published in the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore* and a work called 'Winter in Russia', which was exhibited at one of the auctions (the works are not dated, but were most probably created in the former Russian Empire).¹³³³

Jules Kanzler found himself returning to Istanbul not for another exhibition, but due to the revolution that had broken out in the former Russian Empire. It can be assumed that, with his previous experience and acquaintances in the city, he quickly realised that it was photography rather than painting that could help him stay afloat. Thus, Kanzler opened a photo

¹³³⁰ The photographs by Selahattin Giz belong to the Yapı Kredi Tarihi Arşivi, Istanbul.

¹³³¹ Anonymous. 'Photo Russe Electrique.' *Presse du Soir*, April 1920, n.p.; Evren, Burçak. 'Jules Kanzler.' *Tombak*, no. 27, 1999, pp. 4–6; Brigg and 'Wanderer', *Constantinople Cameos*, one of the last pages (no number).

¹³³² Bournakine, editor, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹³³³ Ibid.; Anonymous. 'Jules Kanzler, Winter in Russia, Original Oil on Board.' *icollector.com*, https://www.icollector.com/Jules-Kanzler-Winter-in-Russia-Oil-on-Board_i17556899. Accessed 5 May 2023.

studio, which moved at least twice (from house number 197 to house number 374–376 near Tünel Square with an entrance through the Au Printemps store, and from there to house number 65/67 next to Taksim Square above the Berrak stationery shop belonging to another person from Crimea, the Soviet citizen Lazar David Beresiner, who would leave the city for Palestine in 1949), but always located on Grand Rue de Péra (today’s Istiklal Avenue), a strategically important street in terms of clientele.¹³³⁴ Judging by the photograph of Kanzler’s photo studio published in the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, it was a cozy space with carefully selected furniture, carpets and other interior details.¹³³⁵ The walls not only displayed samples of the photographer’s work (mostly client portraits) but also panels created by his colleagues, émigré artists (at various times, works by Leonid Sologub and Nikolai Peroff were exhibited there, which helped the latter meet Muhsin Ertuğrul and obtain a job at the Istanbul theatre).¹³³⁶ It is known that among the services provided to customers in the photo studio were not only artistic portraits of all genres and miniature passport photos but also photographs for letters and postcards, photos from the series ‘in four poses on one picture’ (according to Jak Deleon, presumably made using advanced technology for the time) and other innovations – a fairly creative range for the 1920s.¹³³⁷ Another reason for the photo studio’s fame was that Kanzler’s photo portraits often resembled oil paintings, which distinguished them from the work of many other photographers in the city.¹³³⁸ In this sense, Kanzler had some shared traits in common with the pre-revolutionary Russian portrait photographer Miron Sherling (depicted in portraits by Yury Annenkov and Boris Grigoriev), who did a great deal of work in the genre of pictorial photography, which involves the use of artistic and technical techniques that bring photography closer to painting and graphics, and extensively used retouching to make the photos look like painted works, as if they were reproductions of existing paintings.¹³³⁹ In addition, it seems appropriate to draw a comparison with Semion Lifshitz (1902–1986, also known as Sam Sanzetti), a Crimea-born photographer who migrated to Shanghai and skilfully retouched portraits to showcase subjects in sophisticated and contemporary positions that exuded a sense

¹³³⁴ Yunusoğlu, Okan. ““When you say Turkey, it comes to my heart, not to my mind!” Istanbul in Remembrance of Yasha Beresiner.’ *salom.com.tr*, <https://www.salom.com.tr/salomTurkey/arsiv/haber/100586/when-you-say-turkey-it-comes-to-my-heart-not-to-my-mind->. Accessed 5 July 2023; According to the advertisements of the studio (‘Photo Russe Electrique’): *Presse du Soir*, April 1920; *Presse du Soir*, 26 May 1922; *Radio*, 22 May 1927.

¹³³⁵ Bournakine, editor, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹³³⁶ Anonymous. ‘Photo Russe Electrique.’ *Presse du Soir*, April 1920, n.p.; Ertuğrul, Muhsin. ‘Dekorcumuz Nikola Perof.’ *Türk Tiyatrosu*, January-February 1964, p. 21.

¹³³⁷ Deleon, Jak. ‘Beyoğlu’nda İz Bırakanlar 2.’ *Güneş*, 9 August 1990, n.p.; Anonymous. ‘Photo Russe Electrique.’ *Presse du Soir*, April 1920, n.p.

¹³³⁸ Deleon, Jak. ‘Beyoğlu’nda İz Bırakanlar 2.’ *Güneş*, 9 August 1990, n.p.

¹³³⁹ Sviblova, Olga, and Elena Misalandi. *Quiet resistance: Russian pictorialism of the 1900’s – 1930’s*. Translated by Dmitry Fedosov. Moscow House of Photography Museum, 2005.

of glamour and calmness.¹³⁴⁰ Some of the photo portraits taken by Kanzler at the time have been preserved in the SALT Archive, some of them were published in Turkish newspapers (for instance, the portrait of Valentina Taskina in the *Güneş* newspaper) and magazines, while still others can be found and purchased in Istanbul antique shops and Turkish auctions (Özge Baykan Calafato, an expert in the field, rightly points out that Turkish vintage photo e-commerce and auction platforms often offer more materials and metadata for everyday photos than most local photographic archives¹³⁴¹).¹³⁴² It's difficult to imagine how many were made, since in the early 1920s Kanzler's studio worked practically around the clock, with long queues of clients. Further evidence of his popularity was that at an early stage, he took an experienced retoucher as his assistant because he couldn't handle the workload himself, and also the fact that at some point, due to the increased demand, he only took photos in the studio by appointment.¹³⁴³ In addition to working in the photo studio, he also collaborated in the early 1920s with the émigré magazine *Derzhavnaya Rus'*, exclusively producing all artistic and photographic work for it, and later, already in the late 1920s, he also actively participated in the creation of the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, providing its editors with individual, collective, interior and other photographs from his archive, which speaks of his close ties with Russian-speaking emigrants throughout the 1920s.¹³⁴⁴

Based on the evidence that Kanzler had a keen interest in his surroundings as a painter, he no doubt had a certain interest in Constantiople as a city. However, there is very limited evidence that he took photographs of the city's architecture, represented by a few undated black-and-white photographs, published in an article by Burçak Evren and exhibited in Turkish auctions.¹³⁴⁵ According to one of the photographs in Evren's article, which features the Fountain of Ahmed III and one of the minarets of the Hagia Sophia, Kanzler was more focused on general architectural forms. Evren notes that the photograph has a postcard-like appearance, and it is hard to disagree with him. The photograph of Üsküdar Mihrimah Camii that was sold at auction shows the mosque courtyard and people performing ablutions, and it was printed as

¹³⁴⁰ Knyazeva, Katya. 'Semion Markovich Lifshitz.' *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2952/object/5138-11320442>, last modified: 20-06-2021.

¹³⁴¹ Calafato, Özge Baykan. *Making the Modern Turkish Citizen: Vernacular Photography in the Early Republican Era*. I.B. Tauris, 2022, p. 184.

¹³⁴² Gabriel Virginie by Jules Lanzler, 1924, and Zahide Şeniz by Jules Kanzler, 1927 (SALT Archives, Photographs and Postcards); Deleon, Jak. 'Beyoğlu'nda İz Bırakanlar 2.' *Güneş*, 9 August 1990, n.p.

¹³⁴³ Anonymous. 'Jules Kanzler.' *Presse du Soir*, 26 May 1922, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Jules Kanzler.' *Presse du Soir*, 12 October 1922, n.p.

¹³⁴⁴ Anonymous. 'Jules Kanzler.' *Derzhavnaya Rus'*, no. 3, p. 20; Anonymous. 'Al'manah Russkiye na Bosfore.' *Radio*, 5 June 1927, p. 1; Anonymous. 'Russkiye na Bosfore.' *Radio*, 2 October 1927, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore.' *Radio*, 6 December 1927, p. 3.

¹³⁴⁵ Evren, Burçak. 'Jules Kanzler.' *Tombak*, no. 27, 1999, pp. 4–6.

a postcard by Mimosa Verda print shop.¹³⁴⁶ It is possible that Kanzler made a series of similar postcards featuring historical monuments of Istanbul for sale. Since the Fountain of Ahmed III and the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque were and still are among the most popular tourist attractions in guidebooks, the postcards could have been purchased by sightseers who were interested in visiting or had visited such attractions or by emigrants leaving Istanbul. The postcards could also have been sent to people who had never visited the city, as they offered an accurate representation of the sites and were considered a substitute for actually visiting them.¹³⁴⁷

Jules Kanzler was also hired to take photographs of Istanbul at a later time, specifically for an album celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Turkish Republic.¹³⁴⁸ While most of the photos focused on Ankara, as Istanbul was no longer the capital, a few celebratory night shots were taken with views of the Bosphorus and the Asian coast from Ortaköy and the exterior of the Dolmabahçe Palace. Interestingly, the same album also included a couple of his photographs of the Soviet delegation that came for the anniversary. At the time, Kanzler was already working as a photojournalist for the Turkish Anatolian Agency (AA) and was recognised as a highly skilled professional.¹³⁴⁹ Despite his active documentation of the early years of the Turkish Republic and its leaders, including Atatürk and İnönü, and even his 1936 portrait of Atatürk (according to Burçak Evren, Kanzler created such portraits based on his photographs of the leaders¹³⁵⁰), which is currently displayed in the State Art and Sculpture Museum in Ankara, he is rarely mentioned in publications or references about the photographers/artists of the Turkish Republic.¹³⁵¹ This is despite the fact that other photographers in the city at the time often imitated his techniques and working methods and that, during the 1930s, Kanzler's studio was regarded as equally professional as other prominent local studios such as Sébah & Joaillier, Phébus and Foto Français (the only studios permitted to photograph contestants for the inaugural beauty pageant in Turkey).¹³⁵² It is worth noting that at this time, owing to work

¹³⁴⁶ Anonymous. 'Üsküdar Mihrimah Camii avlusunun İzzet Kanzler imzalı fotoğrafı.' *phebusmuzayede.com*, <https://phebusmuzayede.com/71994-uskudar-mihrimah-camii-avlusunun-izzet-kanzler-imzali-fotografi.html>. Accessed 5 July 2023.

¹³⁴⁷ Acar, *Capturing Constantinople: Travel Albums (1884-1910)*, pp. 288–291.

¹³⁴⁸ The album (*Cumhuriyetin Onuncu Yil Hatıraları* by Foto İzzet Kaya/Jules Kanzler, 11/1266) belongs to the Archive of Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

¹³⁴⁹ Bournakine, editor, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹³⁵⁰ From personal correspondence with Burçak and Irmak Evren.

¹³⁵¹ Anonymous. 'Atatürk Portresi.' *arhm.ktb.gov.tr*, <https://arhm.ktb.gov.tr/Artworks/Detail/2771/ataturk-portresi>. Accessed 5 July 2023.

¹³⁵² Evren, B., and I. Evren, 'İstanbul'un Beyaz Rus Fotoğrafçısı: Jules Kanzler (İzzet Kaya Kanzler)', pp. 40–44; Erutku, Bülent Ümit. 'Evaluation on Photoshoots taken for Turkey's Beauty Contest in 1929.' *İnönü Üniversitesi Kültür ve Sanat Dergisi*, 2020, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 1–13; Anonymous. 'Güzellik Müsabakamız!' *Cumhuriyet*, 22 April 1929, p. 1; Ak, Seyit Ali. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Fotoğrafı 1923–1960*. Remzi Kitabevi, 2001, p. 97;

offers, Kanzler's social circle included a growing number of Turkish individuals and fewer émigrés. For instance, he was personally acquainted with and photographed figures such as the painter İbrahim Çallı, actress Bedia Muvahhit (1896–1994) and actor Behzat Budak (1891–1963).¹³⁵³ Kanzler was also actively involved in photographing attendees at balls and other entertaining events in popular locations and sold these photos to the guests, which was a novel concept at the time.¹³⁵⁴ According to Burçak Evren and Irmak Evren, Kanzler collaborated with Kevork Morel at a studio called Foto Enstanta İzzet Kaya Kanzler ve Şeriki, which was established just before Kanzler's departure from Turkey (the Kanzler Fotoğrafhanesi studio was left to employees he previously worked with).¹³⁵⁵ This continued until his decision to move to the United States, the preparation for which prompted Kanzler to sell his paintings in the window of the Berrak store in 1945, either because he was unable to take all of his possessions with him or required additional funds.¹³⁵⁶ It's possible that Jules Kanzler's photography business experienced a decline in the 1940s due to the unfavourable political, economic and social conditions in Turkey. In January 1946, at the age of 59, Kanzler and his Batumi-born wife Klara Poplowitch travelled to the United States to stay with his brother Alexander Kanzler and his wife Linaila [Zinaida], who had moved to San Francisco from Shanghai.¹³⁵⁷ Kanzler settled in California, reopened his photo studio, and focused on wedding portraits, children's portraits and graduation photos for a considerable period of time before passing away in 1975 as a US citizen.¹³⁵⁸ Despite his move to the US, Kanzler maintained connections with the Turkish community, as evidenced by his attendance at a reception in honour of the Turkish politician Celal Bayar's birthday in Los Angeles.¹³⁵⁹ It is difficult to believe that Kanzler, a talented and conscientious photographer, did not leave any photo archives. Possibly such archives do exist, having ended up in one of the attics in California or Mumbai, where his

¹³⁵³ Evren, B., and I. Evren, 'İstanbul'un Beyaz Rus Fotoğrafçısı: Jules Kanzler (İzzet Kaya Kanzler)', pp. 39–40; *Servetifunun (Uyanış) Dergisi* (no. 1705, 1929, p.1, p. 20).

¹³⁵⁴ Evren, B., and I. Evren, 'İstanbul'un Beyaz Rus Fotoğrafçısı: Jules Kanzler (İzzet Kaya Kanzler)', p. 42; Anonymous. 'Jules Kanzler' *Akşam*, 25 February 1932, n.p.; Anonymous. 'Müjde!' *Cumhuriyet*, 24 March 1942, p. 4;

¹³⁵⁵ Ak, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Fotoğrafı 1923–1960*, p. 100; Evren, B., and I. Evren, 'İstanbul'un Beyaz Rus Fotoğrafçısı: Jules Kanzler (İzzet Kaya Kanzler)', p. 45.

¹³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹³⁵⁷ Anonymous. 'Alexander Kanzler in the 1940 United States Federal Census.' *ancestry.com*, <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/71412543:2442>. Accessed 5 July 2023.

¹³⁵⁸ According to Debra Peterson, Archival Collections Specialist of the San Mateo County Historical Association, Jules Kanzler first shows up in 1947 Burlingame/San Mateo Directory as, 'Jules Kanzler (Clara) photog h 347 N Ellsworth, S. M.' The last entry for him is in the 1954 Directory with the same home address. According to the San Mateo Times, he had a portrait studio in room 200 of the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in 1946. The studio moved to 1203 Howard Street in Burlingame in 1947 and then moved again to 1209 Burlingame Ave. in 1948.

¹³⁵⁹ Anonymous. 'Turkish President Meets 500 at Civic Reception.' *The Los Angeles Times*, 10 February 1954, p. 14.

daughter Paulette Henefeld, born in Paris in 1910 from another relationship, lived.¹³⁶⁰ When and if found, Kanzler's archives may shed more light on his relationship with Constantinople/Istanbul as a photographer.

5.3.3 *Émigré photographer Vladimir Zender (1885–1944)*

Although we have some information on Jules Kanzler's life, we have very little knowledge about his relationship with Istanbul. In the case of Vladimir Zender, the situation is the opposite, since we know almost nothing about him personally, except that he is referred to as a 'painter-photographer', which suggests that he received some artistic education while in the former Russian Empire. In a photograph published in the almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, Zender is captured as a confident and attractive young man dressed in a suit.¹³⁶¹ One can also see a photo of Zender wearing a hat and working with orientalist Nikolai Mikhailoff on the study of Byzantine art in the same almanac.¹³⁶² Among emigrants and foreigners in the city, Zender was renowned for his dedicated research on Byzantine monuments in Istanbul between 1921 and 1927, perhaps based on experience acquired in the former Russian Empire. In addition to such work, Zender also owned a photo studio that changed premises but was always located in the Pera/Beyoğlu district. Although the studio was not on the main street of Grand Rue de Péra but on the parallel Kabristan Street 147 (now known as Meşrutiyet Street), it was strategically positioned near embassies, top hotels and one of the city's main theatres.¹³⁶³ In addition to selling photographic equipment, in the first few years after opening the studio, Zender also took photographs of Russian-speaking refugees arriving in Istanbul.¹³⁶⁴ Although it is uncertain whether he did so at the request of the magazine *Put'*, where they were published, or on his own initiative. Like Lewis Hine's photographs in the United States, Zender's images provided a glimpse into the appearance and behaviour of emigrants upon their arrival.¹³⁶⁵ However, while Hine's photos were mainly taken at the point of entry on Ellis Island, New York, Zender captured his images directly on the steamers and ships that carried refugees to Istanbul.¹³⁶⁶ This was because there was no intermediate location where the refugees would have spent a considerable amount of time waiting for permission to enter. Somewhat

¹³⁶⁰ According to the Declaration of Intention signed by Jules Kanzler aka Izzet Kaya Kanzler, 24 July 1946, U.S. Department of Justice Immigration and Naturalization Service.

¹³⁶¹ Bournakine, editor, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹³⁶² Ibid.

¹³⁶³ Ibid.; Evren, Irmak, and Burçak Evren. 'Istanbul'daki Beyaz Rus Fotoğraf Sanatçısı Wladimir von Sender (Velidemir Sender).' *Müteferrika*, Winter 2021/2, no. 60, p. 141.

¹³⁶⁴ Ibid.; *Put'*, no. 1, 1924, p. 7; *Put'*, no. 2, 1924, p. 11.

¹³⁶⁵ Bate, David. 'The Figure of Migration.' *Contact Zones. Photography, Migration, and Cultural Encounters in the United States*, edited by Justin Carville and Sigrid Lien, 2021, p. 31.

¹³⁶⁶ Ibid.

surprisingly, one of the photographs from the magazine *Put* was later printed as a postcard without the refugees' consent, which today most likely would raise ethical concerns.¹³⁶⁷ This suggests that Zender considered his photographs to be more than just a record of reality and viewed them as art objects, calling to mind Allan Sekula's criticism of Alfred Stieglitz's artistic approach to images of immigrants in his photograph 'The Steerage' (1907).¹³⁶⁸

Although Zender resided and worked on Meşrutiyet Street (the Zender family lived in Frederici Pasajı, which no longer exists), during the latter half of the 1920s, he frequently visited the historical part of the city to survey and take photographs of Byzantine monuments, including the Chora Church/Kariye Mosque and Hagia Irene Church, among others. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that he accompanied Soviet Byzantine researchers Brunov and Alpatov in 1924 to explore the Byzantine monuments in the city (as he later translated some of Alpatov's articles¹³⁶⁹). The outcome of his visits to the Byzantine sites were publications called 'Byzantina', which were issued in manuscript form.¹³⁷⁰ It's interesting to note that the first person to praise these manuscripts was a Soviet writer, Pyotr Pavlenko, who was in Turkey in the second half of the 1920s and wrote, 'The marvellous magazine *Vizantina* is published (or more accurately, printed on a rotary press) by a Catholic monk from Kadıköy. Its contributors include several Englishmen and an unemployed Russian photographer.'¹³⁷¹ The reference to the Catholic publisher most likely meant the French (with a few exceptions) Catholic priests from the Institute of Byzantine Studies in Kadıköy, who worked with Zender and Mikhailoff and released the *Échos d'Orient* magazine, which later became the *Revue des Études Byzantines*.¹³⁷² It appears as though he intentionally minimised Zender's contribution to the manuscript, likely because praise for an émigré could have been out of place in the Soviet Union. A journalist from the Russian newspaper *Radio*, which was published in Istanbul, provided a more accurate description; in a piece published in the winter of 1927, he stated that the artist-photographer Vladimir Zender was the publisher of the *Byzantina* and that Zender worked diligently ('sparing

¹³⁶⁷ W. Sender, Konstaninopel, 'Göçmen kadınlar ve çocukları - Immigrant women and their children', no date (AFDIVH195, Miscellaneous, SALT Araştırma - SALT Research, Istanbul).

¹³⁶⁸ Bate, 'The Figure of Migration', pp. 37–41.

¹³⁶⁹ Vzdornov, 'Russkiye hudozhniki i vizantijskaya starina v Konstantinopole', p. 32. In his article, Vzdornov mistakenly refers to Vladimir Zender as Valentina Zander. However, the description of Zender's work in the article leaves no room for doubt that Vzdornov intended to refer to Vladimir Zender.

¹³⁷⁰ Some of the manuscripts from the *Byzantina* series (1925-1930) are owned by the Bosphorus University's Library in Istanbul.

¹³⁷¹ Pavlenko, *Stambul i Turciya (1927)*, p. 20; For more information about Pyotr Pavlenko and Constantinople: Altynbaeva, Gul'nara. 'Russian Istanbul in the P. Pavlenko's "Istanbul and Turkey".' *Balkanistik Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, June 2019, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 27–38.

¹³⁷² Delouis, Olivier. 'From Catholic Priests to Pioneering Scholars: The Institute of Byzantine Studies in Kadıköy (Istanbul) and French Diplomacy (1895–1929).' *Discovering Byzantium in Istanbul: Scholars, Institutions, and Challenges (1800–1955)*, Pera Museum-Symposium, Istanbul Research Institute, November 2017, p. 39.

no labour and material costs'¹³⁷³) to capture ancient Byzantine art that was at risk of disappearing due to time and neglect. According to the editors of the *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, in the late 1920s, these manuscripts were subscribed to by European and American universities, as well as museums and archaeological institutes.¹³⁷⁴ It can be assumed that the Soviet scientists started to be interested in them in the late 1980s–early 1990s, when they acquired a catalogue of the library of an American collector named Paul M. Fekula, which contained some of the issues of the *Byzantina*.¹³⁷⁵ That is how Semavi Eyice commented on the Zender's research:

Foto Sender [Zender] was taking photographs of newly built facilities in the early years of the Republic and, at the same time, capturing the old artifacts of Istanbul. Later, he would bind them together with typed texts. He created a thick collection of Byzantine and Turkish monuments in this way. Foto Sender sold these albums to European and American libraries at high prices. The complete set of these volumes was also available in his store. I had seen them.¹³⁷⁶

After conducting a search, I was able to locate eight manuscripts from the *Byzantina* series at Bosphorus University (formerly the American Robert College, which had a close relationship with Russian-speaking emigrants in the 1920s).¹³⁷⁷ The manuscripts I worked with were published between 1925 and 1930, and each consists of A4-sized pages with 20 to 32 photographs of Byzantine historical monuments. They also feature academic texts, designed to be comprehensible to the general public, that were typed using a typewriter. Additionally, some of the manuscripts contain copies of images from other sources, such as a map of Constantinople from Venetian and Vatican manuscripts, as well as the 'Column of Arcadius General View' in 1610, reproduced from Sandys, and others. The texts in the manuscripts were written by such individuals as Mikhailoff, David Lathoud (editor of *Échos D'Orient*) and Vitalien Laurent (Director of the *Échos D'Orient*); prefaces were written by Sévérien Salaville (indicated as a member of the late Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople). Articles in all the manuscripts were devoted to the remarkable remnants of Byzantine antiquity in the city, as their titles attest: The Ancient Maps of Constantinople, The Main Street of Ancient

¹³⁷³ Zelinskiy, V. 'Vizantina.' *Radio*, 11 January 1927, n.p.

¹³⁷⁴ Bournakine, editor, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹³⁷⁵ 'The Paul M. Fekula Collection. A. Catalogue, vol. II. Published by the Estate of Paul M. Fekula. New York, 1988, p. 292, no. 6666'. Source: Vzdornov, 'Russkiye hudozhniki i vizantijskaya starina v Konstantinopole', p. 32.

¹³⁷⁶ Eyice, Semavi. *Semavi Eyice ile İstanbul'a Dair*. Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş., 2013, p. 144.

¹³⁷⁷ According to Russian Historian and Byzantinist Sergey Ivanov, other issues from the series 'Byzantina' are located in the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies and the Library of Congress.

Byzantium, Prince Oleg's Shield, The Church of St. Sophia, The Chora Church, The Church of the Twelve Apostles, The Influence of Byzantium on the Renaissance (revival of arts), The Church of St. John Baptist, The Princes Islands, The Byzantine Chant and its Influence on the Russian-Orthodox Choir Service, Iconoclasm, The Slavonians in Kellas, The Church of S. Sergius and S. Bacchus, The Hippodrome, The Hebdomon, and others. The series itself was named after the Byzantina series by Dmitriy Belaieff (1846–1901).¹³⁷⁸

Regrettably, the manuscripts I worked with was readily accessible at the Bosphorus University library, meaning that anyone who picked it up could remove the photos without difficulty, which is precisely what unknown people had done. As a result, they no longer retained its original appearance and contents. Nonetheless, based on the images visible in the manuscripts, it seems that while working on the Byzantine, Zender photographed mainly from pedestrian eye level many of the Byzantine sites in the city, such as the Column of Constantine, the Column of Theodosius, the Pammakaristos Church, the Monastery of the Pantokrator, and others. All of them have the same size and format, which were suitable for the albums and probably also easy to duplicate. His eye for hidden details (Saint John the Baptist of Studium/Fragments of the Mosaic Floor Ornament with a Stylised Animal in the Southern Part of the Floor; Peacock mosaic in the Chora Church) reveals his profound knowledge of his subject matter.¹³⁷⁹ Some of his work includes multiple viewpoints of the monuments, from a distant view to a focus on details, as for the Hagia Sophia (view from the North-West, view from the East, pylons at the entrance, southern entrance, capital of a column), Kariye Mosque (frescoes, mosaics, exterior) and the Church of Sergius and Bacchus (general views, interiors). Since the images were prepared for scholarly manuscripts (even if they were made available to the general public) and were thus supposed to be informative, only a few of them exhibit any personal touches, either because the photographs included some surroundings (The Church of St. John Baptist of the Studium, The Iconic Columns and the Entablement with Ornaments; one of the photos of the Kariye Mosque with the city in the background) or because tiny figures of

¹³⁷⁸ Belaieff, Dmitriy. *Byzantina. Obzor glavnyh chastej Bol'shogo dvorca vizantijskih tsarej*. SPb.: Tipografiya Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk, 1891; Belaieff, Dmitriy. *Byzantina. Ezhednevnye i voskresnye priyomy vizantijskih tsarej i prazdnichnye vyhody ih v hram sv. Sofii v IX-X v.* SPb.: Tipografiya I. N. Skorohodova, 1893; Belaieff, Dmitriy. *Byzantina. Bogomol'nye vyhody vizantijskih tsarej v gorodskie i prigorodnye hramy Konstantinopolya*. SPb.: Tipografiya I. N. Skorohodova, 1906.

¹³⁷⁹ *Byzantina*. Important Antiquities of Constantinople described by N. Mikhailoff and Illustrated by Photographs taken by W. Sender. Manuscript No. 3 (with 33 illustrations), May 1925, Constantinople; *Byzantina*. Important Antiquities of Constantinople described by N. Mikhailoff and Illustrated by Photographs taken by W. Sender. Manuscript No. 9, Constantinople.

people can be seen in them (General View of the Hippodrome).¹³⁸⁰ Nevertheless, they offer little ‘beyond a simple documentation of the buildings’¹³⁸¹. Their most important feature is how Zender’s images – like later work by another Russian émigré, Nicholas V. Artamonoff – convey important information about the monuments of that time, many of which now look different, because of inappropriate restoration or decay.¹³⁸² In this sense his photographs in the albums/scrapbooks entitled ‘Souvenir’ or ‘Souvenir de Constantinople’ now in the SALT Archives (each of which contains images of the Hagia Sophia, Rüstem Paşa Mosque, Tiles of Takkeci İbrahim Ağa Mosque, Süleymaniye Mosque, Sultanahmet Mosque) are also very precious.¹³⁸³ However, there is no specific information about the years in which they were produced.

Vladimir Zender, along with his wife Nata and son Ismail, obtained Turkish citizenship in 1932.¹³⁸⁴ He changed his name to Veli Demir Sender, which sounded similar to his original name, and renamed his studio Foto Sender.¹³⁸⁵ It seems that he converted to Islam, as he was later buried in a Muslim cemetery.¹³⁸⁶ Although not everything went smoothly, such as when photographs from his series *Époque de l’ancien Empire ottoman*, printed by the Zeliç printing house, were banned in 1937, Zender participated in numerous projects, including creating portraits of Atatürk and İnönü and working in cities such as Ankara, Bursa and Kayseri.¹³⁸⁷ In Istanbul, he mainly created postcards for tourists (for instance, the black-and-white photo of Rumeli Fortress in the SALT Archive), known as *fotokart*, which were photographs printed on postcard-sized paper and signed by the photographer under the image or on the reverse side.¹³⁸⁸ Othmar Pferschy (1898–1984) was well known for making such postcards, including one of the last prayer in the Hagia Sophia Cathedral in 1934, performed before it became a museum.¹³⁸⁹ The photographs taken by Zender for these types of postcards seem like a logical continuation

¹³⁸⁰ Ibid.; *Byzantina*. Important Antiquities of Constantinople described by N. Mikhailoff and Illustrated by Photographs taken by W. Sender. Manuscript No. 2 (with 32 illustrations), April 1925, Constantinople.

¹³⁸¹ Varinlioğlu, *Artamonoff. Bizans İstanbul’u İmgeleri*, pp. 54–55.

¹³⁸² See: Varinlioğlu, *Artamonoff. Bizans İstanbul’u İmgeleri*.

¹³⁸³ ‘Ayasofya’nın fotoğrafları’, Foto Sender (SALT Araştırma, AHISTSULT236); ‘Rüstem Paşa Camii’nin fotoğrafları’, Foto Sender (SALT Araştırma, AHISTEMIN103); ‘Takkeci İbrahim Ağa Camii’nin çinileri’, Foto Sender (SALT Araştırma, AHISTFAT1076); ‘Süleymaniye Camii’nin fotoğrafları’, Foto Sender (SALT Araştırma, AHISTSULE052); ‘Sultan Ahmet Camii’nin fotoğrafları’, Foto Sender (SALT Araştırma, AHISTSULT237).

¹³⁸⁴ Evren, I., and B. Evren. ‘İstanbul’daki Beyaz Rus Fotoğraf Sanatçısı Wladimir von Sender’, p. 142.

¹³⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 144.

¹³⁸⁷ Dayıoğlu, ‘Kent Fotoğrafçılığında Bir Özne: Foto Sender.’ *saltonline.org*, <https://saltonline.org/en/2517/kent-fotografciliginda-bir-ozne-foto-sender>. Accessed 14 July 2023.

¹³⁸⁸ ‘Rumelihisarı’, Foto Sender İstanbul, (SALT Araştırma, SRBH0188); Ak, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Fotoğrafı 1923–1960*, p. 43.

¹³⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 45.

of his photographs of Byzantine monuments – they are still informative, but he allowed himself much more personal expression in them (for instance, a postcard with the Eyüp cemetery and a view of the Golden Horn, taken from an unusual and intimate angle).¹³⁹⁰ Compared to works by other photographers of the time, many of them resemble the postcards of Rahmizade Behaeddin Bediz (1875–1951), who was very interested in photographs of archaeological excavations, and some postcards of Othmar Pferschy, whose exhibition titled ‘Türkiye, Güzellik, Tarih ve İş Memleketi’ [Turkey, Beauty, History and Home of Business], took place in Ankara in 1936.¹³⁹¹ The fact that Zender’s photographs of newly constructed residential buildings and apartments were published in the Turkish magazine *Arkitekt*, which was actively worked on by German-speaking emigrants at the time, speaks to the high quality of his work.¹³⁹² Later, an obituary for Zender would be published in the magazine, and there he would be referred to as ‘The painter and artist who has been taking photographs for our magazine for years’.¹³⁹³ It is also known that in the 1930s, he produced albums on commission: for instance, the album of İnşaat İdare-i Fenniyesi [Bureau Technique de. Constructions Civiles], İstanbul–Ankara (1933), or that of İstanbul İmar Faaliyetleri [Istanbul City Planning/Reconstruction Activities].¹³⁹⁴

During the late 1920s, İstanbul’s society underwent several changes and hosted various cultural and sporting events aligned with republican values. However, it seems that either Zender was not interested in these events or that photos on these topics did not survive. From the projects that Zender worked on during this time, it appears that his main interest lay in architecture, such as Byzantine churches and Ottoman mosques (later factories, modern apartments and others). Zender’s photographs were informative and (unlike those of Selahattin Giz) did not lend themselves to any narrative, with the exception, perhaps, of a series of photographs dedicated to the frozen Bosphorus in the cold winter of 1928 and a few newly

¹³⁹⁰ Anonymous. ‘Eyüp Mezarlık Editör Fotoğraf Wladimir von Sender Foto Sender.’ *bitmezat.com*, <https://www.bitmezat.com/urun/4568867/eyup-mezarlik-editor-fotograf-wladimir-von-sender-foto-sender>. Accessed 14 July 2023.

¹³⁹¹ Ak, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Fotoğrafı 1923–1960*, p. 80; pp. 227–228.

¹³⁹² Dogramaci, Burcu. ‘Arkitekt.’ *METROMOD Archive*, 2021, <https://archive.metromod.net/viewer.p/69/2949/object/5140-10801463>, last modified: 20-06-2021; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1933-09-10 (33-34), p. 267; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1935-07-08 (55-56), p. 207; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1935-11-12 (59-60), p. 311; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1936-05-06 (65-66), p. 129; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1936-08 (68), p. 211; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1937-07 (79), p. 177; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1937-08 (80), p. 207; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1938-02 (86), p. 33; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1938-09 (93), p. 243; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1943-03-04 (135-136), p. 54; *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1943-11-12 (143-144), p. 241.

¹³⁹³ *Arkitekt*, Sayı: 1944-05-06 (149-150), p. 143.

¹³⁹⁴ ‘Mehmet Galip, Feşci Zade İbrahim Galip ve Erzurumlu Nafiz (Kotan) Bey’in Ankara, İstanbul, Bursa ve Eskişehir’de gerçekleştirdiği inşaatların Fenni İdare Heyeti tarafından düzenlenmiş 1933 tarihli prestij albümü’, Foto Sender (SALT Araştırma, AHANKA184); ‘İstanbul imar faaliyetleri albümü’, Foto.: W. Sender (Alb_000611, İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı).

discovered photographs of the city, which were studied by Dilara Ulu in Athens.¹³⁹⁵ This may have been due to Zender's personal interest in architecture and his desire to participate only in profitable projects, which could be linked to his experience as an emigrant who had lost everything and had to start from scratch. Vladimir Zender passed away from a heart attack in 1944 at the age of 59 and was laid to rest in the Feriköy Muslim cemetery.¹³⁹⁶ His son, Ismail Demir, continued to run the photo studio until it was destroyed in the unrest that followed the tragic events of 6–7 September in 1955.¹³⁹⁷ The Zender family then moved to Canada.¹³⁹⁸ Fortunately, some of Zender's photographs have survived and can be viewed in Turkish and Greek archives, as well as at auctions.¹³⁹⁹

5.4 Conclusion IV

Given the scarcity of information on Russian-speaking émigré photographers (many of whom initially were painters) and their activities in Istanbul, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions. However, based on the examples of Jules Kanzler and Vladimir Zender, it seems that photo studios provided a decent source of income for some of the emigrants in Istanbul. At a later time, both photographers adapted to the changing times and tried innovative projects: Kanzler sold photographs to event visitors, while Zender photographed newly built factories and residential buildings for government commissions and magazines. Like the émigré painters Vladimir Petrov and Nikolai Saraphanoff, they also captured the city's ancient monuments, perhaps driven by the demand for tourist postcards. However, Zender's 'Byzantine' photographs may have had a different motivation. Together with his collaborator Nikolai Mikhailoff, they (like the painter Dimitri Ismailovitch) possibly felt a connection to Istanbul's Byzantine monuments as a link between Constantinople and Russia's past, and sought to preserve them through their intellectual and artistic endeavours. From a preservation perspective, their concerns regarding the Byzantine monuments were justified. Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic, Istanbul began to take on a modern look, sparking

¹³⁹⁵ 'İstanbul'da kış. Boğaziçi'nin donması', Foto.: W. Sender, 1928 (Krt_015358, İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı); Ak, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Fotoğrafı 1923–1960*, p. 160; Dilara Ulu's Master's thesis in Turkish entitled 'From Vladimir Zender to Veli Demir Sender: an Immigrant Photographer of the City and Architecture in the Early Republican Period' was defended in March 2024.

¹³⁹⁶ Evren, I., and B. Evren. 'İstanbul'daki Beyaz Rus Fotoğraf Sanatçısı Wladimir von Sender', p. 144.

¹³⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 146.

¹³⁹⁹ According to the National Library of Greece, small collections of Sender's photographs of Byzantine monuments can be found at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice (Fondo Sergio Bettini) and the Barber Institute of Fine Arts at the University of Birmingham (Talbot Rice Archive).

debates over the preservation of Byzantine versus Ottoman heritage and the potential destruction of each.¹⁴⁰⁰

As for the émigré artists, it is evident that each of them had his/her own vision of the city, with some interested in Byzantine legacy, others in Muslim monuments, and still others in the bustling life of Galata. Perhaps for this reason the cover of the émigré farewell almanac *Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, produced by Nikolai Saraphanoff, included examples of all of these visions: the Hagia Sophia, Byzantine landmarks in the city, presumably the Sultanahmet Mosque and Eyüp, as well as the Galata Tower (see Figure 22).¹⁴⁰¹ The cover of the almanac presents a unique collage of various black and white (possibly originally coloured) artworks by the artist, combined with diverse ornaments, including Turkish botanical and Islamic geometric motifs. Most of the pieces depict the architectural heritage of Constantinople in a rather schematic manner. The abundance of lines, including wavy ones, gives a sense of movement, as if conveying the idea that time passed quickly for the émigré artists in Istanbul. Yet their “flight” doesn’t end in the city on the Bosphorus; they have to sail onward to other cities and countries. This is why, at the centre of the cover, just below the book’s title, written in Russian and French, there is an image of a ship sailing swiftly across the sea next to the year 1927. This symbolises the imminent departure of many émigrés from the city that once welcomed them.

In my opinion, the impact of the exile on creative production was mainly manifested in the incorporation of new elements, such as Turkish ornaments and calligraphic elements. However, this is only an assumption, as the majority of pre-revolutionary works have not been preserved. The predominant focus on the past by émigré artists, as opposed to the photographers who dealt with both past and present, can be attributed to a combination of their revolution/war trauma, which led them to seek solace in the grandeur of history, and the market demand for postcard-like representations of the city’s past, ‘an appealing souvenir that would evoke a romantic and nostalgic longing for the past’ with a strong connection to the ‘old Orient’.¹⁴⁰² Yet, the focus on the past by certain émigré artists can be also explained by a sense of belonging through the city’s Byzantine monuments, which they saw as a bridge between Constantinople and the former Russian Empire.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Açıkgöz, Ümit Fırat. ‘On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation in Early Republican Istanbul (1923-1950).’ *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 1:1:2 (2014), pp. 167–185.

¹⁴⁰¹ Bournakine, editor, *Russkiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore*, n.p.

¹⁴⁰² Lundström, Marie-Sofie. ‘In and Out of the Frame: Finnish Painters Discovering Tunisia.’ *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers, Culture and Civilization in the Middle East*, edited by Mohammad Gharipour and Nilay Özlü, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015, pp. 208–233.

6 CONCLUSION

As has been discussed, the main place of residence and work for émigré painters, sculptors, and photographers from the former Russian Empire in 1920s Constantinople was the district of Pera (now known as Beyoğlu). In most cases, it was in this district that émigrés preferred to live due to the fact that it was home to important institutions and other locations such as embassies and consulates, hotels, post offices, churches, and organizations assisting refugees, as well as numerous institutions and establishments opened by their compatriots, including various dining places. Additionally, living in Pera was important for émigrés in terms of proximity to work since many of them were employed in the district. Many of the émigré artists worked in iconic establishments in Pera, including theatres, restaurants, and clubs. It was in these places that artists left their mark, or imprint, on the city through the murals they created in the establishments. Furthermore, the studio of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople was in close proximity to the Grand Rue de Pera (now known as İstiklal Avenue), and exhibitions by the Union and its members were held along the entire length of the Grand Rue de Pera, starting from the Mayak and the Taksim Military Barracks and ending at one of the branches of the YMCA and the finest hotels in the Tünel area. The cosmopolitan district of Pera, favoured by the representatives of the Allied forces and their “circle” in the city at the time, became a place where émigré artists of any artistic movement—whether it be realism, impressionism, symbolism, or cubo-futurism—found a way to use their talents, earned a living, and expanded their networks through the spaces of sociability in the district where interactions and exchanges between émigrés, locals, and tourists took place. It is evident that at the time, no other district in the city would have provided these artists with such opportunities.

However, as evidenced by the majority of artworks produced by the émigré artists in the city at the time, their fascination was mainly directed towards the Galata district, known for its vibrant street scenes, as well as the historical peninsula, the home to Byzantine and Ottoman legacies in opposition to the otherwise ‘European’ architecture of Pera. Being unique and distinct from the districts of major cities in the former Russian Empire where many of the émigré artists had studied and/or worked, Galata and the historical peninsula stirred their imaginations. They looked for inspiration in these places and captured them in their artworks, whether through paintings or photographs. The lectures discussed in the dissertation, along with walking tours arranged for and by the émigrés, unquestionably intensified their fascination with these unique parts of the city. Subsequently, all of this was reflected in the works of artists, some of whom created theatrical sketches based on the colourful street characters they

encountered in Galata, while others incorporated Ottoman ornaments or calligraphy in their works or simply depicted/photographed the local landmarks. The historical peninsula, however, held a special significance for many of them, not only due to its exotic nature and the lack of negative associations (unlike Pera, where refugees struggled to survive), but also because of the presence of ancient Byzantine monuments with their mosaics and frescoes which gave the émigré artists a profound sense of belonging to the city, as they, like other Russian-speaking emigrants, felt both cultural connections from the historical interactions between Byzantium and Russia as well as spiritual ties associated with Orthodox Christianity. This found expression in the artistic endeavours of both émigré painters and photographers during the period. Furthermore, individuals such as Dimitri Ismailovitch, who extensively engaged in copying frescoes and mosaics in Constantinople, and later gained recognition from local journalists in Rio de Janeiro for his portraits that distinctly reflected Byzantine influences, experienced the influence of the city throughout their lives.

Throughout the course of my research, one of my most notable discoveries was that Americans offered substantial assistance to émigré artists in Constantinople during the 1920s. While there is evidence that local elites, both Muslim Turks and Christian Levantines, as well as representatives of the Allied forces and the general foreign population in the occupied city also assisted the artists, the level of support from Americans was incomparable. They offered financial aid, purchased the artists' works, became regular and generous patrons of émigré-owned restaurants and clubs, and even helped artists with US visa processes. This close support can be attributed primarily to the favourable economic conditions in the United States at the time and a genuine curiosity about the culture of the newly collapsed Russian Empire fuelled by tourism, business and diplomatic relations with pre-revolutionary Russia. Another advantage was that American tastes and interests in Constantinople largely aligned with those of the émigré artists, minimizing the need for artistic adaptations to suit them as clients. The second significant unveiling was that many émigré artists managed to sustain themselves by being members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, which encompassed not only Russians and Ukrainians but also Jews of various nationalities, Karaites, Poles, Georgians, and Armenians. Firstly, collaborating with their colleagues helped the artists overcome the stresses of displacement and fostered belief in their own abilities through mutual moral support. Secondly, the exhibitions organized by the Union in Constantinople increased their visibility and offered them (or at least some of them) a chance to achieve financial success through their works. Perhaps that is why their artworks, in general, had an overall air of brightness and

optimism, rather than being swallowed up by the darkness and negative emotions experienced by displaced individuals.

The main point of my research, however, is that Constantinople/Istanbul, as an attractive metropolis that offered opportunities for refugees, has been underestimated and overlooked as an important artistic hub for Russian-speaking émigrés. In my opinion, the city deserves recognition beyond being considered a mere “transit point”. Previously, this viewpoint may have been valid because of the scarcity of accessible information regarding the subject. The present is not the past, though, and the situation has since transformed as a result of the unearthing of various private and public archives, including those that I personally discovered while conducting research for this dissertation. While making comparisons between Constantinople and renowned artistic centres for Russian-speaking émigrés, such as Berlin or Paris, certain contemporary scholars still acknowledge the relatively smaller scale of cultural contribution by Russian speakers in the city. However, they fail to back up this observation with explicit justifications. Their reference may be to the duration of artists’ sojourns in the city, as they typically spanned from one to seven years (excluding those who permanently settled in Constantinople). Despite this relatively brief period, however, artists such as Dimitri Ismailovitch achieved remarkable accomplishments within seven years. Likewise, Alexis Gritchenko, who resided in Constantinople for two years, and Nikolai Becker, who stayed for approximately three years, made noteworthy contributions. Overall, Russian-speaking émigré artists accomplished a great deal despite the enormous material challenges they encountered and the limited artistic opportunities in the city at the time. Émigré entrepreneurs and artists in Constantinople from the former Russian Empire established entertainment venues comparable to those found in Paris and Vienna at the time. The success of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, which united over sixty émigré artists at one stage, deserves special attention. Whether similar ‘Russian’ unions of artists in European cities achieved something comparable in their undertakings as collectives remains an unanswered question that necessitates further examination by researchers. Apart from that, not only were the émigré artists involved in various artistic activities in the city, but they were also constantly inspired by Constantinople, which was reflected in their works both during their stay and after they moved on to other cities and countries.

With this in mind, as more private archives become accessible and previously undiscovered ones are found, I anticipate that the topic will be the subject of more extensive exploration in the future. I hope, for instance, that there will be more visual material that will

allow researchers to trace transformations by comparing works created by the émigré artists in the former Russian Empire and in Constantinople, as well as works created by them just before and after the establishment of the Turkish Republic (for now, I would say that this particular transition did not happen immediately and can be seen much more clearly by the very end of the 1920s rather than in 1923–1927). Continuous research of the topic is also crucial in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the lives and artistic endeavours of these émigré artists including relatively unknown ones as they are often neglected and forgotten. Unfortunately, their brief stays in the city, along with other factors, has led Constantinople/Istanbul to generally be overlooked in their biographies. In addition, I hope for a deeper exploration of the interaction between local artists/photographers and émigré artists from the former Russian Empire, as our knowledge about both groups is still insufficient. Apart from the works of Alexis Gritchenko and Ibrahim Çallı, these relationships have yet to receive more than limited attention in the literature covering Ottoman and Turkish painting in the early 20th century.

It is astonishing that despite Constantinople's significance as a major city receiving Russian-speaking émigrés and a prominent artistic hub in the 1920s, there are hardly any remaining traces of these artists' presence in the city today. The Mayak, Taksim Military Barracks, and Theatre des Petits Champs, for instance, were demolished, with only the Narmanlı Han (although its appearance has undergone a dramatic change following the restoration work), the Maxim Club (now a hotel with only its façade reminiscent of its past) and the Pera Palace Hotel surviving. The few remnants that have survived primarily exist in the form of wall paintings, such as those by Nikolai Peroff in the Andreevskaya Church (Turkish: Aya Andrea Rus Kilisesi) in Karaköy, those by Nikolai Kalmykoff at the Süreyya Opera in Kadıköy, and those by Lev Kar at the Bozlu Art Project housed in the Giulio Mongeri building in Şişli, among others. Despite the recognized value of the wall paintings, many are disappearing due to building renovations or alterations made with changes in ownership of the structures.¹⁴⁰³ These losses can be attributed primarily to the rapid transformations that a massive metropolis like Istanbul (with an estimated official population of around 16 million) has been undergoing for years. It is highly likely that such rapid urban changes, coupled with natural disasters (e.g., earthquakes), were feared by some of the émigré artists, including painter Dimitri Ismailovitch and photographer Vladimir Zender. Both artists meticulously depicted and photographed the ancient Byzantine monuments, frescoes, and mosaics in the city to ensure their easy reproduction in case of any unforeseen calamity. Unfortunately, with Hagia Sophia

¹⁴⁰³ Further information on the matter: Bayar, Güven. *Resimli İstanbul Apartmanları*. İBB Yayınları, 2023.

having been reconverted into a mosque and no longer functioning as a museum, the Chora Church museum having recently been reconverted to a mosque, and numerous other Byzantine monuments falling victim to substandard restorations, the concerns expressed by Russian-speaking émigré artists about the fate of the cultural treasures in the city have become even more relevant.

I worked on my dissertation during a significant period that marked the hundredth anniversary of the exodus from the former Russian Empire and the occupation of Constantinople. This time has seen noteworthy events commemorating the anniversaries take place in both Russia and Turkey. One exhibition held in Moscow, called ‘Russian Constantinople’, featured a collection of Alexandre Vassiliev. Around the same time, a memorable exhibition took place in Istanbul, which featured the works of Ukrainian artist Alexis Gritchenko which are currently held in collections in various countries. I also had the privilege of working as a consultant for an exhibition, titled ‘Occupied City/ Meşgul Şehir’, which was dedicated to the period of occupation of Constantinople (1918–1923).¹⁴⁰⁴ As the centenary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey approaches, new exhibitions are being held with a strong focus on the cultural life of the city during this period. One of them is dedicated to the progressive painter and sculptor Melek Celâl, and I am glad that numerous exhibits (some of them were brought to Istanbul from Italy by Luigi Capello) related to her close friend, the émigré sculptor and painter from the former Russian Empire, Roman Bilinski, are presented.¹⁴⁰⁵ The relevance of my research also extends to the realm of literature. Turkey has witnessed the emergence of several new books on the subject of Russian-speaking émigrés in Constantinople and the presence of Russian-speaking émigré artists in the city, and I personally had the opportunity to provide guidance to a renowned European writer (whose identity cannot be revealed) on the subject.¹⁴⁰⁶ My work also holds an unfortunate significance within the context of the ongoing flight from Ukraine and Russia. Many individuals from both countries, including artists, have sought refuge in Istanbul. Interestingly, a significant number of them have chosen to settle in the district of Kadıköy and the Princes’ Islands rather than Pera/Beyoğlu. This preference can be explained by these districts’ reputation as some of the most progressive and open-minded areas in the city, similar to the Pera of the 1920s. As a result, Kadıköy now hosts several artistic communities comprising émigrés and refugees from diverse countries such as

¹⁴⁰⁴ Visit 3D Exhibition: iae.org.tr, <https://www.iae.org.tr/3b-tur/mesgul-sehir/>.

¹⁴⁰⁵ See the exhibition catalogue: *Unutulmuş Bir Cumhuriyet Kadını Bütün Yönleriyle – Melek Celâl*. Istanbul, SSM, 2024.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Gülsoy, Murat. *Ressam Vasıf’ın Gizli Aşklar Tarihi*. Can Yayınları, 2023; Hükümenoğlu, Hikmet. *Harika Bir Hayat*. Can Yayınları, 2023.

Syria, Iran, Iraq, Russia, Ukraine, and others.¹⁴⁰⁷ I believe that my research, which explores the experiences of Russian-speaking émigré artists in Constantinople during one of the first major refugee crises of the 20th century, can, even if only to a limited extent, provide insights into understanding subsequent situations of a similar nature as well as the current ones.

¹⁴⁰⁷ ArthereIstanbul is just one example of such artistic communities/spaces in Kadıköy. Omar Berakdar, the founder of the ArthereIstanbul, introduced it during the panel titled ‘Placemaking/Belonging’. The panel took place as a kick-off for a transnational and transdisciplinary discourse on the occasion of METROMOD’s second book ‘Urban Exile’: Schwarz, Mareike. ‘Urban Exile Panel 2: “Placemaking / Belonging” Recording of 14.01.2021.’ *metromod.net*, <https://metromod.net/2021/04/13/urban-exile-panel-2-placemaking-belonging-recording-of-14-01-2021/>.

7 SCHLUSSFOLGERUNG AUF DEUTSCH

Wie bereits diskutiert wurde, war der Hauptwohnsitz und Arbeitsort für ausgewanderte Maler, Bildhauer und Fotografen aus dem ehemaligen Russischen Reich in den 1920er Jahren in Konstantinopel das Viertel Pera (heute bekannt als Beyoğlu). In den meisten Fällen war es in diesem Viertel, dass die Auswanderer bevorzugt lebten, da es wichtige Institutionen und andere Orte wie Botschaften und Konsulate, Hotels, Postämter, Kirchen und Organisationen zur Unterstützung von Flüchtlingen beherbergte, sowie zahlreiche Einrichtungen und Geschäfte, die von ihren Landsleuten eröffnet wurden, einschließlich verschiedener gastronomischer Einrichtungen. Zusätzlich war das Leben in Pera für die Auswanderer in Bezug auf die Nähe zur Arbeit wichtig, da viele von ihnen in diesem Viertel beschäftigt waren. Viele der ausgewanderten Künstler arbeiteten in ikonischen Einrichtungen in Pera, darunter Theater, Restaurants und Clubs. In diesen Orten hinterließen Künstler ihre Spuren oder prägten die Stadt durch die Wandgemälde, die sie in den Einrichtungen schufen. Darüber hinaus befand sich das Atelier der Union der Russischen Künstler in Konstantinopel in unmittelbarer Nähe zur Grand Rue de Pera (heute bekannt als İstiklal Caddesi), und Ausstellungen der Union und ihrer Mitglieder fanden entlang der gesamten Länge der Grand Rue de Pera statt, beginnend beim Mayak und den Taksim-Militärkasernen und endend bei einer der Zweigstellen der YMCA und den besten Hotels im Tünel-Gebiet. Das kosmopolitische Viertel Pera, das von den Vertretern der Alliierten Streitkräfte und ihrem 'Kreis' in der Stadt zu dieser Zeit bevorzugt wurde, wurde zu einem Ort, an dem ausgewanderte Künstler jeder künstlerischen Richtung - sei es Realismus, Impressionismus, Symbolismus oder Kubo-Futurismus - eine Möglichkeit für ihre Talente fanden, ihren Lebensunterhalt verdienten und ihre Netzwerke durch die Räume der Geselligkeit im Viertel erweiterten, wo Interaktionen und Austausch zwischen Auswanderern, Einheimischen und Touristen stattfanden. Es ist offensichtlich, dass zu dieser Zeit kein anderes Viertel in der Stadt diesen Künstlern solche Möglichkeiten geboten hätte.

Dennoch, wie von der Mehrheit der von den Emigrantenkünstlern zu jener Zeit geschaffenen Kunstwerke demonstriert, war ihre Faszination hauptsächlich auf das Viertel Galata gerichtet, das für seine lebendigen Straßenszenen sowie die historische Halbinsel bekannt war. Diese Halbinsel beherbergte byzantinische und osmanische Erbesstätten im Gegensatz zur ansonsten 'europäischen' Architektur von Pera. Diese beiden Gebiete, Galata und die historische Halbinsel, waren einzigartig und unterschieden sich von den Stadtvierteln der großen Städte im ehemaligen Russischen Reich, in denen viele der Emigrantenkünstler studiert und/oder gearbeitet hatten. Galata und die historische Halbinsel regten ihre

Vorstellungskraft an. Sie suchten nach Inspiration an diesen Orten und hielten sie in ihren Kunstwerken fest, sei es in Form von Gemälden oder Fotografien. Die in der Dissertation behandelten Vorlesungen sowie von und für die Emigranten organisierte Ausflüge verstärkten zweifellos ihre Faszination für diese einzigartigen Teile der Stadt. Folglich spiegelte sich all dies in den Werken der Künstler wider, von denen einige theatralische Skizzen auf der Grundlage der bunten Straßencharaktere erstellten, denen sie in Galata begegneten, während andere osmanische Ornamente oder Kalligrafie in ihre Werke einfügten oder einfach die lokalen Wahrzeichen abbildeten/fotografierten. Die historische Halbinsel hatte jedoch eine besondere Bedeutung für viele von ihnen, nicht nur wegen ihrer exotischen Natur und dem Fehlen negativer Assoziationen (im Gegensatz zu Pera, wo Flüchtlinge ums Überleben kämpften), sondern auch wegen der Anwesenheit alter byzantinischer Monumente mit ihren Mosaiken und Fresken. Diese Monumente vermittelten den Emigrantenkünstlern ein tiefes Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit zur Stadt, da sie - wie andere russischsprachige Emigranten - sowohl kulturelle Verbindungen aufgrund der historischen Interaktionen zwischen Byzanz und Russland als auch spirituelle Bindungen im Zusammenhang mit dem orthodoxen Christentum verspürten. Dies fand in den künstlerischen Bemühungen sowohl der emigrierten Maler als auch der Fotografen während dieser Zeit Ausdruck. Darüber hinaus wurden Einzelpersonen wie Dimitri Ismailovitch, der sich intensiv mit dem Kopieren von Fresken und Mosaiken in Konstantinopel beschäftigte und später von lokalen Journalisten in Rio de Janeiro für seine Porträts anerkannt wurde, die deutlich byzantinische Einflüsse widerspiegelten. Sie erlebten den Einfluss der Stadt während ihres gesamten Lebens.

Im Verlauf meiner Forschung war eine meiner bemerkenswertesten Entdeckungen, dass Amerikaner während der 1920er Jahre erhebliche Unterstützung für emigrierte Künstler in Konstantinopel anboten. Während es Beweise dafür gibt, dass lokale Eliten, sowohl muslimische Türken als auch christliche Levantiner, sowie Vertreter der Alliierten und die allgemeine ausländische Bevölkerung in der besetzten Stadt den Künstlern ebenfalls halfen, war das Maß an Unterstützung von Amerikanern unvergleichlich. Sie boten finanzielle Hilfe an, erwarben die Werke der Künstler, wurden regelmäßige und großzügige Förderer von emigrierten Restaurants und Clubs und halfen sogar den Künstlern bei den US-Visumsprozessen. Diese enge Unterstützung kann hauptsächlich den günstigen wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen in den Vereinigten Staaten zu der Zeit zugeschrieben werden, sowie einer echten Neugierde über die Kultur des gerade zusammengebrochenen Russischen Reiches, genährt durch Tourismus, Geschäftsbeziehungen und diplomatische Verbindungen mit dem vorrevolutionären Russland. Ein weiterer Vorteil war, dass amerikanische Vorlieben und

Interessen in Konstantinopel weitgehend mit denen der emigrierten Künstler übereinstimmten, was die Notwendigkeit künstlerischer Anpassungen, um sie als Kunden anzusprechen, minimierte. Die zweite bedeutende Enthüllung war, dass viele emigrierte Künstler es schafften, sich selbst zu erhalten, indem sie Mitglieder der Union der Russischen Künstler in Konstantinopel wurden, die nicht nur Russen und Ukrainer, sondern auch Juden verschiedener Nationalitäten, Polen, Georgier und Armenier umfasste. Erstens half die Zusammenarbeit mit ihren Kollegen den Künstlern, die Belastungen der Vertreibung zu überwinden und den Glauben an ihre eigenen Fähigkeiten durch gegenseitige moralische Unterstützung zu fördern. Zweitens erhöhten die von der Union in Konstantinopel organisierten Ausstellungen ihre Sichtbarkeit und boten ihnen die Möglichkeit, durch ihre Werke finanziellen Erfolg zu erlangen. Vielleicht erklärt dies, warum ihre Kunstwerke im Allgemeinen Helligkeit und Optimismus ausstrahlten, anstatt von Dunkelheit und den negativen Emotionen erfasst zu werden, die von vertriebenen Personen erlebt wurden.

Der Hauptpunkt meiner Forschung ist jedoch, dass Konstantinopel/Istanbul als attraktive Metropole, die Möglichkeiten für Flüchtlinge bot, als wichtiger künstlerischer Mittelpunkt für russischsprachige Emigranten unterschätzt und übersehen wurde. Meiner Meinung nach verdient die Stadt Anerkennung, die über die bloße Betrachtung als 'Transitpunkt' hinausgeht. Früher mag dieser Standpunkt aufgrund der knappen verfügbaren Informationen zum Thema gültig gewesen sein. Die Gegenwart ist jedoch nicht die Vergangenheit, und die Situation hat sich seitdem aufgrund der Auffindung verschiedener privater und öffentlicher Archive verändert, einschließlich derjenigen, die ich persönlich während meiner Forschung für diese Dissertation entdeckt habe. Bei Vergleichen zwischen Konstantinopel und renommierten künstlerischen Zentren für russischsprachige Emigranten wie Berlin oder Paris erkennen bestimmte zeitgenössische Gelehrte immer noch den vergleichsweise geringeren Umfang des kulturellen Beitrags von russischsprachigen Personen in der Stadt an. Sie versäumen es jedoch, diese Beobachtung durch explizite Rechtfertigungen für die Behauptung zu verstärken. Ihre Bezugnahme könnte auf die Dauer des Aufenthalts von Künstlern in der Stadt abzielen, da diese in der Regel von ein bis sieben Jahren reichte (mit Ausnahme derjenigen, die sich dauerhaft in Konstantinopel niederließen). Trotz dieser vergleichsweise kurzen Zeit erreichten Künstler wie Dimitri Ismailovitch innerhalb von sieben Jahren bemerkenswerte Leistungen. Ebenso leisteten Alexis Gritchenko, der zwei Jahre in Konstantinopel lebte, und Nikolai Becker, der etwa drei Jahre blieb, beachtenswerte Beiträge. Insgesamt erzielten russischsprachige Emigrantenkünstler trotz der enormen materiellen Herausforderungen, mit denen sie konfrontiert waren, und der begrenzten künstlerischen

Möglichkeiten in der Stadt zur damaligen Zeit eine Menge. Emigranten-Unternehmer und Künstler aus dem ehemaligen Russischen Reich in Konstantinopel gründeten Unterhaltungsorte, die mit denen in Paris und Wien vergleichbar waren. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient der Erfolg des Vereins der Russischen Künstler in Konstantinopel, der zeitweise über sechzig Emigrantenkünstler vereinte. Ob ähnliche 'russische' Künstlervereinigungen in europäischen Städten vergleichbaren Erfolg erzielten, bleibt eine unbeantwortete Frage, die weitere Untersuchungen durch Forscher erfordert. Abgesehen davon waren nicht nur die ausgewanderten Künstler in verschiedene künstlerische Aktivitäten in der Stadt involviert, sondern sie wurden auch ständig von Konstantinopel inspiriert, was sich sowohl während ihres Aufenthalts als auch nach ihrem Weiterzug in andere Städte und Länder in ihren Werken widerspiegelte.

In Anbetracht dessen hoffe ich, dass das Thema in Zukunft durch den Zugang zu mehr privaten Archiven und zuvor unentdeckten Quellen umfassender erforscht wird. Ich hoffe zum Beispiel, dass es mehr visuelles Material geben wird, das es Forschern ermöglicht, Transformationen nachzuvollziehen, indem sie Werke vergleichen, die von den Emigrantenkünstlern im ehemaligen Russischen Reich und in Konstantinopel geschaffen wurden, sowie Werke, die von ihnen kurz vor und nach der Gründung der Türkischen Republik erstellt wurden (vorläufig würde ich sagen, dass dieser spezielle Übergang nicht sofort stattfand und erst gegen Ende der 1920er Jahre viel klarer zu sehen ist als in den Jahren 1923-1927). Kontinuierliche Forschung zu diesem Thema ist ebenfalls entscheidend, um ein umfassendes Verständnis für das Leben und die künstlerischen Bestrebungen dieser Emigrantenkünstler zu erlangen, einschließlich der relativ unbekannteren, da sie oft vernachlässigt und vergessen werden. Leider haben ihre kurzen Aufenthalte in der Stadt zusammen mit anderen Faktoren dazu geführt, dass Konstantinopel/Istanbul in ihren Biografien im Allgemeinen übersehen wurde. Außerdem hoffe ich auf eine tiefere Untersuchung der Interaktion zwischen lokalen Künstlern/Fotografen und Emigrantenkünstlern aus dem ehemaligen Russischen Reich, da unser Wissen über beide Gruppen immer noch unzureichend ist. Abgesehen von den Werken von Alexis Gritchenko und Ibrahim Çallı haben diese Beziehungen in der Literatur zur osmanischen und türkischen Malerei des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts noch mehr als begrenzte Aufmerksamkeit erhalten.

Es ist erstaunlich, dass trotz der Bedeutung Konstantinopels als bedeutende Stadt, die russischsprachige Emigranten aufnahm, und als herausragendes künstlerisches Zentrum in den 1920er Jahren kaum noch Spuren dieser Künstlerpräsenz in der Stadt zu finden sind. Der

Mayak, die Taksim-Militärkaserne und das Theater des Petits Champs wurden beispielsweise abgerissen, nur der Maxim Club (jetzt ein Hotel, dessen Fassade an seine Vergangenheit erinnert) und das Pera Palace Hotel haben überlebt. Die wenigen Überreste, die erhalten geblieben sind, existieren hauptsächlich in Form von Wandgemälden, wie diejenigen von Nikolai Peroff in der Andreevskaya-Kirche (Türkisch: Aya Andrea Rus Kilisesi) in Karaköy, diejenigen von Nikolai Kalmykoff in der Süreyya-Oper in Kadıköy, diejenigen von Ibrahim Safi in einem Gebäude auf der İstiklal Avenue – heute beherbergt es ein Café Mado – und diejenigen von Lev Kar im Bozlu Art Project im Gebäude Giulio Mongeri in Şişli, unter anderem. Trotz des anerkannten Werts der Wandgemälde verschwinden viele aufgrund von Gebäudesanierungen oder Veränderungen im Besitz der Strukturen. Diese Verluste können hauptsächlich auf die raschen Veränderungen zurückgeführt werden, denen eine massive Metropole wie Istanbul (mit einer geschätzten offiziellen Bevölkerung von rund 16 Millionen) seit Jahren unterworfen ist. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass solch schnelle städtische Veränderungen in Verbindung mit Naturkatastrophen (z. B. Erdbeben) von einigen der Emigrantenkünstler befürchtet wurden, einschließlich des Malers Dimitri Ismailovitch und des Fotografen Vladimir Zender. Beide Künstler haben die antiken byzantinischen Monumente, Fresken und Mosaik in der Stadt akribisch und präzise dargestellt und fotografiert, um ihre einfache Reproduktion im Falle eines unvorhergesehenen Ereignisses oder einer Katastrophe sicherzustellen. Leider sind die Sorgen der russischsprachigen Emigrantenkünstler über das Schicksal der Kulturschätze in der Stadt angesichts der Rückumwandlung der Hagia Sophia in eine Moschee und ihrer Nichtfunktion als Museum, der jüngsten Rückumwandlung des Chora-Kirchenmuseums in eine Moschee und der Unzugänglichkeit für Besucher sowie zahlreicher anderer byzantinischer Monumente, die subpar restauriert wurden oder unter Restaurierungsbeschränkungen leiden, noch bedeutsamer geworden.

Ich habe an meiner Dissertation während einer bedeutsamen Zeit gearbeitet, die das hundertjährige Jubiläum des Exodus aus dem ehemaligen Russischen Reich und der Besetzung von Konstantinopel markierte. In dieser Zeit fanden bemerkenswerte Ereignisse zur Erinnerung an die Jubiläen sowohl in Russland als auch in der Türkei statt. Eine Ausstellung in Moskau mit dem Titel 'Russisches Konstantinopel' präsentierte eine Sammlung von Alexandre Vassiliev. Etwa zur gleichen Zeit fand eine unvergessliche Ausstellung in Istanbul statt, die die Werke des ukrainischen Künstlers Alexis Gritchenko zeigte, die derzeit in Sammlungen verschiedener Länder aufbewahrt werden. Ich hatte auch das Privileg, als Berater für eine Ausstellung mit dem Titel 'Besetzte Stadt / Meşgul Şehir' zu arbeiten, die der Zeit der Besetzung von Konstantinopel (1918–1923) gewidmet war. In Anbetracht des bevorstehenden

hundertjährigen Jubiläums der Gründung der Republik Türkei werden derzeit neue Ausstellungen mit einem starken Fokus auf das kulturelle Leben der Stadt im Jahr 1923 veranstaltet. Einer von ihnen ist der progressiven Malerin und Bildhauerin Melek Celâl gewidmet, und ich bin froh, dass zahlreiche Ausstellungsstücke (einige von ihnen wurden von Luigi Capello aus Italien nach Istanbul gebracht) im Zusammenhang mit ihrem engen Freund, dem Emigranten-Bildhauer und -Maler aus dem ehemaligen Russischen Reich, Roman Bilinski, präsentiert werden. Die Relevanz meiner Forschung erstreckt sich auch auf das Gebiet der Literatur. In der Türkei sind mehrere neue Bücher zum Thema russischsprachiger Emigranten in Konstantinopel und zur Präsenz russischsprachiger Emigrantenkünstler in der Stadt erschienen, und ich hatte persönlich die Gelegenheit, einem angesehenen europäischen Schriftsteller (dessen Identität nicht enthüllt werden kann) auf diesem Gebiet Unterstützung zu bieten. Meine Arbeit hat auch eine bedauerliche Bedeutung im Zusammenhang mit dem anhaltenden Krieg zwischen Russland und der Ukraine. Viele Einzelpersonen aus beiden Ländern, einschließlich Künstlern, haben in Istanbul Zuflucht gesucht. Interessanterweise haben viele von ihnen beschlossen, sich im Bezirk Kadıköy und auf den Prinzeninseln niederzulassen, anstatt in Pera/Beyoğlu. Diese Vorliebe basiert auf dem Ruf dieser Viertel als einige der progressivsten und aufgeschlossensten Gegenden der Stadt, ähnlich wie im Pera der 1920er Jahre. Als Folge davon beherbergt Kadıköy nun mehrere künstlerische Gemeinschaften, bestehend aus Emigranten und Flüchtlingen aus verschiedenen Ländern wie Syrien, Iran, Irak, Russland, Ukraine und anderen. Ich glaube, dass meine Forschung, die die Erfahrungen russischsprachiger Emigrantenkünstler in Konstantinopel während einer der ersten großen Flüchtlingskrisen des 20. Jahrhunderts untersucht, selbst wenn auch nur in begrenztem Maße, Einblicke in das Verständnis nachfolgender Situationen ähnlicher Art sowie derzeitiger Ereignisse liefern kann.

The List of Russian-speaking Émigré Artists in Constantinople in the 1920s**I. The Émigré Artists Referenced in the Dissertation**

1. Brailovskaya, Rimma / Браиловская, Римма – *female* – *painter*
2. Brailovsky, Leonid / Браиловский, Леонид - *architect, painter, set designer*
3. Gritchenko, Alexis / Грищенко, Алексей (Олекса) – *painter*
4. Ivanov, Vasilij Iosifovich / Иванов, Василий Иосифович – *painter*
5. Kluge, Nikolai / Kluge, Nicholas / Клуге, Николай – *archaeologist, art restorer, copyist, painter, photographer*
6. Koiranskij, Aleksandr / Койранский, Александр – *painter, set designer, poet*
7. Petrov, Vladimir / Petroff, Wladimir / Петров, Владимир Константинович – *painter*
8. Pitlenko, I. (Igor) W. / Питленко, И. (Игорь) В. – *architect*
9. Safi, Ibrahim / Сафиев, Ибрагим – *painter*
10. Sologub, Leonid / Сологуб, Леонид – *painter, architekt*
11. Tchelitchew, Pavel / Челищев, Павел - *painter, set designer, costume designer*
12. Tomiloff, Leonid / Томилов, Леонид Максимович – *set designer*
13. Uzunov, Nikolai / Ouzunoff, Nikolai / Узунов, Николай – *set designer*
14. Yaschwill, Natalia / Jašvili, Natalia / Яшвиль, Наталья – *female* – *painter, iconographer*
15. Zdanevich, Ilia (Iliazd) / Зданевич, Илья (Ильязд) – *writer, poet, artist*

II. The Members of the ‘Drawing Thursdays’

1. Becker, Nikolai / Becker, Nicolas / Беккер, Николай – *painter*
2. Bobritsky, Vladimir / Bobri / Бобрицкий, Владимир – *painter, set designer, costume designer*
3. Freedolin, [name not indicated, presumably Vladimir] / Fredolin / Фридолин, [имя не указано, предположительно Владимир] – *architect, painter*
4. Ivanoff, Wladimir Stepanovich / Иванов, Владимир Степанович – *painter*
5. Khudiakoff, Andrei / Khudyakov, Andrei / Худяков, Андрей – *painter, set designer*
6. Pinegin, Nikolai / Пинегин, Николай – *painter*
7. Saretzki, Nikolai / Zaretsky, Nikolai / Зарецкий, Николай – *graphic artist, painter, collector*
8. Vasilieff, Nikolai / Vasilieff, Nicholas / Васильев, Николай – *painter*
9. Vassilieve, Nicholas B. / Васильев, Николай Васильевич – *architect, painter*

III. The Members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople

1. Afonsky, [name not indicated] / Афонский, [имя не указано] – *painter*
2. Agafonov, Eugene / Агафонов, Евгений – *painter*
3. Alajalov, Constantin / Aladjalov, Constantin / Аладжалов, Константин – *painter*
4. Alexinsky-Loukina, Tatiana / Алексинская-Лукина, Татьяна – *female* – *painter*

5. Artamonoff, Nikolai / Артамонов, Николай Григорьевич – *painter, set designer*
6. Artemoff, Georges / Артемов, Георгий – *painter, sculptor*
7. Astafieff, Konstantin / Astafiev / Astori, Constantine / Астафьев, Константин / Астори, Константин – *painter*
8. Atamian, [name not indicated] / Атамян, [имя не указано] – *painter*
9. Barry, Iraida / Барри, Ираида – **female** – *sculptor*
10. Becker, Nikolai / Becker, Nicolas / Беккер, Николай – *painter*
11. Bilinski, Roman / Билинский, Роман – *painter, sculptor, collector*
12. Bobritsky, Vladimir / Bobri / Бобрицкий, Владимир – *painter, set designer, costume designer*
13. Bodritsin / Bodricin, [name not indicated] / Бодрицин, [имя не указано] – *set designer, costume designer*
14. Bortchoff, [name not indicated] / Borstchoff, [name not indicated] / Borshchov, D. / Борщов, [имя не указано] – *painter*
15. Cybis, Boleslaw / Цибис, Болеслав – *painter, sculptor*
16. Demidov, [name not indicated] / Демидов, [имя не указано] – *painter*
17. Doubinsky, Mikhail / Дубинский, Михаил – *architect, painter*
18. Douvan, [name not indicated] / Дуван, [имя не указано] – *painter*
19. Dzhordzhadze, Vasily / Djordjadze, Basile / Джорджадзе, Василий – *painter*
20. Eguize, Boris / Egizas, Bari / Эгиз, Борис – *painter*
21. Fedoroff, [name not indicated] / Federoff, [name not indicated] / Федоров, [имя не указано] / Федеров [имя не указано] – *painter*
22. Freedolin, [name not indicated, presumably Vladimir Petrovich] / Fredolin / Fridolin / Фридолин, [имя не указано, предположительно Владимир] – *architect, painter*
23. Grekova, Natalia / Grecoff, Natalia / Грекова, Наталия – **female** – *painter*
24. Gvozdev, Nikolai Nikolaevich / Гвоздев, Николай Николаевич – *architect, painter*
25. Ismailovitch, Dimitri / Измайлович, Дмитрий – *painter*
26. Ivanoff, A. / Иванов, А. – *painter*
27. Ivanoff, Wladimir Stepanovich / Иванов, Владимир Степанович – *painter, sculptor*
28. Kadulin, Vladimir / Nayadin / Mitritch / Кадулин, Владимир / Наядин / Митрич – *painter*
29. Kaissaroff (Woronkoff), Nicolas / Кайсаров (Воронков), Николай – *painter, illustrator*
30. Kalmykoff, Nikolai / Kalmikoff, Nikolai / Kalmukoğlu, Naci / Калмыков, Николай – *painter*
31. Kornilov, [name not indicated] / Корнилов, [имя не указано] – *painter*
32. Kozmin, Aleksandr / Козмин, Александр – *painter, illustrator*
33. Kravchenko, Pavel / Kravcínko, Pavel / Кравченко, Павел – *painter*
34. Lebedev, [name not indicated] / Lebedeff / Лебедев, [имя не указано] – *painter*
35. Luban, Boris / Любан, Борис – *painter*
36. Makurin, Macourin, Makourin, Fyodor / Макурин, Федор – *sculptor*
37. Morosoff, Anatole / Морозов, Анатолий – *painter*
38. Muradov, Leon / Мурадов, Леон – *sculptor*
39. Nikanorova, Lydia / Nika, Lydia / Никанорова, Лидия – **female** – *painter*
40. Nikiforov, [name not indicated] / Никифоров, [имя не указано] – *painter*
41. Pankoff, Alexandre / Панков, Александр – *painter*
42. Peroff, Nikolai / Peroff, Nikola / Перов, Николай – *painter*

43. Radchenko, [name not indicated] / Радченко, [имя не указано] – *painter*
44. Rode, Barbara / Роде, Варвара – **female** – *painter*
45. Sabaneeff, Theodore / Сабанеев, Геодор – *painter*
46. Saraphanoff, Nikolai / Сарафанов, Николай – *painter*
47. Semianovskiy, E. / Семяновский, [имя не указано] – *painter*
48. Shaumine, [name not indicated] / (presumably) ШОмина, [имя не указано] – **female** – *painter*
49. Solovyova, [name not indicated] / Соловьева, [имя не указано] – **female** – *painter*
50. Stamm, H. / Штамм, [имя не указано] – *artist*, passed away in Constantinople in December 1922.
51. Starikoff, Michel / Стариков, Михаил – *painter*
52. Tchetchett, Victor / Чечет, Виктор – *painter*
53. V.P.-Tch. / V.P.-T. / (presumably) Prokorovich-Czartoryski, Viktor / В.П.-Ч. / (предположительно) Прокопович-Чарторыйский, Виктор – *painter*
54. Vasilieff, Nikolai / Vasilieff, Nicholas / Васильев, Николай – *painter*
55. Yermolaev, [name not indicated] / Ермолаев, [имя не указано] – *painter*
56. Zaretzky, Nikolai / Saretzki, Nikolai / Зарецкий, Николай – *graphic artist, painter, collector*
57. Zelensky, [name not indicated] / Зеленский, [имя не указано] – *sculptor*
58. Zelinsky, [name not indicated] / Зелинский, [имя не указано] – *painter*

IV. The Members of the Artel of Russian Craftsmen (presumably)

1. Grekova, Natalia / Grecoff, Natalia / Грекова, Наталия – **female**
2. Ivanov, [name not indicated] / Иванов, [имя не указано]
3. Nowicki A. / Новицкий А.
4. Pantukhoff, Oleg / Пантюхов, Олег
5. Pantukhoff, Nina / Пантюхова, Нина – **female**

V. Photographers

1. Belikov, Alexander / Belikoff, Alex / Беликов, Александр
2. Bezougly, Mark / Безуглый, Марк Саввич
3. Kanzler, Jules / Kanzler, Izzet Кауа/ Канцлер, Ю.
4. Karpoff, Lev / Карпов, Лев Владимирович
5. Zender, Wladimir / Sender, Veli Demir / Зендер, Владимир Федорович

VI. Some of the Émigré Artists Not Referenced in the Dissertation (because of lack of knowledge or their very short stay)

1. Aleef, George / Алеев, Георгий – *painter*
2. Feldman, Khonon / Фельдман, Конон (Хонон) – *painter, architect*
3. Grekoff, Alexander / Греков, Александр – *icon painter, art restorer*
4. Jacobson, Nikolai / Якобсон, Николай – *art restorer*

5. Lazareff (Markova, Fedoroff), Natalia / Лазарева (урожд. Маркова, в первом браке Федорова), Наталья – *female* – *painter, fashion designer*
6. Loukine, Rostislas / Лукин, Ростислас (Ростислав) – *painter*
7. Loukomsky (Lukomskij) G. / Lukomski, Giorgio / Лукомский, Георгий – *architect, painter*
8. Minache, Sima / Минаш, Сима (Семен) – *architect, painter*
9. Végairginsky, Theodore (Pierre) / Вегержинский, Федор (Петр) – *painter*
10. Volovick, Lazar / Воловик, Лазарь – *painter, set designer*
11. Zack, Leon / Зак, Лев (Леон) – *painter, set designer*

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Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum

Harvard Law School Library, Historical & Special Collections

Hoover Institution Library & Archives

İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı, Istanbul

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La Contemporaine in Paris

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Multnomah County Library in Oregon, United States

Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux

Museum of Russian Impressionism in Moscow

National Art Museum of Ukraine

Philadelphia Museum of Art

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Private Archive of Diana Bilinski (Italy)

Private Archive of Dimitri Ismailovitch, belonging to Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti (Brazil)

Private Archive of Marie Artemoff-Testa (France)

Private Archive of the Luban Family (the US)

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10 ILLUSTRATIONS

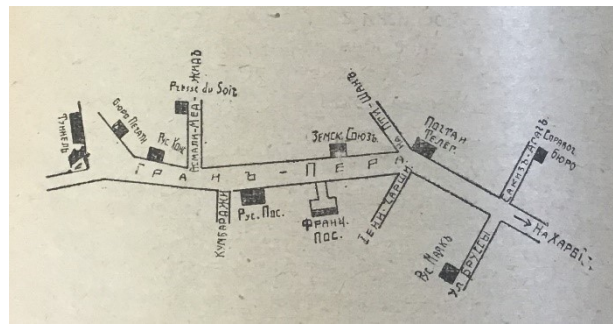


Figure 1: Sketch of the Grand Rue de Péra (Istiklal Street) from the Istanbul Guide for refugees from the former Russian Empire in the Russian language, 1921, p. 6.



Figure 2: Illustration of refugees from the former Russian Empire arriving in Constantinople. *Nashi Dni/Nos Jours* 7, 1921 (The Slavonic Library, Prague).



Figure 3: Illustration from the *Russkaya Volna* Almanac, 1920–1921, pp. 15–16. Translation of the illustration's name: 'A Peaceful Conquest. Now we finally nailed our shield on the gates of Tsargrad'. (The Slavonic Library, Prague).



Figure 4: Map of Constantinople for 'Russian' refugees in the guide-book *Russkij v Konstantinopole/Le Russe à Constantinople*, 1921 (The Slavonic Library, Prague).



Figure 5: Illustration of Galata neighbourhood, 1920, in the *Nashi Dni* Periodical, January 1921, no. 1, p. 15 (The Slavonic Library, Prague).



Figure 6: Grand Cercle Moscovite Restaurant by Boris Ivashentsev/ Ivaschenzeff (Bumgardner, Eugenia S. *Undaunted exiles*. The McClure Company, 1925).



Figure 7: The ‘Scheherazade’ ballet at the Théâtre des Petits-Champs by Boris Ivashentsev/ Ivaschenzeff (Bumgardner, Eugenia S. *Undaunted exiles*. The McClure Company, 1925).

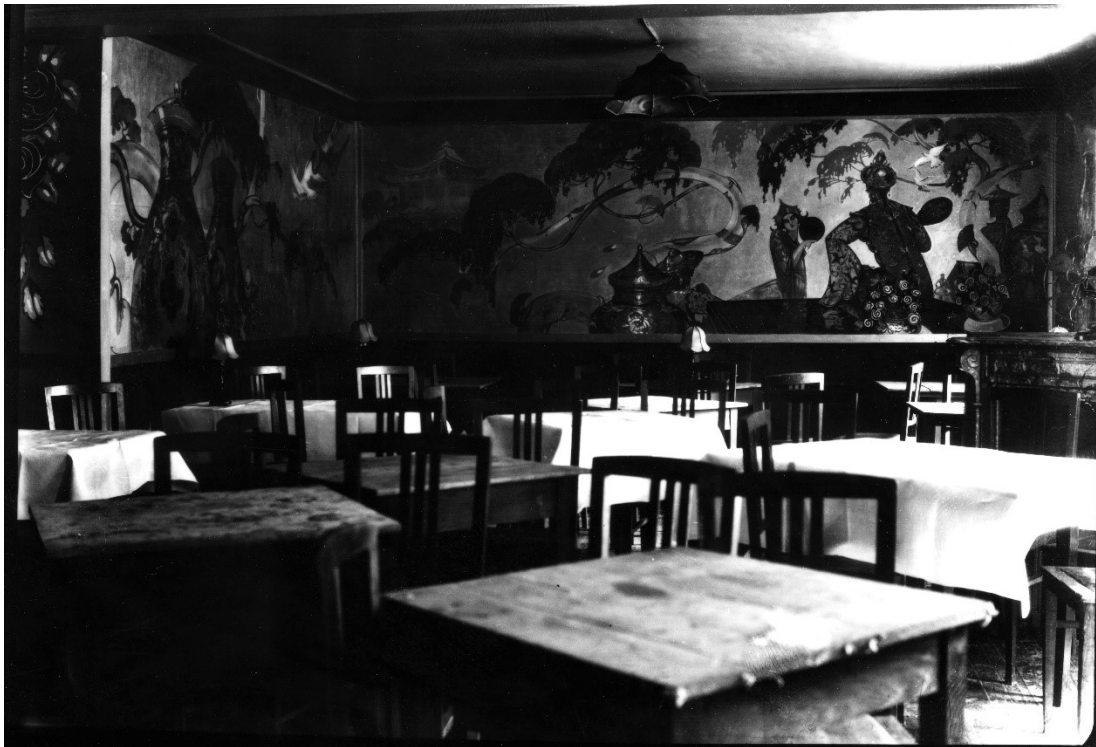


Figure 8: Rose Noire’s photograph by Selahattin Giz, V.P.-Tch.’s ‘Chinese Panel’ (Yapı Kredi Tarihi Arşivi, Selahattin Giz Koleksiyonu).



Figure 9: Members of the Union of Russian Artists in Constantinople, Summer 1922. Source: Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters', p. 8 (Stearns Family Collection // Courtesy of Archives & Distinctive Collections. College of the Holy Cross).



Figure 10: The Union's exhibition foyer, Taksim military barracks, Summer 1922. Source: Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters', p. 11 (Stearns Family Collection // Courtesy of Archives & Distinctive Collections. College of the Holy Cross).



Figure 11: Exhibition of the Union, Summer 1922. Source: Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters', p. 6 (Stearns Family Collection // Courtesy of Archives & Distinctive Collections. College of the Holy Cross).



Figure 12: The Union's exhibition, Summer 1922. Source: Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters', p. 8 (Stearns Family Collection // Courtesy of Archives & Distinctive Collections. College of the Holy Cross).



Figure 13: Foster Waterman Stearns, by Nikolai Becker, 1923 (College Memorabilia Collections // Courtesy of Archives & Distinctive Collections. College of the Holy Cross).



Figure 14: The cover of the 'Photo Album of Turkey, 1922–23', Box 4, Folder 1 (Stearns Family Collection // Courtesy of Archives & Distinctive Collections. College of the Holy Cross).



Figure 15: The cover of the scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters', 1922 (Stearns Family Collection // Courtesy of Archives & Distinctive Collections. College of the Holy Cross).



Figure 16: Dimitri Ismailovitch with his bust created by Roman Bilinski, Constantinople, Summer 1922. Source: Scrapbook 'To Mr. and Mrs. Stearns from Russian Painters', p. 8 (Stearns Family Collection // Courtesy of Archives & Distinctive Collections. College of the Holy Cross).



Figure 17: 'Christos Pancratos' (Zeyrek Mosque / Monastery of the Pantocrator) by P. Fedoroff, Constantinople, 1922 (Stearns Family Collection // Courtesy of Archives & Distinctive Collections. College of the Holy Cross).



Figure 18: 'Three Turks in a Coffeeshouse' by Alexis Gritchenko, February 1921. Ömer Koç Koleksiyonu. İstanbul, Meşher Art Gallery, 'Alexis Gritchenko – İstanbul Yılları' Exhibition (Photo: Ekaterina Aygün, 2020).



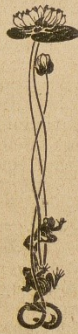
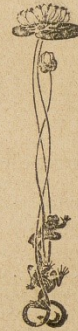
Figure 19: La Régence Restaurant, Constantinople, 1921. An advertisement from the *Nashi Dni* almanac that was created by Aleksandr Kozmin (The Slavonic Library, Prague).



Figure 20: One of the caricatures by Mitritch/Vladimir Kadulin, Constantinople, 1922 (Stearns Family Collection // Courtesy of Archives & Distinctive Collections. College of the Holy Cross).

ЭМИГРАНТСКАЯ ГАЛЛЕРЕЯ.

ТИПЫ ГОРСКИХ ЕВРЕЕК-ЭМИГРАНТОК.



Эмигрантки, прибывшие из Батума в Кон-поль на пар. „Керчь“.
 (Из альбома Б. С. Певзнера). (Фот. Зендера).

Figure 21: Photographs by Vladimir Zender, no date. 'Female emigrants (Mountain Jews) who arrived from Batumi to Constantinople'. *Put'/La Voie*, № 2, 10 August 1924, p. 11 (The Turgenev Library, Paris).

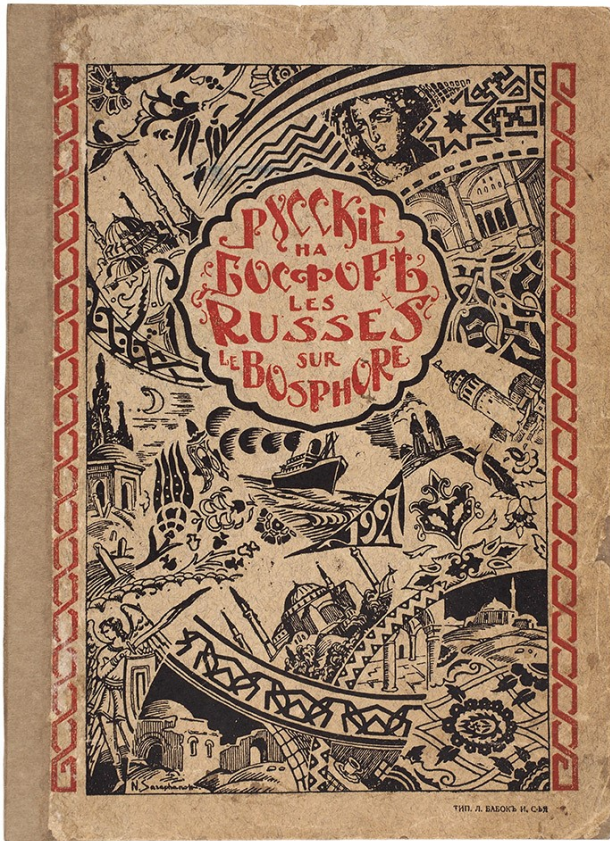


Figure 22: The cover of *Ruskiye na Bosfore. Les Russes sur le Bosphore* by Nikolai Saraphanoff, 1927 (*Litfund*, accessed October 6, 2022, <https://www.litfund.ru/auction/362/180/>).



Figure 23: Leaving for the US from Constantinople, presumably by A. Romanenko.

(*La Russie Illustrée*, January 1925, p. 7).