

IMMORALITY, MISBEHAVIOR AND TRANSGRESSION:
THE 'UNORTHODOX' GREEKS OF PERA AND GALATA IN THE LATE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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Thesis Abstract

Zekiye Sada Payır, “Immorality, Misbehavior and Transgression: The ‘Unorthodox’ Greeks of Pera and Galata in the Late Ottoman Empire”

The intensive efforts of the Ottoman Greek leaders to introduce schools, churches and societies in Istanbul, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, bear the signs of a move towards a more tight-knit community life. With changing standards and ideologies, the envisaged inclusiveness of the community was to adhere to a series of criteria other than religion itself, including education, employment, health and morality. Those who had ‘ambiguous’ or ‘unconventional’ occupations did not fit into the picture and neither did those who had the potential to cast a stain on the community’s reputation. A very abundant arena in such ‘unorthodox’ characters happens to be the entertainment sector (prostitutes, brothel keepers, dancers, singer/actresses) in which we see a noteworthy Greek presence in Pera and Galata. Others among the ‘unorthodox’ Greeks were those who were poorly regarded due to certain characteristics and habits (bullies, drunkards, gamblers), those who were unemployed or who had dual occupations, one of which tended to be illegal. In the light of Ottoman state documents, newspapers, travelogues, recollections, memoirs and novels as well as scholarly publications, this thesis aims to show the ways in which these individuals, who transgressed moral, social and – to a certain extent – legal limits, including those who were prone to be seen as ‘marginal’ or ‘on the edge of the society’ en masse, diverged from each other with respect to different perspectives, that of the state, the community and the society. It turns out that ‘improperness’ did not necessarily go hand in hand with marginalization while the ‘improper’ were not limited to a single business sector or an ethno-religious group.

Tez Özeti

Zekiye Sada Payır, “Ahlâksızlık, Yakııksızlık ve İhlâl: Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Pera ve Galata’nın ‘Uygunsuz’ Rumları”

Özellikle 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında İstanbul’un önde gelen Rumlarının, cemaatlerine okul, cemiyet ve kilise gibi toplanma çağrısı yapan yerler kazandırmak için sarfettiğı yoğun çaba, daha sıkı bir cemaat yapılanmasına doğru gidildiğı fikrinin işaretlerini taşır. Değişen şartlar ve ideolojilerle, tahayyül edilen cemaate katılım sadece din değil, eğitim, uğraş, sağlık ve ahlâk gibi birtakım kriterleri de içerecekti. ‘Muğlak’ veya ‘alışılmışın dışında’ işlerle meşgul ve cemaatin itibarını zedeleme potansiyeli olanlar bu resme aykırı düşmekteydi. Bu gibi ‘uygunsuz’ karakterlerin sayıca çok olduğı Pera ve Galata’daki eğlence sektöründe (fahişeler, genelev sahipleri, köçekler, şarkıcı/aktrisler) kaydadeğer bir Rum varlığı göze çarpar. Bu gruba ek olarak, bazı özellikleri ve alışkanlıkları yüzünden hakir görülen veya iyi gözle bakılmayanlar (kabadayılar, ayyaşlar, kumarbazlar), işsizler ve mesleğinin yanı sıra kanunsuz işlere bulaşmış Rumlar da ‘uygunsuz’lar arasındadır. Bu çalışma, Osmanlı devlet belgeleri, gazete haberleri, seyahatnameler, hatıratlar, anılar, romanlar ve akademik çalışmalar ışığında, topluca ‘marjinal’ veya ‘toplumun kıyısında’ addedilmeye maruz kalan insanlar dahil olmak üzere, ahlâkî, sosyal ve – belli bir ölçüde – yasal limitleri ihlâl eden bireylerin devlet, cemaat ve toplum nazarında nasıl görüldüklerini ve ne ölçüde farklılaştıklarını anlamaya yöneliktir. Anlaşılan odur ki, ‘uygunsuzluk’ dışlanmayla illâki doğru orantılı olmamakla birlikte, ‘uygunsuz’ kişiler tek bir iş sektörüne veya etnik-dinsel gruba mensup değillerdir.

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“Fakat gençlik emellerim, yükselip alçalmağa uğramış sahiller gibi ilk dalgalarla henüz ıslak duruyordu. Daha doğrusunu ister misiniz? Ben Galata'nın kendisini sevmiştim. Burada korkunç olduğu kadar eğlendirici bir hayat vardı. Hâlbuki insan düşünecek olursa bu dünyanın ne tarafı korkunç değil?”

Ahmet Rasim, *Fuhş-i Atık*, 104

[But my youthful aspirations were still wet like the shores run by the first waves of the ebbing tide. Do you want the truth? I liked Galata itself. Here there was a life which was as fearful as it was entertaining. However, if one were to think, what is not fearful about this world?]

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INTRODUCTION

The intensive efforts of the Ottoman Greek leaders to introduce schools, institutions and churches in Istanbul, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, suggest a move towards a more tightly knit community life. With socio-political changes and urban transformations in the capital, the vision of communal identity necessitated a combination of criteria other than religion itself that also involved education, employment, health and morality. While the indications of the ‘envisioned’ community reveal themselves in various aspects, we trace them to see what was not being envisioned as well. People who had ambiguous or unconventional occupations did not fit into the picture, neither did those who had the potential to cast a stain on the community’s reputation. A very abundant arena for such ‘unorthodox’ characters happens to be the entertainment sector (prostitutes, procurers, brothel keepers, dancers, singer/actresses) in which we see a noteworthy Greek presence in Pera and Galata. Others among the ‘unorthodox’ were those who were poorly regarded due to certain characteristics and habits (bullies, drunkards, gamblers), those who were unemployed or who had dual occupations, one of which tended to be illegal. Where should we locate those who fell short of the expectations of the community leaders? Where did they stand in the eyes of the Ottoman state and society, and what room did they have for manoeuvre?

Scholarly studies on the nineteenth-century Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul have mostly focused on issues that touch upon these questions only

superficially. Nevertheless, it is after such studies covering Ottoman Greek education, Hellenism, Greek nationalism and identity that questions regarding the individuals who did not conform to the ideals of the community leaders could actually emerge. With respect to the subject matter of this thesis, the works of Haris Exertzoglou and Meropi Anastassiadou provide the most relevant scholarly studies on the Ottoman Greeks of Istanbul in the late Ottoman Empire. Exertzoglou's enquiries into the influence of consumption practices on identity making in major Ottoman centres in the late nineteenth century is enlightening in terms of approaching the 'envisioned' Greek identity. Anastassiadou's analysis regarding the Greek Orthodox immigrants in late Ottoman Istanbul is informative in terms of the network of relations and the modes of integration that could lead to 'unorthodoxy' while her study of the Greek festivities in Istanbul examines the marks of urban communal identity. In regards to the districts under study, Edhem Eldem has commendably attempted to remove the veil over the history of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Galata which was shrouded by misconceptions and he has placed emphasis on the study of Galata's 'silent majority'¹ that would improve our reading of the social structure of the quarter.

The port-cities of the Mediterranean were at their zenith in the third quarter of the nineteenth century regarding economic expansion which attracted immigrants

¹ "True, Galata does serve the purpose of presenting the 'dark' side of the picture, made of the wretched and violent world of taverns, brothels and sleazy hotels almost side by side with the prestigious buildings of the major insurance firms and banking institutions, but lost is all that lies between the two, a 'silent majority' of modest employees and shopkeepers, a petty bourgeoisie and a near-proletariat squeezed in those areas of the districts that evidently lacked the attractiveness of the nobler streets and buildings." Edhem Eldem, "Ottoman Galata and Pera Between Myth and Reality," in *From "milieu de mémoire" to "lieu de mémoire". The Cultural Memory of Istanbul in the 20th Century*, ed. Ulrike Tischler (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2006), 25.

and extended networks into the hinterland.² Ethnic co-existence has been regarded as an inherent feature of port-cities³ whose maritime frontiers rendered them dissimilar vis-à-vis ‘traditional’ cities.⁴ Such co-existence in port-cities have led historians to consider the degree of diversity among their inhabitants, the common use of languages and the compatibility of cultural and moral codes which are all associated with cosmopolitanism.⁵ Nevertheless, it would be wrong to equate cosmopolitanism with ethnic/religious co-existence, and, an intricate network of relations generated by economic integration does not necessarily bring about cultural cosmopolitanism.⁶ It seems likely that people had regular contact in daily life in which they experienced, albeit limited and superficial,⁷ some sort of intermingling in the districts under study. Business, trade, diplomacy, and entertainment/leisure were but the most well-known elements of Galata and Pera which convince us that either on professional or casual terms, people exchanged ideas, expressed feelings and familiarized with each other’s cultures and languages to a certain degree. However, due to rising nationalism and

² Y. Eyüp Özveren, “Beirut,” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* Vol. 16, No. 4, Port-Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean 1800-1914 (Fall 1993): 476.

³ Çağlar Keyder, “Port-Cities in the Belle Epoque,” in *Cities of the Mediterranean: From the Ottomans to the Present Day*, eds. Biray Kolluoğlu and Meltem Toksöz (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 20.

⁴ Özveren, 468.

⁵ Florian Riedler, “Hagop Mintzuri and the Cosmopolitan Memory of Istanbul,” *EUI Working Papers, RSCAS* 13 (2009): 1; Regarding the new perspectives on the port-cities of the Mediterranean, see Vangelis Kechriotis and Malte Fuhrmann, “The Late Ottoman Port-Cities and Their Inhabitants: Subjectivity, Urbanity, and Conflicting Orders,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* Vol. 24, No. 2 (December 2009): 71-78.

⁶ Edhem Eldem, “Batılılaşma, Modernleşme ve Kozmopolitizm: 19. Yüzyıl Sonu ve 20. Yüzyıl Başında İstanbul,” in *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi*, ed. Zeynep Rona (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993), 15-16.

⁷ “My feeling, on the contrary, is that although this mixed population mingled and blended daily in the urban space of the Ottoman capital, it also showed a remarkable capacity and propensity to establish solid communal barriers that made cultural interaction extremely limited and, at best, pragmatic and superficial.” Eldem, “Ottoman Galata and Pera Between Myth and Reality,” 28; “Lonca mahallesinde ve Karaköy civarındaki büyük hanlarda görülenin dışında, daha çok karışmadan yürütülen bir birliktelik söz konusu.” Edhem Eldem, “Nostaljidən Arındırılmış Bir Bakış. Galata’nın Etnik Yapısı,” *İstanbul* 1 (1992): 63.

westernization, cosmopolitanism was only limited to some individual examples in a narrow circle in the nineteenth century before which Istanbul had a more cosmopolitan outlook, having developed a more or less Ottoman cultural superstructure.⁸ As the efforts of creating a trans-ethnic Ottoman identity proved inefficient, “involvement and integration with the westernizing model was gradually promoting the creation of a seemingly cosmopolitan identity built around European networks and values”.⁹ Therefore, the inclusion of the non-elites, who have been a part of the ethnic-diversity and co-existence in Istanbul, has rarely been enquired within the framework of cosmopolitanism.¹⁰ By trying to see “in what ways these groups made the places they lived in more cosmopolitan and what cosmopolitan practices or forms of cosmopolitanism as a conscious way of seeing their world can be attributed to them”,¹¹ we might have a better understanding of the lived reality and see whether ‘multiple cosmopolitanisms’¹² were actually present.

⁸ Eldem, “Batılılaşma, Modernleşme ve Kozmopolitizm,” 16; “This cosmopolitanism in the interstitial port towns was largely the result of the confrontation of Western European capitalism, colonialism and imperialism with the disintegrating Habsburg and Ottoman empires. The rise of nationalism marks the beginning of the rapid demise of cultural amalgamism in Mediterranean port cities.” Henk Driessen, “Mediterranean Port Cities: Cosmopolitanism Reconsidered,” *History and Anthropology* Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 2005): 138-139.

⁹ Edhem Eldem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” in *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999),” 204-205.

¹⁰ Riedler, “Hagop Mintzuri and the Cosmopolitan Memory of Istanbul,” 1.

¹¹ Ibid.; “Does the existence of these networks, of these ambiguous identities, of these cultural cameleons, of these wandering polyglots warrant the use of the terms port-city and cosmopolitanism to describe urban centers such as the ones mentioned above? [...] It is rather obvious that we have not seen the end of these interrogations, and that this is a sure sign that we are still uncomfortable with some aspects of the question. And how could we not be when we know that the concept is heavily influenced by a historical conjuncture intimately linked to the rise of colonialism and imperialism in the Levant from the mid-nineteenth century on? The port-city, and for that matter cosmopolitanism in its nineteenth-century version(s), are difficult to dissociate from the colonial context of the period.” Edhem Eldem, “The Undesirables of Smyrna, 1926,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* Vol. 24, No. 2 (December 2009): 225-226.

¹² “But if Middle East cosmopolitanism is no longer made to be a stand-in for elitism, the possibility of an inclusive cosmopolitanism, one that can interact with the broader theoretical literature, begins to emerge. Unencumbered by nostalgia for a cosmopolitan past that included only a few, we begin to

Even though Istanbul has been an attractive choice of study among the historians of the Ottoman Empire due to its significance as the capital city and due to debates on modernization, urbanization, Mediterranean port cities and cosmopolitanism, there is a scarcity of scholarly works on everyday life in Istanbul in the late Ottoman era.¹³ It is by revisiting the ‘much understudied world of men and women of modest means’¹⁴ that social history could benefit from the lives of those who largely contributed to the whirl of daily urban activity yet remained anonymous¹⁵ and whose voice we get to hear via the voice of other agents. In this understudied world, the Greeks – members of the most populous non-Muslim group in Istanbul – played a major role, especially with respect to entertainment practices which could easily be linked with unorthodoxy. However, those Greeks who oscillated between limits of legality and morality were not always easy to assess in

detect overlap and connection and mobility along other circuits. Much of the best work on cosmopolitanism argues that there are multiple cosmopolitanisms. To privilege its bourgeois Western secular version is to deny those who, like the illiterate laborer who knows the exchange rates between the four kinds of currency he holds in his pockets, should also be given credit for cosmopolitan sophistication.” Will Hanley, “Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies,” *History Compass* 6/5 (2008): 1360.

¹³ Roger A. Deal, *Crimes of Honor, Drunken Brawls and Murder: Violence in Istanbul Under Abdülhamid II* (Istanbul: Libra, 2010), 13.

¹⁴ “Then again, looking at the lower side of the scale may reveal a much richer and in some ways unexpected diversity. The much understudied world of men and women of modest means, the urban poor, the rural populations and the marginal characters of port cities is likely to reveal very different forms of integration, of acculturation, of syncretism, or even of cosmopolitanism ‘from below’. Just browsing the pages of the impressively rich and fascinatingly unsystematic *Encyclopaedia of Istanbul* by Reşad Ekrem Koçu reveals the existence of a whole underworld and subculture of sailors, artists, bums, prostitutes, criminals, poets and the like haunting the streets of Galata and the area of Istanbul’s harbour. Many of them were Greek – in the widest sense of the word – and much of the language that was spoken among these men and women was a mix of the local languages, among which Greek played a predominant role. True, one can hardly hope to get anywhere with this kind of impressionistic take on a world that generally escapes the gaze of the historian due to its marginality and to the fact that it is generally very poorly documented; nevertheless, I find it absolutely necessary to underline to what extent and with what ease the grand narratives of ‘national’ history can, and in fact make it a point to, bypass such grey areas and identities that do not conform with, or fit, accepted and recognised categories.” Edhem Eldem, “Greece and the Greeks in Ottoman History and Turkish Historiography,” *The Historical Review. La Revue historique* VI (2009): 32.

¹⁵ “Rather, central to the thrust of everyday historical analysis is the life and survival of those who have remained largely anonymous in history.” Alf Lüdtkke, ed. *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, trans. William Timpler (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 3-4.

terms of their relationships with the state, the community and the society because albeit interrelated, these three dimensions changed the ways in which an individual was evaluated. To what extent did they feel themselves included in a community that was enjoying economic prosperity and intellectual development? To what extent were they alienated as ‘immoral’ non-Muslims? How much did they “comply with certain qualities that presumably corresponded to ‘ideal’ forms of identity”?¹⁶

In order to shed light on these questions, this study makes use of the Ottoman archives and other sources such as newspapers, travelogues, recollections, memoirs and novels as well as scholarly publications to show the ways in which these individuals, who transgressed moral, social, and – to a certain extent – legal limits,¹⁷ including those who were prone to be seen as marginal or on the edge of the society en masse, diverged from each other with respect to different perspectives. Ottoman historiography would benefit from studies like this that “refute the rigid outlook of the non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire”¹⁸ confronting stereotypes that confine all members to their ethno-religious circles and therefore help restructure the network of relations in order to see the limits of co-existence. It is also significant that even though the search for the ‘unorthodox’ leads us towards the lower classes, the nature

¹⁶ Haris Exertzoglou, “The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers During the 19th Century,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 35, No. 1 (February 2003): 79.

¹⁷ “While not all ideas, beliefs, and behaviors need to be identical, there must be a generally shared world view, at least as regards society and how it functions, and a broad consensus among members of the group as to what constitutes acceptable behavior and what is unacceptable. Even when members of the society engage in socially unacceptable behaviours, even when they do not believe that such behaviors are wrong, if they recognize that the larger group does so value them, and attempt to avoid or disguise these behaviors, or accept that there may be social or legal sanctions, those members of the society also share in a meaningful way in the common culture.” Deal, 20.

¹⁸ Ayşe Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013), Preface.

of the enquiry¹⁹ requires us to consider both the lower and the upper classes since they are inherently and hierarchically connected in the sources.

In terms of primary sources, this study analyses Ottoman state documents from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in Istanbul and the issues of the daily Ottoman Greek newspaper *Ταχυδρόμος* (*Tachydromos*) which are preserved in Atatürk Library in Istanbul. In pursuing transgression, state records become indispensable sources from which we derive information – albeit limited – about events as well as discourse that give indications of non-Muslim identity in Ottoman context. Newspapers are invaluable sources for daily events that were regarded as ‘worthy of mention’. The newspaper *Tachydromos* has a special section called *Ο Ταχυδρόμος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει* (*Tachydromos in Constantinople*) in which the news are mostly related to politics, crime, petty crime, urbanization (lighting, policing, street dogs, etc.), mishaps, brawls, weddings, and so on. Even though the section gives news regarding the Greek community as well as other ethno-religious groups in Istanbul, they are short and due to their nature and goal, they mostly lack interpretation concerning ‘improperness’.

A substantial part of the published sources used in this thesis consists of recollections, memoirs, travelogues and novels. All these sources have their pros and cons in terms of history writing. Despite the fact that they may be biased or likely to show signs of nostalgia, they are still among the most valuable sources that historians turn to, as they write social history. Be that as it may, one should be careful while interpreting these sources in terms of ideology, teleology, othering, exoticism, loss,

¹⁹ “Yet to illuminate conditions ‘on the spot’ means that the purview must be extended beyond the compass of ‘ordinary, everyday people.’ The influence, status, power, and privilege of the elites – the große Leute – cannot be excluded.” Lüdtke, 20.

and longing or affection for the past. Together with their authors and their motives, it is worth bearing in mind the target audience and the dates of these publications. The use of novels in history writing is highly debatable since they are fictional works. Nevertheless, the authors of those used in this thesis (Maria Yordanidou's *Loksandra*, Yorgos Theotokas' *Leonis*, and Ebüssüreyya Sami's *Osmanlı'nın Sherlock Holmes'ü Amanvermez Avni'nin Serüvenleri*) wrote about late Ottoman Istanbul, a world which they were familiar with due to their relatively contemporary presence in the city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The excerpts from these novels mostly correspond to historical sources in terms of credibility of information, therefore they are meant to provide examples on how some events, trends, habits, etc. were portrayed in fiction. The most problematic sources used in this study happen to be the recollections and memoirs, some of which are rather impressionistic and lack references while having the potential disadvantages mentioned above regarding interpretation. The absence of profound study regarding the 'unorthodox' Greeks of Istanbul in the late Ottoman era requires the historian to assess the available sources with caution despite varying degrees of credibility at stake among Thomas Korovinis' *Fahişe Çıka*, Georgios L. Zariphis' *Hatıralarım*, Haris Spataris' *Biz İstanbullular Böyleyiz*, Hagop Mintzuri's *İstanbul Anıları*, Ahmet Rasim's *Fuhş-i Atik* and Sermet Muhtar Alus' articles. Relevant secondary sources such as Giovanni Scognamillo's *Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş* are quite informative, yet the inadequacy of references makes this work prone to unreliability.

The thesis comprises three main chapters. The chapter *Identity* characterizes the Ottoman Greek community of Istanbul with respect to the themes of education, philanthropy, marriage, gender and employment along with the agency of Istanbul in order to see the limits of inclusion in, or exclusion from the 'envisioned' community

at a time of transformation, westernization and nationalism. The following chapter *Entertainment and Immorality* tries to show the ways in which the entertainers and entertainment practices in Pera and Galata were linked with 'improperness'. The final chapter *Misbehavior* aims at revealing other occupations, habits and acts that were associated with transgression of moral, social and legal codes.

II

IDENTITY

Before we see how occupations and habits changed the ways in which people were regarded by the state, the community and the society in late Ottoman Istanbul, it is imperative to touch upon some features related to the Ottoman Greek community as well as the transformations in the structure of the empire and the capital that reshaped the forms of identity in the nineteenth century. The aim is to see the social, political and economic factors at play regarding identities and identity-making so as to be able to assess the people under study in a certain framework.

In Ottoman society, different non-Muslim groups were under the jurisdiction of their communities, answerable to the Ottoman state through their religious authorities. Following the reforming decrees of Tanzimat, this set of practices came to be anachronistically referred to as ‘the *millet* system’ by the succeeding scholars due to the nineteenth-century use of the term *millet* in Ottoman bureaucracy influenced by the European interpretation, and due to the ambiguity of the term as used by the Ottoman state throughout its rule.²⁰ In the light of Ottoman ecclesiastical documents, it is argued that the term *millet* was not used to refer to the Ottoman non-Muslim groups until the late seventeenth century and it would take another hundred years for the term to become widespread in the Ottoman bureaucracy with respect to

²⁰ Benjamin Braude, “Foundation Myths of the *Millet* System,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, Vol. 1, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 72-73.

its use as ‘religious community’ instead of *tâ’ife* (group).²¹ In the nineteenth century, *millet*, as the sum of all Orthodox Christian communities, became an intermediary domain overseen by the Orthodox Patriarchate through which these communities partook in the Ottoman institutionalization and legitimized Ottoman rule.²² The terms that referred to Orthodox Christians in Ottoman documents varied throughout the centuries; in the fifteenth century, the term *Nasrâni* (Nazoreans, Christians), and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term *kefere* (infidels) denoted the Orthodox²³ whereas the term *Rum*, having commonly been used for ‘Orthodox’ in Ottoman administration, came to have a rather Greek tone in the nineteenth century denoting the Orthodox Christians under the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate following the declarations of autocephalous churches in the Balkans,²⁴ such as the Church of Greece in 1833, the Church of Romania in 1865 and the Exarchate of Bulgaria in 1870.²⁵ In addition to the nationalist ideas and movements, “the progressive influence of the Greek element (Phanariots) in the Orthodox Church as well as in the Ottoman court during this period; the gradual decline of the central Ottoman administration, which gave the opportunity to the Orthodox high clergy to

²¹ Paraskevas Konortas, “From *Tâ’ife* to *Millet*: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Community,” in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1999), 171-172.

²² Sia Anagnostopoulou, “Tanzimat ve Rum Milletinin Kurumsal Çerçevesi,” in *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Gayrimüslimler*, ed. Pınelopi Stathi (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 4.

²³ Konortas, 173.

²⁴ Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 9-10.

²⁵ Vangelis Kechriotis, “19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul Rum Ortodoks Cemaatleri: Yeniden Yapılanmadan Kozmopolitliğe,” in *Batılılaşan İstanbul’un Rum Mimarları* (İstanbul: Zoğrafyon Lisesi Mezunlar Derneği, 2010), 10.

acquire more political, administrative, judicial, and economic privileges”²⁶ brought about the predominantly Greek character of the term *Rum*.

As a means to restore the *status quo ante* and centralize its authority, the Ottoman state implemented the Tanzimat reforms, namely the imperial edicts of *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhâne* (1839) and *Hatt-ı Hümayûn* (1856), one of whose aims was to transform “the Greek Orthodox Church into a recognised office of government and subordinating the local communities to its dictates”.²⁷ Basically an intermediary representing its locals vis-à-vis the Ottoman state and regulating the tax system, the ‘community’ consequently became an institution with national attributes.²⁸ By legitimizing the communities in the empire, the Ottoman state tried to create social and legal equality among people of different ethno-religious backgrounds.²⁹ Although oriented towards equality and tolerance, the Tanzimat reforms proved paradoxical because instead of promoting supranational feelings of solidarity in the form of *Osmanlılık* (Ottomanism),³⁰ they confined the communities to their boundaries within the framework of religion while, at the same time, they spoke of the collective existence of the subjects of the sultan,³¹ i.e. Ottoman citizenry. Despite the efforts of the Tanzimat statesmen, the envisioned equality could not be achieved

²⁶ Konortas, 173.

²⁷ George A. Vassiadis, *The Sylogos Movement of Constantinople and Ottoman Greek Education, 1861-1923* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2007), 24.

²⁸ Kechriotis, “Yeniden Yapılanmadan Kozmopolitliğe,” 10.

²⁹ Gerasimos Augustinos, *Küçük Asya Rumları: Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda İnanç, Cemaat ve Etnisite*, trans. Devrim Evcı (Ankara: Ayraç Yayınevi, 1997), 344.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 311.

³¹ *Ibid.*; Meropi Anastasiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle: Histoire Socioculturelle de la Communauté de Péra* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 31.

during the era.³² The duality of putting emphasis on equality on one hand, and reshaping non-Muslim communities as *millet*s with their own constitutions on the other, generated two parallel forces.³³ Despite the irregular implementation of the acknowledged rights concerning the non-Muslims, the reforms “contributed substantially to the remarkable economic and demographic resurgence of the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire after the setbacks of the 1820s”,³⁴ in other words, after the Greek War of Independence that consequently led to the recognition of a national Greek state in 1830. At a time of rising nationalism, the Ottoman Greek community leaders found a favourable environment to promote their culture and religion, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, by increasing the number of related structures, such as churches, schools and other secular buildings, including the ones that housed numerous societies (*σύλλογοι*), by which they expressed themselves.

In Asia Minor, there was no cultural or linguistic homogeneity among the Greek Orthodox.³⁵ In Istanbul, even though in some quarters “among them Samatya, Kumkapı, Narlıkapı and Yedikule, the ‘Greek’ populations were almost wholly Turkish-speaking”,³⁶ Greek was the dominant language in the community.³⁷ In the

³² See Carter V. Findley, “The Acid Test of Ottomanism: The Acceptance of Non-Muslims in the Late Ottoman Bureaucracy,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, Vol. 1, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 339-368.

³³ Ayşe Ozil, “Education in the Greek Orthodox Community of Pera in 19th Century Istanbul,” (Unpublished MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2001), 13.

³⁴ Richard Clogg, “The Greek *Millet* in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, Vol. 1, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 195.

³⁵ In the region of Bursa in 1911, the Hellenic consul was not satisfied by the number of the Greek-speaking Orthodox people even though his findings demonstrated that the number was larger than that of the Turkish-speaking Orthodox people for this particular city. See Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 99.

³⁶ Clogg, 185.

neighbourhoods under study – in Pera and Galata – Greek language had achieved superiority and was noticeably used or at least understood by others who did not refer to themselves as Greeks. In 1914 when she was a clerk at the Fruchtermann photography shop, Theodora Yoannidis sent a postcard to Paul Fruchtermann – the son of Max Fruchtermann – who was most probably on a business trip in Vienna:

“Dear Paul! When I received your card I was home alone and I was very happy. I read it by myself and, as you see, I have learned to write a little (by copying). This way nobody knows that you wrote to me and that I replied to you. Many greetings, Theodora.”³⁸

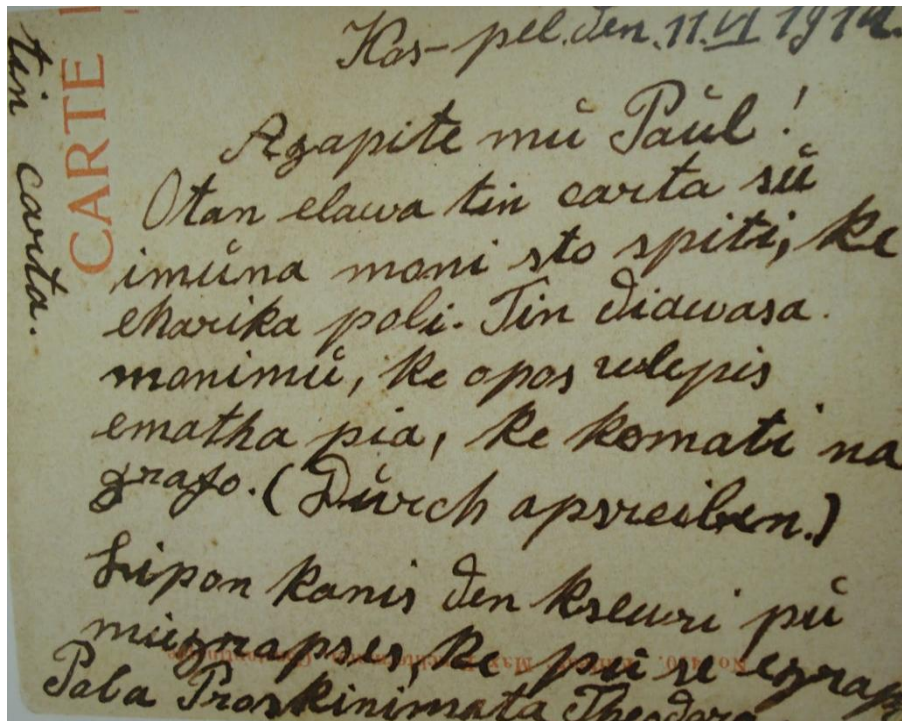


Figure 1 The clerk Theodora Yoannidis writing to Paul Fruchtermann (*The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann*, Vol. I, 8)

As the information in the postcard suggests, Theodora did not use to be literate either in Greek or in German. With respect to her orthography mistake in German

³⁷ Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 305.

³⁸ “Agapite mu Paul! Otan elawa tin carta su imina moni sto spiti, ke eharika poli. Tin diawasa monimu, ke opos wlepis ematha pia, ke komati na grafo. (Durch apsreiben.) Lipon kanis den ksewri pu mu grapses, ke pu se egrapsa. Pola prosknimata. Theodora.” Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann*, Vol. I (İstanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 8-9.

(*apsreiben* instead of *abschreiben*), most probably she learned it by ear, or she just knew some expressions. She wrote the card in secrecy in Greek using Latin script, not following the grammatical order of letters but her ears, either because she learned Greek by ear as well or she wanted Paul to understand what she wrote because he could not read the Greek script though he knew the language.

The rest of the Greek Orthodox population in the Ottoman Empire did not necessarily speak Greek.³⁹ The most well-known example in this case is the *Karamanlı* people of central Anatolia who were Greek Orthodox but did not speak Greek, yet used the Greek script in order to write in Turkish. The reports of the Greek Literary Association of Constantinople, which was founded in 1861 and had a huge impact on Ottoman Greek education, did also prove the heterogeneity of language and culture among the Orthodox Christians of Asia Minor.⁴⁰ Whereas language seems to have been mostly a local phenomenon, it became a communal (rather ‘national’ in the sense of nineteenth-century attribution of ‘millet’) phenomenon after the spread of education among the Greeks. Having a common language besides religion would gather the Greeks under the same cultural and religious umbrella.

The Greek Orthodox community, just like other non-Muslim communities, had to take care of its own educational affairs. The development of educational system and the societies were closely associated with the expansion of the middle classes, and the wealth they acquired which was influential on social

³⁹ “Cultural and linguistic heterogeneity was very common among Christians with the Turkish language becoming dominant as one stepped even a little inland from the coastal regions of Anatolia.” Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 13.

⁴⁰ Haris Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati: Dersaadet Rum Cemiyet-i Edebiyesi, 1861-1912*, trans. Foti Benlisoy and Stefo Benlisoy (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004), 123.

differentiation.⁴¹ Education became instrumental in participating in a parish (*ενορία*) via societies and institutions that generated their own mechanisms to integrate the middle classes, and in creating common ground by social mobility.⁴²

Education was a crucial arena in which the growing economic power of the upper/upper-middle Greek classes could claim ideological power.⁴³ The ascendancy of the lay element in the second half of the nineteenth century should not be related to economic power alone due to empire-wide secularising tendencies of the period, yet the fact that the lay community leaders supplied the necessary money/funds for education and cultural activities enabled them to acquire powerful positions as administrative bodies, vis-à-vis the clergy who conventionally had a word in educational affairs of the community. In spite of the fact that the laity came to the fore in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was the Church which rendered them legitimate and the Patriarchate acted as an overseer for the running of the community, thus it never absolutely handed the reins over to them.⁴⁴ Both parties needed each other to legitimize their actions and activities in the eyes of the Ottoman state. Nevertheless, the Patriarchate itself became an agent in the process of secularization taking place in the Ottoman state following the decrees of Tanzimat.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ibid., 33, 38.

⁴² Ibid., 35, 37.

⁴³ Ozil, "Education in the Greek Orthodox Community of Pera," 13-14.

⁴⁴ Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 28-29.

⁴⁵ "Osmanlı devleti, esasında adet olarak yalnızca dini öndere devrettiği ve ruhani meselelerle alakalı olan imtiyazları müminler cemaatinin bütününe yayar – bunlar, artık Patrikhane'nin değil, bütün milletin imtiyazlarıdır – ve bu suretle de onları dünyevileştirir. Yani Patriğin gücünü sınırlandırır ve bu gücü Ortodoks Hristiyanların bütününe yayarken, Patriği *toplumsal kurumların laikleşmesinin kefil*i tayin eder." Anagnostopoulou, 7.

The Greek schools were a part of this process, both as secular educational institutions and as secular buildings.⁴⁶

The most important tool that would serve the ‘envisioned’ Ottoman Greek community was “educational institutions by which modern ideas of the West concerning ethnic identity had infiltrated the traditional, social and intellectual worlds of the religious community”.⁴⁷ The independent Greek state was considering itself Helleno-Christian, an identity which combined the Enlightenment idealization of Ancient Greece with Orthodox Christianity. Athens was an important cultural centre for Ottoman Greek education that provided the community with teachers and textbooks along with other publications that enabled interaction. It is argued that after 1870, the publications issued in the Greek Kingdom (such as books, journals, newspapers and brochures) and delivered abroad would outshine local Ottoman Greek centres in such activity.⁴⁸ Some Ottoman Greeks pursued their education abroad in Europe, especially in Greece, and were familiar with the ongoing ideological debates outside the empire. If education was one of the likely ways to move up in the Ottoman society for the Greeks, it was a medium to belong to the world beyond the Ottoman Empire as well. Those who received their education abroad had stronger cultural and political consciousness of belonging to a wider community and they helped to increase the network between two major Greek cultural centres, namely Istanbul and Athens.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Ayşe Ozil, “İki Okuma Odası, Bir Narteks: Rum Cemaat Yapılarına Tarihsel ve Toplumsal Bir Bakış (1856-1914),” in *Batılılaşan İstanbul’un Rum Mimarları* (İstanbul: Zoğrafyon Lisesi Mezunlar Derneği, 2010), 32.

⁴⁷ Augustinos, 303.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 325.

That some Greeks did not necessarily prefer to send their children to the existing Greek schools but to the foreign schools in Istanbul established by the French, the British and the American missionary groups posed a threat to the Patriarchate and the educational societies for the unity of the community in the late nineteenth century⁵⁰ just as in the case of philanthropy. In those missionary institutions, the students would be exposed to other religious doctrines and languages rather than primarily their own. Being educated in foreign languages would be highly beneficial for social mobility both within and outside the empire, yet the students would not be adequately exposed to Greek which was essential for the embodiment of the ‘envisioned’ Greek community.

Ottoman Greek education did not promise equal roles for male and female students. Whereas boys were educated to meet the needs of modern society, girls were educated predominantly to become better housewives and they were not encouraged to rival men since the doors of social mobility were only slightly ajar for women. Until the 1870s, the number of girls’ schools was low and only those from well-to-do families could afford to receive private education.⁵¹ The different curricula for educating boys and girls pointed to the future roles attributed to them.⁵² Women were to contribute to the community mostly as mothers who would manage

⁵⁰ Vassiadis, 27-28; “Avthentopoulos’un deęerlendirmelerini en azından Robert Koleji mezunlarının sayısı doęrulamaktadır: Kolejin 1906-1912 dönemindeki 137 mezunundan 63’ü, çoęu İstanbul’dan ve keza ülkenin başka yerlerinden gelen Rumları.” Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı’da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 36.

⁵¹ Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı’da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 31.

⁵² Gender-wise, there were differences in curricula in other schools as well: “These schools [of the Alliance Israélite Universelle] were opened in the Ottoman Empire after 1860 by French Jews, whose goal was to bring Western cultural values, progress, and moral education to their Oriental co-religionists. [...] The language of instruction was French, but other languages were also taught, along with science, religious instruction, and vocational training, especially to girls (whose curriculum was somewhat different from that of boys).” See Olga V. Borovaia, “Translation and Westernization: *Gulliver’s Travels* in Ladino,” *Jewish Social Studies* 7 (2001): 149.

the house and give the first education to their kids. This should not suggest that no significant step was taken in order to educate girls, taking into consideration the Greek schools established for them in Istanbul in the nineteenth century. However, women's traditional role at home was not going through a dramatic change during the era. In spite of this, educating girls generated more literate women which made them more apparent in society. As a part of the modernization process, institutional education paved the way for becoming an 'individual', redefining the role of women in modern society.⁵³ Even though publishing was impeded by interferences of censorship and state licensing during the Hamidian era,⁵⁴ the rise in literacy enabled a readership that enjoyed the publications of rapidly flourishing privately owned printing houses after the restoration of the constitution in 1908.⁵⁵ This phenomenon of print capitalism "acted as a conduit for the diffusion of new ideas about the relationship between men and women, including sexual relations, and [...] in this manner it helped create new models and norms".⁵⁶ The state tried to take measures so as to counteract the burgeoning erotic publications as well which were likely to transgress moral codes.⁵⁷ Publications on women visibly increased after 1908,⁵⁸ yet

⁵³ Nevin Meriç, *Osmanlı'da Gündelik Hayatın Değişimi: Adâb-ı Muâşeret 1894-1927* (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2000), 107.

⁵⁴ İrvin Cemil Schick, "Representation of Gender and Sexuality in Ottoman and Turkish Erotic Literature," *Turkish Studies Association Journal* 28, 1-2 (2004 [2008]): 15.

⁵⁵ İrvin Cemil Schick, "Print Capitalism and Women's Sexual Agency in the Late Ottoman Empire," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 31, 1 (2011): 197, 199.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 202.

⁵⁷ "In particular, the measures adopted in February 1913 included a change to article 20 of the Press Law of 1909, which concerned the publication of material "contrary to common decency or in violation of public morality." While the original article referred only to newspapers and periodicals, the new version enumerated "books and articles and pictures." This very telling change had been occasioned by a sudden explosion of erotic publication, in which both homegrown texts and translations from foreign languages (particularly French) had flooded the market." *Ibid.*, 211.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 207.

some Greek magazines for women had already started to give voice to debates on women. The magazines printed in Istanbul such as *Kipseti* (1845), *Evriddiki* (1870-73) and *Bosporis* (1899-1906) covered features on the role of women concerning education and women's position in public sphere.⁵⁹ For example, according to Efrosini Samartzidou, the publisher of *Kipseti*, 'unfortunate women' who deserved decent lives needed to be integrated to the society for progress.⁶⁰ This suggests that Samartzidou, a literate woman from the Greek community of Istanbul, was concerned with the 'indecent' lives of some Greek women from lower classes because they did not belong to the picture visualized by Greeks like her who believed in morals of a robust community. It is argued that even though these features in Greek magazines were progressive, the feminist debates lost ground after the 1870s.⁶¹

Just like education, marriages were markers of identity which defined belonging to a community. Haris Exertzoglou argues that even though the Greek Orthodox, the Jews and the Armenians had close relations in Istanbul in a social context, religion prevented stronger ties between the upper classes while ethnic affiliation was influential on differentiation.⁶² The wealth they possessed enabled

⁵⁹ Katerina Dalakoura, "İstanbul'da Yayınlanan Rumca Kadın Dergilerinde Eğitim Tartışmaları," trans. Gülşün Aivali-Aksoy, *Kebikeç* 31 (2011): 29-52.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 51; Debates on women and feminism were not limited to Greek intellectual spheres. The Armenian novelist Zabel Esayan (1878-1943) wrote that in order to respect themselves, women should aim at becoming individuals beneficial to the society, rather than simply giving pleasure or entertaining. See Agop Celalyan, "Kadın Yazarların Gözüyle 19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Ermeni Kadını," in *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Gayrimüslimler*, ed. Pinelopi Stathi (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 98; See also Lerna Ekmekçioğlu and Melisa Bilal, eds. *Bir Adalet Feryadı: Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye Beş Ermeni Feminist Yazar, 1862-1933* (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2006); Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou, eds. *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013).

⁶² Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 36.

them to acquire administrative roles in the running of their communities that were dependent on the preservation of their own ethno-religious identities.⁶³ Therefore, none of the powerful families of Istanbul was willing to compromise their ethno-religious identity⁶⁴ whereas we know that intermingling was a problematic issue as the organization of society did not actually encourage it.⁶⁵ Regarding Pera, Meropi Anastassiadou agrees with Exertzoglou that people had close social relations and exchanges on daily basis because the neighbourhood itself generated the favourable atmosphere with public markets, shops, cafés etc. for co-existence which sometimes led to marriages between different religious groups; however Anastassiadou argues that mixed marriages were more frequent in upper classes because the marriages would strengthen family networks⁶⁶ since the educated wealthy Greeks “belonged to a cosmopolitan world which spread well beyond the limits of the Ottoman Empire”.⁶⁷ In a similar line, Orhan Türker writes that mixed marriages were not exceptional among the various ethno-religious groups, yet he notes that these were not the norm

⁶³ Ibid., 36-37.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 36.

⁶⁵ “Toutefois, on ne peut s'empêcher d'observer que, à l'époque des Tanzimat, l'organisation de la société n'encourage pas véritablement les brassages.” Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 31.

⁶⁶ “Il n'empêche qu'à travers la banalité et la répétition des interactions journalières finit par s'instaurer un art du vivre ensemble. Souvent, il ne s'agit que de partager des goûts, des façons d'être, une certaine vision du monde. Parfois, cela peut aller jusqu'à des mariages entre membres des communautés différentes. Dans les milieux modestes, les unions mixtes sont peu nombreuses, mais loin d'être exceptionnelles. En particulier, les orthodoxes épousent assez volontiers des catholiques. Au sein des couches aisées, les alliances matrimoniales oubliées des clivages religieux sont plus fréquentes. Elles posent d'autant moins problème qu'elles renforcent les réseaux familiaux et donnent par là même davantage, de poids aux lignées concernées.” Ibid., 29-30.

⁶⁷ “D'une manière plus générale, fortune et instruction vont souvent de pair, chez les Grecs, avec une nette propension à déborder les frontières de l'orthodoxie. [...] Ils appartiennent en un mot à un univers cosmopolite qui, parfois, s'étend bien au-delà des limites de l'Empire ottoman.” Ibid., 30.

and at least in the case where a Greek was to marry a Muslim, he or she had to compromise his or her religious identity and had to consider the consequences.⁶⁸

In the section of the daily Greek newspaper *Tachydromos* (*Ταχυδρόμος*) where some news and announcements regarding Istanbul and its Greek community were published, marriages ‘worthy of attention’ were announced under the heading *Γάμοι* (weddings):

“Joyful news that last Sunday under the blessing of the church of Agia Triada (Holy Trinity) in Pera, the wedding-song brought together to blissful community life the two endearing beings, that of Mr. I. A. Illidin, the famous cognac producer, and of the beloved Miss Theodoti Koemtzopoulou, whom we congratulate and wish happiness and many children.”⁶⁹

Whereas women from wealthy Greek families were a means to foster beneficial networks, their contemporaries from modest backgrounds were seen as a burden on their families because of the required provision of dowry.⁷⁰ In his recollections of Istanbul, Haris Spataris touches on the tradition and mentions that within the milieu of Phanar, the groom candidate had to be free of his ‘social responsibilities’ which included marrying off all the girls in the family which meant supplying the necessary

⁶⁸ Orhan Türker, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'ndan Bir Köşe: Tatavla* (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 1998), 77; With respect to the Jewish women tobacco workers in Salonica, Gila Hadar argues that mixed marriages did not frequently take place, yet if these women were to marry a Muslim or a Christian, they converted to the religion of the prospective husband. See Gila Hadar, “Jewish Tobacco Workers in Salonika: Gender and Family in the Context of Social and Ethnic Strife,” in *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture and History*, eds. Amila Buturović and İrvin Cemil Schick (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 140.

⁶⁹ “Γηθόσυνοι ἀγγέλλομεν ὅτι τῆ π. Κυριακῇ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος ἐν Πέραν ὑπὸ τὰς εὐλογίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁ ὑμέναιος συνέζευξεν εἰς βίου κοινωνίαν εὐτυχῆ δύο προσφιλεῖς ὑπάρξεις, τὸν κ. Ι. Α. Ἰλλίδην τὸν γνωστὸν κονιακοποιὸν καὶ τὴν ἐρασίαν δεσποινίδα Θεοδότην Κοεμπζοπούλου, οἷς καὶ συγχαίροντες εὐχόμεθα ὀλβιότητα καὶ εὐτεκνίαν.” *Tachydromos*, 2 May 1898.

⁷⁰ Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 251.

dowry for them before he himself got married.⁷¹ In 1916, the members of the Greek Orthodox community “were obliged to present themselves before their parish priest, accompanied by two ‘known and respectable’ parishioners” in order to receive authorisation for marriage.⁷² Even though it was acceptable on the part of the church, we learn that society did not favour remarriage since widows were expected to remain loyal to the memory of the departed, and those who transgressed this tacit agreement could expect to be subject to suspicion and gossip.⁷³

In major urban centres of the Ottoman Empire, in our case in Istanbul, middle-class Orthodox Christians, “especially the wealthy and market-oriented groups gradually adopted new consumption practices”.⁷⁴ These practices created new space that redrew social and cultural boundaries, differentiating the middle classes from other urban groups as consumption came to determine one’s social standing.⁷⁵ The Crimean War (1853-56) was a landmark regarding the consumption practices of Istanbul that drew French and English soldiers to the city and “brought Ottomans and Europeans into face-to-face contact and increased Ottoman interest in everything European”.⁷⁶ Lavish expenditure was viewed as a threat to the integrity of the Orthodox communities with respect to house economy and morality because

⁷¹ Haris Spataris, *Biz İstanbullular Böyleyiz!: Fener'den Anılar 1906-1922*, trans. İro Kaplangı (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 145; A dowry was a prerequisite for marriage that compelled young Jewish girls to start working at the ages of 12 to 14. See Hadar, 129.

⁷² Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 148.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 250.

⁷⁴ Exertzoglou, “The Cultural Uses of Consumption,” 80; Regarding the consumption practices in Galata and Pera, see Nur Akın, “Batılı Eğilimler ve Tüketim Biçimleri,” in *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (İstanbul: Literatür, 1998), 68-82; See also Donald Quataert, ed. *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

⁷⁵ Exertzoglou, “The Cultural Uses of Consumption,” 79, 81.

⁷⁶ Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 287.

spending more than necessary could drain the financial resources of a family and spending more than one could afford was a sign of ‘moral weakness’.⁷⁷ In addition to this, such lavish consumption practices could jeopardize social barriers that the upper classes wished to preserve.⁷⁸ Even though lavish expenditure was closely linked with wealth, the changing capital, both in terms of physical and mental change, became the very agent that created its own consumption patterns that were influential on identity. The changing urban space, going out practices, clothing, furniture, eating, drinking, leisurely activities, increasing number of publications due to literacy were all related to consumption in terms of identity-making. As the capital’s transformation highlighted Beyoğlu in many respects, the districts under study also became influential on identity-making. According to most inhabitants of Istanbul, the selection of a particular location “was no longer necessarily related only to socio-economic criteria but depended more and more on the additional consideration of the cultural ‘value’ of districts”.⁷⁹ In the Greek case, the trend of moving to Pera from Phanar reflected this tendency⁸⁰ as Pera symbolized modernity and westernization vis-à-vis Phanar that represented tradition with the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in its boundaries. In addition to the memoirs of some Ottoman Greeks, the trend of moving to Pera from other districts is noticeable even in fictional works regarding the era:

“*Loksandra*: Agatho tells us to move to Stavrodromi. Lately the rising trend is ‘Pera’ and ‘Pera’. Up to now, you know that everyone would go to Stavrodromi to find a husband.

⁷⁷ Exertzoglou, “The Cultural Uses of Consumption,” 82-84.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 85.

⁷⁹ Eldem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” 204.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 205.

Hariklo: The truth is that Makrochori (Bakırköy) has emptied. It's full of Turks and Armenians. Therefore, I, Loksandra, better take my house to Stavrodromi as well."⁸¹

Even though the Greeks shared a common faith, neighbourhoods changed the lifestyles of relevant groups in the capital. In his memoirs, Spataris mentions how language played a restrictive role so that some Greeks did not go shopping in those neighbourhoods where they needed to communicate in Turkish.⁸² Speaking of districts like Phanar, he notes that the Greeks could find whatever they needed in their localities so they did not particularly have to intermingle with others who did not speak their language while admitting that knowing Turkish was beneficial to those who needed business networks.⁸³ Besides religion, Greek language and culture seem to have been important elements of inclusion in a Greek district like Phanar that a Turkish officer failed to meet, therefore he did not fit in and had to leave the neighbourhood.⁸⁴ It is not astonishing that people outside the Greek community would not exactly make themselves 'at home' in Phanar. However, ethno-religious affinity was not the only criteria that set the boundaries for inclusion, and those who were born Greek Orthodox could be prone to exclusion on different terms. Local

⁸¹ “Λωξάντρα: Ἡ Ἀγαθὴ λέει νὰ μετακομίσουμε στὸ Σταυροδρόμι. Καινούργια μόδα τώρα μᾶς βγῆκε, τὸ “Πέρα” καὶ τὸ “Πέρα”. Ἰσαμε τώρα ξέρεις ὅλος ὁ κόσμος στὸ Σταυροδρόμι πῆγαινε νᾶβρει γαμπρό.

Χαρικλὸ: Ἡ ἀλήθεια εἶναι πὼς τὸ Μακροχώρι ἄδειασε. Ἔχει γεμίσει τουρκιὰ καὶ ἀρμενιά. Κάλλιο κ’ ἐγὼ τότες, ἅμια Λωξάντρα, τὸ σπίτι μου νὰ τῶπαιρνα στὸ Σταυροδρόμι.” Maria Yordanidou, *Loksandra* (Athens: Estia, 2003), 97. [*Λωξάντρα* (Αθήνα: Βιβλιοπωλεῖο της Εστίας, 2003)] Yordanidou was born in Istanbul in 1897. See p. 8.

⁸² “Asıl İstanbul’da da Ömer Efendi, Orozdi Back gibi büyük mağazalar vardı. Ama bizimkiler fanatizmden değil, Türkçe bilmedikleri için oralara pek gitmezlerdi.” Spataris, 33.

⁸³ “Bu insanlar [Rumlar], bütün ihtiyaçlarını bu kalabalık semtlerde karşılayabildikleri için, diğer nüfuslarla karışmıyor ve özellikle de Türk semtlerine pek gitmiyorlardı. Hiçbirimiz, alışverişlerde kullandığımız “Pırasa kaç?”, “Pera’ya bir bilet” gibi birkaç kelimeden başka Türkçe bilmiyorduk. Devletin lisanını bilmemekle gururlanıyorduk ama, bu durum aleyhimize sonuçlandı. Bu, Konya ve Ankara’ya tren seferleri başlayınca Türkçe bilen Rumların İstanbul’a gelmesiyle kanıtlandı. Yeni gelenler Türkçe bildikleri için pazarlarda egemenliklerini kurdular.” *Ibid.*, 42.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 186.

intervention was staged for the young and the wayward Greeks so that they complied with the rules and did not cause trouble for the sake of the community.⁸⁵ Just like people living in them, the sections of a district reflected a social hierarchy:

“The road going down to Balat was rather different. On the road, there were some factories and a shipyard, and at the beginning, there were *Rebetiko* shops and beyond them the religious institutions in competition with each other. [...] Further ahead on the left, there were the taverns that the *rebets* frequented. These taverns devalued the neighbourhood. It was forbidden for us kids to go there.”⁸⁶

Spataris adds that in those times, the word *rebetis* (ρεμπέτης⁸⁷) was equivalent to a curse for ‘decent’ men.⁸⁸ In one of his adventures, the fictional detective *Amanvermez Avni* (a.k.a. *the Ottoman Sherlock Holmes*) enters the shop of the tailor *Yani Demiroğlu* dressed as a *palikarya* (παλικάρη) on undercover mission. As soon as the tailor sees his unstylish outfit, he looks at him with contempt and tries to get him out of his shop despite Avni’s ‘convincingly fluent’ Greek.⁸⁹ Even though we should

⁸⁵ Ibid., 176.

⁸⁶ “Balat’a doğru giden yol daha değişikti. Yolun üstünde tersane ve fabrikalar vardı, başında ise Rebetiko dükkanları ve onların arkasında da birbirleriyle rekabet eden dini tesisler bulunuyordu. [...] Biraz ileride yine solda rintlerin (rebeti) dadandığı tavernalar vardı. Bu tavernalar mahallenin değerini düşürüyordu. Biz çocukların oralara gitmesi yasaktı.” Ibid., 173.

⁸⁷ *Rebetiko* (Ρεμπέτικο) is a Greek musical genre that emerged in the Aegean port-cities in the late nineteenth century and came to be a medium for release among those who had been alienated for various cultural, political, and economic reasons after the Greek-Turkish population exchange in the 1920s. The word *rebetis* (ρεμπέτης) either means a musician who composed/performed *Rebetiko* or “someone who makes a carefree and rather marginal life, defying official or commonly recognized values and morals of society”. See http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/search.html?lq=ρεμπέτης&dq=

⁸⁸ Spataris, 175.

⁸⁹ “Yarım saat sonra Voyvoda Caddesi’ndeki terzi Yani Demiroğlu’nun dükkânında bulunuyordu. Dükkâna girerken çekingen bir tavır aldı, başından kesketi çıkarıp Rumca terziyi selamladı ve dükkânda yabancı kişiler olup olmadığını da aynı zamanda araştırdı. Terzi yalnızdı, bir kumaş biçmekle meşgul idi. Bu biçimsiz palikaryayı görünce nefret çağırıştıran bir şekilde baktıktan sonra, “Burada hazır elbise satılmaz” dedi. Avni bu küçümsemeyi hiç anlamamış gibi davranarak yine Rumca olarak “Efendi, elbise almaya gelmedim... Size bir şey soracağım, lütfen cevap verirseniz teşekkür edeceğim” dedi. “(Kızgınlıkla) Elimde iş olduğumu görüyorsun. Soracağın şey kısa ise söyle. Nedir bakalım?” “Affedersiniz efendim, sizden banker Keseliyan Efendi’nin ölçüsünü isteyecektim...” “(Palikaryayı yukarıdan aşağıya tekrar süzerek son derece hiddetle) Haydi Allah versin!”

approach Avni's adventures with caution as a fictional work published in the final years of the Ottoman Empire which are full of 'evil' Greek characters, the conversation offers a glimpse of everyday relations of two people from the same ethno-religious community, yet not the same social class. Irregular *tulumbacı* (firemen) were also among the *palikarya* who made a living out of various small jobs and had their peculiar ways of dressing and habits. Because of their independence and disorderly schedule, they were easily linked with 'unorthodoxy' and they were not the kind of people – as our sources suggest⁹⁰ – that one would want to tangle with.

Although Pera and Galata had substantial Greek residents, they were not very similar to districts like Phanar and Tatavla because they were more conducive to interaction, be it at a superficial or professional level. While Galata was turning into a business centre in the nineteenth century, Pera evolved into a “residential core for Europeans and westernizing non-Muslim Ottomans”.⁹¹ The Greek Orthodox community of Pera, which extended from *Skalakia* (Yüksekkaldırım) to Şişli⁹² comprised approximately thirty-five thousand people when the centenary of the Church of Panayia was celebrated in 1904,⁹³ signifying the hundredth anniversary of

“Affedersiniz çorbacı, ben dilenmiyorum!”

“O halde sen çılgınsın! Haydi git diyorum, yoksa şimdi bir polis çağırırım” demekle birlikte kapıya doğru yürümek istedi.

Herifi nezaket dairesinde sorgulamanın başka çaresi kalmadığını anlayan Avni, ceketinin ucunu açıp polis hafiyelerine mahsus tokayı terziye göstererek Türkçe “Zorluk çıkarma, yalnız itaat et!” dedi.” Ebüssüreyya Sami, “Yanmış Adam,” in *Osmanlı'nın Sherlock Holmes'ü Amanvermez Avni'nin Serüvenleri*, Vol. 1 (İstanbul: Merkez Kitaplar, 2006), 46.

⁹⁰ “Kopukların bir kolu da tulumbacılar sınıfıdır.” Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), 97.

⁹¹ Eldem, “İstanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” 202.

⁹² Sula Bozis, *İstanbul Rumları* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 9.

⁹³ Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 368.

the Pera community. When Beyoğlu had its first municipal organization in 1858, the Greek community of Pera had already developed an administrative system for its affairs.⁹⁴ As for Galata, it had at least as many Muslim residents as non-Muslims up until the eighteenth century, and it was only in the nineteenth century that the district entered into a westernization process.⁹⁵ The comprehensive census of 1885 shows that the population of the area of Galata-Beyoğlu-Tophane all together was composed of 21.8 % Muslims, 32 % non-Muslims and 47 % foreigners.⁹⁶ Despite the fact that they are related to a privileged group of the well-off, the archives of the Imperial Ottoman Bank reveal important data regarding its customers' ethnicities and addresses.⁹⁷ According to these, the percentage of the Greek customers who worked in Galata was the highest while the Greek customers were the largest group residing in Beyoğlu after the foreigners.⁹⁸ Considering the fact that many among the foreigners in Galata had Balkan or Russian origins, it is possible to argue that it was developing as an Orthodox Christian district, and the life in Galata – and to a large extent in Beyoğlu – was dominated by 'Westernizing Greek Orthodox culture and traditions'.⁹⁹

Under the influence of global capitalism, the Ottoman Empire was going through a process of modernization in terms of economic, and to some extent social structure.¹⁰⁰ Albeit in a passive mode, the Ottoman Empire was being economically

⁹⁴ Ozil, "İki Okuma Odası, Bir Narteks," 30.

⁹⁵ Eldem, "Galata'nın Etnik Yapısı," 59, 61.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 61.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 63.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 61.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 63.

¹⁰⁰ Eldem, "Batılılaşma, Modernleşme ve Kozmopolitizm," 13.

integrated with the West whereas modernization in social structure was mostly related to the implementation of Western patterns¹⁰¹ such as those in urban structure and administration. Evidently, this process of modernization was beneficial to the capital and its residents in different aspects concerning urbanization¹⁰² (lighting, security, transportation, etc.) and citizenship, but because it was being carried out with partial and superficial Western importations, it had shortcomings such as failure of internalization.¹⁰³ While at the economic and social levels the effects of change were rather visible, the effects on culture and identities were not very easy to assess.¹⁰⁴ Consumption practices related to European goods or culture “did not necessarily mean Westernization, and the defense of tradition did not necessarily mean negation of the West”.¹⁰⁵ In his article on the signatures of the Greek clients of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Edhem Eldem shows that among the options of using a seal, a Latin or a Greek signature, the Greek clients mostly preferred the latter and argues that the Greek bourgeoisie “had both the means and the motives to display a strong ethnic and national stand, whose expression would at least partly infringe upon other potential definitions, national or supra-national”.¹⁰⁶ The historian also mentions that the Greeks relied on their independent schools, their language rivalled that of the French which was the other ‘local *lingua franca*’ and the Greek script was more familiar to the European eye than other ethnic scripts used in the Ottoman

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 12-14.

¹⁰² See Zeynep Çelik, “The Nineteenth-Century Background,” in *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 31-48.

¹⁰³ Eldem, “Batılılaşma, Modernleşme ve Kozmopolitizm,” 13.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Exertzoglou, “The Cultural Uses of Consumption,” 96.

¹⁰⁶ Edhem Eldem, “Signatures of Greek Clients of the Imperial Ottoman Bank: A Clue to Cultural Choices and Behaviour?” in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe 1850-1950*, eds. Anna Frangoudaki and Çağlar Keyder (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 76-77.

Empire, therefore the choice of using Greek signatures “may have been due to certain cultural and ideological motivations”.¹⁰⁷ Although change was inevitable and adoptable on the part of the Greek community, it was welcome as far as its most ‘undesirable’ facets could be checked by the agency of tradition that “represented genuine indigenous values and thus provided firm ground for developing a true sense of community and self”.¹⁰⁸ This may be the reason why an educated man from the Greek community such as Evangelinos Misailidis (Ευαγγελινός Μισαηλίδης) – an Ottoman Greek writer and journalist who had a publishing company in Istanbul from the mid to late nineteenth century – tries to recreate the Greek novel *O Polypathis*¹⁰⁹ as a moral tale in which he shows his appreciation of morality, education and similar bourgeois values. Even though Misailidis appreciates Europe’s progress in science, he is critical of transgression of moral codes in the name of ‘civilization’.¹¹⁰ A similar attitude is observed in the discourse of nineteenth-century Ottoman travellers to Europe such as Ahmed Midhat Efendi who “persistently presents the gap between European superiority in science, technology, and material achievement, and its moral

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 76.

¹⁰⁸ Exertzoglou, “The Cultural Uses of Consumption,” 90-91.

¹⁰⁹ “[...] Grigorios Palaiologos’s picaresque novel *O Polypathis* [Ο Πολυπαθής; “The Man of Many Sufferings”] (was) published in 1839 in Athens, while Misailidis was a student in the Faculty of Philology and Philosophy of the then newly-founded University of Athens.” Anthi Karra, “From *Polypathis* to *Temaşa-i Dünya*, From the Safe Port of Translation to the Open Sea of Creation,” in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books*, eds. Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 201.

¹¹⁰ Regarding the dual attitude, compare the excerpts: “Bu karnaval usulü, Atik Yunanlıların asrından kalma bir âdet olup, evvel emirde Evropa’ya ve hususiyle Kebir Yunanistan tabir olunan İtalya’ya ve ondan kusur beldelere sirayet ederek, böyle bir uyuzluk tedric tedric Anadolu’ya da ve hususiyle İstanbul ve İzmir ve İskenderiye’ye de bulaşmıştır. Keşki bulaşmasaydı, zira bu haftalar zarfında olan sefahat ve haşarılık ve terk-i edep halat hiçbir vakit olamaz. Hükümdaran böyle edebiyat ve ahlâkiyeti ihlal edici sebepleri def-ü izale etseler pek hoş olur idi, ancak medeniyetin iktizası böyleymiş, derler. Vay gidi medeniyet, vay!” “Evropa’yı bedeviyetten çıkarıp, medeniyete duçar eden ilimdir, o iki müşkül vakitlerde Anadolu’dan Evropa canibine iltica eden Yunan hukâma ve ulâmasının himmeti ile neşr olundu. Ve perişaniyetten çıkarıp, ihya eden şirket usulüdür.” See Evangelinos Misailidis, *Seyreyle Dünyayı (Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakâr-u Cefakeş)*, eds. Robert Anhegger and Vedat Günyol (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1986), 147, 232.

inferiority”.¹¹¹ Haris Exertzoglou argues that regarding consumption practices, the East and the West “should be seen as a cultural field whose meaning was constantly negotiated in the Ottoman society by individuals and groups struggling to define their position and identity in a period of rapid change”.¹¹²

Defining their position and identity in that cultural field was already tortuous for the Ottoman Greeks of major urban centres apart from the consumption practices they got accustomed to. As mentioned before, the Kingdom of Greece supplied the necessary cultural goods for consumption to the Ottoman Greeks such as books, journals, etc. After the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, “it became increasingly clear that Greece was not, in fact, destined to become some huge great middle ground between East and West” and it shifted “toward an Occidental, European, classicist, and Athenian” model of Hellenism.¹¹³ Even though the Ottoman Greeks of Istanbul did not all adhere to the irredentist ideology, they had strong cultural ties with the Kingdom of Greece that influenced their identities. Alongside cultural consumption among the Ottoman Greeks, those who could afford it received higher education in Athens. Greek associations such as *Anatoli* that was established in 1891 in Athens and Pireaus, contributed to the intellectual development and social mobility of the young Greek Orthodox from Asia Minor by means of providing them with scholarships to study in Athens, thereby integrating them to the ‘wider’ world.¹¹⁴ Vangelis Kechriotis argues that the mechanism generated by such network

¹¹¹ Dror Ze’evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 161, 169.

¹¹² Exertzoglou, “The Cultural Uses of Consumption,” 96.

¹¹³ K. E. Fleming, “Athens, Constantinople, ‘Istambol’: Urban Paradigms and Nineteenth-Century Greek National Identity,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* No. 22 (Spring 2000): 18-19.

¹¹⁴ Vangelis Kechriotis, “Educating the Nation: Migration and Acculturation on the Two Shores of the Aegean at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” in *Cities of the Mediterranean: From the Ottomans to*

via which these young Greeks were exposed “to official Hellenic education accounts for the process of acculturation that took place on the western shores of the Aegean at the end of the nineteenth century”.¹¹⁵ Towards the twentieth century, the teachers working in the Greek schools in Istanbul were generally graduates of the University of Athens and the educational materials were very similar to those used in Greece.¹¹⁶ Even though the Kingdom of Greece was a minor state under the protection of the Great Powers, extending nationality was a means to display power by exerting pressure to the advantage of its nationals living in the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, Ayşe Ozil shows the ways in which foreign nationality became a means to question the boundaries of the Orthodox Christian commune as well.¹¹⁸ The availability of holding both Ottoman and Greek passports enabled some Orthodox Christians to oscillate between different identities which were not necessarily in opposition. To some, it was the ability of manoeuvre which made living in the Ottoman Empire favourable.¹¹⁹ An Ottoman document reveals the case of three brothers, Andon, Hristo and Dimetokli of Tatavla, who argued that they were Ottoman subjects with respect to their father Dimitri Tiranopulo’s earlier residence registry in Istanbul despite the Greek consulate’s recognition that they were actually citizens of the Greek state. Unravelling the puzzle, the document states that it was

the Present Day, eds. Biray Kolluoğlu and Meltem Toksöz (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 148.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹¹⁶ Anastasiadou, *Les Grecs d’Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 365; There was a close resemblance between contemporary Constantinopolitan and Smyrniot Greek educational patterns. See Kechriotis, “Educating the Nation,” 143-144.

¹¹⁷ Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 98.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 102-106.

¹¹⁹ Augustinos, 349.

Andon Tiranopulo who, having convinced his brothers, claimed Ottoman citizenship in order to avoid a penal suit.¹²⁰

The Greek uprising (consequently the Greek War of Independence) inevitably cast doubt upon the loyalty of the Ottoman Greeks to the Sultan which had immediate results such as the execution of the contemporary Greek Orthodox Patriarch Gregory V of Constantinople in 1821, despite his condemnation of the activities. As an independent state, the Kingdom of Greece could pose a threat to the unity of the empire's Greek Orthodox subjects, which became more evident with the Greek-Ottoman War of 1897.¹²¹ As a result of rising nationalism in the Ottoman Empire, the Hamidian regime promoted "the notions of a harmonious state-society relationship, of a patriotic Ottoman identity, and of the sultan as symbolically embodying the unity of the Ottomans".¹²² In the early years of his reign, Abdülhamid II's prohibition of celebrations of Istanbul's conquest was a way of finding common ground so as not to antagonize his Orthodox subjects.¹²³ Nevertheless, towards the final decades of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state was implementing more control over the affairs of its non-Muslim subjects. It tried to supervise the community schools with the creation of an organisation called the *Mekâtib-i Gayrimüslime ve Ecnebiye Müfettişliği* (Inspectorate of Non-Muslim and Foreign Schools) in 1886, which treated Christian and Jewish subjects as comparable to

¹²⁰ BOA, BEO 1596/119690, 1318 Ş 22.

¹²¹ As a consequence of the war, the nationals of the Greek state dwelling in the Ottoman Empire were ordered to leave. See Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 106. Regarding the complexity of the situation in the local context, see pp. 107-108. Ozil demonstrates that the consequences of some political conflicts between Greece and the Ottoman Empire subsequent to the Greek-Ottoman War of 1897 – such as the anti-Hellenic boycott of 1909 – were to jeopardize the Greek Orthodox population who were Ottoman subjects. See pp. 108-117.

¹²² Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 37, No. 1 (February 2005): 72.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 74.

‘foreigners’.¹²⁴ Despite the fact that the press bureau of the Ottoman state had permitted the publication of its periodical in 1884, the Greek Philological Syllogos of Constantinople could publish it only after the content was approved by the authorities.¹²⁵ The Syllogos was forced to cancel the international congress that was going to be held as part of the twenty-fifth anniversary in 1886 and the festivities for its fiftieth anniversary were put off at the last minute.¹²⁶

This chapter aimed to show the ways in which the transformations regarding the state, the community and the society in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire brought about the ‘envisioned’ Greek Orthodox community – and thereby set the stage of ‘orthodoxy’ in terms of identity. The next chapter will discuss entertainment practices in Pera and Galata which were related to Greek entertainers – the most ‘unorthodox’ group that did not fit in with the envisaged picture.

¹²⁴ Anastasiadou, *Les Grecs d’Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 364-365.

¹²⁵ Vassiadis, 233.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

III

ENTERTAINMENT AND IMMORALITY

As a busy port city, Istanbul offered a wide range of activities and venues for entertainment whose development was more and more stimulated by the urbanization process in the nineteenth century. During the era, Pera transformed into a prominent centre where economy, education and leisure coincided in a fashion that rendered the area overly attractive as the wealthiest neighbourhood in the mid-nineteenth century.¹²⁷ With foreign consulates, secular schools, theatres, café-chantants, taverns, patisseries, cafés and shops, the district became the model of modern life which especially involved socializing both indoors and outdoors. (It is not always easy to tell indoors from outdoors, as in the case of coffeehouses where both options may be possible at the same time.) Even though there is no clear-cut reference to the opposite ends of the social scale in Pera, it is argued that the hill downwards to Galata functioned as a ladder descending from higher to lower classes.¹²⁸ According to many accounts, Galata was associated with all sorts of dangers and was rather infamous due to an aggregation of brothels and taverns that were less luxurious than the ones in Pera.¹²⁹ Geographically speaking, Galata was less fortunate due to its

¹²⁷ Bozis, 17.

¹²⁸ Stefanos Yerasimos, *İstanbul 1914-1923* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), 14.

¹²⁹ Taking a humorous and satirical look at Istanbul's thirty four neighbourhoods in the second half of the nineteenth century, Hagop Baronyan describes Galata as a menacing, treacherous place with respect to the 'ill fame' and the geographical features of the area: "Galata'nın sınırları güneyde yankesiciler, batıda sarhoşlar, kuzeyde katiller ve doğuda şarkıcı kızlardır. Paranın ve çılgınlığın sınırı yok. Galata ovada kurulduğundan, genellikle yazın toprağa, kışın ise geri kalanı toprak olmak üzere üçte biri denize dönüşür olur. Bu mahalle iki topoğrafyaya sahiptir: biri yaz, diğeri kış topoğrafyası.

location compared to the long, linear Cadde-i Kebir (i.e. *Grande Rue de Péra*) whose neatness was obvious to the beholder, as Galata's 'maze of small, intricate, narrow, hilly streets, all very badly paved, and at night almost entirely unlit',¹³⁰ was not that easy to penetrate.¹³¹ Galata's proximity to the docks was the most important reason that the places of 'ill fame' lay close by: Galata and its environs were the first places the travellers, tourists and sailors trod as they disembarked their ship and started exploring the city.

An important part of exploring the city consisted of exploring the local entertainment practices. Due to its broad concept, entertainment shall not be attributed to Pera and Galata alone, yet a diversity of choices enabled these districts to outshine all the others in the capital as far as nocturnal entertainment was concerned. Similar to the dominance of non-Muslim population in these districts, there was ethno-religious stratification in the sector from which the Muslims were restrained by Islamic rules.¹³² Nightly entertainment was closely related to

Yaz mevsiminin topoğrafyasını kılavuz kabul edip kışın gezersen su içinde boğulabilirsin. Kış mevsiminin topoğrafyasıyla da yazın gezersen sandalın karaya oturur. Bu mahallede tehlikeli hallere düşmemek için çok dikkatli yürümelisin.” See Hagop Baronyan, *İstanbul Mahallelerinde Bir Gezinti*, trans. P. Hilda Teller Babek (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2014), 113; “Les rues de Galata sont profondes comme mœurs et couleur: lumière noire, ruelles sales, fenêtres donnant sur des arrière-cours d’où sort le son aigre d’une mandoline ou d’un violon; çà et là, à la fenêtre ou sur le seuil de la porte, une sale mine de p....., habillée à l’européenne et coiffée à la grecque...” Gustave Flaubert, *Oeuvres Completes de Gustave Flaubert. Notes de Voyages II: Asie Mineure, Constantinople, Grèce, Italy, Carthage* (Paris: Louis Conard, 1910), 56.

¹³⁰ S. Cohen, “Report of an Enquiry Made in Constantinople on Behalf of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, London, 1914,” in *The Jews and Prostitution in Constantinople 1854-1922*, by Rıfat N. Bali (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2008), 76.

¹³¹ “Galata’ya vardık. Gezintimiz buradan başlayacak. Galata, eskiden büyük Bizans mezarlığının bulunduğu, Haliç ile Boğaz arasında denize doğru uzanan bir tepeye kurulmuştur. Burası İstanbul’un merkezidir. Nerdeyse bütün sokaklar dar ve dolambaçlıdır; sokakların her iki tarafında da meyhaneler, tatlıcılar, berber ve kasap dükkânları, Rum ve Ermeni kahvehaneleri, tüccar yazıhaneleri, imalathaneler, kulübeler dizilmiştir; Londra’nın kenar mahalleleri gibi her yer loş, rutubetli, çamurlu, yapış yapıştır.” Edmondo de Amicis, *İstanbul*, trans. Filiz Özdem (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010), 55.

¹³² Volkan Aytar, “Tarihsel Bir Eğlence Turu: Bizantion’dan İstanbul’a Süreklilik ve Kopuş,” in *İstanbul’da Eğlence*, eds. Volkan Aytar and Kübra Parmaksızoğlu (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 33, 35.

selling/serving alcohol, and depending on the choice, it required women to perform either on stage, or in private in the form of prostitution. If religion designated occupations in the Ottoman Empire,¹³³ the majority of the prostitutes in the capital were per se non-Muslims. Istanbul comprised an important part of a network for supplying sex-workers which spread beyond the empire.¹³⁴ As prostitution increased from the mid-nineteenth century onward, it was most prevalent in the capital throughout the Ottoman lands.¹³⁵ The administrative and social transformations in the nineteenth century reshaped urban space in Istanbul as in many other cities¹³⁶ where “the rise of urban culture [...] was accompanied by a concomitant growth of prostitution”.¹³⁷ At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were a hundred brothels in Galata and its environs¹³⁸ most of which had Greek owners and prostitutes in a wide range of ethno-religious groups.¹³⁹ Such density unsettled the school administrators who wished to keep their students out of the neighbourhood¹⁴⁰ fearing that they might indulge in the pleasures of youth. An Ottoman state document

¹³³ Concerning the effects of religion on occupations in another Ottoman port city, Salonica, see Meropi Anastasiadou, *Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri: Selanik, 1830-1912*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2001), 288. For the occupations peculiar to Christians, see pp. 284-286.

¹³⁴ Malte Fuhrmann, “‘Western Perversions’ at the Threshold of Felicity: The European Prostitutes of Galata-Pera (1870-1915),” *History and Anthropology* Vol. 21, No. 2 (June 2010): 160.

¹³⁵ Aydın Yetkin, “II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi’nde Toplumsal Ahlak Bunalımı: Fuhuş Meselesi,” *Tarihin Peşinde: Uluslararası Tarih ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 6 (2011): 25, 31.

¹³⁶ Ozil, “İki Okuma Odası, Bir Narteks,” 34.

¹³⁷ Thomas T. Orum, “The Women of the Open Door: Jews in the Belle Époque Amazonian Demimonde, 1890-1920,” *SHOFAR* 19, No. 3 (Spring 2001): 89.

¹³⁸ Müge Özbek, “The Regulation of Prostitution in Beyoğlu (1875-1915),” *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. 46, No. 4 (July 2010): 560; Yetkin, 28.

¹³⁹ İrvin Cemil Schick, “Nationalism Meets the Sex Trade: İstanbul’s District of Beyoğlu/Pera During the Early Twentieth Century.” Paper presented at the Amherst and Hampshire Colleges Workshop on “*Crossing Borders: ‘Unusual’ Negotiations Over the Secular, Public, and Private*,” Amherst College, 16-18 February 2009, 2-3.

¹⁴⁰ “Diyor, mektepliyken müdürün: Galata, Beyoğlu taraflarında gezmek yasaktır.” Ahmet Rasim, *Dünkü İstanbul’da Hovardalık, Fuhş-i Atık* (İstanbul: Arba, 1992), 103.

of 1914 regarding the unfavourable effects of the brothels on the students of Mekteb-i Sultanî¹⁴¹ is only one side of the story when we take into account various other schools in the neighbourhood, including the Greek community's. The Armenian writer Hagop Mintzuri (1886-1978) mentions that when he was a fourth grade elementary pupil in *Getronagan* in the district of Galata, the school manager Kirkor Makaryan had the windows painted white so that the students would not look at the women living in the flat opposite their class who were most probably prostitutes, as implied by their degree of nudity and habits in the room. However, the curiosity of the students overcame the efforts of the school administrator as they managed to scrape a peep-hole on the window and to paint it over again when necessary.¹⁴² On a Saturday afternoon as they got out of school, Mintzuri and his friends heard the sound of *zurna* coming from the direction of the 'streets of brothels' (*genelev sokakları*) on which they had not set foot before that day even though they were aware of the brothels and the women working there, which the society called 'evil houses' (*kötü evler*) and 'evils' (*kötüler*), respectively.¹⁴³ They were amazed at the licentious scenes they saw in which women were dancing and smoking, a habit they had never witnessed among the women of Istanbul:

"Esayi [...] turned and asked me:
- You deliver bread to the houses. Do the women of Istanbul smoke cigarettes? Armenians, Greeks, Jews or Turks?
- No, said I. I get in and out of many houses, in Beşiktaş and in Ortaköy. I've never come across, never seen. Turks don't smoke either."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ BOA, DH.EUM.MTK 77/25, 1332 B 08.

¹⁴² Hagop Mintzuri, *İstanbul Anıları 1897-1940*, trans. Silva Kuyumcuyan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002), 84-85.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹⁴⁴ "Esayi [...] bana dönerek sordu:
- Siz evlere ekmeç verirsiniz. İstanbullu kadınlar cigara içerler mi? Ermeniler, Rumlar, Yahudiler veya Türkler?
- Hayır, dedim. O kadar eve girer çıkarım, Beşiktaş'ta, Ortaköy'de, hiç rastlamadım, görmedim. Türkler de içmez." *Ibid.*, 87.

Interestingly, we see a postcard dating back to 1901 – probably a few years after the time when Mintzuri and his friend had this conversation in fourth grade – in which a woman, by no means described as Armenian, Greek, Jewish or Turkish but as gypsy, was pictured while smoking a cigarette.¹⁴⁵ Although it is a fictional work, the novel *Leonis* (Λεωνής) set in Istanbul of 1914-1922 gives us another view regarding how smoking in public was audaciously bold, even for the prostitutes of Abanoz Street.¹⁴⁶ According to K. Hagop Basmajian, however, towards the end of the nineteenth century “[i]t was always possible to find hundreds of Muslim women on the shores of the Bosphorus, walking about in their white lace veils, laughing and smoking cigarettes with a freedom not common among the Christian women”.¹⁴⁷

In his memoirs, Haris Spataris expresses his surprise for not having been punished after confessing to the principal that the previous day, his absence was due to participation in the carnival of Tativla, a.k.a. Baklahorani (*Μπακλαχοράνι* or *Αποκριές*; *Tativla Panayırı*) which was prohibited to the young just as the streets of ‘ill fame’ in Galata and Pera.¹⁴⁸ Even though the area under study was notorious for its brothels, taverns and some entertainment practices, it was not cast out as a den of iniquity, as the sources suggest. Streets such as Venedik, Timoni, Linardi and

¹⁴⁵ Sandalcı, 245.

¹⁴⁶ “Bazı kadınlar rahat kıyafetlerini giymiş, kapılarda ya da pencere önlerinde ayakta duruyorlardı. Başlıca çarpıcı renkleri olan fiyonklar veya boğazlarına kurdeleler bağlamışlardı. Dudakları ve gözleri parlak renklerle boyanmıştı. Hatta kamuya açık alanlarda sigara içecek cesaretleri bile vardı. Leonis yalnızca bunları görmüştü.” Yorgos Theotokas, *Leonis: Bir Dünyanın Merkezindeki Şehir, İstanbul 1914-1922*, trans. Damla Demiröz (İstanbul: İstos, 2013), 144. Theotokas was born in Istanbul in 1905 and had to leave the city in 1922 to settle in Athens. See Preface, 7-8.

¹⁴⁷ Boyar & Fleet, 301.

¹⁴⁸ Spataris, 37-40.

Abanoz did call to mind promiscuity, yet they were the same streets where ‘decent’ families dwelled as well.¹⁴⁹

Despite the difficulty of fixing a date for legal prostitution in Istanbul, it appears that the legalization did not take place before the mid-nineteenth century. There was no vice squad (*Ahlâk Zabıtası*) until 1845 and moral offences like prostitution were handled along with other crimes by the same branch, namely *Seraskerlik*.¹⁵⁰ Even though the efforts for obligatory medical examination of prostitutes within the area of Galata and Pera started in the late 1870s, it was in 1884 that the Ordinance for the Sanitary Inspection of the Brothels was issued by the Council of State (*Şûra-yı Devlet*) to let the municipality control the prostitutes in the Sixth Arrondissement (*6. Daire-i Belediye* in Beyoğlu).¹⁵¹ Prostitution proved difficult for the authorities to control entirely since it could occur anywhere as long as it did not draw attention.¹⁵² Nevertheless, it could occur despite the awareness of the authorities as well. In her article on studying crime, social control and prisons in nineteenth-century Istanbul, Sevgi Göral notes that roughly ten per cent of the news regarding crime was related to state officers who misused their positions.¹⁵³ As a consequence of nineteenth-century centralization and urban transformations, the

¹⁴⁹ Giovanni Scognamillo, *Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş* (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1994), 92.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁵¹ Özbek, “The Regulation of Prostitution in Beyoğlu,” 557; Yetkin, 27; The first Contagious Diseases Act was passed by the state in the late Victorian era in 1864 “which provided for a medical and police inspection of prostitutes in garrison towns and ports”. See Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 22-23.

¹⁵² Without doubt, prostitution exercised in secret was not necessarily voluntary but depending on financial circumstances, it might have been the only option for ‘free’ prostitutes. See Jay Spaulding and Stephanie Beswick, “Sex, Bondage, and the Market: The Emergence of Prostitution in Northern Sudan, 1750-1950,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* Vol. 5, No. 4 (April 1995): 525.

¹⁵³ Özgür Sevgi Göral, “19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Suç, Toplumsal Kontrol ve Hapishaneler Üzerine Çalışmak,” in *Osmanlı’da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza: 18.-20. Yüzyıllar*, eds. Noémi Lévy and Alexandre Toumarkine (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2007), 25.

Ottoman state tried to establish a more supervised control over the city.¹⁵⁴ However, it is argued that the police stations were not equally distributed and that the neighbourhoods inhabited mostly by non-Muslim Ottoman subjects and foreigners did receive special attention.¹⁵⁵ Whereas this could have been the case, the shortcomings of the authorities did prove that even such neighbourhoods were at times poorly controlled. In his *Report of an Enquiry Made in Constantinople on Behalf of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women* published in 1914 in London, S. Cohen writes that in the vicinity of Galata “[e]verything appears as free and licentious as possible. There are no hindrances and no difficulties from the authorities. Except for the fact that a policeman is placed in a kind of sentry box in one or two places, there is not the slightest supervision”.¹⁵⁶ If at times control was present yet rather superficial due to inadequacies, other times ignorance was deliberate. It is only by means of combining local practices with general ones that we could come to have a better understanding of preserving public order in the city.¹⁵⁷ There are many documents in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives relating to malpractices and abuses of power, along with improper (*uygunsuz*) conduct in the districts under study. They either narrate individual cases where we obtain the names of some ‘corrupt’ officials,¹⁵⁸ or they report the complaints of the

¹⁵⁴ Noémi Lévy, “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı’da Kamu Düzeni Konusunda Çalışmak: Bibliyografya Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” in *Osmanlı’da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza: 18.-20. Yüzyıllar*, eds. Noémi Lévy and Alexandre Toumarkine (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2007), 64.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁵⁶ Rıfat N. Bali, *The Jews and Prostitution in Constantinople, 1854-1922* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2008), 77.

¹⁵⁷ Noémi Lévy, “Yakından Korunan Düzen: Abdülhamid Devrinden İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemine Bekçi Örneği,” in *Osmanlı’da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza: 18.-20. Yüzyıllar*, eds. Noémi Lévy and Alexandre Toumarkine (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2007), 136.

¹⁵⁸ “Birtakım başıbozuk ve uygunsuz takımıyla beraber gece Galata’da dolaşan Polis Memuru Ahmed Tevfik Efendi’nin polis mesleğinden çıkarılması gerektiği. Beyoğlu’nda Polis Ali Efendi’yle sivil

deficiency/indifference of the authorities in general.¹⁵⁹ While some Ottomans informed the officials to the police on account of bribe and mistreatment,¹⁶⁰ others benefited from their unlawfulness, especially those who were into occupations which were illegal or considered immoral, like prostitution. Some of those in charge of surveillance got engaged in prostitution themselves¹⁶¹ or turned a blind eye to prostitution in return for bribes.¹⁶² Bribes must have been a tempting incentive for some police officials as additional income¹⁶³ and their function as intermediaries between the state and society rendered their network more attractive. In the light of the recollections of Eftalya – nicknamed *Çika* – who was born at the beginning of the twentieth century and started working in the brothels of Galata at a quite early age,¹⁶⁴ we hear that some brothel keepers had good relations with army officers, and they were frequently paying visits to the police stations, some of which ended up with bribing the police in order to cover the situation up.¹⁶⁵ It must have been to their

Polis İsmail Efendi'nin elbiselerini resmi elbisenin altına giyip çıkarırken yakalandığı.” BOA, ZB 72/127, 1323 H 04.

¹⁵⁹ “Galata’da bulunan meyhane ve kumarhanelerde alenen kumar oynatılarak türlü fuhşiyatta bulunulduğu ve buna Galata Polis Merkezi’nden engel olunmadığı ihbar edildiğinden tahkikat yapılması.” BOA, DH.EUM.KADL 2/52, 1328 Z 22.

¹⁶⁰ Göral, 25.

¹⁶¹ “Şişli, Feriköy ve Tatavla taraflarında Rum kadınlarıyla münasebeti olan zabıta memurlarının görev yerlerinin değiştirilmesi.” BOA, ZB 622/164, 1324 Te 7.

¹⁶² Yetkin, 27.

¹⁶³ Bali, *The Jews and Prostitution in Constantinople*, 80.

¹⁶⁴ “1900’lerin başlarında Giresun’da doğan Çika ya da gerçek adıyla Eftalya, Birinci Dünya Savaşı’nda ailesini kaybediyor, bir Müslüman kadın aracılığıyla İstanbul’a geliyor ve on iki yaşlarında Galata genelevlerinde çalışmaya başlıyor. Korovinis, Çika’nın yaşamını kendi ağzından aktarıyor.” Ayşe Ozil, “Eski İstanbul’un Trajik Figürleri: Fahişe Çika,” *Radikal Kitap*, 6 July 2012. [online]: http://www.radikal.com.tr/kitap/eski_istanbulun_trajik_figurleri-1093307

¹⁶⁵ “Evleri olan ve onları işleten kadınların devletle ilişkileri iyiydi, subaylarla sohbetleri vardı. Karakola girip çıkıyorlardı. Dokunmak isterse, zarar vermek isterse, onlar iyi bir bahşış verip üstünü kapatıyorlardı. Her ay da ödeme yapıyorlardı, belediye bir haraç kesmişti, polisleri de içeriye alıp en güzel kızları bedava veriyorlardı, ondan sonra bütün pisliklerini kapatıyorlardı.” Thomas Korovinis, *Fahişe Çika*, trans. Frango Karaoğlan (İstanbul: Istos, 2012), 55.

disadvantage that the brothel keepers were not on good terms with those who had power. An Ottoman document¹⁶⁶ reports that two army officers, Galib of Kayseri and Ekrem of Diyarbakır, went to the brothel of Peruz in Bülbülderesi in Beyoğlu with 8-10 fellows and along with threats of harm to the brothel, they broke the windows with their swords while the lieutenant Sermed Efendi, along with another lieutenant and an army officer, did the same to the brothel of *Şişman (Fat)* Peruz in Ziba Street, causing damage worth more than a hundred *guruş*. The document makes no mention of the motive of these men, yet their actions were regarded as inappropriate, leaving scant room to reach a conclusion that no personal issues were involved. Besides the inconvenience of prostitution in terms of morality, such scenes that involved men gathering outside brothels, brawls and loud music caused disturbance to residents who were rather concerned by the visibility of prostitution to ‘wives and daughters’ and ‘respectable’ people.¹⁶⁷

Compromise in other forms was also possible by “offering free services and drinks, and cooperation”.¹⁶⁸ Free service included supplying women to the officers in

¹⁶⁶ “Zabtiye nezareti ‘alisine Atufetlü efendim hazretleri ‘asakir-i şahane süvari ikinci alayı birinci bölüğü mülazım-i sanisi Kayserili Galib ve yine süvari beşinci alayının birinci bölüğü mülazım-i sanisi Diyarbakırlı Ekrem Efendi’yle sekiz on kadar refikleriyle beraber dün gece Beyoğlu’nda Bülbülderesi’nde Peruz’un umumhanesi önüne giderek ve kılınlarını çekerek hanesinin birçok camlarını şikest etmekle beraber cülusa kadar haneni yakacağız deyüb tehditatta buldukları iddia olunmasıyla yetişilüb muma ileyhima derdestle kol zabitanı terfikan merci’lerine gönderildikleri gibi merkez kumandanlığı yaverlerinden yüzbaşı Sermed Efendi bir yüzbaşı ve bir mülazım refikleriyle leyle-i mezburede Beyoğlu’nda Ziba sokağında umumhaneci Şişman Peruz’un hanesine gidüb kılınc keşidesiyle harb ve tehdid ve cam vesaire şikest ile bin yüz guruşu mütecaviz zarar iras ederek firar etdikleri iddia olunmasıyla icab eden tahkikatın icrasına ibtidar kılınmış ve şu kadarki zabitan-ı muma ileyhimanın ahval-i mezkûresi sıfat ve terbiye-yi askeriyeleriyle gayrı mütenasib bulunmuş olmağla ifa-yı muktezası menut-ı rey-i sami-i nezaretpenahileridir olbabda emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehü’l-emrindir” BOA, ZB 74/46, 1324 A 14.

¹⁶⁷ Özbek, “The Regulation of Prostitution in Beyoğlu,” 562-563.

¹⁶⁸ Hanan Hammad, “Between Egyptian ‘National Purity’ and ‘Local Flexibility’: Prostitution in al-Mahalla al-Kubra in the First Half of the 20th Century,” *OUP Journal of Social History* 44, No. 3 (Spring 2011): 761.

charge.¹⁶⁹ Even though collaboration with the police officers could not be more apt, it was not the sole means to procure or traffic men and women. It makes sense that people who did such business on a large scale could have good relations with the authorities, yet in other individual cases, the network had to be comprised of common people (in terms of social status as opposed to officers) since the partnership of the police was not readily available to all. According to a police report in the Ottoman archives, a tailor named Yanko took the fourteen year-old Mariya of Tatavla to the brothel of Mariyana near Ağa Mosque in Beyoğlu and after deflowering the girl, he left her to the brothel keeper in exchange for twenty liras. The tailor Yanko happened to be the nephew of butcher Dimitri who was working as an informer for Beyoğlu police forces. Having been persuaded by the threats of the butcher-informer Dimitri, Mariyana decided to get rid of the young girl and sold her at a loss for five liras to Memduh who was an owner of another brothel. After the police was informed, the young girl was taken from the brothel and the investigations began immediately.¹⁷⁰ For the historian, this document is enlightening in various aspects. Surprisingly, we see two characters of the same family who engaged in secret activities in opposition. As an undercover agent of the police forces, Dimitri played a major role in retrieving the fourteen year-old Mariya who was abused by Yanko, his nephew. Even though there is no information on whether Yanko was a professional in the business or not, he was clearly familiar with the brothel keeper

¹⁶⁹ Korovinis, 55.

¹⁷⁰ “Tatavla’da Hacı Ahmed Mahallesi’nde sakin Angeliko’nun on dört yaşında kerimesi Mariye’yi o civarda sakin Beyoğlu zabıtası hafiye memurlarından kasab Dimitri’nin yeğeni terzi Yanko bi’l-’iğfal yedi sekiz gün mukaddem Beyoğlu’nda Ağa Cami’-i şerif civarında Bahçeli Hamam zükakında Mariyana nam-ı hatunun hane-i umumisine götürüb bikrini izale ve mezbureyi yirmi lira mukabilinde mezbure-i Mariyana’ya terk ile firar etdiği ve keyfiyyet-i zabıtaya ihbar olunacağı suretde merkum Dimitri’nin birtakım tehdidat ve ikna’at ile men’ eylediği mezbure-i Mariyana dahi mu’ahharen kızı beş lira ticaretle diğer hane-i umumhane sahibi Memduh’a satdığı zabıtaca haber alınarak mezburenin mezkur haneden alınub tahkikatına ve firari merkumun taharrisine ibtidar olunduğu” BOA, Y.PRK.ŞH 2/61, 1304 R 24.

Mariyana. Prostitution in brothels may be more visible and their owners more reputed than the procurers, yet this does not mean that the procurers should necessarily be perceived as anonymous. Yanko was a tailor but he may have been famed for his ‘immoral’ deeds at a local level before his name entered the records of the police. As a tailor, he had a legitimate occupation which integrated him well into the neighbourhood so he may not have drawn as much attention as someone unemployed who was engaged in similar activities. Revealing us the actors behind the scenes, the document suggests that the prostitutes or the prostitutes-to-be were part of a chain which involved people from different ethno-religious groups despite the dominance of non-Muslim women exercising the trade.

Just as people could have one legitimate and one clandestine occupation, there were venues which were used for the original reason for which they were created and at the same time used for illicit activities. In *Fuḫṣ-i Atîk*, Ahmet Rasim mentions Augustina, an actress-singer working in a beer-hall (*birahane*), whom he ‘naively’ liked until one of his friends from Galata told him that she was one of the most ‘inferior’ women that also kept working behind the curtains more than once a day,¹⁷¹ that is to say she was prostituting. Rasim goes on to illustrate a posterior scene where he immediately turned back as he saw Augustina coming miserably out of the so-called room with the red curtains.¹⁷² In his book on prostitution in Beyoğlu, Giovanni Scognamillo notes that in 1898, the service at the beer-hall Sponeck was not limited to a wide variety of food, and alcoholic beverages imported via the Orient Express; the tavern also supplied furnished bedrooms on the upper floor for

¹⁷¹ Rasim, 97.

¹⁷² Ibid., 98.

prostitution¹⁷³ – this is what we derive from the interpretation of the author as regards the use of the upper floor.

According to another police report in the Ottoman archives, an inhabitant of Beirut, the gardener Yuvanidi, appealed for solution to the situation in which he believed that his wife Angeliki and his daughter Eleni had been violated and forced into prostitution in Beyoğlu by the waggoner Dimitri of Bursa. The suspicions of the gardener Yuvanidi were confirmed as his wife was found to have been held captive by the waggoner and his daughter was collected by the police from a brothel in Timoni Street in Beyoğlu, and both the wife and the daughter were delivered to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate.¹⁷⁴ Even though we learn that the gardener Yuvanidi was dwelling in Eşrefiye in Beirut at the time, the document does not shed any light on how his wife and daughter were linked with the waggoner Dimitri from Bursa. There is no information regarding the presence of Dimitri in Beirut who might have abducted the women in order to prostitute them in Beyoğlu. If Dimitri had never been to Beirut, then the gardener Yuvanidi was simply residing there without his wife and daughter. The document also suggests that in cases like this, the police could be in touch with the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate after a problem concerning the people in the Orthodox community was resolved.

¹⁷³ “Sponeck birahanesi, örneğin, Beyoğlu’nda halka açık ilk sinema gösterisinin yapıldığı mekan olarak tarihe geçmiştir. [...] 1898 yılının Sponeck’i sık ve konforludur; yemekleri, mezeleri taptaze, çeşitli marka bira, şarap ve likörler Orient Express ile getirilmektedir. Bizim açımızdan en önemli özelliği de bu birahane ve lokantanın üst katında ‘zevkle döşenmiş, iyi havalandırılmış, eksiksiz servisli’ yatak odalarıdır.” Scognamillo, 34.

¹⁷⁴ “Beyrut vilayet-i celilesine Zevcesi Angeliki ve kerimesi Eleni’nin Dimitri namında biri tarafından işgal edilerek Beyoğlu’nda Timoni sokağında icra-yı fuhşiyat etmekde oldukları istihbar edildiğinden bahisle keyfiyet bi’t-tahkik sübutu halinde kendilerinin tarafına irsali vilayet-i celileleri Eşrefiye mahallesinde yirmi dört numarolu bahçede bahçevan teb’a-i Devlet-i Aliyye’den Yuvanidi imzasıyla taraf-ı acizaneme gönderilen arzıhalde istid’a olunmuş ve lede’l-havale mezburelerden Angeliki’yi Arabacı Bursalı Dimitri bi’l-işgal kapatdığı ve kerimesi Eleni’nin de Timoni sokağında icra-yı fuhşiyat etmekde olduğu anlaşılması üzerine mezburetan celb ve ba müzekkire Rum Patrikhanesi’ne teslim edildikleri bi’l-havale İstanbul polis meclisinden ifade kılınmış olmağla...” BOA, ZB 408/8, 1320 Ni 20.

As can be seen, the people who were in the business of prostitution were not necessarily driven into it in the same way. Moreover, there was not necessarily a parallel between their lives in terms of status, wealth and respect even though they were all engaged in the same ‘immoral’ business. Many of the sources touching on the subject mention the hierarchy between the brothel keepers and the prostitutes or the difference among the prostitutes themselves. In his article on prostitution in Istanbul in the early twentieth century, Rıfat Bali differentiates between ‘flash’ (*flaş*; expensive and stylish) prostitutes and the rest with respect to the districts they were working in and with respect to the customers they received.¹⁷⁵ In his recollection of the carnival of Tavatla, Sermet Muhtar Alus remarks on the prostitutes in different apparel whereby he classifies them: the ones which had clean clothes were from the bystreets of Beyoğlu, and the ones who had ‘faded, crinkly, stained’ clothes were rather from the streets of Büyük Ziba, Küçük Ziba, Büyük Kırlangıç, Küçük Kırlangıç etc.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, the prostitutes painted a picture of their brothels which “were divided according to price range and, supposedly, beauty between uptown and downtown, Pera and Galata”.¹⁷⁷ In her recollections, *Çika* mentions a brothel keeper called *Kara Despina*. In *Çika*’s words, Despina was living like a ‘sultan’ due to her wealth, consuming the best food and desserts of the City; she had good contacts among the locals and had her own men who served her¹⁷⁸ while as prostitutes, they were almost confined to the house they were working/living in.¹⁷⁹ As far as one can

¹⁷⁵ Rıfat N. Bali, “Yirminci Yüzyılın Başlarında İstanbul’un Fuhuş Âleminde Yahudilerin Yeri,” [online]: <http://www.rifatbali.com/images/stories/dokumanlar/mahrem3.pdf>

¹⁷⁶ Sermet Muhtar Alus, *Otuz Sene Evvel İstanbul: 1900’lü Yılların Başlarında Şehir Hayatı* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), 124.

¹⁷⁷ Fuhrmann, “The European Prostitutes of Galata-Pera,” 160.

¹⁷⁸ Korovinis, 51-52.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

tell, Despina enjoyed the same earthly pleasures as her rich Greek contemporaries and what distinguished her was her ‘indecent’ occupation.

As regards the chain of relations in the network, Rifat Bali mentions that some locals in Galata, who were the first to come into contact with the foreigners and to offer them their service as guides, had business relationships with the brothels.¹⁸⁰ Most probably, the dragoman who led Gustave Flaubert into one ‘abominable’ brothel in Galata did not take him there by chance.¹⁸¹ In his memoirs, *Constantinople of 1890*, Pierre Loti notes that such figures were Greek, Armenian, Jewish or Maltese crooks,¹⁸² a claim which we also come across in Ottoman archival documents of the same period.¹⁸³ Just like acquiring knowledge in foreign languages was beneficial to solidifying one’s position in the network, so was holding passports of various countries. In his article on the European prostitutes of Galata and Pera, Malte Fuhrmann demonstrates the ways in which the people in the prostitution network took advantage of the Capitulations by possessing passports from both the Habsburg and the Ottoman empires.¹⁸⁴ A similar situation is mentioned by Hanan Hammad for Egypt where, the author argues, it proved difficult to deal with foreign prostitution due to legal protection guaranteed by the Capitulations.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ Bali, “Yirminci Yüzyılın Başlarında İstanbul’un Fuhuş Âleminde Yahudilerin Yeri,” 2.

¹⁸¹ Orhan Pamuk, *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 270.

¹⁸² Pierre Loti, *İstanbul 1890*, trans. Galip Baldıran (Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, 1999), 33.

¹⁸³ “İstanbul’a gelen turistlerin, bunlara rehberlik yapan Ermeni, Rum ve Yahudi tercümanlar tarafından esnafla işbirliği yapılmak suretiyle soyulduğuna ve bunun önüne geçilmesi için bir nizamname hazırlanarak kimlerin rehberlik yapabileceklerinin belirlenmesine dairdir” BOA, İ.HUS 58, 1310 Za 22. See Vahdettin Engin, *Sultan Abdülhamid ve İstanbul’u* (İstanbul: Simurg, 2001), 177.

¹⁸⁴ Fuhrmann, “The European Prostitutes of Galata-Pera,” 161-162.

¹⁸⁵ Hammad, 756.

Given the slipperiness of authority between the embassies and the Ottoman state, many pimps and prostitutes were able to oscillate between two different identities according to the requirements of their business. Fuhrmann argues that in the case of the European prostitutes and pimps, the Ottoman authority was trying to get the upper hand by undermining their activities so as to let their disrepute continue, unless prompted by the measures taken by the ‘opposing’ party (i.e. the embassies) until the First World War.¹⁸⁶ A case from 1894¹⁸⁷ reveals the ways in which the Ottoman authorities responded to a situation regarding the European prostitutes. A certain J. Olivier claimed that by chance, he witnessed five young girls of 18-19 years looking out the windows at the Hôtel de Marine in Grand Rue de Pera and smiling at the men (including officers) in the street who returned the gesture in kind. Following his inquiries, Olivier was informed that the girls were Austro-Hungarian sex workers whose master was an Ottoman subject called Moise Mordehi

¹⁸⁶ Fuhrmann, “The European Prostitutes of Galata-Pera,” 166-168.

¹⁸⁷ “Monseigneur, J’ose prendre la respectueuse liberté de soumettre ce qui suit à la favorable considération de V. S. – déclarant: Qu’avant de 2 mois j’étais à Constantinople pour cause d’affaires et j’y ai passé cinq semaines, par hasard j’étais témoin d’une scène qui m’a bien surprise. Un Vendredi je me suis trouvé à la Grand Rue (Rue de Tramway) lorsque l’armée est rentrée de la parade ainsi que quelques Seigneurs comme le Sheik-ul-Islam le Ministère de la Police etc. J’ai aperçu alors dans une maison portant l’enseigne “Hôtel de Marine” se trouvant au fond de la Grande Rue, cinq jeunes filles de 18-19 ans qui regardèrent de la fenêtre souriant aux M.M. les officiers, lesquelles à leur tours les regardèrent aussi. – Tout en prenant intérêt de cet événement j’ai demandé qui sont ces dames, j’ai appris alors que cet Hôtel est une maison des esclaves des filles achetées en Autriche & en Allemagne. Le maître de ces esclaves est un certain Moise Mordehi Gottman, Dedectif auprès du Ministère de la Police et sujet Ottoman. – On m’a dit aussi que le 15me jour de Ramasan, S. M. I. le Sultan passe chaque année à la même rue, ou cette maison honteuse existe. Alors j’ai demandé, comment il est possible qu’on admette une pareille chose, on m’a assuré que les Hauts Personage n’en sont point au courant Ne que le Bin-bache de Voivoda et un certain Antoine Effendi de la Municipalité de Pera le savent mais ils le dissimulent étant en bonne relation avec la maître d’esclaves. Le lendemain j’étais obligé de quitter la Capitale avec l’intention de porter cette scène à la connaissance de S. A. Pour être mieux au courant je suis rentré dans cette maison et les filles m’ont racontés leurs vie & traitements aussi que les choses précédentes. – Par conséquent j’ai pris l’occasion de faire le present rapport espérant que des mesures seront prises d’abolir cette maison encore avant le 15me jour de Ramasan, à seule fin qu’on ne fasse pas publier cette scène dans des journaux européens, car je n’ai vu dans aucune Capitale ce que je viens d’être spectateur à Constantinople. Espérant encore qu’il plaira à S. A. de sauver les pauvres victimes des mains de leur maître, lesquelles ont été faites pour sujette Ottomane, j’ose porter à la connaissance de S. A. que le même rapport j’ai délivré au Ministère de la Police. – En attendant, veuillez agréer, Monseigneur, l’assurance de mon entière dévouement. J. Olivier Odessa, le 3 mars 1894. S. A. Djévad Pacha, Grand Vezir. Stamboul.” BOA, A.MKT.MHM 532/11, 1311 N 07.

Gottman, a detective of the Ministry of Police. While wondering how such a ‘shameful’ house could exist on a road that the Sultan himself passed every year on the fifteenth day of Ramadan, he learned that Gottman was on good terms with the local authorities who preferred to turn a blind eye to what was happening. To get the low-down on the young girls, Olivier visited the hotel, and confronted with their accounts, he decided to bring the situation to the attention of the Grand Vizier Cevad Pasha so that the measures could be taken until the fifteenth day of Ramadan to abolish the hotel and to save the enslaved victims who were made Ottoman subjects, before the scenes he saw in no other capital but Istanbul would be published in European newspapers. Following the investigations, it was reported that the hotel was a brothel for more than twenty years and even though the building was overlooking the Grand Rue de Pera, its windows were latticed and its door was on Leblebici Street just like the other brothels in its environs. Moreover, the report included that no such immoral conduct was witnessed at the windows on the part of the women who were all Ottoman subjects – except the sixth who was Austrian – and free to move wherever they wished, contrary to Olivier’s report. The document suggests that the Ottoman authorities carried out the investigations regarding the complaint, yet two opposite accounts on the liberty of the women shed doubts on either side. Even though no source is mentioned, it is noteworthy that Olivier claims that Gottman was working for the police forces.

In the light of various primary and secondary sources, tavern keeping in Galata and Pera was an occupation which was especially attributed to the Greeks. Though it refers to the era prior to this study, a document from 1829 lists 554 taverns for Istanbul which were all “held by Greeks, Armenians or Jews, and were concentrated in such quarters as Pera, Galata, Tatavla (a Greek quarter beyond

Taksim), the banks of the Bosphorus, but also Hasköy, Balat, Cibali, Samatya, Langa – all quarters known to be inhabited by non-Muslims”.¹⁸⁸ In his book on the taverns of olden Istanbul, Reşad Ekrem Koçu notes that even the terms about tavern service were called in Greek by the customers¹⁸⁹ whereas tavern staff came mostly from the islands of Chios and Imbros.¹⁹⁰ A tavern could be classified as either *gedikli* or *koltuk*, the former having legal permission to function, and the latter being illicit, usually in the form of another business site such as a grocery store (*bakkal*),¹⁹¹ “or even in the street, courtesy of ‘drink peddlers’ (*ayaklı meyhane*), who called on public places and markets and offered regular customers rakı from a vessel which they carried on their belts”.¹⁹²

Of similar importance in terms of selling was how alcohol was consumed because social drinking patterns reveal a lot about leisure to historians “for an appreciation of the basic fabric of social experience”.¹⁹³ Indeed, in the framework of leisure practices, alcohol consumption becomes an instrument to analyse the aspects of social relations. Evidently, in Pera and Galata, people were consuming alcohol regardless of their ethno-religious backgrounds. Rather, it was their social status that

¹⁸⁸ François Georgeon, “Ottomans and Drinkers: The Consumption of Alcohol in Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 12.

¹⁸⁹ “Bölüm 7: Barba, mastori, saki-muğbeçe, palikarlar ve ateş oğlanları pedimular.” Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Eski İstanbul’da Meyhaneler ve Meyhane Köçekleri* (İstanbul: Doğan, 2003), 37.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 46; The eminent Ottoman Greek doctor, Alexandros Paspatis, “also notices a direct connection between profession and place of origin, and confirms the seasonal character of migration for a large proportion of the immigrants in Istanbul”. See Meropi Anastassiadou, “Greek Orthodox Immigrants and Modes of Integration Within the Urban Society of Istanbul (1850-1923),” *Mediterranean Historical Review* Vol. 24, No. 2 (December 2009): 157.

¹⁹¹ Koçu, 15.

¹⁹² Georgeon, 20.

¹⁹³ Michael R. Marrus, “Social Drinking in the ‘Belle Époque’,” *Journal of Social History* Vol. 7, No. 2 (Winter 1974): 134.

determined where they consumed it. As mentioned before, these districts had many taverns, beerhouses and cafés where one could easily get a drink.¹⁹⁴ What distinguished one place from another was the social profile of the frequenters. The reason lying behind frequenting certain venues could vary. It could be that a group of people from similar social classes felt more at ease at a certain place in terms of price¹⁹⁵ or in terms of solidarity. It could be that this certain place was at close proximity compared to others. Other reasons could be the service each place offered such as food, music and dance, and the connivance of prostitution and gambling.

Drinking in Galata was a tradition which was already existent throughout the centuries prior to the nineteenth during Ottoman rule. According to Evliya Çelebi, for example, Galata was equivalent to tavern itself.¹⁹⁶ Galata was still preserving its reputation during the era under study.¹⁹⁷ Just as there were ‘decent’ taverns, many authors agreed that there were others of ill-reputation such as *Küplü*. Reşad Ekrem Koçu notes that under the rule of Abdülhamid II, *Küplü* was a place where the scum of the earth were hanging out.¹⁹⁸ In agreement, Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey

¹⁹⁴ Georgeon, 8.

¹⁹⁵ A sarcastic poem written by Aşık Sarkis goes as follows: “*Giremem içeri üst baş külüstür / Zira Gambrinos gayet lüküstür / Gaco şıkırdımı Pera gülleri / Lavanta sürünmüş hoş kâkülleri / Şampanya patlatır bir şişe en az / Onlarda tamamdır türlü cilve naz / Tatavla, Kumkapı, Hasköy beyleri / Gündüzden verilmiş gece peyleri / “Minüvi” derler ki gece yarısı / Soksun dillerini eşekarısı.*” Koçu, 130-131.

¹⁹⁶ “*Mel’un, uğursuz, yerilmiş esnaf yani meyhaneciler: İstanbul’un dört tarafında meyhaneler çoktur, ama çokluk üzere olanlar Samatyakapısı, Kumkapı, Yeni Balıkazarı, Unkapanı, Cibalıkapısı, Ayakapısı, Fenerkapısı, Balatkapısı ve karşıda Hasköy’de ve Galata demek meyhane demektir ki Allah korusun sanki Malta ve Alakorna kâfiristanıdır. Oradan tâ Kardeniz Boğazı’na kadar elbette her mahallede meyhane vardır, ama Ortaköy, Kuruçeşme, Arnavutköy, Yeniköy, Tarabya, Büyükdere, Anadolu tarafında Kuzguncuk, Çengelköy, Üsküdar ve Kadıköy’de, bütün bu anılan şehirlerde tabaka tabaka beşer altışar kat meyhaneler vardır, ama Galata meygedeleri gümrâhdır ki gümrâh lafzı bunların hakkındadır.*” Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: İstanbul*, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı, Vol. 1 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), 660-661.

¹⁹⁷ A contemporary of Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844-1913), Zil İzzet wrote: “*Galata şehridir bu / Fıçı binlik peyman / Kapı tezgâh arama / Her tarafı meyhane.*” Koçu, 115.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

describes *Küplü* and its frequenters,¹⁹⁹ saying that it was so miserable and isolated that one would assume the tavern was closed. The appearance of the tavern keeper was in perfect harmony with the damnable surrounding. The drunkards of *Küplü* did not necessarily sleep in their homes but in the nearby hammam or under the sky. The description suggests that the effects of alcohol consumption may not necessarily cease when they were supposed to. In this case, the drunkards who ended up in the *külhan* (boiler room) of the Turkish bath of Karaköy apparently did not make a long journey from Galata, considering the inconvenience of drunkenness for the sober inhabitants of the neighbourhood. However, it is obvious that such drinking and sleeping habits were not the norm and these people were a menace to social codes. The author clearly expresses his stance on the frequenters of *Küplü* by using words such as *sefil* (miserable) or *ayyaş takımı* (bunch of drunkards).

In addition to possible public discomfort, excessive alcohol consumption could lead to serious attempts of crime or assault, including those on the police officers. The daily Greek newspaper *Tachydromos* of April 24, 1898 reported a crime that took place in a tavern in Galata based on a contention between two men named Ekrem and Mustafa in which Ekrem stabbed Mustafa in the heart while the two were drunk.²⁰⁰ The same newspaper on the same day reported another crime that was committed in a tavern in Tatavla where a certain Nikolaos stabbed a certain

¹⁹⁹ “Κοπυκλάρδαν δαηα σεφίλ βίρ σαν’ατ βάρδνρ κί, ο δα κϋπλϋ τακίμνδρ. Σον δερεεεε βάραν σαρηοσλϋγϋ ϋϋϋνδεν ηίββίρ ίσε ελί βάρμυαν αϋϋασ τακίμνν, ρακίςυ συ κϋπϋνδε δνρδϋγϋ ίβν κϋπλϋ αδν βερίλμνσ ολαν μεϋηανεε δϋσέρλερ. Βυ κϋπλϋ μεϋηανεσί, Γαλατα’νν εν ίζβε βίρ ϋερινδε ολνπ αδετα βίρ βατακηανεϋνί ανδνρνρ, δνσάρδαν ίβερίσί γορϋννεζ, δϋκκαν καπαλί ζαννεδνλνρ. ίβερδε ίκνί αδετ κνρκ ίσκεμλε ίλε αϋακλάρν κνϋρνλμνσ, ϋζερί πνς, μνρδάρ βίρ μασα βάρδνρ. Μεϋηανεεννν ϋϋϋϋ γοϋϋ βερβαττνρ. [...] Βνλάρδαν βαζνλάρν δα κϋπλϋδε ίβνπ Καρακϋϋ Ηαμανννν κϋλханνδαν γεεελερλερ. Βίρ γεεελεκ ϋερετ ον παρადνρ. Μαναφνλ γοκ ταβαν αλτνδαν ϋατνπ ϋνλδνζλάρν σαϋανλάρν δα βάρδνρ.” Βαλνκηανε Ναζνρνί Αλί Ρνζα Βεϋ, 101-102.

²⁰⁰ “Έτερον κακοϋργημια δνεπράρηθη τῆ έσπέρα τῆς προχθές εν τντν [sic] καπηλείω τοϋ Γαλατα. Έρνδνς εγερθείσης μετάρϋ δϋο, κалуμένων Έκρემ και Μουσταφα, εν καταστάσει μέθης εϋρνσκομένων, ό Έκρემ έπληξε δνα μαχαίρας έπν τῆς καρδνας τόν Μουσταφαν και ό δε φονεϋθενς μετηνέχθη ενς τὸ νοσοκομείον τοϋ στ’. δημαρχνικακϋ τμῆματος, ένθα μετάρ δϋο ώρας εζέπνεϋσε.” *Tachydromos*, 24 April 1898.

Georgios.²⁰¹ What is more interesting in this case is the information included in the newspaper that Nikolaos was a man with a ‘bad history’. According to a police report in the Ottoman archives, a certain Nikos from the Greek Orthodox community was overly drunk and made a scene in front of the brothel of Todora in Bülbülderesi in Tarlabası.²⁰² It is not clearly expressed in the report what exactly Nikos was doing and to what extent his actions were transgressing legal or moral limits in the framework of ‘*icra-yı rezalet*’ (act of disgrace). François Georgeon notes that in cases like this, “[m]unicipal regulations were relatively tolerant of drunks: for example, instructions issued by the municipality in 1872 requested constables to watch over drunks to ensure that they did not disturb the populace, and to inform the nearest police station if they proved too unruly”.²⁰³ Since the report does not mention any incident concerning a third party, we might assume that Nikos was playing around in front of the brothel or he was louder than he was supposed to be so that the officer Osman Efendi wanted to capture him.

The concept of alcohol was easily linked with other ‘nuisance’ such as prostitution and gambling. Such combination was not peculiar to Istanbul; studies on

²⁰¹ “Περὶ τὴν 1 ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς τουρκιστὶ προχθὲς τετάρτην δύο τινὲς εἰσηλθόντες εἰς ὑπαιθρον ποτοποιεῖον τῶν Ταταούλων ἐν τῇ συνοικίᾳ Κεχαγιά. Καθ’ ἣν δὲ ὥραν ὁ ὑπάλληλος ἐπορεύθη ἵνα ἐκτελέσῃ τὴν δοθεῖσαν παραγγελίαν ποτῶν, ὁ ἕτερος τούτων ἐνέπηξεν εἰς τὴν πνευμονικὴν χῶραν τοῦ συμπτώτου ὄξυ καὶ μακρὸν ἐγχειρίδιον παρόμοιον κοπίδι ὑποδηματοποιῶ. Τὸ τραῦμα ἦτο τόσῳ καίριον, ὥστε ἐν ἀκαρεὶ σχεδὸν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ θάνατος. Τὰ ἀστυνομικὰ ὄργανα ἀμέσως ἐπελήφθησαν ἀνακρίσεων καὶ οἰκίας πολλὰς ὑπόπτους ἐν τοῖς πέριξ ἠρεῦνησαν, τοῦ δράστου ὅμως ἡ σύλληψις δὲν κατορθώθη εἰσέτι. Ὁ φονεὺς εὐνομάζετο Γεώργιος, ἦν δὲ Ρύσιος καὶ ὑποδηματοποιός, τελευταίως ἔχων καὶ ἀποθήκην οἴνων ἐν τῇ γειτονικῇ συνοικίᾳ Σινέμκιοι, ὁ δὲ φονεὺς ἐκαλεῖτο Νικόλαος καὶ ἦτο ἄνθρωπος κακῶν προηγουμένων.” Ibid.

²⁰² “Dün gece saat yedi kararlarında Macar’da Bülbül deresinde umumhaneci Todora’nın hanesi önünde Papas Köprüsü sakinlerinden teb’a-i Yunaniden ve Rum milletinden Niko nam merkum ziyadesiyle sekr-hal olarak icra-yı rezalet etmekte olduğu Tarlabası polis mevki’inde müstahdem kol memuru Osman Efendi tarafından görülerek merkumu derdest etmek teşebbüsünde bulunduğu sırada hamil bulunduğu ustura ile muma ileyh Osman Efendi’nin sağ ve sol kollarından haylice cerh ederek firar etmekte iken meydan verilmeyerek derdestle Beyoğlu mutsarrıfiyet-i ‘aliyyesine gönderildiği ve mecruh-ı muma ileyhin müdavat-ı evveliyesi Daire-i Sadise hastahanesince bi’l-icra hanesine gönderildiği beray-ı ma’lumat maruzdur” BOA, ZB 72/69, 1322 T 22.

²⁰³ Georgeon, 23.

other urban centers demonstrate similar interpretations.²⁰⁴ In *Fuhş-i Atık*, Ahmet Rasim asks himself jocularly how he was supposed to know that prostitution was a lock to be opened by alcohol.²⁰⁵ According to the report of Cohen, gambling was common practice in the taverns that were in close proximity to the houses of ‘ill repute’ in Galata.²⁰⁶ Archival documents also suggest that some taverns in the same neighbourhood aided gambling and prostitution without any hindrance from the police department.²⁰⁷ As in the case of prostitution, malpractice was also present in the case of alcohol consumption. Koçu mentions that after the closing time had passed and some tipplers wanted to keep drinking, a certain bribe under the name “see-us-not” (*görme bizi*) would be paid by a young apprentice to the officers in charge so as to avoid their eyes.²⁰⁸ Towards the time when the officers were most likely expected, the apprentice would be keeping guard outside the tavern with a rope in his hand which was tied to the bell that was hanging from the ceiling of the tavern, and as soon as he saw an officer approaching, he would pull the rope and warn the tavern staff and the customers so that they would keep still until the apprentice signalled the departure of the officer by pulling the rope once more.²⁰⁹ One wonders how precious or pricey it was to prolong alcohol consumption in the taverns at a time

²⁰⁴ Khaled Fahmy, “Prostitution in Egypt in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 97.

²⁰⁵ Rasim, 71.

²⁰⁶ Cohen, “Report of an Enquiry Made in Constantinople,” 77.

²⁰⁷ “Galata’da bulunan meyhane ve kumarhanelerde alenen kumar oynatılarak türlü fuhşiyatta bulunulduğu ve buna Galata Polis Merkezi’nden engel olunmadığı ihbar edildiğinden tahkikat yapılması” BOA, DH.EUM.KADL 2/52, 1328 Z 22.

²⁰⁸ Koçu, 36.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

when the documents suggest that the Ottoman state was taking measures to make sure that tavern keepers complied with the regulations regarding the closing hours.²¹⁰

Similar to their prominence as tavern keepers, the Greeks were among the most renowned male dancers (*köçek*) performing in the taverns.²¹¹ The poems written by some regular customers have various approaches towards these dancers. While some include derogatory remarks about their effeminacy, some exalt their homoeroticism. (Later on under Allied occupation, the negative approach would also express exclusivity and nationalistic feelings.²¹² Back in the late nineteenth century, there were also cases of concern to the Ottoman state regarding verbal insults to the Turks, some of which were proven unfounded. In one such case, it was rumoured that some Greeks were gathering in the taverns in Beyoğlu, accompanied by musicians who were performing songs defaming the Turks while at the same time they were making some ‘improper’ remarks.²¹³) In his visit to a café in Galata where three young boys were performing their dance, Gustave Flaubert was not really impressed much by anything in the room other than the curls of a dancer which

²¹⁰ “Beyoğlu ve Galata ile Samatya’daki meyhane ve birahanelerin kapanış saatlerine uymalarının sağlanması” BOA, ZB 600/174, 1324 Te 12.

²¹¹ Koçu, 61.

²¹² The poem of Vasif Hoca from Üsküdar is as follows: “*Eftalipos Gazinosu Galata’da meşhurdur / Kapısından şöyle bak da içeri girmeden dur / Tezgâh başı, masaları doldurmuştur her yeri / İngiliz’le Fransız’ın çavuşları neferi / Kimi İstanbul’un Rumu, kimi Yunanistanlı / Ondan fazla uşağı var şıkırdım delikanlı / Palikarya kırmaları, kaldırım kopilleri / Şımarıkça şımarmıştır, bir karıştır dilleri / Gafllet ile gelmiş olsa bir fesli Türk müşteri / Karşılama hürmet ile, karşılama hiçbiri / Önce alay, istiskalle şöyle bir süzer onu / O kâselis küstah rezil çırak oğlan, garsonu / İngiliz’le Fransız’ın hele bahriyelisi / Gayet ile muglim olup Rum kopili delisi / Şıkırdımlar dünden hazır, sırnaştıkça sırnaşır / Çarebrusu, tüysüzü de kucaklarda dolaşır / Ben şöyle bir çıtlatayım sen ayıkla pirinci / Gazinoya pek yakındır “Yamalı”, “Kapuçi” / Çırak oğlan garson değil, Eftalipos’un kendi / Mahdumi güzini de bir şıkırdım kalopedi / Hem o mahdumi güzünün dildadesi ateşçi / Bir cehennem zebanisi Tanganikalı zenci / Eftalipos Gazinosu Galata’da meşhurdur / Şöhretinin esbabı da işte efendim budur...*” Ibid., 118-120.

²¹³ BOA, Y.PRK.ZB 6/30, 1308 S 16.

reminded him of the wigs of Louis XIV.²¹⁴ Around the same period, the journalist Abdolonyme Ubicini disapproved of such unmanly Greek dancers whereas the Ottoman Greek doctor Alexandros Paspatis (‘director of the Balıklı Greek hospital at the beginning of the 1850s’²¹⁵) warned honest family men to avoid frequenting the notorious hang-outs where they performed.²¹⁶

The theatres made up another branch of indoor entertainment in Istanbul where only non-Muslim women could officially act and sing. The Muslim women would have to wait until 1924 to be allowed to perform on stage.²¹⁷ By the twentieth century, *Amerika*, *Evropa* and *Apollon* were the leading theatres of Galata along with the café chantants of *Trokadero*, *Kristal Palas* and *Bizantion*.²¹⁸ Greek women stand out as the most renowned performers of these theatres – namely Eftalia, and Virginia whose children continued to practice the trade.²¹⁹ The women performing on stage are usually described as coquettish, and some as audacious in their dressing habits.²²⁰ It is argued that what made these women even more attractive and turned them into objects of desire was their non-Muslim identity, as the ‘desirable other’.²²¹

²¹⁴ “Danses des jeunes garçons dans un café de Galata. Dans une petite chambre, trois jeunes imbéciles, en habits grecs surchargés de broderies, se contorsionnent sans verve; un seul, noir, commun, mais vigoureux, et à très belle chevelure, dont les anneaux tombant me rappellent ceux des perruques Louis XIV: c’est, comme danse, un souvenir lointain des danses d’Egypte. En somme, ce fut pour nous une des plus affreuses journées de notre voyage.” Flaubert, 55-56.

²¹⁵ Anastasiadou, “Greek Orthodox Immigrants and Modes of Integration,” 153.

²¹⁶ Anastasiadou, *Les Grecs d’Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 87.

²¹⁷ Bozis, 172.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 171.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ Rasim, 100.

²²¹ Aytar, 37.

“As I saw and understood, many admired these... The plays were pretexts; these women were each reckoned a purpose.”²²²

Even though these women enjoyed popularity performing at rather ‘decent’ theatres, it should be kept in mind that depending on the venue, singing and dancing on stage was at times linked with prostitution and loose morals.

In the eyes of the authorities, entertainment, which gave people space for limited freedom, functioned as a tool for social control.²²³ One fashion of outdoor entertainment was the carnivals. The most striking carnival for the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul was Baklahorani, which was annually celebrated on Clean Monday, i.e. the last day before Lent, the forty-day period of fasting corresponding to Easter. It would begin with a parade of masqueraders from Pera that would end up in Tatavla near the church of St. Dimitrios. Even though the carnival gathered primarily the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul, Tatavla would be packed with people of different ethno-religious backgrounds, but especially present were the ‘wanderers’ (*gezici tozucu kısmı*) from the middle and the lower classes.²²⁴ Set in late nineteenth-century Istanbul, the novel *Loksandra (Λοξάντρα)* illustrates Baklahorani in the same light, as an entertaining site which gathers Greeks from every part of the city to sing and dance together.²²⁵ Apart from its sentimental value for the Greek Orthodox, one reason that made the carnival attractive for all was the custom of

²²² “Görüydüm, anlıyordum ki bunları yüzlerce kimse seviyordu... Piyesler bahane, bu kadınlar ayrı ayrı birer gaye hükmünde bulunuyordu.” Rasim, 99.

²²³ Aytar, 36, 38.

²²⁴ “Hepsi insanla tıklım tıklım. En fazlasını Rumlar teşkil etmek üzere her milletten, her takımdan, her şekilden mostralar. [...] O gün sabahtan akşama kadar, gene en başta Rumlar gelmek üzere, İstanbul halkının orta ve aşağı tabaka gezici tozucu kısmı Tatavla’yı boylardı.” Sermet Muhtar Alus, *İstanbul Yazıları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1994), 124.

²²⁵ “Σωστό ὁμως ἀρχαϊκὸ μνημόσυνο μπροστὰ στὸν Αἰ-Λεφτέρη εἶναι ἡ Καθαρὴ Δευτέρα. Εἶναι τὸ Μπακλαχοράνι, ὅπου μαζεύονται οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπ’ ὅλα τα μέρη τῆς Πόλης.” Yordanidou, 38.

disguising oneself through dressing up and make-up that enabled anonymity, rendering it more amusing. Even though such anonymity was welcome on the part of the people who joined it, it was a source of concern for the authorities, be it the Ottoman security forces or the prominent Ottoman Greeks, due to concerns regarding safety and morality. Entertainment was surely necessary in terms of relief but it was tolerable as long as it was under control because “[a]s well as revellers, such crowds attracted those intent on less innocent entertainment, for carnival was accompanied by a multitude of pickpocketing, stealing and brawling”.²²⁶ Since the carnival attracted so many people most of whom were definitely in disguise, policing was required in order to avert/prevent harassment and petty crime. The newspaper *Tachydromos* reported on both 22 and 23 February in 1900 that even though participation in Baklahorani was in large numbers that year, nothing unpleasant happened, thanks to the efforts of the security forces of the neighbourhood:

“*About Apokries.* The noise of these crowded days both in Pera and Galata and everywhere in the capital, thanks to the present vigilance of the police surveillance came to an end without any incident and argument in relative silence and order. Similarly in Galata, where the maintenance of order and the prevention of undesired incidents are not an easy business, no incident worthy of mention was noticed, and this was due to the dynamic measures and the administrative ability of the chief of police Voyvoda Mehmet Ali Bey.”²²⁷

Because the carnival was open to all and it attracted numbers, it could generate scenes challenging moral codes. Observing the outfit of the prostitutes of Pera and

²²⁶ Boyar & Fleet, 316.

²²⁷ “*Κατὰ τὰς ἀπόκρεως.* Ἡ πολυθόρυβος τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων συνωστισμὸς καὶ ἐν τῷ Πέραν καὶ ἐν τῷ Γαλατῆ καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς πρωτευούσης, χάρις εἰς τὴν ἀγρυπνον τῆς ἀστυνομικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτήρησιν παρήλθεν ἄνευ ἐπεισοδίου καὶ ρήξεων ἐν σχετικῇ ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ τάξει. Ἐν Γαλατῆ ἰδίως, ὅπου ἡ διατήρησις τῆς τάξεως καὶ ἡ ἀποφυγὴ ἀπευκταίων δὲν εἶναι ἔργον εὐχερές, οὐδὲν ἐσημειώθη ὅπως οὐκ ἀξίον λόγου ἐπεισόδιον, τοῦτο δὲ ὀφείλεται εἰς τὰ δραστήρια μέτρα καὶ τὴν διοικητικὴν ἱκανότητα τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς ἀστυνομικῆς ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ Βοεβόδα Μεχμέτ Αλή βέη.” *Tachydromos*, 22 February 1900. See also “*Τὰ Κόλλουμα τῶν Ταταούλων*” (*The Festivities of Tatavla*). *Ibid.*, 23 February 1900.

Galata at the carnival, Sermet Muhtar Alus could easily distinguish the differences between them and he marvelled at their relative nudity despite the chilly weather.²²⁸

Haris Spataris illustrates the carnival as “a bout of debaucherous spree for the Istanbul underworld as well as the Ottoman Greek”.²²⁹

“We saw the scene in the square in front of the church of St. Dimitrios. [...] A familiar song was playing on the *laterna* (music box). Today we call such songs *rebetiko*. The drunk came behind in the same manner, walking as if in a funeral procession! A group of girls, who looked like the ones we saw at the doors of Abanoz, even more insolent, were riding horses, impersonating the Amazons. Their legs were seen from their torn trousers. [...] They were acting improperly with carrots and cucumbers in their hands or holding to show them at their fronts as if they were men. The pimps walking together were helping them. Other groups resembling these, resembling these acts...”²³⁰

Despite such scenes, Spataris writes that the Church was tolerant of the entertainment whereas the petite bourgeoisie and the aristocracy tasted it, be it in carriages or behind the curtains in the apartments.²³¹ The Ottoman authorities were tolerant of the carnival as long as the permission from the Istanbul police was granted and the participants did not use textiles dyed green and avoided dressing up as Turks and impersonating the religious figures.²³² Even though some Greek Orthodox circles

²²⁸ Alus, *İstanbul Yazıları*, 124.

²²⁹ Spataris, 37.

²³⁰ “Aya Dimitri’nin önündeki meydanda manzarayı gördük. [...] Laternada bildiğimiz bir parça çalınıyordu. Bugün bu tür parçalara *rebetiko* diyoruz. Arkadan aynı şekilde sarhoşlar geliyordu, bir eğlenceden çok cenaze alayında yürür gibiydiler! Abanoz’un kapılarında gördüğümüz kızlar tipinde, hatta daha da arsızlarından bir grup, atlara binmiş amazonları taklit ediyorlardı. Bacakları, yırtık pantolonlarından görünüyordu. [...] Ellerinde havuç ve hıyarlarla edepsiz hareketler yapıyor ya da bunları erkekmiş gibi pantolonların ön kısmından gösteriyorlardı. Birlikte yürüyen pezevenkler de onlara yardımcı oluyorlardı. Bunlara benzeyen başka gruplar, bunlara benzeyen hareketler...” Ibid., 39.

²³¹ Ibid., 38.

²³² Meropi Anastassiadou, “Marking Urban Identity, Dividing Up Urban Time: Festivities Among the Greeks of Istanbul in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” in *Celebration, Entertainment and*

were critical of the entertainment, religious festivals were “particularly important occasions for the expression of group identity” which rendered the community “collectively visible to the general public”.²³³ Baklahorani was a Greek Orthodox carnival, yet not every Greek got a kick out of joining it. The Ottoman Greek writer and journalist Evangelinos Misailidis describes the nature of the festivities:

“Disguising themselves in various outfits and wearing masks, the young men or those who run riot after forty (not those who know their limits) [...] join the entertainment. [...] Even though immoral behaviour is officially forbidden, many things occur secretly from the officers! [...] Around five hundred people may be found in a circle, dressed in numerous male and female outfits that it is not evident who is who, yet there are those without masks who happen to be there to observe it at a distance out of curiosity. [...] If one wishes to see how far morality could be transgressed, one should go to such entertainment once in a lifetime to learn a lesson but should abstain from recurrence. [...] [O]h, what a nice thing to observe and enjoy but for the improper behaviour!”²³⁴

Either to learn a lesson or to entertain themselves, our sources verify that Muslims were also present in these religious carnivals.²³⁵ An Ottoman official, Said

Theatre in the Ottoman World, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Arzu Öztürkmen (India: Seagull Books, 2014), 241.

²³³ Ibid., 237-238; Even though the Smyrniot Greek newspaper *Amalthia* was critical of the carnival festivities, it disapproved of the regulations by the Ottoman authorities regarding the practices of some (supposedly) Greek Orthodox customs – such as the prohibition of shooting at Easter – since these customs were associated with group identity. See Vangelis Kechriotis, “Civilization and Order: Middle-Class Morality Among the Greek-Orthodox in Smyrna/Izmir at the End of the Ottoman Empire,” in *Social Transformation and Mass Mobilization in the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean Cities (1900–1923)*, ed. Andreas Lyberatos (Irakleio: Crete University Press, 2013), 122-123.

²³⁴ “Bir takım delikanlılar ve bazı da kırkıktan sonra azanlar (kendini bilenler değil) yüzlerine maske takarak ve tebdil kıyafete girerek [...] def-i gam etmeye giderler. [...] Ve terk-i edep harekât resmi surette yasak ise de, balo nazırlarından gizli [...] neler de olur! [...] Bir daire derununda beş yüz kadar beher millet ve tayfa kıyafetinde erkek ve dişehli mevcut bulunup, hiçbirinin kim olduğu muayyen değildir, fakat merak için karşıdan seyr-ü tamaşa etmek üzere maskesiz de gidenler eksik değildir. [...] Bir âdem, ben-i âdemin ne raddede ahlâk ve edebiyat bozukluğuna dıçar olabildiğini anlamak murat eder ise, bu misilli balolara ve derneklere bir defa gidip, ikinci gitmekten sakınmalıdır. [...] [A]h ne güzel, ne hoş tamaşa ve def-i gam edecek şeydir, ama mugayir-i edebiyat halât olmasaydı!” Misailidis, 147-149.

²³⁵ “Beyoğlu’ndaki karnaval sırasında Hristiyanlar arasında maskara elbisesi giymiş iki Müslüman şahıs hakkında yapılan tahkikat” BOA, DH.EUM.KADL 9/14, 1329 S 29; “Despite the religious

Bey kept an almanack in which he recorded his visit to the Greek carnival at Beyoğlu on Saturday, 16 February 1901.²³⁶ Ahmet Rasim describes a carnival night in front of the city hall in Beyoğlu where he and his friends come across a group of masqueraders simulating a crew in a ship-like vehicle on wheels.²³⁷ Having an inquisitive character, the barber in Rasim's company tries to enter the ship, yet it does not take him so long before he gets out; he is not let in since he is not dressed up for the occasion.²³⁸ Having read the adventures of Rasim and his friends, it is difficult to say that the Greeks had more fun than the rest because it was their festival. However, it is certain that entertainment created an atmosphere which rendered contact more possible regardless of religion, even though certain individual groups had their own principles to let others join them, as in the case of the barber.

As far as we can see, entertainment paved the way for 'inappropriateness' (*uygunsuzluk*) and the people working in the sector were rather perfect targets to label as immoral. However, we see that priority was given to different concerns in terms of the state, the community and the society. When dealing with the issues raised by entertainment, the Ottoman state was mostly interested in control, law and order because the concern for security and health was more urgent than for morality.²³⁹ Modernization and urbanization processes in late nineteenth-century

origins of these festivals, they always attracted seekers and providers of pleasure and entertainment." Hammad, 756.

²³⁶ Paul Dumont, "Said Bey – The Everyday Life of an Istanbul Townsman at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," in *The Modern Middle East: A Reader*, ed. Albert Hourani (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 276.

²³⁷ Rasim, 133.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 134.

²³⁹ Khaled Fahmy argues that similar concerns about prostitution are visible in the case of Egypt on the part of the state authorities. Even though Clot Bey (a.k.a. Antoine Barthelemy Clot, the chief physician of the Egyptian army) declares that it is better to examine the prostitutes for venereal diseases than to let the soldiers 'commit what is too improper even to be uttered' (i.e. homosexual

Istanbul necessitated different sorts of supervision and modification, and if these could satisfactorily meet the expectations, the problem of immorality would naturally be alleviated. We should also keep in mind that the venues for entertainment were a source of revenue for the Ottoman state (despite the expenditures regarding security) “rather than the oft-assumed religiously motivated rejection of dens of iniquity on Islamic grounds”.²⁴⁰ While browsing the Ottoman archives concerning the districts under study, we see police reports that deal with inappropriateness related to events in the framework of entertainment, but rather than a concern for any community’s or individual’s morality and reputation, they express concern for immediate solution to the problem at hand. It is when the security forces of the state transgress the limits that the concern becomes more personal (since the police was mirroring state authority) and some officers are punished, removed from office or receive official warning.

The concern for immorality takes on a different dimension regarding the standpoint of the leading figures in the community. Whereas Alexandros Paspatis warned men against the venues where alcohol was consumed in the company of male dancers, Evangelinos Misailidis criticized the licentious environment in the Greek Orthodox carnival of Tatavla. It is fair to assume that these persons shared similar motives for morality, yet as a doctor, Paspatis was more into problems related to entertainment which complicated everyday life by threatening public health and

intercourse), his concern for preserving public health is more noticeable than his disapproval of homosexuality. See Fahmy, 82, 86-87, 93.

²⁴⁰ Jens Hanssen, “Public Morality and Marginality in Fin-de-Siècle Beirut,” in *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 200.

hygiene.²⁴¹ In the case of prostitution, the medical concerns were visibly aimed at men whereas they “were unquestionably the primary producers and audience of literature on prostitution”.²⁴² While prominent Greeks had such concerns, those who were at the epicentre of blame had other concerns. Eftalya, nicknamed *Çika*, says that the Greek sex workers feared that they would be recognized by people in the Greek community such as the clergy or the local notables.²⁴³ Malte Fuhrmann argues that the European entertainers and sex workers “kept a distance from their countries’ communities and respective religious congregations residing in the Levantine port-cities” and “despite their constant interaction with customers or audiences, social integration into the local milieu was not the rule, but the exception”.²⁴⁴ The argument that their respective consulates followed inconsistent policies for the propriety of these entertainers up until the Young Turk Revolution in 1908²⁴⁵ indicates that practical and bureaucratic issues played a major role in the consulates’ stance towards their subjects despite the petitions and private pleas received to condemn these entertainers.²⁴⁶ The fact that the houses of ‘ill fame’ in Galata coexisted with synagogues, churches, schools and other houses was highly criticized by Cohen in

²⁴¹ Doctor Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet’s survey on the prostitutes of Paris in the nineteenth century has similar concerns. See Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, *La Prostitution à Paris au XIX^e Siècle*, text presented and annotated by Alain Corbin (Paris: Points-Seuil Histoire, 2008).

²⁴² Fraser Joyce, “Prostitution and the Nineteenth Century: In Search of the ‘Great Social Evil’,” *Reinvention: An International Journal of Undergraduate Research* Vol. 1, No. 1 (April 2008). [online]: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/cross_fac/iatl/reinvention/issues/volume1issue1/joyce

²⁴³ Korovinis, 52.

²⁴⁴ Malte Fuhrmann, “Down and Out on the Quays of İzmir: ‘European’ Musicians, Innkeepers, and Prostitutes in the Ottoman Port-Cities,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* Vol. 24, No. 2 (December 2009): 181-182.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 181.

²⁴⁶ Fuhrmann, “The European Prostitutes of Galata-Pera,” 160-162.

his report of an enquiry in the district²⁴⁷ while “the Ashkenazi community of Galata condemned the Jewish sex-workers operating in the adjacent brothels as a stain on the community’s reputation”.²⁴⁸ However, is it possible to argue that the entertainers which belonged to the empire’s major non-Muslim communities kept a voluntary or involuntary distance from their social milieu in Galata and Pera? After having settled in Athens, a Greek woman recounts a part of her everyday life on Balyoz (Venedik) Street in Istanbul back in the 1910s:

“Of course we were aware of the ‘house’ (brothel) running next to ours. It was tranquil in the environs during the day, and the action would start in the evening and last throughout the night. The bells would ring, the street door would open and close. Actually, it was not very annoying. During daytime we would greet the brothel owner (*Mama*) like we greeted other neighbours and we would even ask each other how we were doing. The girls were young, joyful, charming and they were not ashamed of their occupation; most of them were village girls, some were from the Greek islands and some from Tatavla. Both for them and for us, the situation was normal, as in the rest of the world. Sometimes when they went out shopping, they would ask if we needed anything, or they would insistently serve us sweets, chocolates or cologne brought by their customers. I would never forget that one night when my sister got sick and I appealed to my neighbours in a state of panic, *Mama* fetched us an old doctor that was present in the house. Besides, that old doctor was someone known...”²⁴⁹

The excerpt suggests that even though some prominent community members condemned entertainers and their ‘immoral’ lifestyles, ‘common’ people could find

²⁴⁷ Cohen, “Report of an Enquiry Made in Constantinople,” 77.

²⁴⁸ Fuhrmann, “Down and Out on the Quays of İzmir,” 181.

²⁴⁹ “Yanımızdaki evin çalıştığını pek tabii ki, biliyorduk. Gündüzün ortalık çok rahattı, hareket akşam üzeri başlıyor ve gece boyunca devam ediyordu. Ziller çalınıyor, sokak kapısı açılıp kapanıyordu. Aslında pek rahatsız edici değildi. Gündüz vakti balkonuna çıkan *Mama* ile diğer komşularla yaptığımız gibi selamlaşır, hatta hal hatır sorardık. Kızlar gençti, neşeli, sevimli ve mesleklerinden hiç utanç duymuyorlardı; çoğu köylü kızları idi, kimi Adalar’dan (Yunan) gelme, kimi de Tatavla’dan (Pangaltı). Onlar için de, bizim için de durum doğaldı, dünyanın her yerinde olduğu gibi. Bazen alışverişe çıktıklarında, kızlar kapımızı çalar, bir ihtiyacımızın olup olmadığını sorarlar ya da ısrarla, müşterilerden gelme şeker, çikolata ve kolonya ikram ederlerdi. Hiç unutmam, ablamın rahatsızlandığı bir gece, çaresiz ve panik halinde komşulara başvurduğumda, *Mama* hemen yetişip evde bulunan bir yaşlı doktoru kapıldığı gibi bize getirdi. Üstelik tanıdık biri idi o yaşlı doktor...” Scognamillo, 93-94.

the means to cohabit in the same neighbourhood regardless of their occupations. In this case, the ladies working in the brothel were not necessarily figures who were cast out or who were on the edge of the society. If the prostitutes mentioned by *Çika* in her recollections feared recognition by leading Greek community members, where should we place characters like the brothel keeper *Kara Despina* who was definitely well-integrated into society, let alone the first-rate prostitutes who enjoyed rather luxurious lives? We may argue then that not all the entertainers could be classified as a single marginal group. The picture in the eyes of the Ottoman state, the community and the society took on different colours and shades even in each single category itself. Where a certain case transgressed limits of legality, it did not transgress limits of morality, and vice versa.

MISBEHAVIOR

Even though the people working in the entertainment sector were liable to be considered as ‘unorthodox’, one did not necessarily need to be in that business to avoid being poorly regarded. Moreover, one was not always likely to avoid suspicion having a certain job; as we have seen in the previous chapter, some people did have dual occupations, one of which was to be kept secret either because the occupation required secrecy or because it was illegal, or both. In this study, occupation does not necessarily mean profession: the term surely comprises employment but also other activities and habits that could just as well involve the unemployed. What could especially be suspicious or undesired was – due to socio-economic reasons – unemployment. The unemployed did not have any official occupation whereas someone with a regular job could be involved in clandestine activities which were ‘immoral’ and did not attract any attention until discovered by the authorities.

Different terms were used to define the idle/unemployed in the vocabulary of the Ottoman documents. According to the relevant context, the term either stressed the state of not being employed or implied the state of being involved in ambiguous (usually with a negative connotation) occupations. In the Ottoman archives, one often comes across the terms ‘başıboş’, ‘serseri’, ‘işsiz güçsüz takımı’ and so on, meaning ‘vagrant’ or ‘bum’. While these words were more or less interrelated and used to indicate similar states of idleness, the word ‘uygunsuz’ (improper) had a more comprehensive scope and was used in various contexts. Whereas the word

‘uygunsuz’ came up in political contexts as well, this study mostly focuses on contexts in which the word signified immorality, or impropriety in terms of social codes and moral transgression.

Authors and journalists used the same vocabulary referring to idleness as did the Ottoman authorities. In his portrayal of Istanbul life in the Ottoman times, Balikhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey gives detailed descriptions of certain groups of people with similar habits and occupations. What is interesting is that Ali Rıza Bey goes one step further and categorizes the ‘outcast’ in various subgroups. He classifies the *serseri* (tramp) in subgroups, one of which happens to be the *kopuk* (literally ‘disconnected’, referring to vagabondage) under which he places the *tulumbacı* (firemen).²⁵⁰ His classifications of the underclass reveal a rich vocabulary that inherently repudiates uniformity among the ‘undesired’ or the ‘improper’. Even a subgroup has different subgroups in it that differentiate people in terms of rank, wealth, intelligence, etc. According to the descriptions of Ali Rıza Bey:

“Among the *kopuk*, one can find men from any sect and religion. Most have been expelled from school due to vulgarity or immorality, or have been turned out of their homes for the reason that they stole something from their family.”²⁵¹

Despite such variations, as Ali Rıza Bey wrote, the common denominator was their level of morality.²⁵² As a mob of itinerants, the beggars (*dilenciler*) who lived permanently or temporarily on begging were regarded as a menace to society.²⁵³ In

²⁵⁰ Balikhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, 91, 97.

²⁵¹ “Kopuklar arasında her mezhep ve milletten adam bulunur. Çoğu âdiliği, ahlâksızlığı sebebiyle mekteplerden atılmış, ailesinden şunu bunu çaldığı için evden kovulmuş kimselerdir.” Ibid., 91-92.

²⁵² “Zira hepsinin gençlikleri serseriyane bir muhit içinde beslendiğinden ahlâkça aynı seviyededirler.” Ibid., 93.

²⁵³ Ibid., 87-90.

his study on the gypsies of the Ottoman Empire published in 1870, the Greek doctor Alexandros Paspatis reports that their condition is even worse than the beggars in the empire's major cities, and even though they appreciate charity, the gypsies persist in their nomadic lifestyle, antagonized by marginalization on the part of the society.²⁵⁴

From the late eighteenth century onward, the “commercialization of the economy, centralization of the state apparatus, and population movements towards urban centres”²⁵⁵ pushed the Ottoman state into differentiating the ‘deserving poor’ from the idle by orienting “towards a policy of providing monetary assistance, or institutional care”.²⁵⁶ Even though the late nineteenth-century Ottoman elite was reluctant to countenance any kind of begging since it was against productivity, the state recognized the legitimacy of the profession of ‘true beggars’ with the regulation of 1896.²⁵⁷ It was during the Young Turk period that state policy and public discourse overlapped as begging was defined within the context of vagrancy and suspected criminality by the law of 1909.²⁵⁸ Even though it was the constitutional

²⁵⁴ “A qui la faute de ce que tant de misères se montrent parmi nous, misères plus affligeantes que celles de mendiants de nos grandes villes? Est-ce notre indifférence, ou leur mauvaise volonté? Les efforts de plusieurs sociétés de bienfaisance Européennes, et des gouvernements mêmes en leur faveur, restés sans résultats, démontrent que le Tchinghamiané a résisté, avec une tenacité inouïe, à toute fusion avec les races civilisées; lui aussi connaît et aime la charité humaine, et accepte avec reconnaissance tout ce qu’on lui offre, mais à la condition de rester sous sa tente et d’errer selon son gré, et en pleine liberté. Il est vrai que plusieurs Tchinghamianés se sont fixés dans les villages, et même dans la ville de Constantinople; mais ils se sont abrutis par leurs liaisons avec les étrangers; faux Chrétiens et faux Musulmans, ils sont aussi pauvres et aussi misérables que leurs frères Les Nomades, et infiniment plus adonnés qu’eux, au vol et à la ruse, dans leur commerce avec les gens du pays. [...] La ténacité des Tchinghamianés à leur vie nomade, et l’aversion des étrangers à les recevoir au milieu d’eux, seront une cause permanente d’éloignement. Ce n’est que par des efforts réitérés, par une conduite humaine et une charité sans arrière-pensée, qu’on pourra les gagner à la civilisation.” Alexandre G. Paspatis, *Études sur les Tchinghamianés ou Bohémiens de l’Empire Ottoman* (Constantinople: Imprimerie Antoine Koroméla, 1870), viii-x.

²⁵⁵ Nadir Özbek, “‘Beggars’ and ‘Vagrants’ in the Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914,” *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. 45, No. 5 (2009): 784.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 789.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 790-791.

regime that issued the law, it was in accordance with the views of the Ottoman literati of the late nineteenth century who had the same idea of idleness and held that begging was adverse to morality.

The concept of the deserving and undeserving poor made itself apparent in charity and philanthropy. The charitable English society *Dorcas* of late nineteenth-century Istanbul, “being attached to Christian and bourgeois values such as work, family and fidelity, refuses any assistance to those who give signs of ‘disagreeable life’ and who risk to let themselves be dominated by their passions. In particular, it is out of question to support those who have a tendency to alcohol, or individuals – men and women – suspected of loose morals”.²⁵⁹ Recommended by a doctor to the society, the Greek *Eleni Ph.* with four kids, and a husband who was working as a street musician (organ grinder), was noted as having a bad nature according to her neighbours.²⁶⁰ Being poor and needy was not an excuse: they needed to deserve charity on the condition that they behaved.

While humanitarian activity gained acceleration in the non-Muslim communities in the Hamidian era, the state “took a flexible approach toward this growing voluntary dynamism and preferred to control and limit it rather than attempt to suppress it” and “the sultan was careful to portray himself as the patron of this and similar philanthropic activities, enhancing this image with the customary practice of imperial gift giving to religious communities during their holidays”.²⁶¹ Even though documents in the Ottoman archives indicate that donations were made by the

²⁵⁹ Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 288.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 289.

²⁶¹ Özbek, “Philanthropic Activity,” 64, 66.

sultan/state for religious festivities or orphanages,²⁶² most of the time the community had to take care of its own problems and had to depend on its own finances. Charity and philanthropy were to remain almost always as the domains of the well-off in the community. This was the case in other communal activities and education as well. The benefactors and contributors were the wealthy Greek families – bankers, businessmen, doctors, etc. – that played the vital role in averting the community’s misfortunes and enhancing the conditions. One such family was the Zariphis²⁶³ whose members and deeds are portrayed by Georgios L. Zariphis in his memoirs. In the book, there is a separate chapter on philanthropic activities where it is mentioned that the prominent banker and financier, Georgios Zariphis – the grandfather of the author – would not have been respected as such among the Greeks if it were not for his charitable deeds.²⁶⁴ According to the source, Georgios Zariphis did not only help the poor within his own ethno-religious group but others, such as Turkish, Jewish, Armenian and Italian beggars, who would wait outside his company in Galata to be distributed alms.²⁶⁵ In the late nineteenth century, Greek parishes tried to limit the number of beggars who would wait in the church courtyards on feast days expecting alms by requiring them to have their indigent status registered in advance.²⁶⁶ In the eyes of the upper classes, charity and philanthropy did not only serve the poor; they served the whole community as a factor of social balance and it prevented potential

²⁶² “Küçük Paskalya’nın yaklaşması ve Patrikhane’nin ihtiyacı dolayısı ile padişahın vermiş olduğu iki bin liradan dolayı Rum Patriği’nin teşekkürü” BOA, Y.A.HUS 220/68, 1306 R 28.

²⁶³ “The funding for these institutions was provided by Christakis Zographos and Georgios Zariphis, the Constantinopolitan bankers whose extensive financial support of the Ottoman Greek educational network would indissolubly link their names with the endeavors of the *sylogos* movement.” Vassiadis, 231.

²⁶⁴ Yorgo L. Zarifi, *Hatıralarım: Kaybolan Bir Dünya, İstanbul 1800-1920*, trans. Karin Skotiniyadis (İstanbul: Literatür, 2006), 68. In his routine walks with his wife by the Bosphorus, Georgios Zariphis is encircled by the needy who expect to receive some money from him to save the day. *Ibid.*, 72.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 73-75.

²⁶⁶ Anastassiadou, “Marking Urban Identity, Dividing Up Urban Time,” 240.

stain on the community's reputation. One night as Georgios Zariphis was stopped by two robbers in Glavani (Kallavi) Street asking for his wallet, he humiliated them by asking how come they, as *Rums*, could engage in thievery.²⁶⁷

In addition to the philanthropic Greek societies of nineteenth-century Istanbul, another important source of charity was the donations obtained from the balls/masquerades organized among upper class circles. Georgios L. Zariphis writes about one in which his mother participated in Stavrodromi in order to collect money for the schools in Galata.²⁶⁸ Even though Evangelinos Misailidis did not approve of masquerades due to their susceptibility to immorality, he made a distinction between those which were public, and others which were organized by the name of charity to help the poor and the impoverished.²⁶⁹ Such differentiation was mainly based on the aim and the venue; while the masquerades in the streets made the celebrations visible to the public (despite the masks and the disguise that fuelled immorality, as Misailidis thought) and aimed at nothing but entertainment, the philanthropic masquerades were organized in private by 'respectable' people, behind whose motives for entertainment lay charity. For the Ottoman bourgeoisie, charity and philanthropy were a means to underline their prestige²⁷⁰ and to protect their interests as well, since the underprivileged posed both moral and social problems.²⁷¹ From

²⁶⁷ "Ne? Rum delikanlılar hırsızlık yapmaktan başka bir meslek bulamadılar mı? Rum ağızları elimdeki paraları istemeye utanmadı mı?" Zarifi, 72.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 371.

²⁶⁹ "Fakat balo deyip de bazı edebiyat ile fukara ve zuafaya iane toplamak meramı ile icra olunan edibane baloları da müsavi tutmamalıyız." Misailidis, 148-149.

²⁷⁰ We read that the items sent to *Şefkat Pazarları* (literally, 'Compassion Bazaars', one of the philanthropic activities organized by women in Ottoman high society) to be sold bore the names of the benefactors ("filan zatın şefkat pazarımıza teberru'udur"). See Meriç, 408.

²⁷¹ Anastasiadou, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 217.

time to time, donations – large or small – would be announced to the community through the medium of the press, which encouraged interest and displayed power:

“The foundlings of Pera. The lady Konstantinou Iliaskou donated two Ottoman liras to the service for the foundlings of the Pera community.”
²⁷²

Motives for charity and philanthropy did not exactly overlap in terms of the state and the community. Needless to say, the well-being of the community was beneficial to the state as it was to the community itself. Poverty,²⁷³ vagrancy, begging, prostitution, etc. had different consequences concerning employment, health and morality which did not only affect a single a community but the whole society. However, it appears that at a time when the Greek community leaders found the perfect environment to structure the ‘envisioned’ identity, they took things related to their community’s reputation more personally than did the state. Meropi Anastassiadou argues that the project of creating an institution sheltering the poor and the orphans in Pera towards the mid-nineteenth century failed because the display of Greek poverty could cast a shadow over the community “in front of the eyes of the Constantinopolitan beau monde” and she highlights the choice of building a hospital in Balıklı and an orphanage in Prinkipo, isolated from the city.²⁷⁴ In this regard, the Greek Orthodox hospital of Yedi Kule provided seclusion for the

²⁷² “Τὰ ἔκθετα τοῦ Πέραν. Ἡ κυρία Κωνσταντίνου Ἡλιάσκου προσέφερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας τῶν ἐκθέτων τῆς κοινότητος τοῦ Πέραν λίρας ὀθωμανικὰς δύο.” Tachydromos, 14 January 1900; The Hamidian bureaucracy also ensured that the daily newspapers published such information to promote fund-raising. See Özbek, “Philanthropic Activity,” 69.

²⁷³ “Ce qui précède décrit l’attitude des médecins grecs d’Istanbul au XIX^e siècle face aux divers aspects du problème le plus épineux de leur époque, celui de l’indigence.” Meropi Anastassiadou, “Médecine Hygiéniste et Pédagogie Sociale à Istanbul à la Fin de XIX^e Siècle. Le Cas du Docteur Spyridon Zavitziano,” in *Médecins et Ingénieurs Ottomans à l’Âge des Nationalismes*, ed. Meropi Anastassiadou (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2003), 70.

²⁷⁴ Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d’Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 254-255.

‘unorthodox’ of the community that served to keep them at bay.²⁷⁵ Regarding the Pera archives she examined, Anastassiadou notes that the documents suggest there were curiously few orphaned or abandoned children after the First World War, yet there is a considerable number of documents relating to baptised children with unknown fathers registered between 1922 and 1928.²⁷⁶ If these baptised children were not ‘foundlings’, then the absence of information is either due to loss of relevant documents or the numbers regarding the orphaned or abandoned children were fictitious on purpose.

Charity and philanthropy played a major role in avoiding the misfortunes of the community and while doing this, they became agents that helped to solidify the limits of the community. According to the terms of the regulation of 1864, anyone of Orthodox Christian faith, regardless of ethnic origin, had the right to seek the support of philanthropic organizations, yet another regulation that was introduced in 1904 confined the target population to *ὁμογενή* (homogeny; of the same family) that would be accepted to the orphanage in the island of Prinkipo.²⁷⁷ It is argued that even though the term was used to refer to the people affiliated with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the Ottoman context, it now began to represent the Greek speaking Orthodox Christians and it was a way to differentiate those who left Orthodoxy in favour of Catholicism or Protestantism as well as those who were

²⁷⁵ “What is more important, a number of social outcasts were also committed to these hospitals: prostitutes, women excommunicated by the Orthodox Church, orphans and undisciplined sailors were kept there for unspecific periods of time. In other words, this medical domain was associated with seclusion rather than therapy or treatment and the rate of recorded deaths in the hospital was appalling in that it exceeded 40 per cent.” Haris Exertzoglou, “Medicine, Philanthropy and the Construction of Poverty in Istanbul in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean*, eds. Lorans Tanatar Baruh and Vangelis Kechriotis (Athens: Alpha Bank Historical Archives, 2010), 261.

²⁷⁶ Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d’Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 255.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 239.

Orthodox but did not speak Greek.²⁷⁸ Florian Riedler argues that even though the Greek associations promoted Hellenic nationalism, the main goal was mostly philanthropy.²⁷⁹ We see that not only the rising nationalism but also the foreign missionaries that became active in the Ottoman lands in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had an influence on redefining the limits of the Ottoman Greek community.

Greek migrant workers in Istanbul were also among the target population of some Greek Orthodox voluntary associations in the late nineteenth century.²⁸⁰ Even though the newcomers generally used the network that included their fellow countrymen who had already settled in the city, they were considered strangers and – being ‘unattached’ – potential threats to their new localities.²⁸¹ Meropi Anastassiadou writes that there was attachment/solidarity among the Greeks of the same region that came to the capital as seasonal workers, and she argues that their choice of sticking together guaranteed them security and warmth in temporary exile which in turn hindered their intermingling with the local society.²⁸² Anastassiadou also mentions that apart from the Golden Horn, Galata was one of the privileged neighbourhoods where seasonal workers dwelled.²⁸³ It makes perfect sense that the Greeks who migrated to Istanbul from the rest of the empire for seasonal work needed/trusted

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Florian Riedler, “Public People: Seasonal Work Migrants in Nineteenth Century Istanbul,” in *Public Istanbul: Spaces and Spheres of the Urban*, ed. Frank Eckardt and Kathrin Wildner (Bielefeld: Transcript; Piscataway, NJ: Distributed in North America by Transaction Publishers, 2008), 247.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 240, 243.

²⁸² Anastassiadou, “Greek Orthodox Immigrants and Modes of Integration,” 155; Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d’Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 74-75.

²⁸³ Anastassiadou, *Les Grecs d’Istanbul au XIX^e Siècle*, 75.

each other, yet how should we imagine the limits of such hindrance to intermingling? Migrant workers of the same profession tended to live in the same inns (*han*) “which paradoxically were situated in or near public bazaars”.²⁸⁴ If seasonal workers and those who lived as *bekâr* (not necessarily single but living alone) could easily become potential suspects to any kind of offense, then how should we define intermingling? Especially for those who were dwelling or working in Galata, how possible or impossible was such amalgamation with the society?

One aspect seems to be in agreement in the portrayal of late nineteenth-century Galata by various contemporary/succeeding authors: the district was lively and it offered relatively more intermingling than many other neighbourhoods in Istanbul did. It is not wishful thinking that either in groups or individually, Greek seasonal workers enjoyed meals and drinks outdoors. The habit of frequenting a certain venue does not surprise us. We read that during Ramadan, when some Muslim customers stopped frequenting the taverns, some owners sent ‘forget-us-not *dolmas*’ (*unutma bizi dolması*) to their loyal customers to please and to remind them that their absence was noticed.²⁸⁵ If a certain group frequented a certain venue, are we to assume that such attitude necessarily brought distance to mixing with the local society which included the tavern keeper and other customers as well? Despite the efforts to isolate the temporary migrants by means of inns, some of which were situated at busy quarters, Florian Riedler argues that it remains debatable “whether their lifestyle was altogether different from the situation of non-elite Istanbulites”.²⁸⁶ We should also keep in mind that not everyone worked near where they lived, or vice

²⁸⁴ Riedler, “Seasonal Work Migrants in Nineteenth Century Istanbul,” 241, 248.

²⁸⁵ Koçu, 45.

²⁸⁶ Riedler, “Seasonal Work Migrants in Nineteenth Century Istanbul,” 248.

versa. When we talk about the districts of Galata and Pera, we do not necessarily take into account the people who only worked or who only lived there, and also not only those who did both. The point is to imagine these districts as a permeable sphere which let people in and out on a daily basis. This is why people who neither worked nor lived in these districts are also of crucial importance to this study.

Although there is scanty information concerning the aspects of female migrant workers due to their employment extensively in domestic service,²⁸⁷ their number in the capital increased during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, especially with the arrival of those who came from the Aegean islands.²⁸⁸ Most of the time, economic necessity compelled people to migrate to urban centres for (better) employment opportunities.²⁸⁹ Considering the fact that it was men who mostly had the advantage of specializing on a trade, women “most often came to Istanbul to find accommodation and a position as a domestic with some middle-class family, or to earn a living in the sewing, pressing, or embroidery workshops”.²⁹⁰ The networks

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 235.

²⁸⁸ Anastassiadou, “Greek Orthodox Immigrants and Modes of Integration,” 157.

²⁸⁹ Female migrant workers in the late-Victorian period had similar concerns. See Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 16. Moreover, motives varied according to relevant circumstances: “The movement of mainly poor, often ill-educated European women from rural areas to the burgeoning metropolises of the Habsburg Monarchy and/or abroad, some coerced and some voluntarily, some in response to marriage proposals and some in search of employment, was an element of growing industrialization, modernization, and urbanization, as some contemporaries recognized.” See Nancy M. Wingfield, “Destination: Alexandria, Buenos Aires, Constantinople; ‘White Slavers’ in Late Imperial Austria,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* Vol. 20, No. 2 (May 2011): 310.

²⁹⁰ Anastassiadou, “Greek Orthodox Immigrants and Modes of Integration,” 157. Similar patterns were operative in nineteenth-century France with respect to domestic service: “Les hommes, grâce au métier, à la spécialisation et à une meilleure instruction, peuvent mieux marquer leur distance avec le modèle ancien de salariat attaché à la personne du dominant et délaissent précocement les emplois de domestique (sauf les plus lucratifs ou prestigieux dans les grandes maisons) [...] Pour les femmes en revanche, le service domestique demeure encore une réserve d’emplois considérable qui équivaut à un tiers des tâches ouvrières auxquelles elles peuvent accéder et qui, surtout pour les rurales, dans le bilan comparé des contraintes et des rétributions, ne tourne pas forcément au désavantage de la domesticité.” See Christophe Charle, *Histoire Sociale de la France au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991), 317; “In one late-Victorian study of London prostitutes interned in Millbank prison, the

that assisted the newcomers in adjusting to their new surroundings could not necessarily prevent abuse.²⁹¹ Female domestic workers were at times prone to exploitation by their landlords, thus prone to ‘unorthodoxy’.²⁹² Despite the absence of information as regards abuse, it was rumoured that Alexandros Zotos (Αλέξανδρος Ζώτος), the principal of the Great School of the Nation (Μεγάλη του Γένους Σχολή; *Mekteb-i Kebir*) in Phanar (1920-25), was having sexual intercourse with the domestic²⁹³ who was taking care of his paralysed wife and doing housework.²⁹⁴

Because Zotos was a public figure as an ecclesiastic and as the principal of one of the most prestigious Greek schools in Istanbul, the Patriarchate interfered and had the

fathers of over 90 percent of the sample were unskilled and semiskilled workingmen. Over 50 percent of these women had been servants, largely general servants; the rest had worked in equally dead-end jobs, such as laundering, charring, and street selling. A high preponderance of servants were also found among mid- and late-Victorian inmates of London rescue homes and lock (venereal disease) hospitals.” Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 15-16.

²⁹¹ Rachel G. Fuchs and Leslie Page Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home: Migrant Women in Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *The American Historical Review* Vol. 95, No. 4 (October 1990): 1016.

²⁹² The problem of abuse comprised other aspects besides sexual exploitation and harassment. The author of the article ‘Hizmetçi Kızlar’ that appeared in *Sabah* on 3 July 1903 “advocated the fair treatment of female domestic servants and claimed that the girls who were treated badly in the houses where they worked ran away at some point and led a corrupt life on the streets of the city. He claimed this situation to be a moral and social threat to every resident”. See Özbek, “The Regulation of Prostitution in Beyoğlu,” 556. Arrogant behaviour of the employers towards their maids and belated payments were criticized by the socialist press in Salonica in the early twentieth century as well. Moreover, female workers could be victimized with respect to their gender and working conditions. Gila Hadar draws attention to the fact that some Jewish women in Salonica had to start working at quite an early age in order to support their family and to save money for a dowry. Arguments related to gender and morality were operative with respect to their employment in tobacco factories. Their socio-economic condition was abused by the employers who attempted to fire men and employ women thus pay less for the same work force whereas they tried to make it seem related to the inconvenience of young women to work alongside men. The actualities that the industrial and the entertainment zones happened to be close by and the very young tobacco workers needed to look older with the help of clothes, shoes and make-up rendered these women prone to ‘unorthodoxy’. See Hadar, 131-132, 139-140.

²⁹³ Spataris mentions that Zotos was brought to Istanbul from the Greek community of Berlin and this suggests that the domestic could as well be Greek, brought via the same network. See Spataris, 133.

²⁹⁴ “Almanya’dan getirdikleri bir kız da bu evde çalışıyordu. Bu kız eve devamlı olarak gelip gidiyor, müdür beyin fêlçli hanımına ve eve bakıyordu. Okulun bahçesindeki tek dişi olan bu genç kıza uzaktan baktıkça ağzımızın suları akıyordu. Ama anlaşılın, aziz peder bizim gibi yalanmakla yetinmiyordu. (Bunu kutsal kurallar bile kabul eder sanırım.) Bir taraf din adamı olsa bile, tabiatın iki cinsiyet arasında koyduğu kurallara göre işi ilerletti. Nasıl olduysa olay duyuldu. Fener, patrikhane ve bütün İstanbul dedikodularından bunaldı!” Ibid.

girl examined by a committee of doctors to cease the gossip and the accusations unfolded to the public by the press.²⁹⁵ Spataris claims that the belated acquittal was due to a doctor who persisted in refusing to sign the paper for the reason that it would violate medical ethics.²⁹⁶ In the end, as the Patriarchate exculpated Zotos, a potential scandal that would have directly brought the Church's name into bad repute was controverted.

The vindication of Zotos did also 'clear' the name of the domestic in the eyes of the society even though it was not particularly her reputation that was at stake. If in fact she was abused, was she 'lucky' that she did not end up with a baby as did some female migrant workers who, being "young and without any family in Istanbul or the protection of the social control exercised by their original environment, contributed to the rise in the number of abandoned babies and children within the Greek community of the capital"?²⁹⁷ Whether the intercourse was voluntary or not,²⁹⁸ single women who got pregnant must have had difficult times in order to hide their unborn 'illegitimate' babies²⁹⁹ or to manage finances to look after their newborn. Despite the relatively limited number of cases in Istanbul compared to European cities,³⁰⁰ in the late nineteenth century the abandoned babies became a political issue

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 133-134.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Anastasiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants and Modes of Integration," 157; "Child abandonment in the Ottoman Empire also had an urban character; in Ottoman archival documents, relatively big cities and towns stand out as frequent sites of such incidents." Nazan Maksudyan, "The Fight Over Nobody's Children: Religion, Nationality and Citizenship of Foundlings in the Late Ottoman Empire," *New Perspectives on Turkey* No.41 (Fall 2009): 156.

²⁹⁸ In the case of Egypt, Hammad notes that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some women turned to prostitution due to premarital sexual relations. See Hammad, 758.

²⁹⁹ Maksudyan, 156.

³⁰⁰ "À Istanbul, surtout si on le compare à la situation dans certaines cités européennes, telles que Paris, Rome, Naples, etc., l'abandon d'enfants reste un phénomène relativement limité. Il concerne en particulier la population chrétienne de la ville et surtout la communauté grecque orthodoxe au sein de

in which the relative autonomy of the communities was confronted with the centralization practices (in this case, proper registration and issuing identity cards) of the Ottoman state.³⁰¹ According to the Regulation of Population Registration of 1881, the abandoned infants were registered as Muslim unless proven otherwise, and in the case of the cities, the foundlings had to be taken to the police stations first even if they were found in the immediate vicinity of non-Muslim places of worship, a practice which resulted in conflicts among various authorities as different parties disagreed with the faith that the (parents of the) babies were born into.³⁰² Maksudyan argues that “the emergence of a modernized governmental structure” (i.e. governmentality) made the non-Muslim communities take measures to reinforce intra-communal ties (such as enhancing their own facilities) so as to maintain the former *status quo* as regards their traditional authority that was also challenged by Catholic missionaries.³⁰³

Even though related documents in the Ottoman archives reveal the impropriety of a situation or a person, the reasons were not always clearly expressed in each and every case. In 1872, the tailor Lefter wrote a petition demanding the removal of some improper people who settled themselves in the *han* (inn) that he has been living in with his own family in Bülbül Street in Galata.³⁰⁴

laquelle il constitue une pratique ancienne et assez usitée.” Anastassiadou, “Médecine Hygiéniste et Pédagogie Sociale à Istanbul,” 80.

³⁰¹ Maksudyan, 161, 176-177.

³⁰² Ibid., 161-162.

³⁰³ Ibid., 152-154, 166.

³⁰⁴ “Zabıta Müşiriyet-i celilesine Galata’da Bülbül sokağında kâin hanın bir odasında familyasıyla müste’ciren ikamet etmekte olduğu halde han odabaşısı Hayim tahtında bulunan diğer bir odayı uygunsuz bir takım kesana icar eylediğinden bahisle ihracları hakkında bazı ifade ve istid’ayı havi Terzi Lefter imzasıyla verilen arzuhal leffen irsal kılınmış olmağla bi’t-tahkik icabının icrasına himmet buyurulması siyakında tezkire-i senaveri terkim kılını efendim” BOA, ZB 5/26, 1289 B 22.

From the short document, we neither understand what sort of ‘improper’ people these were, nor figure out their gender. Bülbül Street had a reputation for prostitution,³⁰⁵ yet there is no implication of prostitution in the document whatsoever. In another case, we read that Yanaki Aravandino from the Greek community, who had been expelled to Greece due to his misbehaviour (*‘birtakım uygunsuz hal ve hareketde bulunmasından’*) in Ioannina and Crete, came to Dersaadet and was found while looking for ways to go to the environs of Ioannina where he was not supposed to set foot again.³⁰⁶ Here again, the document does not reveal much about what kind of impropriety was in question or if it was a political issue or not.

In a document from 1887, the writings and the figures that have supposedly been drawn or engraved by Greek visitors on the columns and pillars of St. Sophia were considered inappropriate and their removal, without causing any damage to the sacred building, was required.³⁰⁷ The document does not reveal anything about the

³⁰⁵ Scognamillo, 46.

³⁰⁶ “Zabıta müşiriyet-i celilesine

Yunan teba’sından Yanaki Aravandino nam şahsın Yanya ve Girid cihetlerinde birtakım uygunsuz hal ve hareketde bulunmasından naşi ba’dema oralara ayak basmamak üzere mukaddema Yunanistan’a tard ve def’ edilmiş olduğu halde bu def’a bir takrib Dersaadet’e gelmiş ve yine Yanya havalisine duhule yol aramakta bulunmuş olduğundan bahisle müşiriyet-i celileleri canibinden ahz u giriftiyle yine Yunanistan’a def’i hakkında bazı ifadeyi havi mahzar kılıklı verilen arzuhal leffen irsal kılınmış olmağla merhum hemen bi’t-taharri buldurularak hal ve keyfiyetinin tahkikatıyla iktiza-yı halin icra ve ifadesi menut-ı himem-i müşirileridir efendim” BOA, ZB 5/37 1289 B 30.

³⁰⁷ “Ziyaret için Ayasofya Cami-i şerifine giden bazı Rum ve Yunaniler tabakalara çıkarak duvar ve direkler üzerine su-i niyeti mutazammın birtakım ibarat ve eşkâl tahrir ve tersim eylemekte oldukları mesmu’-ı âli olarak bunların ebniyeye halel vermeyecek surette bozdurulması ve ba’dema bu misillü ahval vuku’ gelmemek için gerek cami-i şerife-i mezkûre ve gerek emakin-i mukaddese-yi saireyi ziyaret için gezenlerin yanlarına hademeden bir ikişer kimse bulunması lüzumuna ve bu yolda sair icab eden takayyüdata dair bir ta’limat kaleme alınarak ahkâmının tamamıyla cereyanına i’tina ve dikkat olunması hakkında şerefsadır olan irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı hilafetpenahiyi mutazammın 25 Cemaziyülahire sene 1304 tarihli tezkire-yi ‘aliyye-yi asafaneleri varid-i dest-i tekrim oldu. Bu keyfiyet evvelce taraf-ı çakeriden dahi haber alınması üzerine bizzat cami-i şerife gidilerek filhakika duvar ve direklerde öyle münasebetsiz ibarat ve eşkâl görülmüş ve bunların yirmi otuz seneden berü tahrir ve resim olunageldiği tarihlerinden anlaşılması olduğundan hemen o anda me’murlar tayin olunarak binanın heyet ve tezyinat-ı asliyesine halel vermeyecek surette mezkûr ibarat ve eşkâl derhal mahv-u tathir etdirilmiştir. Bir de ber mucib-i emr ü ferman-ı hümayun-ı hazret-i padişahî ba’d-ez-in gelecek ziyaretçilerin yanlarında hidmetlü bir ikişer kimse bulunub bu gibi ahval ikana meydan verilmemesi ve ma mafih Ayasofya Cami-i şerifinde tabakası zaten kullanılmamakta olmak ve yolları

content of the improper writings and figures on the pillars and columns some of which were left thirty years prior to 1887. The fact that they were associated with both the *Rums* and the Greeks – not with other Orthodox Christians in particular – suggests that at least some of them were written in the Greek language. We do not understand whether they were inappropriate because the content was offensive to Muslims or they were souvenirs bearing abusive language or drawings, along with dates and names of the visitors. In order to prevent these from happening again, it is suggested that regular visits to the mosque should exclude the upper floor save for highly esteemed visitors and ambassadors and that the visitors be accompanied by the janitors of the building.

In some cases, however, the reason for the improper situation was more clearly expressed. According to another document in the archives,³⁰⁸ it was reported to the

dahi hariç-i cami-i şerifde ve gayr-ı muntazam bulunmak hasebiyle her ziyaretçinin tabakalara kadar çikub gezmesinde bir mana olmadığından süferadan ve emsali zevat-ı mu'tebere olan ziyaretçiler müstesna olmak ve bunlar Hariciye Nezareti celilesinde tezkiresiyle gelüb ziyaret etmek üzere Daire-yi Hariciye'den verilen biletler ile gelen 'adi ziyaretçilerin yalnız camii gezmeleriyle iktifa olunması dahi hademe-i camie ekiden tavsiye ve tenbih olunmuş ve hükm-i celil irade-yi seniyye-i hazret-i zillullahiye tevfikân bu gibi emakin-i mukaddesenin ziyareti maddesi için kaleme alınan talimat leffen takdim kılınmış olmağla mündericâtı muvafık-ı emr ü ferman-ı hümayun-ı cenab-ı cihanbani buyurulduğu halde icra-yı icabı zımında iadesi babında emr-ü ferman hazret-i men lehü'l-emrindir Fi 7 Receb sene 304 ve fi 19 Mart 303 Nazır-ı Evkaf-ı Hümayun, Mustafa" BOA, Y.MTV 26/3, 1304 B 07.

³⁰⁸ "Beyoğlu'nda muhill-i adab resimlerin alenen satılmakta bulunduğu istihbar olunması üzerine zabıta memurlarıyla beraber usulü dairesinde tahkikat icrası mugayır-ı adab resimlerin men-i fûruhtu için idare-i acizi müfettişleri i'zam edilmiş idi Teb'a-yı Devlet-i 'Aliyye'den ve Musevi cemaatinden Avram'ın Zürefa zokağıyla Kulekapısı caddesindeki dükkanları zabıta müfettişleri ve Beyoğlu Mutasarıflığı komiseri dahi birlikde oldukları halde taharri olundukda dört yüze karib muhtelif şekillerde gayet müstehcen ve muhill-i adab fotoğraflar derdest ve merkurum isticvab olundukda bunları Fenar'da fotoğrafçı Yorgi ile Galata rıhtımında fotoğrafçı Sofyanos'dan aldığını beyan etmiş ve benaberin fotoğrafçı Yorgi'nin Fenar'daki dükkanına gidilüb icra kılınan taharriyatda birkaç aded muhill-i adab tasavvur ile Yunanistanın fistanlı Evzon alayı efrad ve kapudanlarının müsellaah kıyafetde fotoğraf camları elde edildiği gibi hanesinde dahi zuhuru muhtemel olmasına nazaran terfik olunan memur ve Rum cemaati kethüdası ile beraber merkurum Yorgi'nin Tatavla'daki hanesine gidilüb taharri edildiğinde bir şey bulunamadığı ve fotoğrafçı Sofyanos'un Galata rıhtımındaki dükkânı taharri edildikde iki aded muhill-i adab resim ile dört beş aded Evzon askeri fotoğraflarıyla ol miktar fotoğraf camları ve iki kebir cam üzerine biri Türkiyü'l-ibare protestoname ve diğeri Fransızca muharrer fotoğraf camları ahz ve müsadere edildiği müfettişler tarafından verilen raporda beyan edilmiş olmağla bu makule muhill-i adab resimlerin fûruht ve intişarına meydan verilmemesi hususuna begayet dikkat ve i'tina edilmesi lüzumunun Zabtiye nezaret-i celilesine emr ü işar buyurulması babında emr-ü ferman hazret-i men lehü'l-emrindir" BOA, DH.MKT 652/24, 1320 Za 14.

police that some indecent photographs were being overtly sold in Beyoğlu, in the shops of Avram from the Jewish community. Following the investigations, some four hundred obscene photographs were seized in the shops that Avram claimed to have obtained from the photographers Yorgi and Sofyanos. Upon further investigation, a few indecent photographs along with some photographs of armed *Evzones* (Εβζωνες, i.e. Greek soldiers) were found in the shop of Yorgi in Phanar, though the search in his house in Tattavla in the presence of the Ottoman Greek chamberlain proved futile since nothing of the kind was found. On the part of Sofyanos, two indecent photographs along with four or five photographs of armed *Evzones* were seized in his shop near the port in Galata and it was demanded that the police pay careful attention to prevent the reproduction and sale of such indecent photographs. The investigation which started due to the sale of indecent photographs ended up revealing visual material that could be improper in another sense.



Figure 2 Postcard capturing musicians together with masqueraders dressed as *Evzones* (Εβζωνες) for the carnival of Tattavla at the beginning of the twentieth century (The archive of St. Dimitrios Foundation, [online]: <http://www.tattavla.org/tattavla-karnavali-49.html>)

Although there is no further comment on the photographs of the armed *Evzones*, we see that the Ottoman authorities try to be cautious about ‘potential’ problems or dangers. Another Ottoman document³⁰⁹ reports that on the occasion of the carnival of Tatavla (i.e. Baklahorani), more than a hundred masqueraders dressed up as *Evzones* were walking together from Galata towards Istanbul, among whom some Armenians were most probably present, and even though the police forces were not making any enquiries, there could be other intentions behind their strolling in this fashion in public.

It appears that it was convenient to sell erotic pictures in photographers’ shops which were equally the most and the least suspicious spots for such business. These pictures were called ‘artistic pictures’ (*sanat resimleri*) whose models were mostly prostitutes (*fahişeler ve ‘kaldırım oğlanları’*).³¹⁰ According to their taste, those interested in the art would secretly buy the pictures of Despina, *Güzel* (Beautiful) Eleni, or of Dimos, Stelyo and Panayotis, etc.³¹¹ Some shop owners had business relationships with other owners in the capital, just like Avram had with Yorgi and Sofyanos (and maybe with others he did not mention) in order to maintain material, as he suggested. Such pictures did not necessarily circulate in the photographers’ shops. One of the most well-known procurers of Pera in the 1880s and 1890s called

³⁰⁹ “Bu akşam saat on buçukda Yunanın evzon kıyafet-i askerisini labis yüzü mütecaviz masharanın ikişer ikişer ve tulani asker sırasıyla Galata ve köprüden bi’l-mürur İstanbul cihetine geçtikleri görülmüş ve vakı’a Tatavla Panayırı olmak mülabesesiyle masharaların ötede berüde dolaşmaları vaki’ ise de böyle yüzü mütecaviz masharanın cümlesi bilâ-istisna Yunan kıyafet-i askerisini labisan ve müctemian esvakda dolaşmaları bir maksada mübtenî olacağı derkâr idüğüne ve işbu müctemi’ler yerlü Rumlardan mürekkebe olmağla beraber bunlar meyânında Ermeniler dahi bulunması akva-yı melhuzâtdan bulunmasına binaen ve zabıtaca bu babda hiç bir ta’kibat ve tahkikat bile icra edilmemesine nazaran arz-ı ma’lumata cüret kılınmıştır Ferman Fi 12 Şubat sene 316 Beyoğlu tahrirat muavini ve tiyatrolar sansürü, Abd-i memluk ve asdakları, Mehmed Ali” BOA, Y.PRK.ZB 26/80, 1318 Za 06.

³¹⁰ Scognamillo, 28.

³¹¹ Ibid., 27.

‘Horoz’ Corci (or ‘Karantina’ Corci, since he was an employee at the isolation ward) would carry the pictures of the women he prostituted.³¹²

A very well-known figure, Max Fruchtermann, came to Istanbul from Austro-Hungary in 1867 and succeeded in printing the first postcards of the Ottoman Empire as of 1895.³¹³ He had networks which went as far as Vienna where he would have the pictures of the ‘coquettes’ of Beyoğlu printed as postcards and sell them in his photography shop on Yüksekaldırım near the Galata Tower (*Kuledibi*), especially to foreign travellers.³¹⁴



Figure 3 One of the ‘erotic’ postcards edited by Max Fruchtermann, *Beauté orientale*, Series XVI, 1901-1906, No. 1506 (*The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann*, Vol. II, 554)

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Sandalçı, vii, ix, 6.

³¹⁴ Alus, *İstanbul Yazıları*, 57.

In 1906, some of the postcards he was selling were reported as ‘unbecoming’ (*‘bu misillü münasebetsiz tesaviri havi kart postallar’*) in which the Egyptian Copts were wearing dresses associated with Muslim women and it was demanded that necessary action should be taken in order to prevent further certificates as regards to their import, distribution and reproduction.³¹⁵ This time, the impropriety of the depicted women was not due to obscenity but due to transgression of social codes in terms of religion.

Just like some police and army officers were into malfeasance, other authorities did also misuse their power. In a case from 1906,³¹⁶ it was attested that Diyonis Efendi, the Ottoman Greek *muhtar* of Galata, was essentially from Samatya with no real estate in the district of Galata and he was charging people more money than required for all sorts of papers they demanded. Consequently, it was decided that Diyonis Efendi be replaced by Prodromos Efendi who was among the local power holders and had the required qualifications. In another Ottoman document dating back to 1903,³¹⁷ an employee of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul

³¹⁵ “Galata’da Yüksek Kaldırım’da Avusturya teb’asından Frühterman nam kimsenin on üç numarolu dükkânında Mısır kıbtîlerini muhadderat-ı islamiye ziyî ü kıyafetinde gösterir bir takım kart postallar fûruht edilmekde olduđu haber verildiğinden bu misillü münasebetsiz tesaviri havi kart postalların idhaliyle neşr ve fûruhtuna meydan verilmemesi esbabının istikmalî Dahiliye Nezaret-i celilesinden bildirilmiş (müdiriyyete ve İskenderiye) ve keyfiyet Beyoğlu mutasarrıflığına da izbar kılınmış olmağla icra-yı icabı hususuna himem” BOA, ZB 592/5, 1322 T 31.

³¹⁶ “Zabtiye Nezareti Celilesine
Devletlü efendim hazretleri
Galata Rum muhtarı Diyonis Efendi esasen ahali-yi kadimeden ve ashab-ı emlakdan olmamasından ve her nev’i ilmühaberden otuz kırk guruş ve daha ziyade akçe talebiyle halkı iz’ac etmekde bulunmasından naşi mezkûr muhtarlıktan ihracıyla yerine o evsaf-ı lazime-i kanuniyeyi haiz erbab-ı iktidardan Prodromos Efendi’nin intihab ve ta’yini ol babdaki istid’a sebk eden isti’lam üzerine Altıncı Daire-i Belediye müdiriyyetinden iş’ar edilmiş olmağla ba’dehu iktizası icra edilmek üzere evvel emirde bunların her ikisi hakkında da zabıtaca olan ma’lumât ve tahkikatın inbası menut-ı müsa’de-i celile-i daveraneleridir ol babda emr-ü ferman hazret-i men lehü’l emrindir” BOA, ZB 55/57, 1322 A 16.

³¹⁷ “Daire-i acizi dahilinde polis me’murlarınca su-i istimâlat vukua getirildiğü bazı taraftan Patrik Efendi’ye ifade olunduğü ve hatta istikametimiz Patrikde ma’lum olmasından naşi şikayet-i vakıa garabet ve hayretini mucib olduđu Patrikhane kapu kahyası muavini Spiraki Efendi ma’rifetiyle hikâye tarzında olarak acizlerine nakl ve ifade olundu.

is claimed to have attempted to calumniate a police officer who did not cooperate with him. According to the story, following the death of the director of the Patriarchate's printing house, Hristaki Papayani Efendi wished to take up the position for which he needed the authorization of the Patriarchate. Despite his failure to receive the required seal, he transgressed both legal and moral limits concerning his actions.

As this chapter aims to suggest, 'unorthodoxy' was not only associated with people who were already poorly regarded in society with respect to their occupations. The state officers, including the police, the army officers, etc., the employees of the Patriarchate or those who enjoyed high social status were as liable to go beyond the morally, socially, or legally acceptable limits as the rest of the people. Transgression

Şikayet-i vakıa şahsıma aid ise: saye-i madeletvaye-i hazret-i padişahîde ebvâb-ı mahakim herkes için açık bulunduğundan kimin iddiası var ise müracaatla ihkak-ı hak edebilir. Bilakis ma'iyet-i acizi için şikayet olunmuş ise şuraya kadar bu yolda taraf-ı acizeye bir gûne şikayet vuku' bulmadığından mütecasir var ise hakkında ta'kibat-ı kanuniye ifa olunmak üzere me'muriyet-i aciziye müracaat olunmak icab eder yolundadır.

Patrik taraftarını canibinden tertib edilmiş olduğuna şübhe olmayan işbu tehdid-amiz ifadatin esbab-ı mucibesi teemmül olundukda: umur-ı mezhebiyelerine müteallik kütüb ve resal ile kilisa ceridesinin tab ü neşrine mahsus olub Patrikhane dahilinde bulunan matbaanın geçenlerde vefat eden müdir-i mes'ulü yerine intihab olunan Patrikhane me'murlarından Hristaki Papayani Efendi'nin kefalet-i kaviyeye rabtı hakkında Dahiliye Nezareti celilesinden tastir olunub Zabıta Nezareti'nden makam-ı aciziye havale buyrulan tezkire-i aliyye mucibince hukuk-ı mukaddese-i şahaneye ve menafi'-i Devlet-i Aliyye'yi kâfil vesair şerait-i lazıme-i kanuniyeyi şamil olmak üzere taraf-ı aciziden kaleme alınub Patrikhane meclisince kabul ve imzasına muvafakat olunmayan taahhüd senediyle kefalet şerhi âmâl ve makasıdlarına mugayır bulunmasından, ve Patrik'in aleyhtarlarından bazı ileri gelen zevat ile hasbe'l-meslek ihtilat edilmesinden ve geçenlerde efkâr-ı umumiyeyi tehyic maksadıyla vaktiyle Yunan ihtilalinde zi-medhal olub devletce siyaseten salb ve idam etdirilen Patrik Ligoriyosun tasviri ma'ruzât-ı sabıka-i acizanem vechile merkurumun mahall-i siyaseti olan mahalle ta'lik edilmek gibi bir takım teşebbüsât-ı ha'inaneleri haber alınarak hasbe'l-ubudiyet hakpay-ı şahaneye arz edilmiş bulunulmasından mütevellid eser-i husumet ve garaz olduğuna kanaat hasil olmuşdur. Bu gibi mefsedetlerine ha'il olageldiğinden dolayı bunların âmâline karşı bir mania teşkil etdiğimi nazar-ı dikkate alarak bunun ref'i esbabına tevessül edilerek bâlâda arz olunan ihbar bu babda bir mukaddime olmak üzere tertib ve dermeyan edilmiş ise de taraf-ı aciziden verilen cevaba nazaran tehdidat-ı vakıanın müsmir olamayacağı anlaşıl原因 acizleri aleyhinde teşebbüsât-ı fi'iliyeye girişildiği ve hatta bu cümleden olmak üzere da'vâ vekillerinden Vasilaki Panigidi namında birisinin mutasarrıf olduğu meyhanede hilaf-ı merza-i âli vuku'a gelen bazı uygunsuz ahvalin def ü refi esbabına tevessül edilmesinden naşi aleyhimde bulunan merkurum Panagidi alet ittihaz edilerek acizleri hakkında mahzar kılıklı bir şikâyet varakası tertib ve tasni' ve ötekine berikine imza etdirilmekte bulunduğuna istihbar olundu

'Adavet-i diniyeleri iktizası olarak müslümanlar hakkında azviyat ve müfteriyatda bulunmaktan çekinmeyen ve esbab-ı ma'rufeden dolayı hakk-ı abidanemde garaz ve adavet bağliyan bu makule ashab-ı iğrazın tasniat-ı bedhahanesi mesmu' âli buyurulmak üzere işbu ma'ruzât-ı memlukânemin hakpay-ı ma'delet-ı ihtiva-yı cenab-ı hilafetpenahiye arz ve takdim buyurulmak babında ferman Fenar merkezi serkomiseri kulları" BOA, Y.PRK.ZB 33/13, 1320 Z 29.

of limits was not directly linked with isolation. Due to the nature of the archival documents used in this chapter, which are mostly police records, we learn that some people were replaced or punished for their deeds. These replacements and punishments show us that the relevant ‘unorthodoxy’ was somehow recognized in the eyes of the state or the community. Nevertheless, they do not particularly show us the limits of marginalization or estrangement, if there was any. In some cases, we are not even informed about what certain *uygunsuzluk* (improperness) is at stake, which leaves us guessing at the possibilities. On the whole, ‘unorthodoxy’ was omnipresent, yet the way it was perceived as well as the way the individuals experienced its consequences varied.

CONCLUSION

It appears that the visualization of the Greek community of Istanbul in the late nineteenth century bore the signs of a move towards a more tight-knit community life. The Greeks themselves contributed many structures to the capital such as schools, churches and buildings housing cultural societies that suggested gathering. Nevertheless, it was not an overt call for those who had blatantly ‘immoral’ or ‘ambiguous’ occupations such as prostitutes, pimps, singer/actresses, tavern keepers, etc. Education, for example, could not appeal to the underclass that did not have the means: these people could only be a part of the moralistic discourse via which the upper classes visualized their ‘proper’ identity. Poverty could generate all sorts of undesirable consequences as well as immorality that had to be supervised, yet at times, those who were more ‘orthodox’ among the needy were given priority for help. Apparently, while education, charity and philanthropy served for the well-being of the Greeks, they also served to help mark the boundaries of the Greek Orthodox community (*ὁμογενή*) which progressively became more Greek in character. However, the aim of the policies was not exactly to include the underclass – and not necessarily the entertainers – in the wider circle. It was rather the middle and the upper/middle classes that actually moved towards a more tightly knit community life by means of certain ideals and values.

As far as ‘improperness’ in late Ottoman Istanbul is concerned, entertainment practices in Pera and Galata were the most likely targets susceptible to

nurturing the ‘favourable’ environment. If these practices paved the way for ‘improperness’, the clientele/consumer that mostly comprised men must be equally investigated in future studies on account of their participation and agency as well as the role of masculinity. Entertainment was extensive in scope and the entertainers therefore did not form a homogeneous group in which they were all prone to be seen as immoral or marginal to the same extent. Networks, differences in occupation, wealth, status and lifestyle strengthened hierarchy which consequently changed the degree of integration to one’s milieu among the entertainers. Especially in the case of prostitutes and pimps, the degree of integration to society was not particularly incompatible with ‘immorality’. Due to variations in features, not all the prostitutes may be regarded as on the edge of the society as a whole.

Even though the entertainers in Pera and Galata were primarily non-Muslims, our sources reveal that some of them were involved in illegal cooperation with Muslims and Muslim authorities behind the scenes. Muslims were denied legal participation in businesses such as tavern keeping and prostitution, yet malpractices and abuses of power were visible in the form of connivance in return for bribe or free service. Besides secret partnership, some people had dual occupations, one of which tended to be illegal or required secrecy, and they did not legally attract any attention for their clandestine occupations unless caught by the state authorities. Even if the unemployed and the vagrant had no legal occupations, they should not necessarily be regarded as more liable to ‘unorthodoxy’ than those who were employed. Despite the fact that some people went unnoticed by the authorities or the society, they were still oscillating between legal as well as moral limits.

In the light of various sources including the newspaper *Tachydromos*, it is hard to disagree with Ahmet Rasim – his nostalgia for the olden days

notwithstanding – that the life in Galata was as fearsome as it was amusing.³¹⁸

Despite their infamy, the districts of Galata and Pera were not isolated; to the contrary, they were right in the heart of the city where people interacted daily and they offered more social intermingling than many other neighbourhoods in the capital, with a number of schools, places of worship, venues for entertainment and leisure activities, business offices, banks, shops, etc. Whether restricted or superficial, the limits of intermingling could be further evaluated by means of study on the transgression of moral, social and legal codes.

In conclusion, it is important to determine from which side we are looking at the story. It has three dimensions to it, albeit interrelated: the state, the community and the society. In our case, the state was mostly interested in control, law and order whereas the Greek community leaders had to deal with the curse of immorality, misery and ignorance in order to have a robust community to fit in with the new world order. I believe that the society proves to be the hardest yet the most interesting part to assess where the people under study seem to have a rather slippery ground. All in all, the ‘unorthodox’ Greek figures did not form a uniform group: ‘improperness’ did not necessarily go hand in hand with marginalization whereas the ‘improper’ were not limited to a single business or an ethno-religious group. The shifting focus on ‘the black sheep of the family’ could challenge our understanding of communities against a collective and nostalgic reading of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.

³¹⁸ Rasim, 104.

APPENDIX A: OTTOMAN STATE DOCUMENTS

Footnote 170

BOA, Y.PRK.ŞH 2/61, 1304 R 24

۹

اقتادین
مکتوب و قتلغی
علا

ظا طاردم حسن احمد محمد منج سالک عظیم قوناق اونه رتت پشنگ کریمین مار بچی اوجوام سکه بت اولغی ضابطین خفیہ مہورینہ
قصاب دیندین بختی تری یا نقو با بر عقال بی سزکونہ مقدم بت اوغرنغ انما جاح شریف جوارت باغلی حرم فاقندہ ماربانہ ہم خانہ
خانہ عہدینہ کوتورویا بیری ازلہ و مزبورہ بی بکرم لیا مقابنہ مزبورہ ماربانہ ترن اید فرار ایدیکہ و کیفیتہ ضابطہ اخلہ اولغین
مردم مرقوم دیندین برطاقم تہدینہ و افعالہ اہم منع ایدیکہ و مزبورہ ماربانہ رضن مؤخر قری بہ لیا تجارتہ ریک خانہ عموم صہابی
مردم صہابین ضابطہ خیرالہ مزبورہ بت نکر خانہ دہ الوجب تحقیقائہ و فرای مرقوم تہدینہ ایدار اولغین
شہر جلدن سزکونہ بختی کچین اسکی علی تیارہ خسرو تیارہ چارہ منج بقال یورکینت رکاتہ سارہ رضول ایدت تخیم بت ایوز غرضوہ قدر
ازارہ واقعی سرقنہ فار ایدیکہ و ضابطہ صہ تجریاہ لایمہ مہترہ ایدیکہ
بوکونہ اہطل علم عہدینہ شاکر خزیہ صلیہ کوتوریت اوزہ مالک ناظری تیار خضرینت قونا قدرینہ ایدین صہا و شعری عہدینہ
نقل اہم غلطہ طوبیہ چارہ منجہ مروی انارہ بار کور او کورن عرب بت سرعہ کیم نہ طوبیہ تری قیلہ و مرقوم رض روشن
صلاخ بختی سکتہ اولغند اطراف دیندین ایوز قرہ غوغائہ تہ لیم ایدین انارہ و یانہ مالدینہ منجہ اولغین و طریج امر و لا خضرہ فی اوزک

سہ
مکتوب

1

Monseigneur,

J'ou prendre la respectueuse liberté de soumettre
ce qui suit à la favorable considération de V. S. —
Déclarant: Qu'avant de 2 mois j'étais à Constantinople
pour cause d'affaires et j'y ai passé cinq semaines,
par hasard j'étais témoin d'une scène qui m'a bien surpris.

Un Vendredi je me suis trouvé à la Grand Rue (Rue
de Tramway) lorsque l'armée est rentrée de la parade
ainsi que quelques Seigneurs comme le Cheik-el-Islam
le Ministère de la Police etc.

J'ai appercu alors dans une maison, portant
l'enseigne "Hotel de Marine" se trouvant au front de
la Grande Rue, cinq jeunes filles de 18-19 ans qui re-
gardèrent de la fenêtre souriant aux M. M. les Officiers,
lesquelles à leur tour les regardèrent aussi. —

Tout en prenant intérêt de cet événement j'ai
demandé qui sont ces dames, j'ai appris alors que
cet Hotel est une maison des esclaves des filles achetées
en Autriche & en Allemagne. Le maître de ces esclaves
est un certain Moise Mordchi' Gottman, Bedectif
auprès du Ministère de la Police et Sujet Ottoman. —

On m'a dit aussi que le 15^m jour de Ramazan,
S. M. T. le Sultan passe chaque année à la même
rue, ou cette maison honneur existe.

Alors j'ai demandé, comment il est possible
qu'on admette une pareille chose, on m'a assuré que

Les Hauts Personage n'en sont point au courant
Ni que le Bim-bache de Kivoda et un certain Antoine
Effendi de la Municipalité de Pésé le savent mais ils
le dissimulent étant en bonne relation avec le
maître d'esclaves.

Le lendemain j'étais obligé de quitter la capitale
avec l'intention de porter cette scène à la connaissance
de S. A.

Pour être mieux au courant je suis rentré dans
cette maison et les filles m'ont racontés leurs vie &
traitements aussi que les choses précédentes. —

Par conséquent j'ai pris l'occasion de faire le présent
rapport espérant que des mesures seront prises d'abolir
cette maison encore avant le 15^m jours de Ramazan, à
seule fin qu'on ne fasse pas publier cette scène dans
des journaux Européens, car je n'ai vu dans aucune
Capitale ce qui je viens d'être Spectateur à Constantinople.

Espérant encore qu'il plaira à S. A. de sauver les
pauvres victimes des mains de leur maître, lesquelles
ont été faites pour Sujette Ottomane, j'ose porter à
la connaissance de S. A. que le même rapport j'ai
délivré au Ministère de la Police. —

En attendant, veuillez agréer, Monseigneur,
l'assurance de mon entière dévouement.

J. Olivier

Odessa, le 3. Mars 1844.

S. A. Djévad Pacha,
Grand-Vexir.

Stamboul.

خطه در تراوی جام سنج مؤسس موردی غوغا نه نم سنجیده اخته اداره سنج بولنده ادنل دو عاریه ده کی اجنبی قراری بنیچو لردنه
 مغایر اداب برصقم حرکات برده پروانه در بولنده ندرنده و بوجال خطه مرکزجه معلوم اولها منع اولدین و اولیویه اخصالی قراری
 ورقه خاما قراری اولنه رنه مندر جاتی کوزجه بالتحقیق نیچو سنجه سربغا افاج کی حقیق و بریلونه اریسلیکی اولرنه هماده تحقیقاتنه
 ماریعت فله رنه فلور اولنل دو عاریه یکری سنجه میجاوز عجمخانه اولها بولنده اوله بسنه ماه مقدم مرظم مؤسس آنجا ایکی
 فلور اولنل هر تقدیر تراوی جام سنه ناظر ایلم نیچو لری قضای و قیوسی ایسه سائر عجمخانه لری کی بلدی نیچو اولدین
 و حرکات مریه نه تحقیق قرض آتوجه کون صورت خفیجه کید بلها نظر تقبیلده کجور لریکن اولنل فلورک قیوسی ذاتا جام
 اولرنه اولدینقده فیوده بر اولدینقده کورید مدیکی کی نیچو لری رضی ماکل قضای بولنده بقده قرار طر فله نیچو لردنه
 با قیوه کی اولدینقده لوه جنی اصل کورید ملسه و قرارک الحانیا و ادستیا نجلرنده اولها مرظم مؤسس غوغا نه
 طر فله همانوه الحسه ابر اولدینقده بکنه کجایجه بر صورت مناسبه و خفیجه بوجهته تحقیق اولدینقده فی الحقیق درده
 اولنل التی قر دار ایلم بوندرده بسن دولغه نیچو سنجه و بالکد بریس اولدینقده و اولدینقده و اولدینقده
 ایستکلده وقت فلور اولنل ترک ایله ایستکلده محله کتوله سربس بولنده قری و اولدینقده اخته اسانه اولدینقده
 اولدینقده نیاز عله بولجا محائل کور صوفی و ههجا مایجه و لیبه و مادرم روزه نم فر بوردنل عجمخانه لری
 اولدینقده نیازه ایچنل ایلم ایله و نیچو لری تراوی جام سنه ناظره و بالکد جام اولدینقده ایقده نم فر بوردنل
 عجمخانه سنه قیوسی اولها بولنده فضلر بولندین کی و بوندرک در برکونا مغایر اداب حال و حرکت بولندین
 ایچینه در - مودرن طر فله داخا وقت داخا اولدینقده اولدینقده ایچینه اولدینقده اولدینقده
 کتیبه بکشته وقت اولدینقده ارد فر ماه حقیق سه لردنکده - مایه - مایه - مایه




۱۱۹۰

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زیاده بچوبه ایوهوم جمع سرفقه کیده بعضه روم و بوناید طبقه هیه روم دیوار و در کله اوزرینه سوانتی نقشه بیتم جبارانه و شکل خیز
 و شیم بملکه اوله طرفی مسوع علا اوله روم بونیزک ابنه یمنل دیریه جک حوزک بودری و بعدما بوشلو احوال دفعه کلما ملک ایوهوم
 کون جمع سرفقه مذکور و کون املکه مقدسه سره ی زیاده بچوبه کونیزک باندیزک خدمه ده برابلیس کیمه بونسی لوزنه و بوبولده کون
 ایجاب ایدنه تقیانه دار بعلیانه قلمه اوزرعه احکامک تمایله جبارانه اعنا و رفت اونی محضه شرفدار اولاده ارامه سیه جناب
 خلد قشقی بی نقشه ه ه حاکم ایوهوم تاریخه تذکره عید اصفاه لری دارد دسه نایم اولدی بولیف اول طرف جبارانه و غیره ایوهوم
 بالکانه جمع سرفقه کیدیک نه الحقیقه دیوار و در کله ایدنه سانسز جبارانه و شکل کوطبه و بونیزک بلمی اوتوزنه دیری خوروش
 اوله کدیله تاریخه کیده اکلتمه اولدیفنده همامه اوان مغولر قیبه اولرزه بانک لقیسه و زینانه جدیده شکل و درجه جبارانه و بونیزک
 و شکل دهال محمود ظاهر ایدیلده بر بوجوب اروزانه هه یوه حفت بالکلهی بعدازنه کله جک زیاده بچوبه کونیزک خدمه ده برابلیس
 کیمه بولیف بولبی احوال انقاع میدانه و بولبی و معایفه ایوهوم جمع سرفقه طبقه سی دانا قولدایمق اولمه دیویری رضی خراج جمع سرفقه
 و غیره نقشه بونیزک هه زیاده بچوبه کونیزک طبقه قدر حیض بکوننده بعضی اولدیفنده سفارده و املا روانه معینه ده اولاده زیاده بچوبه
 مستی اولمه و بونیزک خراجیه نقاره جدیده تذکره سید کلوب زیاده بچوبه اوزرزه دانه خارجه ده وریلا بچوبه کونیزک کلامه عادی بچوبه
 بالکله جمع سرفقه کونیزک انقا اونی رضی خدمه جمع ایدانه نوسه و نیه اونیسه و کله حیل ارامه سیه حفت طل اونیسه نوسفا بولبی ارامه مقدسه
 زیاده ماده بچوبه قلمه انانیه تعلیمه لقا تقدیم فائمه و قلمه مدینه جبارانه موافقه اروزانه هه یوه جناب جبارانه بولبی حالک اجاری ایجاب ضمنه عادی
 اروزانه حفت صد اوزرزه ارامه خراج تاریخه
 ارامه و کله حیل ارامه سیه
 مصحفی

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 سازمان اسناد و کتابخانه ملی جمهوری اسلامی ایران
 اداره مطبوعات
 عکاس
 ۹۱۸

ملک اعلیٰ و محلی آریه رسدند علما صانعده بولیدی استخار اوسمی اوریه صانعده ما مورید برار اصوا داره سره تحقیقات اجری و معیار آریه
 رسدند مع فریضی ایچونه اراره عجزی مستندی اشاع ایله ای سعه دوله کرده و موسوی صانعده اورامک طنزنا زقا عبده قلمی جاده کتبه
 دکاوری صیغ مستندی دیک اعلیٰ مقصده قومی دخی برکن اوله قلمی حالده قری اوله قده دره بوزه قریب مختلفه نقله ده عیانت سترجه و محلی آریه
 و طبع اندر دست در قومی استخوان اوله قده بوی خارده و طبع اجری بوی که ابر غلط بختده و طبع اجری صوبیا نوسده ایلدی بیانه ایله و باره
 و طبع اجری بوی که خارده که رکانه کیدون امر اقتضایه تحریکده بر قانع عد محلی آریه تصاویر ای بو انسانک نسائی و زودیه ایله افزان
 و قیود لریک مع قیاقده و طبع اجری جاری الیه ایدر که هانه سع دخی طبری محمل اوله نظر از قیود اوله ما مورید در صحنه قلمی ایله
 برابر فریضی بوی که هه و درده لا خارده کیدون قری ایدر که بری بولدی و طبع اجری صوبیا نوسک غلط بختده که در طرا قری ایدر که
 ایلی عد محلی آریه هم ابر دره سه عدد و زودیه عکری و طبع اجری اوله قده و طبع اجری جاری و ایلی کیدر صام اوزیه بی زکی الصاره
 بر زودیه و دیکری فریضی محک و طبع اجری جاری اینه در صاده ایدر که مستدر طریقه در ایله ابورده بیانه ایله اوله بومقوله محلی آریه
 رسدند فریضی و نشانیه بیانه و بوی که صحنه بعبان دقت و اعنا ایلی لردنک صیغ نفع صیدینه اوزنعا بوی که اوزنعا بوی که اوزنعا بوی که

مطبوعات راضیه میره
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 دوزه عا جری دهنده بولیس ما مور لری سو استی لان و قوی تو لری کی
 بعد از مرگه بولیس اوردی، افاده اولدی و حق استقامت بولیس معلوم
 اولنده نامی کتابت و قد غایت و همدی موجب اولدی بولیس
 قو کرهای معادلی سیدی اوردی معریله حکایه طرزده اوله و عا جری
 نص و افاده اولدی
 کتابت و قد حکم عا جری به سیه معنوی حضرت پادشاهیه
 ابوب محکم لهر کسی اجوه بولیسده کیم اوعای و ایل و جفته
 اقصا و صوبه بولیس معنی عا جری اجوه کتابت اولدی
 سوری، قدر بولیده طرف عا جری بر کوا کتابت و قو عولده بولیده
 مجار و ایل عفته تقصیه قانونه ایضا اولدی دوزه ما مویت عا جری
 مراجعت اولدی احباب ایل بولیده جواب دیندر
 بولیس طرفدارانی جاننده ترتیب ایله اولدی بولیس اولدی به اجوه

تهديد امير افشارك اسباب موجدی نالی اوليد قیده : اموالیه
 معانی کتب و مسائل ایله کلیه جریده سنک لوج و سربیه مخصوص اولوب
 یئرلیقا : اخلنده بولسا نه مضبه نك كنجده ده وفات ایدنه سیدر سووی
 بیرنه آتخاب اولسا نه یئرلیقا : ما موریدون خریستای با ایا ای اقله نك
 کفالت قوییه یئرلیقا مضبه نظارت جلیله نك نه تسلیم اولوب
 ضمیمه نظارتیه مقام عاجزیه حواله بویولا نك نه ذکره عذر موصوفه مضبه
 ساهازی و ضامو دولتی عریبی کاف و وار سرله لازمه قانونیه بی سال
 اولعه اوزره افرق عاجزیه قدره نوب یئرلیقا : مجامع قول و امضا نك
 موافقت اولجا نه نوبه نك نه کفالت رسمی امال و نفا حدیه نفاذ
 بولنده : و نك نه عریبی لر نك نه لجه ایلی کلون ذوات ایله هبالت
 اضطرار ایلمنده و نك نه ده افکار عریبی نك نه تراج مضبیه و قسیر یوان
 اقله نك نه ذی مدخل اولوب و نك نه بیانه صلب و عدم اندیر یون
 یئرلیقا بولسا نك نه یوری مدو ضام نك نه سلفه عریبی نام و عذر قوییه

عده بزرگ اقصای اوله روزی در عقده غربان و مهربانه و بوفته
 حاجیه و اسباب معروفه دن فولادی هوسه، مده غره و عدون نعلیان
 بوقوله اصحاب اغراضه نصیحت به قولگانه سی موع حال بویطوه
 اوزره ابو موهان موهانه ما فایلیای معدت اقوی ضباب
 غلبه سیاهی، عرصه و تقسیم بویطوه بایده زمان

قلم مروری سر قویبیری
 قویبیری



APPENDIX B: EXCERPTS FROM TACHYDROMOS

Footnote 200 & 201

Tachydromos, 24 April 1898

Κακούργηματα.—Περὶ τὴν 1 ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς τουρκιστὶ προχθὲς τετάρτην δύο τινὲς εἰσῆλθον εἰς ὑπαιθρον ποτοπωλεῖον τῶν Ταταούλων ἐν τῇ συνοικίᾳ Κεχαγιᾶ. Καθ' ἣν δὲ ὥραν ὁ ὑπάλληλος ἐπορεύθη ἵνα ἐκτελέσῃ τὴν δοθεῖσαν παραγγελίαν ποτῶν, ὁ ἕτερος τούτων ἐνέπηξεν εἰς τὴν πνευμονικὴν χώραν τοῦ συμπότου ὀξὺ καὶ μακρὸν ἐγχειρίδιον παρόμοιον κοπίδι ὑποδηματοποιῶ. Τὸ τραῦμα ἦτο τόσῳ καίριον, ὥστε ἐν ἀκαρεὶ σχεδὸν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ θάνατος. Τὰ ἀστυνομικὰ ὄργανα ἀμέσως ἐπελήφθησαν ἀνακρίσεων καὶ οἰκίας πολλὰς ὑπόπτους ἐν τοῖς πέριξ ἠρεύνησαν, τοῦ δράστου ὄμως ἢ σύλληψις δὲν κατορθώθη εἰσέτι. Ὁ φονευθεὶς ὠνομάζετο Γεώργιος, ἦν δὲ Ρύσιος καὶ ὑποδηματοποιός, τελευταίως ἔχων καὶ ἀποθήκην οἴνων ἐν τῇ γειτονικῇ συνοικίᾳ Σινέμκοϊ, ὁ δὲ φονεὺς ἐκαλεῖτο Νικόλαος καὶ ἦτο ἄνθρωπος κακῶν προηγουμένων.

Ἔτερον κακούργημα διεπράχθη τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ τῆς προχθὲς ἐν τιμὴ καπηλείῳ τοῦ Γαλατᾶ. Ἐριδος ἐγερεθείσης μεταξὺ δύο, καλουμένων Ἐκρέμ καὶ Μουσταφᾶ, ἐν καταστάσει μέθης εὐρισκομένων, ὁ Ἐκρέμ ἐπληξε διὰ μαχαίρας ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας τὸν Μουσταφᾶν καὶ ὁ μὲν φονεὺς συνελήφθη ὑπὸ τῆς ἀστυνομίας ὁ δὲ φονευθεὶς μετηνέχθη εἰς τὸ νοσοκομεῖον τοῦ στί. δημαρχιακοῦ τμήματος, ἔνθα μετὰ δύο ὥρας ἐξέπνευσε.

Tachydromos, 22 February 1900

Κατὰ τὰς ἀπόκρως. Ἡ πολυθόρυβος τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων συνωστισμὸς καὶ ἐν τῷ Πέραν καὶ ἐν τῷ Γαλατᾶ καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς πρωτευούσης, χάρις εἰς τὴν ἀγρυπνον τῆς ἀστυνομικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτήρησιν παρῆλθεν ἄνευ ἐπεισοδίου καὶ ρήξεων ἐν σχετικῇ ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ τάξει. Ἐν Γαλατᾶ ἰδίως, ἔπου ἡ διατήρησις τῆς τάξεως καὶ ἡ ἀποφυγὴ ἀπευκταίων δὲν εἶναι ἔργον εὐχερές, οὐδὲν ἐσημειώθη ὅπως οὐκ ἄξιον λόγου ἐπεισόδιον, τοῦτο δὲ ὀφείλεται εἰς τὰ δραστήρια μέτρα καὶ τὴν διοικητικὴν ἰκανότητα τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς ἀστυνομικῆς ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ Βοεβόδα Μεχμέτ' Ἀλῆ βέη.

Tachydromos, 23 February 1900

Τὰ Κούλουμα τῶν Ταταούλων. Ὅπως χθὲς ἐγράφομεν, ἡ διατήρησις τῆς τάξεως καὶ ἡ ἀποσόβησις παντὸς δυσαρέστου ἐπεισοδίου καθ' ἕλλην τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς δευτέρας ἐν Ταταούλοις ἐν μέσῳ τόσῳ πυκνοῦ καὶ τόσῳ ζωηροῦ συνωστισμοῦ ὑπῆρξε παραδειγματικὴ καὶ παρατηρήθη λίαν εὐαρέστως. Δίκαιον εἶναι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ ἀποδοθῆ ὁ προσήκων ἔπαινος εἰς τὴν ἀστυνομικὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς πολυανθρώπου ταύτης κοινότητος καὶ ἰδίως εἰς τοὺς ἀνωτέρους αὐτῆς ἀστυνομικοὺς ὑπαλλήλους Ἰσακ ἐφέντην καὶ Μουσταφᾶ ἐφέντην, οἵτινες πανταχοῦ παριστάμενοι καὶ τὸν ζῆλον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὀργάνων διεγείροντες, κατέβαλον ἐπαινετὰς καὶ μεγάλας προσπάθειας, ὅπως μηδὲ κατ' ἐλάχιστον διαταραχθῆ ἡ τάξις καὶ ἡ ἡσυχία τοῦ εὐθυμοῦντος κόσμου.

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