



Gwendolyn Collaço (Ed.)

Prints and Impressions from Ottoman Smyrna

The Collection de costumes civils et militaires, scènes populaires, et vues de l'Asie-Mineure Album (1836–38) at Harvard University's Fine Arts Library

With historical comments by Evangelia Balta & Richard Wittmann

MEMORIA. FONTES MINORES AD HISTORIAM IMPERII OTTOMANICI PERTINENTES

Volume 4

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**Historical Comments on the Illustrations in the
Harvard Fulgenzi Album of Lithographs (1836–38)**

Evangelia Balta and Richard Wittmann



1r. Printed ca. 1836–38

Sultan Mahmud¹

The album opens with the lithographic portrait of Sultan Mahmud II, thus allowing us to gauge the plate's publication date. The mounted Sultan is shown dressed in western style in a military uniform and wearing a fez. His western attire refers directly to the changes he had started to introduce in an attempt to restrict the power of the military and religious classes in favor of a new modern bureaucracy. The 1829 law specified the clothing and headgear to be worn and sought to replace ancient community and occupational signs of differentiation by dress with a homogenizing status marker, the fez. As Donald Quataert points out, »the law was quite a radical measure in Mahmud's attempt to eliminate clothing distinctions that had long separated the official from the subjects' classes and the various Ottoman religious communities from one another.«² Taking this date as a *terminus post quem*, the plate was designed after the widespread implementation of the 1829 law and likely published shortly before the end of the sultan's reign in 1839.

1 A single caption in French showing the tughra of Sultan Mahmud depicted at the center of the caption.

2 Donald Quataert, »Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829«, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29/3 (Aug. 1997), 403–425.



2r. Printed in 1836

Vue de Smyrne, prise de la Rade

Θεωρία (= Θεωρία) Σμύρνης ιστοριθεΐσα (= ιστοριθεΐσα)
παρά τοῦ λιμένος
Resm-i İzmir yalısı

The engraving of Smyrna not only discloses its place of publication, but primarily reveals that the scenes it contains show the setting and the society of Smyrna, that cosmopolitan Mediterranean trade-port. Besides, the image representing the city was not chosen inadvertently. It depicts its port, the key feature of the city's identity. Though it initially appears like another typical picture of Smyrna, like so many others of the city in the 18th and 19th centuries, the image harbors some of the earliest documented depictions of steamboats in Ottoman territories.³ It is a very early – perhaps the earliest – depiction of steamships off the coast of Izmir, only eight years after the first steamship in Ottoman waters arrived in Istanbul in 1828.⁴

3 Steamship travel in the Eastern Mediterranean only began during the second part of the 1830s. See: Andrew Oliver, *American Travelers On the Nile: Early U.S. Visitors to Egypt, 1774–1839*, Cairo: American University in Cairo, 2014, 197.

4 Halil İnalcık, Suraiya Faroqhi, Donald Quataert: *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 800.



3r. Printed in 1837

Le berceau grec en Morée (= Morée)

Ἡ ρωμαϊκή κούνια Μωραΐος (= Ἡ ρωμαϊκή κούνια Μωρέως)⁵

Beşik-i Rum (beşik written as بشق)

The engraved scene portrays a Morean woman carrying an enormous bundle of hay on her back with two children standing before a cradle suspended between two trees. We surmise that this pastoral illustration is aimed at the Morean population that had settled in Smyrna, having abandoned the poor, conflict-ravaged Morean land, seeking a better life in this rich, urban center with its commercial links both within and outside the Mediterranean.⁶ This third picture acts for the Morean incomers as a reminder of their life in the fatherland, an antidote to their pining for the past. Any reference to Morea though is strikingly absent in the Ottoman caption of this engraving. We assume this omission must be deliberate, as Morea marks the place where the Greek Revolution began in 1821. Any reference to it would probably have raked up hatred and strong

⁵ The Greek cradle of Morea.

⁶ The first stop for the Peloponnesian refugees was often the Aegean islands, from where they then continued on to the coasts of Asia Minor. There was also a separate large migration flow from the islands to Smyrna. Of particular significance in attracting and receiving the refugees was the policy of the powerful Ottoman local rulers, who owned large croplands and made sure the newcomers settled down well, building them churches and providing them with shelter and tax relief for a period of ten years. See Vasilis Sfiroeras, «Μεταναστεύσεις και Εποικισμοί Κυκλαδιδιτών εις Σμύρνην κατά την Τουρκοκρατίαν [Migration and Settlement of Cycladic People in Smyrna during Turkish rule]», *Mikrasiatika Chronica* 10 (1963), 164–199. And Koula Kasimati: «Σμύρνη: Τα Μειζονα Κίθηρα, Οι Κυθηριοί στην Ιωνία (18ος–20ός αιώνας) [Smyrna: The Kytherian History, The Kytherians in Ionia]», Athens: Gutenberg, 2014.

emotions experienced by the population of Smyrna during the Greek Revolution, which threw the ordinary life of this commercial Mediterranean port into disorder for about two years. It should be pointed out though that no retaliation, persecution or violence was carried out against the local Greek population similar in any way to that occurring in other large urban centers in the empire, and in neighboring places such as Chios and Ayvalık. That reprieve was thanks to the intervention of foreign merchants as well as to the remarkable coexistence of the different communities in the city which had grown up and depended on the framework of economic relations that linked them. As Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, Vangelis Kechriotis and Sibel Zandi-Sayek have shown, the local authorities and the central power, the Europeans and their political representatives, the non-Muslim communities and the Muslim residents, had developed flexible alliances for the public good, realizing that it was in their common interest to promote and protect the economic growth of their port-city. They were aware that in order to maintain and promote the prosperity of the city that brought them wealth, it was essential that there should be collaboration and peaceful relations in multiethnic and multi-confessional Smyrniot society.⁷

⁷ Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi: identités et relations sociales à Smyrne au XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, Collection Turcica, vol. 10, Louvains-Paris: Peters, 2005; Vangelis Kechriotis, «Protecting the city's interest: the Greek Orthodox and the conflict between Vilayet authorities in Izmir (Smyrna) in the second constitutional period», *Mediterranean Historical Review* 24/2 (2009), 207–221; and Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840–1880*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.



4r. Printed ca. 1836

Soldat Grec Albanais

Στρατιώτης Έλλην Αλβανίτης (= Αρβανίτης)

Arnabud (= Arnavud) Rum Soltadi⁸ (سولطادی)

The engraved figure of a revolutionary fighter leans on his rifle, gazes at the horizon in a pose found with slight variations across numerous 19th-century albums about Greece and its inhabitants.⁹ In the case of this particular album, the portrayal of the Arvanite warrior retains common elements, such as the care taken in depicting the details of the costume (the pleated *fustanella*, the ornately embroidered *yileki*, the decorated knee pads), the typically shaven front part of the head, with the rich mane of hair falling on the shoulders. As noted on the left-hand side of the page, the picture of the Arvanite Greek warrior was drawn by Charles Vandennep before it was engraved by Eugenio Fulgenzi. It is also worth noting a detail in the composition of the landscape that provides a scenic context for the picture of the warrior: a broken fluted column to the right of the foreground, overgrown with vegetation. This small ruin is one of the few visual references in the album to Greece's ancient past, in contrast to other 19th-century albums which abound in images of ancient monuments and which make up the composition in which the figures are positioned.

8 The term «soldat» has supposedly been introduced into Ottoman Turkish by İbrahim Müteferrika in the eighteenth century and got to denote a Western-style Ottoman soldier of the *Nizam-ı Cedid* army, see Marinos Sariyannis: *A History of Ottoman Political Thought up to the Early Nineteenth Century*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019, 396.

9 The 1861 depiction of an Arvanite warrior by Carl Haag at the Benaki Museum in Athens is but one of the more well-known such portrayals.



5r. Printed in 1837

Portefais de Constantinople (= Portefaix de Constantinople)

Βαστάζος Κωνσταντινούπολίτης

İslambol Hambalı (= Hammalı)

The engraving depicts porters of Istanbul carrying a large barrel, a common sight also in the daily port life of Smyrna. The model also has analogues in costume albums produced in Istanbul during the same period, as mentioned in the accompanying essay.



6r. Printed in 1836



7r. Printed in 1833

Turque Albanaise

Τούρκισα Ἀρβανήτισσα (= Τούρκισσα Ἀρβανίτισσα)

Arvanitisa Turkisa¹⁰

This engraving of a Turkish Albanian woman (Arvanitisa) complements the earlier Greek male figure of Albanian origin as both are Orthodox Arvanites. The adjective »turkisa [Turkish]« refers to the religious identity of the woman and is used instead of the adjective »Muslim«. Her presence in the album denotes the variety of identities among the Arvanites (Christian Orthodox, Catholics, Sunni Muslims, Alevites, Grecophones, Turcophones, etc.), who resided on the Greek mainland and the islands.

Ci devant Baladin servant aux Taverne[s] de Galata

Πρότερον χορευτής ὑπηρετῶν εἰς τὰ καπηλῖα τοῦ Γαλατᾶ
(= Πρότερον χορευτής ὑπηρετῶν εἰς τὰ καπηλῖα τοῦ Γαλατᾶ)

İslambolda Galata küçük¹¹ meyhane oğlanları

The subject of the engraving is inspired by the famous taverns in the port of Galata, frequented by sailors and merchants arriving in Istanbul, while also bringing to mind similar images in corresponding taprooms of Smyrna. These places of amusement in Smyrna could offer European-style music, such as the famous *cafés chantants*, or Turkish-Greek style music, often found in the *cafés aman* that were at the heart of the creation of *re(m)betiko* songs (also known as *smyrniotika*). This musical cultural tradition developed in Smyrna where great musicians and singers became famous. After the Greco-Turkish War (1919–22), refugees from Asia Minor carried the tradition to Greece, and incorporated it into the Greek musical culture.¹²

10 The Ottoman caption is essentially a transcription of the Greek caption with Arabic characters, similar to that found in the 19th century in Crete and Ioannina, where the Greek-speaking Muslim inhabitants of these two areas used the Arabic alphabet when writing in the Greek language, see indicatively the studies by Yorgos Dedes, »Was there a Greek Aljamiado Literature?«, in: *The Balance of Truth, Essays in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Lewis*, Istanbul: Isis, 2000, 83–98; idem, »Blame it on the Turko-Romioi (Turkish Rums). A Muslim Cretan song on the abolition of the Janissaries«, in: *Between Religion and Language, Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ömez, Istanbul: Eren, 2011, 321–376; and Ph. Kotzagiorgis, *Τὸ Ἰσλάμ στα Βαλκάνια. Ἐνα ἐλληνοφώνο μονασουλ-μανικό χειρόγραφο ἀπὸ τὴν Ἡπείρου τοῦ 18ου αἰῶνα* [Islam in the Balkans. A Greek-language Muslim manuscript from 18th-century Epirus], Athens, 1997.

11 An alternative reading would be *köçek* denoting a handsome male dancer, sometimes dressed in feminine attire, who was employed as an entertainer.

12 Nicholas G. Pappas, »Concepts of Greekness: The Recorded Music of Anatolian Greeks after 1922«, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 17/2, October 1999, 353–375; Stathis Gauntlett, »Between Orientalism and Occidentalism. The Contribution of Asia Minor Refugees to Greek Popular Songs and its Reception«, in: Renée Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean. An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*, London: Berghahn Books, 2003, 247–260; Risto Pekka Pennanen, »The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece«, *Ethnomusicology* 48/1 (Winter 2004), 1–25.



8r. Printed in 1837

Ali Pacha de Janina

Άλι Πασσιᾶς Ἰωαννίνων

Yanya Valisi Ali Paşa

The engraving adapts a painting by Louis Dupré, already mentioned, which depicts Tepedelenli Ali Paşa, the Ottoman governor (*vali*) of Yanya (1744–1822), during a hunting expedition at Lake Butrint on 14 March 1819. In commenting on the Dupré painting, Manolis Vlachos states that it is one of the most successful depictions of Ali Paşa, which combines the features of his dynamic personality in a much more effective manner than the painting by Joseph Cartwright that is dominated by a genial simplicity.¹³ It is no coincidence that this picture prevailed as his most representative portrayal. The Fulgenzi brothers chose to copy Dupré's painting (or a print of it), in which Ali Paşa in his precious caftan, lying in a boat surrounded by his guards, is pensively smoking. According to Manolis Vlachos, the manner in which the profile of the *vali* is presented, deep in thought, on the one hand conveys all his historical features, and on the other hand allows for the free interpretation of the portrait and this leader's personality. Among his most noble traits were his courage, fortitude and endurance at his tragic end when he paid with his life for his separatist actions to become an independent ruler.

13 Manolis Vlachos, *Louis Dupré, «Ταξίδι στην Αθήνα και στην Κωνσταντινούπολη» [Journey to Athens and Constantinople]*, Athens: Olkos, 1994.



9r. Printed in 1836

Femme Grecque d'Athènes

Γυνή Ἑλληνίς Αθηναῖα

Atinalı Rum karısı (written as قریسی)

This engraving of an Athenian woman stands upon a miniature Attic landscape, which is denoted by an ancient column on the left and by a ruined temple on the right, most likely representing the Temple of the Olympian Zeus. In the background the walled Acropolis, the *Atina kalesi*, can be discerned. The Ilissos River flows at the Athenian woman's feet.¹⁴ The ancient Greek monuments scaled down in this composition reveal the locality of the female form and attest to the illustrious past of the Attic land. The scenery also includes several elements that can be seen in Edward Dodwell's published aquatint of his drawing.¹⁵ It should be noted that Athens became the capital of the Greek state in 1834, as it was directly linked to a glorious past that lent allure to the poor, little state created after the Greek revolution. We believe that the inclusion in the album of the Athenian figure, beyond any other reason, is probably linked to the picture that follows it: the portrait of the King of Greece, Otto.

14 The Ilissos river rose from the northwestern slopes of Mt. Hymettos, crossed Athens, flowing outside its walls, and ran into the Bay of Phaleron. It was covered over in 1930 under the government of Ioannis Metaxas and embanked by 1960.

15 Edward Dodwell, *Views in Greece from Drawings by Edward Dodwell Esq.* F.S.A. & c, London: Rodwell and Martin 1821, 59.



10r. Printed in 1837

Othon, Roi des Grecs.

Όθων Βασιλεύς Ελλάδος.

Oton Yunan krali

The engraved portrait features the young Bavarian Otto, elected king of Greece (1833–62) by the Great Powers, Britain, France, Russia, and Bavaria under the London Convention (25 April/7 May 1832). His selection was facilitated by the philhellenic past of his father, Crown Prince Ludwig I of Bavaria. The 18-year-old Otto arrived in Nafplio accompanied by regents, who essentially ruled until he came of age in 1835. This is the infamous period of the harsh Regency Council, which strove to organize the Greek people into a state after four hundred years of subjugation to Ottoman rulers. An eight-year liberation war and the civil conflicts ensued.

The reason we believe Otto's portrait was included in this particular album is linked to his clandestine visit to Smyrna, just a few months after his arrival in Greece in 1833, hence the young, almost childlike portrayal in the album. This visit, considered unofficial as it never received the approval of the Sublime Porte, lasted for nine days. During his stay in Smyrna, Otto attended a doxology at the Metropolitan Cathedral, visited the Evangelical School, where he was addressed by its director Avramios Omirolis from Androniki in Cappadocia, and privately visited Pınarbaşı, Bornova, and Hacilar. He was invited to a dinner held by the Baltazzi family and to a ball given in his honor by the English merchant Charlton Whittall, attended by the elite of the Greek and European Smyrniot society. The Sultan removed Seraphim from the metropolitan throne of Smyrna over the doxol-

ogy he had sung in honor of King Otto and was angered by the behavior of the Greek community, which was quick to welcome Otto. Pavlos Karolidis characterized Otto's visit as naive and a political misconduct since it was made on his initiative alone without informing the Regency. The nine-day visit fortunately ended with no further repercussions for the Greek population of Smyrna or other sanctions for the Greek state.¹⁶

16 Pavlos Karolidis, *Σύγχρονος Ιστορία των Ελλήνων και των λοιπών λαών της Ανατολής από το 1821 μέχρι 1921* [Contemporary history of the Greeks and other peoples of Anatolia from 1821 to 1921], vol. 2, Athens: A. Vitsikovnaki, 1922, 131–135.



11r. Printed in 1836

Kavass, vieux et nouveau costume

Καβάς κατὰ τὴν παλαιάν καὶ νέαν ἐνδυμασίαν

Kavas-ı yeni ve eski (kavas written as خواص)

As already noted, the engraved figures of the two *kavas*, guards of the consulates and embassies in the Ottoman Empire, symbolize the old and the new worlds: the older man wearing the traditional costume and the younger the western-style attire.



12r. Printed in 1836

Téqîiè des Derviches à Galata – lès – Constantinople

Τεκῆιὲ δε Δερβίχες γ's Γαλατὰ – Κωνσταντινουπόλεως¹⁷

Mahmiyye-i İstanbulda tekye-i dervişan-ı
Galata-i mevleviyye

This engraving features the Whirling Hall of the Mevlevi Lodge in Galata (Istanbul) during the ritual performance of *sema*. Beyond its alluring subject, chosen to excite the interest of potential buyers, we believe that the inclusion of this picture is owed to Sultan Mahmud II's sympathies for the Mevlevi order of dervishes. Mahmud II brought to fruition the unsuccessful attempt made by Selim III to replace the Janissaries with the *Nizam-ı Cedid Army* (The Army of the New Order, 1792–1807) and went one step further by abolishing the Bektashi order that was closely linked to the Janissaries.

17 The Greek caption is of linguistic interest, as it shows that its scribe did not know Greek well. Apart from the misspelled word »Κωνσταντινουπόλεως [Constantinople]« (read Κωνσταντινουπόλεως), he has transcribed using Greek letters the first three words of the French caption and with Latin characters the Greek word »eis«, which he transcribes as »g's« as he probably pronounced it or heard it as such, namely asgeis«. So he transcribes the Greek using Latin characters as is usual in *frangochiotika* books, those of the Catholic Levantines of Smyrna, who published books in the Greek language with Latin characters. A first bibliography of these distinctive books was compiled by Eugène Dalleggio, »Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages religieux en grec imprimés avec des caractères latins«, *Mikrasiatika Chronica* 9 (1961), 389–397. See also Ph. Phalbos, »Ο Φραγκομαχαλάς της Σμύρνης και τα φραγκοχιώτικα βιβλία [The Frangomachalás of Smyrna and the *frangochiotika* books]«, *Mikrasiatika Chronica* 7 (1959), 173–226; and Fr. Markos Foskolos, »Frangochiotika. A linguistic idiom with an 'ethnic' religious character«, in: Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez (eds.), *Between Religion and Language, Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul: Eren, 2011, 377–396.



13r. Printed in 1836

Femme Juive de Smyrne

Γυνή Σμυρναία Ἑβραία
İzmirli Museviyye

An engraving of a Smyrniot Jewess represents the populous Jewish community of Smyrna. Like the other Jewish communities in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Smyrniot community also included Romaniotes, Sephardim, as well as Marranos from the Iberian Peninsula who had converted to Catholicism but secretly continued to perform the religious duties of the Jewish religion. Having first settled near the coast, they later moved to the center of Smyrna. Henri Nahum writes that 19th-century descriptions portray the Jewish quarter as miserable and filthy.¹⁸ Do the two humble buildings visible on the horizon, on either side of the female figure, allude to this situation? One of them, with numerous smoking chimneys, probably represents a working-class industrial area, a place of residence or work for the Jews of Smyrna, many of whom were employed in the city's workshops (tanneries, dyers, textiles, olive oil mills, soap factories, etc.).



14r. Printed in 1836

Sultan Mahmud Empereur des Ottomans

Σουλτάν Μαχμούτης, Αυτοκράτωρ τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν
Sultan Mahmud Han Padişah-ı Âl-i Osman

An engraved portrait features Sultan Mahmud II dressed, just as in the first picture in the album, in a western-style military uniform and a fez. To his right the army *Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediye* [The Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad] is arrayed, also wearing European-type uniforms, depicted in miniature scale in relation to the figure of the Sultan. Mahmud II's raised right hand points to the official parade. The image clearly references the military reform he implemented in collaboration with Alemdar Mustafa, his Grand Vizier, namely the destruction of the Janissary corps in 1826 and the creation of a regular army based upon discipline and drill. This gesture immediately calls to mind the «go forth» command of the leaders of classical antiquity.¹⁹ In this way, the sultan's gesture intimates his protective role over this new army. The dynamic between the army on the right side of the image, his Palace on the left, and the capital of the Empire in the background, amplifies Mahmud II's dignified, commanding presence at the center. Mahmud II is positioned in the picture not only as the heir to the Ottoman Empire, but also as the emperor of a modern, metropolitan realm in a state of transformation.

18 Henri Nahum, «Les Juifs à Smyrne: de l'enfermement à l'ouverture vers le monde», *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 107–110 (sept. 2005), 97–112; and idem, *Juifs de Smyrne: XIXe–XXe siècle*, Paris: Aubier, 1997.

19 Interesting comments on portraits of Sultan Mahmud II by Alison P. Terndrup, *Cross-Cultural Spaces in an Anonymously Painted Portrait of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II*, unpublished Master's thesis at the University of South Florida, 2015.



15r. Printed in 1837

Arrivée d'un Marchand d'Esclaves à Constantinople

Ερχομὸς εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν τινὸς ἐμπόρου σκλάβων
İslambol'da köle ve cariye esircisi resmi

This engraving illustrates the slave trade in Anatolia and the Ottoman Empire, which flourished in the Mediterranean. Men and women, Turks and North Africans, Jews and Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox Christians: all were potential victims, to be seized and eventually herded into the slave pens of Constantinople, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Malta, Naples, or Livorno and resold as galley oarsmen, agricultural laborers, or house slaves. Smyrna is known to have been an important slave market.²⁰ The city's role in this trade was referenced as early as the 18th-century, as implied by Sébastien-Roch Nicolas de Chamfort's play, *Le marchande de Smyrne* (1770). «L'esclavage constitue un élément primordial de cette pièce. Au dix-huitième siècle, Smyrne est un carrefour commercial. Hassan est un Turc qui, pris comme esclave à Marseille, a été libéré grâce à la générosité du bon chrétien, Dornal. Celui-ci sera à son tour pris comme esclave et libéré grâce à la générosité du bon musulman, Hasan», writes Simon Davies in his review of the republication of Chamfort's works (2009).²¹ Ac-

20 See *Étude sur Smyrne par Constantin Iconomos*, traduite du grec par Bonaventure F. Slaars, et enrichie par le traducteur d'un appendice et de notes nombreuses, étendues et variées qui la complètent, Smyrne: Imprimerie B. Tatikian, 1868, 46 note 82; Michel Fontenay, «Routes et modalités du commerce des esclaves dans la Méditerranée des Temps modernes (XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)», *Revue Historique* 640 (April 2006), 813–830; and Alison Frank, «The Children of the Desert and the Laws of the Sea: Austria, Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire, and the Mediterranean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century», *The American Historical Review* 117/2 (April 2012), 410–444.

21 See Simon Davies, «Théâtre de Chamfort: La Jeune Indienne (1764), Le March-

anding to Ehud Toledano, «[A]part from the issue of equality for non-Muslims, the call for the abolition of Ottoman slavery was perhaps the most culturally loaded and sensitive topic addressed in the Tanzimat period».²²

and de Smyrne (1770), Mustapha et Zéangir (1776), Edited by Martial Poirson, and Jacqueline Razgonnikoff (Paris: Lampsague, 2009)», *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* 113/2 (April–June 2013), 468–469.

22 Ehud Toledano, «Late Ottoman Concepts of Slavery (1830s–1880s)», *Poetics Today* 14/3: *Cultural Processes in Muslim and Arab Societies: Modern Period I* (Autumn 1993), 478–479.



16r. Printed in 1836



17r. Printed in 1836

Negresse Marchande de pastelakia²³ & le Turc de Halvat

Αρράβισσα παστελοπόλλα, κι' Τούρκος χαλβαδοπόλος
 (= Αράβισσα παστελοπόλλα, κι' Τούρκος χαλβαδοπόλης)²⁴
 Helvacı İslam, susam helvacı Arab (written as ٤راب ٤راب)

An engraving depicting two peddlers (*seyyar satıcı*) on the streets of Smyrna: the black vendor holds a plate of *pasteli* in her hands and the Turk carries on his head a tray of *halva*²⁵, which he supports with his right hand. In his left hand he carries a stand on which he places the tray of *halva* so as to cut it when selling it. A scene of everyday life like the countless others preserved in prints and photographs depicting street peddlers in Constantinople²⁶ and other large cities around the world, such as London and Paris, during the 19th-century.²⁷

23 Diminutive of the word *pasteli* (= sweet made from sesame and honey) used in Greek to denote a small piece of *pasteli* (the word comes from the Italian *pastello*).

24 Read: »*pasteli*-selling Arab woman and Turkish *halva* seller«. It is interesting that both the Greek and the Turkish caption use »Arab woman« instead of the French »*negresse*«. I believe that this is due to the fact that in Greek the corresponding word for »negro/negress« is ἀράβης [arapis], which has completely been done away with today for reasons of political correctness, although it still exists in proverbs such as »τον ἀράπη κι αν τον πλένεις το σαπούνι σου χαλάς« [Ton arapi ki an ton pleneis to sapouni sou halas = You can't wash a black-moor white].

25 *Halva*, a sweet prepared also with sesame oil, syrup of honey, almonds etc.

26 A recent reprint of a similar photograph album of peddlers on the streets of Constantinople in the early 19th-century was released by the periodical *Toplumsal Tarih* edited by Irvin Cemil Schick. *Istanbul Sokak Satıcılarının Nidalari. 1900'lerin başından bir fotoğraf albümü, İstanbul* (Aralık 2017).

27 A series of albums with colorful prints of tradesmen who advertise their wares with a musical cry, entitled »Cries of London, *Cris de Paris*«, see: Charlotte Denoël, »Les cris de Paris«, *Histoire par l'image*. Retrieved from URL: <https://www.histoire-image.org/tr/etudes/cris-paris> [accessed on: 25 April 2019].

Femme Turc d'Orluc

Γυναίκα Τούρκισα Βουρλιώτισσα
 Urlalı İslam karısı

An engraving »*dessiné après nature par Trullet fils*,« as we read to the left of the image which shows a Muslim peasant woman from Urla against a background of fields. Urla (Vourla), a small town 35 kilometers to the west of Smyrna, was inhabited by Greeks, who comprised the majority of its residents, Turks and a few Jews.²⁸ The well-known quarantine station and hospital of Smyrna named the Lazaretto was located at its Scala, and mulberry and olive trees and mostly vines grew on the surrounding plains. The oil and raisin trade supported the economy of the city in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

28 A great number of Peloponnesians and mainly Maniots had settled in Urla following the failed Greek uprising in the Peloponnese, known as the Orlov Revolt, during the Russo-Turkish War (1768–1774). They fled to the Asia Minor coast, to places like Urla, where in the early 20th century there was even a district called Maniat, as it had been established by Maniot refugees. See P. Kontogiannis, *Γεωγραφία της Μικράς Ασίας* [The Geography of Asia Minor], Athens, 1921, 310.



18r. Printed in 1836

Mohammed Ali vice Roi d'Egypte

Μεχμέτ Άλη πασῶς μισίρ βαλισί
Mısır valisi Mehmed Ali Paşa

The Fulgenzi album includes an engraving of the most prominent *vali* of the Ottoman Empire, Mehmed Ali of Egypt (1769–1849), whose strength and resources effectively competed with those of the Sultan himself. Portraits of him have been painted by Louis Dupré and Henri Pierre Léon Pharamond Blanchard. As early as 1830, Mehmed Ali had created his own small empire within the Ottoman Empire. He was the winner of campaigns against the Wahhabis in the Hijaz (1811–18), Sudan (1820–22), against the Greek revolt in Morea (1824–27). At the time this album was created, he was involved in his climactic confrontation with the Sultan and the Europeans in his most significant campaign in Syria (1831–41).²⁹ The bibliography is extensive and is distinguished by controversial issues on the assessment of the reign of Mehmed Ali Paşa in Egypt (1805–48) – the outcome of differences in interpretation as Ehud Toledano underlined much earlier.³⁰ Undoubtedly though, Mehmed Ali was not a mere *vali* among other *valis*; he was perhaps the most famous modernizer in Middle Eastern history who reformed not only Egypt but all the lands where he reigned, such as Crete (1830–40).

29 See the chapter «Between Sultan and Vali: Syria and the nature of Mehmed Ali's military expansion», in: Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men. Mehmed Ali, his Army and the Making of Modern Egypt*, Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 1997, 1–40.

30 Ehud Toledano, «Mehmed Ali Paşa or Muhammad 'Ali Basha? A historiographical appraisal in the wake of a recent book», *Middle Eastern Studies* 21 (1985), 141–159.



19r. Printed in 1836

Femmes Grecques Albanaises

Γυνέκαις Ελληνίδαις Αλβανίτισσαις
(= Γυναίκες Έλληνίδες Αρβανίτισσαι)

İki karı Rum Arnabud

An engraved scene depicts two figures of Christian Arvanite women in the environment of a poor rural home. The younger one standing, wearing traditional dress, and the older seated, dressed in much simpler attire. We think that the picture likely represents a scene from daily life in the Peloponnese or on the Aegean islands, similar, in our view, to other previously presented depictions of figures of Arvanite women and men from Greece. We believe they are all linked to the Greek population of Smyrna, the greater part of which had moved there from the Peloponnese or the surrounding islands.



20r. Printed in 1836

Femme Arménienne chez-elle (= Femme Arménienne chez-elle)

Γυνή Αρμένησσα εἰς τὸν οἶκον

Ermeni karısı evde

An engraving of a bourgeois Armenian woman, dressed in sumptuous, elaborate clothing, indicates the economic prosperity of the Armenian community of Smyrna. During the years 1836–7, based on data from Charles Texier and the newspaper *Journal de Smyrne*, the Armenian population numbered 6–10,000.³¹ The Armenians controlled the city's trade with the East. As noted by Elena Frangakis-Syrett, they enjoyed a near monopoly in the provisioning of this city's market with imports from Iran, particularly silk, and had a considerable share in the trade with the Anatolian cities of Erzurum, Sivas, Diyarbakır, Kayseri, Antalya, and Ankara. They were the main carriers of goods between Smyrna and the East and in control of the caravan trade. Armenians were also the agents and secretaries of Turkish landowners and shopkeepers.³²

31 See »Tableau comparatif et raisonné de la population de Smyrne depuis 1631 jusqu'à 1868«, in: *Étude sur Smyrne par Constantin Iconomos, traduite du grec par Bonaventure F. Slaars, et enrichie par le traducteur d'un appendice et de notes nombreuses, étendues et variées qui la complètent*, Smyrne 1868, 138; and also valuable information on the history of the Armenian community in the chapter »Notice sur les Arméniens de Smyrne«, op. cit., 144–147.

32 Elena Frangakis-Syrett, »The Armenian, Greek and Jewish Communities of Smyrna in the 18th Century (1670–1820): Demography and Economic Activities«, *Actes du Colloque International d'histoire. La ville néohellénique. Héritages ottoman et état grec*, Athens: Association for the Study of Modern Hellenism, 1985, vol.1, 296 (Reprinted in: eadem, *Trade and money: The Ottoman Economy in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, Istanbul: Isis, 2007). See also Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, »Les Arméniens catholiques à Smyrne aux XVIIIe et



21r. Printed in 1836

Funéraille des Turcs

Λείψανον Τούρκικόν

İslam Ölümü

An engraved scene illustrates the burial of a Muslim, accompanied to the cemetery by a group of men. A picture akin to that crafted by the French engraver Bernard Picart (1673–1733) entitled »Enterrement des Turcs de Constantinople«³³.

XIXe siècles«, *Revue du monde arménien moderne et contemporain* 2 (1995–1996), 25–44 (Reprinted in: eadem, *Une ville ottoman plurielle. Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, Istanbul: Isis, 2006, 95–114.) And Anahide Ter Minasian, »Les Arméniens: Le dynamisme d'une petite communauté«, in: Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (ed.), *Smyrne. La ville oubliée, 1830–1930, Mémoires d'un port ottoman*, Paris: Éditions Autrement – Collection Mémoire, no. 121, 2006, 79–91.

33 Bernard Picart: *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart: avec une explication historique, & quelques dissertations curieuses* (7 vols). Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard, 1723–1737, vol.7, 226.



22r. Printed in 1836

Tartare Turque (= Tartare Turc)

Τάρταρος Τουρκός (= Τάρταρος Τουρκός)³⁴

Tatar-ı İslam

The gigantic figure of a Tatar with his ferocious mustache and typical head covering occupies most of the engraving. He carries a whip in his left hand and a sword suspended on his right side. Miniature-scaled figures of a loaded porter and two young men are depicted at his feet, one wearing trousers and a cap on his head and the other dressed in eastern attire of breeches and a turban. The figures appear representative of the multicultural and multinational population of Smyrna. On the left of the picture behind the porter, a mounted Tatar with his back turned is shown³⁵.

Paintings of Tatar men and women were done by many artists in the 18th and 19th centuries, such as Marcel Cousinéry, Auguste Rafflet, and were included in albums about the Ottoman Empire. Tatars were Muslim Turkic-speaking populations

34 We observe that both in the French as in the Greek caption the word »Tatar« was spelled »Tartar«. Dictionaries such as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *The Columbia Encyclopedia* retain both names. Fascinating interpretations of the etymology of the word *Tartar/Tatar* and research on this can be found in the study by S. W. Koelle, »On Tartar and Turk«, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, New Series vol. 14/3 (July 1882), 125–159, which mentions the assertion made by the scholar physician Alexandros Paspatis that the form of the word universally used among the Greek population in the east, from the earliest down to modern times, was *Tartar*, not *Tatar* (see *op. cit.*, 135–136).

35 An extremely popular visual theme was the giant-like mounted Tatars, famous for their horsemanship as also noted by the famous Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, see Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004, 66.

originating from the Northern and Central Asian lands, which were dominated by various mostly Turco-Mongol semi-nomadic empires and kingdoms. A mass settlement of Tatars in the Ottoman lands took place in 1783–84, shortly after the Russian annexation of the Crimea. As A. Akgündüz notes, »This represented the first Muslim immigration as well as the beginning of almost uninterrupted waves of immigration to the Ottoman state«³⁶, as the influx of Tatar refugees intensified after the Turco-Russian War of 1812 and in the years that followed. The earliest Tatar refugees settled mostly in the Balkans, Istanbul, İzmir, Eskişehir, İzmit, Bandırma, and İnegöl.

The Tatars' presence in Smyrna is immortalized in 1836 in the Fulgenzi album. The Ottomans used the Tatars as postal couriers.³⁷ They enjoyed a reputation as honest, reliable, strong, fit and quick people and they could complete the route in a short time. Messenger Tatars were also responsible for bringing summoned individuals to court or to a government office and they guided travelers.

36 Ahmet Akgündüz, »Migration to and from Turkey, 1783–1960: types, numbers and ethno-religious dimensions«, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 24/1 (Jan. 1998), 97–120.

37 Akşin Somel, *Historical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire*, Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2003, 233.



25r. Printed in 1836

Arabà ou Voiture turque

Αραμπάς ἢ Ἀμάξιον Τουρκικόν

Arabacı-yı İslam³⁸

This engraving features a decorated cart with its carter, carrying Muslim women to the countryside. To the left in the background a farmhouse is depicted and beneath the trees a group of men smoking. The cart, open with a canopy for the sun, bears no resemblance to the covered carriages that moved around the city streets, protecting their passengers from the prying eyes of passers-by. The image brings to mind similar Orientalist paintings by Jean Brindevi, included in *Souvenirs de Constantinople* (Paris: Imp. Lemerrier, 1845).



24r. Printed in 1836

Turque de Constantinople, Grecque de Pera a Cople (= Turque de Constantinople, Grecque de Péra à Constantinople)

Τουρκισσα πολίτησα Ρωμαία Σταυροδρόμιτησα
(= Τούρκισσα Πολίτισσα, Ρωμαία Σταυροδρομίτισσα)

Galata Rum karısı; İslambol karısı, [İ]slam

The engraving illustrates two female figures from Constantinople, a Muslim and an Orthodox Christian, who is identified in the French caption as an inhabitant of the cosmopolitan district of Stavrodromi/Pera. Instead of using the corresponding word Beyoğlu, as one would have expected, the scribe of the Ottoman caption writes Galata, perhaps due to the Galata tower depicted in the background, framed by the two women. Another possibility for this rendering is that, for the business world of Smyrna, Galata, as the district of foreign merchants, took priority and was crucially important in its own right.

38 While the subject of the picture in the French and Greek captions is given as »The cart«, the Turkish caption refers to the theme as »The Turkish carter«.



25r. Printed in 1838

Abd-El-Kader

Şeyh Kadri

The album comes to an end with a lithographic portrait of the legendary Algerian leader Abd al-Qadir (1808–83). It dates back to the year 1838, the time when Abd al-Qadir had become prominent in a resistance struggle against the French occupation of his country. Having incited the various tribes in Algeria to an anti-colonial struggle from 1832 to 1847, he fought to expel the French who had invaded Algeria »bringing order and stability to the lawlessness along the so-called Barbary Coast«³⁹, with the aim of creating an independent Arab state. It was a brave but hopeless struggle, as it turned out later, when the defeated Abd al-Qadir would surrender to be then taken as a prisoner to France in the autumn of 1848 along with his family and close associates.⁴⁰

Abd al-Qadir was the son of the religious leader Muhi al-Din (Muhyiddin), who was descended from the Prophet Muhammad. Having studied in the circles of the Qadiriyye Sufi order, he devoted himself to the study of theology and philosophy during his imprisonment, as well as later during his exile in Damascus, and became well-known as a prominent Islamic scholar.⁴¹ An extensive bibliography exists starting from as early as the mid-19th century on his life, his liberation struggles against the

39 See Benjamin Claude Brower, »The Amir 'Abd Al-Qâdir and the 'Good War' in Algeria«, *Studia Islamica* 106/ 2 (2011), 169–195.

40 John Kiser, *Commander of the Faithful: The Life and Times of Emir Abd El-Kader*, Rhinebeck, NY: Monkfish Book Publishing Company, 2008.

41 Ahmed Bouyerdene, »L'émir Abd el-Kader à Pau: Exemples d'un dialogue religieux au XIXe siècle«, *Studia Islamica* 106/2 (2011), 241–263.

French, and his philosophical and religious work. In 1843 Marshal General Jean-de-Dieu Soult (1769–1851) declared that Abd al-Qadir was one of the three great Muslims then living, along with Imam Shamil (1797–1871), the leader of Caucasian resistance to Imperial Russia, and Muhammed Ali of Egypt (1769–1849).⁴²

Lastly, it should be noted that Abd al-Qadir immortalized himself through the courageous protection he provided to the Syrian Christians during the pogrom against them organized by the Druze in Damascus in 1860. While in exile following his release from imprisonment in France, Abd al-Qadir rallied the assistance of the foreign consuls in Damascus and took decisive action to save about 11,000 Syrian Christians from slaughter.

42 Ahmed Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader, Hero and Saint of Islam*, foreword by Eric Geoffroy, translated and introduced by Gustavo Polit, Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2012, 3.