

MAINTAINING ORDER ON STAGE:
CRIMINALIZING PERFORMING ARTS IN LATE OTTOMAN ISTANBUL
(1878 - 1908)

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BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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(1878 - 1908)

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Defne Özözer, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Maintaining Order and Disorder on Stage: Criminalizing Performing Arts in Late Ottoman Istanbul (1878 - 1908)

This thesis examines the Ottoman State's criminal approach towards performing arts in Istanbul between 1878 and 1908. The main goal is to understand and analyze the reasons for criminalization. Exploring the different patterns of intervention developed over the years, this thesis aims to apprehend how social order is exercised in performing arts at the turn of the 19th century in Ottoman Istanbul. The study tries to situate the cases of performance criminalization in the larger political context and displays the state's attitude towards entertainment and its control over the social order. The primary sources used in the thesis provide a map of main entertainment sites and a repertoire of genres in Beyoğlu and Kadıköy neighborhoods. Therefore, the study offers a new methodological venue in researching the history of performing arts in urban areas of 19th century Ottoman Istanbul.

Ottoman performances have been a domain thoroughly researched from different perspectives. The basis of this research primarily consists of documents from the Ottoman State Archives, which report interventions in performance-related sites like theaters, coffeehouses, and other urban gathering spaces, including winehouses or beerhouses. The narratives of these primary sources present a historical ethnography of the sites, performers, and performances of the late Ottoman scene of performing arts. They also show how criminalization generates a research tool for social historians.

ÖZET

Geç Dönem Osmanlı İstanbul’unda Sahne’nin Mücrimleştirilmesi

(1878 - 1908)

Bu tez, Osmanlı Devleti'nin 1878-1908 yılları arasında İstanbul'daki sahne sanatlarında suça yönelik nasıl bir yaklaşımı olduğunu inceler. Temel amaç, suçlamalara neden olarak gösterilen gerekçeleri anlamak ve analiz etmektir. Yıllar içinde geliştirilen farklı müdahale kalıplarını keşfederek, özellikle 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı İstanbul'unda toplumsal düzen kavramının gösteri sanatları alanında nasıl gündeme geldiğini anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Çalışma, suçlamalara maruz kalan gösterileri vakalarını daha geniş bir siyasi bağlamda oturtmaya çalışır ve devletin eğlenceye karşı tutumunu ve toplumsal düzen üzerindeki kontrolünü ortaya koyar. Tezde kullanılan başlıca kaynaklar, Beyoğlu ve Kadıköy mahallelerinin ana eğlence mekanlarının bir haritasını sunarken, aynı zamanda gösterilerde sergilenen türlerin bir repertuarını da ortaya koyar. Bu bağlamda çalışma, 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı performanslarını incelerken yeni bir yöntem alanı da sağlar.

Osmanlı gösteri sanatları esasında farklı açılardan kapsamlı bir biçimde araştırılmış bir alandır. Bu araştırmanın temelini öncelikle Osmanlı Devlet Arşivleri'nden, tiyatro, kahvehane ve kentlerdeki kamuya açık diğer gösteri mekanlarıyla, meyhane ve birahaneler gibi eğlence mekanlarına yapılan müdahaleleri rapor eden belgeler oluşturmaktadır. Bu birincil kaynakların anlatıları, geç dönem Osmanlı sahnesinin mekanlarının, icralarının ve sanatçıların tarihsel bir etnografyasını sunmaktadır. Bu anlatılar ayrıca, suç unsurunu takip etmenin sosyal tarihçiler için nasıl bir araştırma aracı oluşturduğunu da gösteriyorlar.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A hundred and sixteen years ago, in June 1905, the world-famous opera piece *Rigoletto* was performed at Concordia Theater, Beyoğlu, Istanbul - where St. Antoine Church stands today. A controversial piece based on Victor Hugo's *Le Roi S'Amuse* (1832), *Rigoletto's* name appeared in Ottoman State Archives immediately: the performance of the piece by La Bruna Theater Company caught the attention of Ottoman administrative authorities. One document from the archives of the Ministry of Interior requested the Ministry of Security to act on this incident, issuing an “intimidating warning” to the manager of the theater company.¹ However, the Ministry of Interior did not explain why *Le Roi S'Amuse* was subjected to censorship. Instead, the document showed that the piece's performance was approved for two consecutive years previously, to be banned suddenly in 1905, thus no longer permitted to appear on stage. For the late Ottoman performing arts, especially between 1890 and 1908, such an incident was not unusual. As a result, a manifold of performances in Istanbul was subjugated to censorship, and their staging was criminalized.

This thesis examines the Ottoman State's criminal approach towards performing arts in Istanbul between 1878 and 1908. Exploring patterns of intervention developed during Late Hamidian rule, this thesis mainly aims to apprehend how social order is exercised in performing arts at the turn of the 19th century in Ottoman Istanbul. The primary goal here is to detect the instances of criminalization of performing arts in terms of the censorship imposed on the content

¹ Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivleri, (COA), DH.MKT 969.8

of the performance, state authorities' surveillance of the venues of performance, and criminalization of the act itself. Furthermore, the study tries to situate the cases of performance criminalization in the larger political context and displays the state's attitude towards entertainment and its control over the social order. The primary sources used in the thesis present a map of essential entertainment sites and a repertoire of genres in Beyoğlu and Kadıköy neighborhoods. Therefore, the study offers a new methodological venue in researching the history of performing arts in urban areas of 19th century Ottoman Istanbul.

Ottoman performing arts have been a domain thoroughly researched from different perspectives. The basis of this research primarily comprises documents from the Ottoman State Archives, which report interventions in performance-related sites like theaters, coffeehouses, and other urban gathering spaces, including wine-houses or beer-houses. The narratives of these primary sources present a historical ethnography of the sites, performers, and performances of the late Ottoman scene of performing arts. They also show how criminalization generates a research tool for social historians.

For instance, *Le Roi S'Amuse*'s case orients one towards questions that make up the backbone of this research. To begin with: Why was the piece permitted before 1905 but banned afterward? What was the content of *Le Roi S'Amuse* that coerced the authorities to intervene? How was the Ministry of Interior informed, and could the term “intimidating warning” mean in this document? Was there an order of command between the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Security? Which performances did the Ottoman State approve, and which did the authorities ban? To what extent was the state involved in this process? What was the significance of this criminalization?

When we look at our primary sources and the literature published on censorship during the late Hamidian period, we can quickly notice that the censorship imposed on *Rigoletto* was hardly an isolated incident. During the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, infamously known as the “*istibdad*” period (period of oppression), institutions of the state implemented systematic control implemented. The officers reviewed any performance that would be staged from different state departments — the first law regarding press control dates to 1857. The practice became significantly more severe and systematic after 1890.² Studies of Noémi Lévy and Alexandre Toumarkine show us that the French and Ottoman police organizations showed similarities in their function. For example, based on *Le Roi S'Amuse*, *Rigoletto* was banned by the French government after premiering in 1832. Adèle Hugo, the youngest daughter of the playwright of *Le Roi S'Amuse*, argues that the piece was banned after the supposed disrespectful depiction of the monarch, which was declared immoral. Keeping this vocabulary in mind, which will be discussed in later paragraphs, one can speculate that Ottoman authorities aimed to censor the play for the same reason.³

The thesis comprises six chapters. Following the Introduction, based on a review of primary and secondary sources, Chapter 2 reveals the variety of reasons for why performances were subject to inspection, warnings, and penalties. Some were targeted because of their “inappropriateness,” some lacking permission from the Ministry of Interior or complaints. When cross-examined with the secondary literature, we can suggest a common vocabulary was used during the Hamidian era. For example, Noémi Lévy notes that the ambiguous concept of *münasebetsizlik* (inappropriateness) was omnipresent, often presented as an excuse in criminal and

² Lévy, *Ordre et désordres dans l'Istanbul Ottoman (1879-1909)*.

³ See Lévy, Toumarkine, *Osmanlı'da asayiş, suç ve ceza: 18-20. Yüzyıllar*; Lévy, Toumarkine, *Jandarma ve polis: Fransız ve Osmanlı tarihçiliğine çapraz bakışlar*.

censorship records. Other such terms as *ahlak* (morality) or *adab* (manners) also prevailed. This chapter aims to provide an analytical basis to examine broader implications of these terms in terms of the documents' political, social, and historical context.

To identify how the documents of criminalized performances can contribute to the existing scholarship, one needs to contextualize them in the general entertainment scene in 19th century Ottoman Istanbul. In this regard, Chapter 3 evaluates the different sites, genres, and performances of that era, giving a short review of the literature exploring the 19th Century Ottoman performing arts. This chapter reveals the general frame of performativity in urban and cosmopolitan Istanbul, towards which the state authorities developed new attitudes for control. Providing information on how the institutions of control were formed and functioned is crucial for this research and analyzing the relationship between these institutions. Chapter 4 pursues this path and provides a historical background for the institutions involved in making the order. The tripartite involvement of the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Security, and the Press Directorate is apparent in the documents that this thesis examines. Their entanglement and its influence on how the social control mechanisms work cannot be overlooked. For instance, according to reports from the Ministry of Interior, there was evident strife between the Ministry of Security and the Press Directorate, including the Press Directorate's complaints. The history and function of both institutions will be examined to determine the extent of this conflict when examining correspondences.

Consequently, Chapter 5 presents the case studies where each case brings the reader to another historical, ethnographical site. This chapter categorizes the documents thematically. These categories allow us to draw parallels between

different incidents and point out themes, particularly on the late-Hamidian scene of performing arts, by mapping out the motivation behind the interventions. When possible, the chapter tracks the venues, people, and names of the performances to understand why these performances might have been criminalized. The terminology used in these documents has meta-implications. Since concepts like “*münasebetsizlik*” (inappropriateness) have vague definitions, the only way to understand why the criminalization occurred is to contextualize them. In other words, a clear description is missing in most documents, and the cause for criminalization usually reflected a particular political concern. Because these political concerns reflect the geist of their time, each criminalization is historically contextualized throughout the chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES OF RESEARCH IN PERFORMANCE: CHASING DEVIATIONS FROM ORDER IN OTTOMAN PERFORMANCES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a survey of scholarly works on the domain of Ottoman performing arts. It presents historiography and analyzes the methodological challenges of research in the performing arts. The aim here is to explain why working on performing arts is a challenging yet rewarding task—explaining how it developed and how this research contributes to the existing literature. The chapter proceeds by situating performing arts in the domain of social control. The purpose here is to argue that these two domains of Ottoman historiography, social control, and performing arts complement each other. The chapter also elaborates on the challenges of decoding archival keywords and their transcription.

The collected documents, mainly concerned with districts such as Beyoğlu, Pera, and Galata, offered valuable information regarding the public order of entertainment spaces - such as coffeehouses or *meyhanes* (winehouses). This information involves the names of the performers, scarcely known venues of performances, and diverse languages used in such performances. Archive documents also revealed different chains of order and reasons for censorship or criminalization, applied to the performers and sometimes to officials, providing a framework to investigate the entertainment network of relationships. Finally, the corpus of documentation also opened a gate to historical ethnography where one could imagine

past contexts, genres, and social players of the Ottoman performance world at the turn of 19th century Istanbul.

2.2 Studying Ottoman performing arts

Different sorts of performances took place under the Ottoman domain, both public and private.⁴ Nevertheless, the study of Ottoman performances remained marginal compared to the corpus of work produced in the fields of Ottoman political, social, and economic history. One crucial factor is the trivial meaning assigned to entertainment and therefore approaching entertainment history as a complementary or often “colorful” aspect of Ottoman social history. From a performance studies perspective, however, each entertainment form encapsulates the social and cultural codes of the community in which it is produced and therefore reveals essential elements of local knowledge.⁵

On the other hand, research on entertainment history is complicated because the domain has often been taken for granted and not seen as worthy of being documented. Accessing sources about entertainment in Ottoman historical context is, therefore, a difficult task. Ottoman imperial festivities were well documented in *surnames*, and other official records, while provincial performances survived in folkloric forms like folk stories, songs, and dances along with rituals and festivals.⁶

⁴ For a general survey see Faroqhi, *When the Sultan planned a great feast was everyone in festive mood? Or who worked on the preparation of sultanic festivals*; Öztürkmen, “Performance in the Ottoman world: Between folklore and history,” 3-23. For particular genres and case studies see Hathaway, *A tale of two factions: myth, memory, and identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen*; Yılmaz, “Boş Vaktiniz Var Mı? Veya 16. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Şarap, Eğlence ve Suç”, 11-49; Kafadar, “How dark is the history of the night, how black the story of coffee, how bitter the tale of love? The changing measure of leisure and pleasure in early modern Istanbul,” 243-270; Mizrahi, “One man and his audience: Comedy in Ottoman shadow puppet performances,” 271-286; And, *Orta oyunu*; Nutku, “Original Turkish Meddah Stories of the Eighteenth Century,” 166-183; Öztürkmen, “Folk Dancers & Folk Singers: The Ottoman Empire,” 56-58.

⁵ See Stoeltje, Bauman. *The semiotics of cultural performance*.

⁶ For a discussion on sources in Ottoman imperial festivals see Faroqhi, *When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast Was Everyone in Festive Mood? Or Who Worked on the Preparation of Sultanic Festivals*; Erdoğan-İşkorkutan, “Chasing Documents at the Ottoman Archive,” 156-181.

However, the domain of ethnographic findings or survivals has long been neglected by historians of performing arts, primarily trained in archival research or art history.⁷ Amidst the scarcity of primary sources, a frequently referred source has been the criminal records found in official archives.⁸

Research of the 19th-century domain of performing arts offers a broader spectrum of sources, including published manuscripts, journals, magazines, narrative accounts in memoirs, or some material relics in the form of architectural space or ephemera like posters, tickets, or invitation cards.⁹ These documents provide us with the necessary knowledge of the entertainment genres' content, giving us a general idea about different kinds of entertainment events, but they do not reveal much about the significance assigned to them by their audiences. The criminal records also prevail to offer a spectrum of cases about entertainment. This thesis is based upon a series of such documents found in official archives.

⁷ For a discussion of folklore and history in Ottoman performativity, see Öztürkmen, "Performance in the Ottoman world: Between folklore and history," 3-23.

⁸ See Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*; Yılmaz, "Boş Vaktiniz Var Mı? Veya 16. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Şarap, Eğlence ve Suç", 11-49.

⁹ See Gündüz, "Mınakyan Dram Kumpanyası," *Cumhuriyet*, March 2, 1931; Koçu. *Eski İstanbul'da meyhaneler ve meyhane köçekleri*; Koçu (Ed.) *İstanbul ansiklopedisi*; Urgan, *Bir dinazorun anıları*; Yücel, *Geçtiğim günlerden*; Aracı, *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. yüzyıl İstanbul'unun İtalyan Operası*; Uçuk, *Silsilename*.



Figure 1. An Ottoman coffeehouse photograph by Abdullah Freres, from SALT Online Archives.

2.3 On the reflexivity of the researcher

In *Reflexivity: An Essential Component For All Research?* Linda Finlay highlights the importance of reflexivity in research. Forming a reflexive relationship between the research and the researcher enables the researcher to provide the audience a more solid ground for contextualizing and understanding the significance of the subject matter. Instead of “brushing her of him under the carpet,” Finlay argues, it highlights the possible impact and influence of the researcher on the research.¹⁰ Therefore, my intention here is to provide information regarding my position as a researcher. I recognize myself as a part of the research, understanding that this thesis orients the subject matter towards the direction of my interest and bias, as much as it is constructed on material historical evidence.

My curiosity in the history of performing arts in the 19th century Istanbul is rooted in my interest in *rebetiko*, a musical genre that contains a common heritage of

¹⁰ Finlay, “Reflexivity: An Essential Component for All Research?,” 453-456.

Greek, Turkish, Armenian, and Jewish elements.¹¹ Being a granddaughter of a singer of classical Turkish music, I grew up listening to and taking an interest in this genre that bears a resemblance to *rebetiko*. Coming from a *Mübadil* family, I am also fascinated by this genre and its multiple receptions in the memory of my own family and contemporary Istanbul.¹² As a student of history, I developed an interest in searching original documents that related to *rebetiko*. However, my attempts in Ottoman State Archives and the music library at the Asia Minor Studies Center in Athens did not reveal many sources relating to the genre's migration to Modern Greece from Anatolia. However, there was a growing interest in the contemporary practice of *rebetiko* in Modern Turkey, and oblivion regarding its origins prevailed.¹³ The general knowledge among the audience was that the performers were often criminalized for habits of drug consumption or writing politically controversial lyrics. This data has been the starting point for me, leading me to research criminal charges and censorship imposed on coffeehouses, *gazinos*, and *meyhanes*, where *rebetiko* performances took place. I started to collect documents from the Ottoman State Archives, which corresponded to specific keywords related to such performance settings, including *meyhane* (winehouses) along with *kafe-şantan* and *çalgılı kahvehane* (coffeehouses with musical performances). Having noticed that many such documents included the terms *uygunsuz* and *münasebetsiz* (inappropriate), I also searched for such moral terms. The narratives and the vocabulary of all these documents directed me towards different questions. For

¹¹ See Tragaki, *Rebetiko worlds*; Fabbri, "Rebetiko as a Testing Device for Genre Theories and Musical Categorizing Processes," 321-332; Stamatidis, *Rebetiko Nation: Hearing Pavlos Vassiliou's Alternative Greekness Through Rebetiko Song*.

¹² For *Mübadile*, the Exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, see Temizel, Güvenç, *Selanik'ten Tuzla'ya Mübadile sempozyumu bildirileri: Mübadelenin 87. yıldönümü anma etkinliği*, Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus*.

¹³ See Güven, *Music, City and Culture: An Ethnographic Study of the Rebetiko Music Scene in Istanbul*; Koglin, "Marginality—A Key Concept in Understanding the Resurgence of Rebetiko in Turkey."

instance, initially, I intended to find criminal records exclusively from the early 20th century, when *rebetiko* began to sparkle. In reading these documents, I noticed that a fascinating turning point for performing arts history had its root between the late Hamidian Era and the Young Turk Revolution, particularly between 1890 and 1908. As mentioned previously, this period was when the state started to intervene in the public sphere firmly, resulting in an explosion in the number of performances criminalized due to their “inappropriate” content.



Figure 2. Rebetiko performer Roza Eskenazi, an iconic figure of the Ottoman rebetiko world. Source: The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2014/nov/04/roza-eskenazi-my-sweet-canary>

2.4 In search of sites of performances

The documents I collected from the Directorate of State Archives¹⁴ referred to various sites of performances. Such sites were coffeehouses (*kahvehane*), cafe-chantant (*Kafe şantan*), beerhouses (*birahane*), winehouses (*meyhane*), and theaters.

¹⁴ The full name of the archive is Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives Publications.

Therefore, in my analysis of these places of entertainment, I used “coffeehouse performance” as an umbrella term to refer to performances taking place in different entertainment venues.

The documents involved correspondence between different state institutions, including the Press Directorate, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Security. In cases where foreigners were involved, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would also be consulted. The narratives of the documents often started by describing the setting of the performance and its type, then continued by explaining the problem and ended by asking for a solution from the relevant authority. In most cases, the Press Directorate reported instances of unwanted performances to the Ministry of Interior and asked the Ministry of Security to take necessary precautions or give the necessary punishments. In some cases, one can witness replies of the Ministry of Security to the Ministry of Interior concerning the affairs. In exceptional instances, we hear the voices of the censored artists as well. For example, one of the documents was written by Chanteuse Marika to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where she complained about the ban she was imposed by the officers and asked for permission to proceed to perform.¹⁵

2.5 Decoding archival keywords: Challenges of transcription

A critical methodological challenge related to document descriptions in the Directorate of State Archives during the research process I encountered concerned the transcription errors that involved language barriers and transition from Arabic to Latin script. At the turn of the 19th century, performing arts materials were produced in different European and Middle Eastern languages. Along with Turkish, Arabic,

¹⁵ COA, TFR.I.SKT, 19.1835; COA, TFR.I.SKT 35.3492

Persian, and French, which were bureaucratic languages, people spoke Slavic languages, Greek, Albanian, Kurdish, Armenian, and other Aramaic languages. Like in its historical counterpart Habsburg Empire, the languages spoken within the empire increased as the empire annexed new territories in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶ As a result, we cannot pin one language as the dominant language, practically speaking.¹⁷ Therefore, the titles and content of these performances, the venues they were performed in, and the people allocated to these performances were not necessarily Turkish. The language was French and Greek in the more significant part of the documents presented in this research.

Ottoman officers wrote their petitions in Ottoman Turkish using Arabic script. The same practice was used when writing down words in other languages. The transcription was done *mot-a-mot* – written down exactly as it was heard in that specific language. Regarding French, for instance, “*Jardin du Clos*” was written down as “*jardendüklo*.”¹⁸ Similarly, “*Rigoletto - Le Roi S’Amuse*” was transcribed as “*Rigoletto - löruvasamüz*” in Arabic letters.¹⁹ In Turkish, each Latin letter corresponds to an exact sound; however, the letters in the Arabic script function differently. For example, a single Arabic letter “*vav*” may correspond to different sounds in Turkish pronunciation, such as “*ö*,” “*u*,” “*o*,” “*ü*” or “*v*.” This brings up a challenge for the transcribers in the Ottoman State Archives who provide synopses for these documents in contemporary Turkish. When these documents were transcribed from Arabic to Latin script, errors occurred with French names: words mentioned above were transcribed in the synopses as “*Jarden Doklo*” and “*Rikolato*

¹⁶ Strauss, “Language and power in the late Ottoman Empire.”

¹⁷ For the use of language in the late 19th century Istanbul, see Strauss, “A constitution for a multilingual empire: Translations of the Kanun-ı Esasi and other official texts into minority languages.”

¹⁸ COA, DH.MKT 792.74_004

¹⁹ COA, DH.MKT 969.8

Lorvasamoz.” Therefore, as a researcher, I tried to be mindful of the historical context by paying attention to the original names of venues, performances, and people, allocating time to provide a correct translation.

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter described the methodological framework of approaching 19th-century Ottoman performing arts and their criminalization. This chapter aimed to provide a survey on the historiography of Ottoman performing arts and portray its challenges. This survey highlighted the usefulness of criminalization documents: the documents provide information on the names of performances, performers, and venues, as well as genres of performances, which would have been lost in time otherwise. Moreover, a sub-chapter was dedicated to positioning the researcher. This explanation was done to provide background information about the researcher and is believed to help the reader make more sense of the questions pursued in the thesis. Another aim was to orient future researchers, who will potentially be interested in this research matter, to take a different perspective and make their contributions. Finally, the chapter discussed the challenges encountered during the research process. In addition to the scholarly material being relatively raw compared to other research fields in Ottoman history, the linguistic gap between today and the studied period requires additional vigilance when working on the documents.

CHAPTER 3

A BRIEF REVIEW OF PERFORMING ARTS

IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY OTTOMAN WORLD

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a survey of performing arts in Ottoman Istanbul, particularly Beyoğlu and Kadıköy, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While the scope of the thesis focus covers the period between 1878 and 1908 primarily, this chapter aims to remind the general framework of performance in late Ottoman Istanbul. Therefore, it begins with an overview of the existing literature on the matter. The flourishing of different genres and venues of performances coincided with the oppressive policies of the Hamidian regime in this period. The scholarly work on Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign and the policy of intense social control at the time is well-founded, with particular attention given to the sophisticated system of the secret police, an expanded telegraph network, and a hard-working committee of censorship. Nevertheless, the literature does not prioritize interference in performing arts. This chapter reviews the existing literature on the history of performing arts in the Ottoman era and maps out sites of performances in the cosmopolitan urban space of Istanbul before moving towards discussing the methods of censorship in the next chapter.

3.2 A general look at the performance studies in the Ottoman context

It can be stated that the study of the history of performing arts in the Ottoman era is a relatively new field that has been well explored over the last fifty years.²⁰ One of the most comprehensive - if not the most comprehensive - literature on Ottoman performing arts was written by Refik Ahmet Sevengil. In his compilation *History of the Turkish Theater* (Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi), Sevengil provided information, images, and analysis on almost every aspect of Ottoman performance. Five chapters of the compilation are *[Art of] Drama in Ancient Turks, Our First Contact With [The Art Of] Opera, Tanzimat Theater, Palace Theater, and Theater Of The Constitutional Period*.²¹ The pioneering works of Metin And and Özdemir Nutku examined the Ottoman festivals, dance, and theatrical genres.²² Ottoman festival books have also been thoroughly examined by art historians, including Esin Atıl, Nurhan Atasoy, Filiz Çağman, and Sezer Tansuğ.²³ These studies essentially explored the stylistic depiction of the festive performances, focusing on the “*surname*” genre. With the performative turn in Ottoman historiography, scholars like Gülru Necipoğlu and Tülay Artan gave particular attention to the representation of imperial power. Some scholars, including Suraiya Faroqhi, Derin Terzioğlu, and Sinem Erdoğan-İşokutan,

²⁰ See Fleet & Boyar (Eds), *The Ottomans and entertainment*; Faroqhi & Öztürkmen (Eds) 2014. *Celebration, entertainment and theater in the ottoman world*; Serin, “Festivals of July 10 in the young Turk era (1908-1918)”; Klebe, “Effeminate Professional Musicians in Sources of Ottoman-Turkish Court Poetry and Music of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” 97-116; Sülüoş, “Between theatrical politics and political theater: Late Ottoman theatrical spheres”; Çavuş, “State power as performance: royal wedding festivities and the Ottoman spectacular state during the period of Mahmud II.”

²¹ Sevengil, *Eski Türklerde dram sanatı*; Sevengil, *Opera sanatı ile ilk temaslarımız*; Sevengil, *Tanzimat tiyatrosu*; Sevengil, *Saray tiyatrosu*; Sevengil, *Meşrutiyet tiyatrosu*.

²² See And, *Kırk gün, kırk gece: Eski donanma ve şenliklerde seyirlik oyunları*; And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu*; And, *Turkish Dancing*; And, *Dünyada ve bizde gölge oyunu*; Nutku, “Meddahlık ve Meddah Hikayeleri” Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne şenliği*, (1675).

²³ Atıl, *Levni and the surname: the story of an eighteenth-century Ottoman festival*; Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i hümayun: an imperial celebration*; Tansuğ, *Şenlikname düzeni: Türk minyatüründe gerçekçi duygu ve gelişme*; Terzioğlu, “The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582,” 84-100.

gave references to conflictual situations experienced during these festivals.²⁴ Given the broad and time-honored scholarship on Ottoman festivals, dance, music, and theater of the early modern era, the exploration of 19th century performativity offers us new domains regarding the state's attitude towards entertainment. In her work on royal wedding festivities during the late Ottoman era, Yeliz Çavuş explored how performativity changed during the 19th century, particularly following Sultan Mahmut II's reign.²⁵

These studies primarily focused on imperial festivals during the Early Modern era, but there was considerable interest in studying musical and theatrical performances of the 18th and 19th centuries. Benefiting from Ottoman archival records, pamphlets, newspapers, and French sources, the researchers approached late Ottoman performances as a product of Westernization. Musical contributions of Guiseppe Donizetti to the Ottoman army, Abdülaziz's visit to the Exposition Universelle, and the exponentially growing interest of the non-Muslims in Western theater are examples given by this narrative.²⁶ As also noted by Nalan Turna's work on this genre, Western-style theater was practiced the most where non-Muslim populations were over-represented, such as Istanbul or Izmir.²⁷ Many scholars underscore the pioneering role of Armenians in Westernizing the theater industry, recognizing Güllü Agop as the leading representative of the domain.²⁸

²⁴ See Necipoğlu, *Architecture, ceremonial, and power: the Topkapı Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*; Artan, "Ahmed I's Hunting Parties: Feasting In Adversity, Enhancing The Ordinary," 93-138; Artan, "The Making Of The Sublime Porte Near The Alay Köşkü And A Tour Of A Grand Vizierial Palace At Süleymaniye," 145-206.

²⁵ Çavuş, "State power as performance: Royal wedding festivities and the Ottoman spectacular state during the Period of Mahmud II."

²⁶ See Süloş, "Performance as Politics of Westernization in the Late Ottoman World," 432.

²⁷ See Turna, "The Ottoman Stage," 321.

²⁸ On Güllü Agop, See Güllü, *Vartovyan kumpanyası ve yeni Osmanlılar: Osmanlıya has çokkültürlü bir politik tiyatro girişimi*.

Although all these works underscored the stately representation of power, state censorship came onto the agenda in the context of the Hamidian era. Censorship during the reign of Abdülhamit II has been well elaborated in the studies of several scholars including Cengiz Kırılı, Noémi Lévy, Alexandre Toumarkine, Nalan Turna, İpek Yosmaoğlu, and Ebru Boyar. For instance, the works of Cengiz Kırılı provide detailed insight into the 19th century public spaces, namely the coffeehouses and social order.²⁹ Similarly, Noémi Lévy showed how the rising press control became significantly more severe and systematic in time.³⁰ Her work with Alexandre Toumarkine also revealed similarities between the French and Ottoman police organizations regarding censorship.³¹ Nalan Turna, İpek Yosmaoğlu, and Ebru Boyar also touched upon different aspects of the “*istibdad*” period.³²

3.3 Significance of Istanbul as a site of crime and entertainment

As an imperial capital city, Istanbul has long been subjected to internal migration. In his book *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul*, Cem Behar shows how getting established to a “*mahalle*” required residents' references and permits.³³ Istanbul's popularity increased further in the 19th century as the city became a hub for trade and investment opportunities, creating a cosmopolitan milieu for cultural exchange.

²⁹ See Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu: Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde “Havadis Jurnalleri” (1840-1844)*; Kırılı, *Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empire*; Kırılı, *Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire*; Kırılı, *Kahvehaneler ve Hafiyeler: 19. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Osmanlı'da Sosyal Kontrol*.

³⁰ See Lévy, *Ordre et Désordres Dans L'Istanbul Ottoman (1879 – 1909)*.

³¹ See Lévy & Toumarkine, *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza: 18. - 20.*; Lévy & Toumarkine (Eds.), *Jandarma ve Polis: Fransız ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliğine Çapraz Bakışlar*.

³² Yosmaoğlu, *Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876 - 1913*; Boyar, “The Press and the Palace: The Two-Way Relationship Between Abdülhamid II and the Press, 1876–1908,” 417-432; Turna, “The Ottoman Stage”.

³³ See Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul – The Kasap Ilyas mahalle, fruit vendors and civil servants*.

In addition, many foreigners poured into the city as explorers or travelers, increasing interest in entertainment for foreigners and the urban Ottoman population.³⁴

Due to the cosmopolitan nature of Istanbul, the spectrum of performance was resonant. As the capital city, Istanbul incorporated performers from different regions, having diverse customs and cultural forms. While hosting artists were coming from around the empire, the general scene of performance was not limited to the imperial borders. Many artists from different lands also came to Istanbul to perform. This situation could be explained as a combined result of two factors. First of all, as the imperial capital located in the middle of important trade routes, Istanbul was a port city and, therefore, a point of encounter of different cultures. Secondly, because of its geopolitical location and its economy, financial capital piled up in Istanbul.³⁵

Performing arts was not just a form of entertainment but also offered lucrative business opportunities. Especially in the 19th and early 20th centuries, it became an essential source of revenue. Following the commodification of entertainment sites and performances, professional managers, performers, and theatre owners offered their services. The crowded, modernizing, and cosmopolitan population of the city embedded an audience in demand for new shows. As performing arts flourished, a new public space also developed where seeing other citizens and being seen by them became a prestigious asset for Istanbul's socialites.³⁶ Nevertheless, as a hub of trade and entertainment, Istanbul was also a site of growing crime at the turn of the 19th

³⁴ For a detailed survey of the population of Istanbul, see Shaw, *The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century*.

³⁵ For a survey on the French economic involvement in the Ottoman Empire, see Raccagni, "The French Economic Interests in the Ottoman Empire," 339-376; Geyikdağı, "French Direct Investments in the Ottoman Empire Before World War I," 525-561.

³⁶ See Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption," 77-101.

century. Therefore, the criminal documents related to performances need to be also evaluated within that context.³⁷

3.4 Forms of entertainment in the late Ottoman world

Within the vast scope of entertainment activities, one can foreground two frameworks of performance for analysis. The first of these consists of a group of performances practiced as a part of a ritual. The ritual of *apokries* can be cited as a case in point. This carnival took place every year among the Christian Community of Istanbul.³⁸ However, there were also other genres of performances outside of the context of a ritual. These mainly were theater plays, concerts, acrobatic performances, and dance shows, which took place in different venues in the city. Pursuing where these performances took place, one should avert studying only the theaters. Indeed, the space for performing arts was not limited to theater halls. The documents studied in this research demonstrate how being able to gather a crowd stood at the center of performativity. Performances could take place anywhere a crowd was present. Indeed, coffeehouses, winehouses, and union buildings were significant stages for the artists. From the 1890s onwards, most of the coffeehouses hosted concerts, therefore being referred to as “*çalgılı kahvehane*” (*café-chantant* or *café-concerts*).

Although the modernization of Ottoman theater is usually traced back to the Tanzimat Period, a closer look at the Palace entertainment before the Tanzimat

³⁷ The recent works of Ruth Miller, Nurçin İleri and Ufuk Adak explore the wide range of criminal activities in Ottoman Istanbul. See Miller, *Legislating Authority: Sin and Crime in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey*; İleri, “Between the Real and the Imaginary: Late Ottoman Istanbul as a Crime Scene,” 95-116. Adak, “Security, Crime, Punishment, and Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire,” 447-449.

³⁸ See Vardar, *Carnival celebrations in Istanbul: the changing perception and experience of Apokries and Baklahorani*.

Period shows that the Ottoman Sultans were pioneer spectators of Western-style theater. For example, in 1675, an opera company from Venice visited Edirne and performed at the imperial celebrations.³⁹ As Metin And argues, Western theater differed from the traditional Ottoman theater, mainly because of the latter's interactive and participatory aspects. *Meddah*, *Ortaoyunu*, and *Karagöz*, the traditional Ottoman theatrical genres, were not based on a script but mostly on improvisation. In the 19th century, theatricality began to incorporate Western-style drama and performance into the Ottoman world.

Nevertheless, many performances mostly took place in coffeehouses or public areas and not necessarily on stages in theater buildings.⁴⁰ It was after 1839 that the number of theater buildings increased.⁴¹ As the plays written by the Ottoman playwrights were under intense control, there had been more preference for adaptations and translations from classics in French, Italian and English. However, these translations were so roughly done that it was often hard for the audience to understand the play fully. Furthermore, the content of the plays was also culturally different and foreign to Ottoman audiences. This matter caused a certain distance between the theater and Turkish-speaking audiences. For example, a *mot-à-mot* translation of Moliere would be difficult for audiences to understand without any knowledge of French history and culture.⁴²

³⁹ In other imperial festivities, one could see performers coming from the West as well. Here, the Sultan's attitude towards entertainment played an important role in attending performances. And, *Tanzimat ve İstibdat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu (1839-1908)*, 21.

⁴⁰ And, *Tanzimat ve İstibdat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu (1839-1908)*, 19.

⁴¹ Ibid, 18.

⁴² Chastain-Shannon, *Daughters of the stage: constructing the modern woman in the theater in the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic (1914-1935)*.

3.5 Sites of entertainment in the late Ottoman Istanbul

In his description of Istanbul's sites of entertainment, Osman Cemal Kaygılı lays out a wide range of places both geographically and in terms of the diversity of performances.⁴³ He calls attention to the demand coming from the public to pass the time in various places. These include coffee shops with gardens, cottages, taverns, *gazinos*, promenades, waterfalls, fountains, beaches, amusement parks, fairs, beaches, and hamams. Kaygılı associates many of these neighborhoods with different performativity preferences, giving special character and story of each entertainment venue. Covering a geography of Anatolian and European sites in the neighborhoods like Pendik, Kadıköy, Kuzguncuk, Sirkeci, Beyoğlu, Galata, Balıkpazarı, Yenikapı, Kumkapı or Fener, he lists a number of well-attended theaters or taverns like Kılburnu, Beytülhazan or Bodrum Palas. He also underlines the ethnic diversity of the performers and the rich repertoire of performative genres.⁴⁴

Turan Akıncı focuses particularly on Beyoğlu and reminds us how Istanbul was also a city where embassies of European states were built in the mid-19th century. A substantial Levantine population had also begun to settle in Beyoğlu during this period, transforming the “Grande Rue de Pera” and its surroundings almost to a European neighborhood. He mentions Western-style passages, hotels, ballrooms, breweries, bakeries, theaters, and cinemas, which started to be lined up for the first time. Launched in 1844, the Naum Theatre had become one of the most important opera houses in Europe. In his book *Naum Tiyatrosu*, Emre Aracı shows

⁴³ See Çatanak, “Osman Cemal Kaygılı’nın Gezi Yazılarında Eski İstanbul’un Eğlence Mekânları,” and Kaygılı, *Köşe bucak İstanbul*.

⁴⁴ Two volumes of *Geleceğe Perde Açan Gelenek: Geçmişten Günümüze İstanbul Tiyatroları* are particularly informative on theaters in Kadıköy and Beyoğlu neighborhoods. See Pekman, *Geleceğe perde açan gelenek: geçmişten günümüze İstanbul tiyatroları cilt II (Beyoğlu, Şişli, Beşiktaş ve Çevresi)* and Özsoysal & Balay, *Geleceğe perde açan gelenek: geçmişten günümüze İstanbul tiyatroları cilt III (Anadolu Yakası)*.

how the theater's artistic repertoire and patronage patterns map out the intellectual network of late Ottoman Istanbul.⁴⁵ With the entrepreneurship of Mihail Naum Duhani, a wide variety of performances took place there, performed by acrobats, magicians, and jugglers, as well as Western artists who came to deliver theatrical performances such as vaudeville and comedy.⁴⁶ New performances, which were being introduced into the Ottoman artistic repertoire, were first performed there.⁴⁷ On November 4, 1848, Sultan Abdülmecid came to Naum Theater to watch a play. Sultan Abdülaziz and his princes also frequented the theater, notably in 1863. Significant international political figures were entertained here as well, such as the emperor of Austria-Hungary Franz Joseph, French queen Eugene and Prince of Wales.⁴⁸ The theater was so famous that Verdi's *Il Trovatore* was performed in Beyoğlu before Paris.⁴⁹ Sadly, Naum Theater collapsed after the infamous fire of June 5, 1871.

⁴⁵ Aracı, *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. yüzyıl İstanbul'un İtalyan operası*.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ And, *Türkiye'de İtalyan Sahnesi*, 58.

⁴⁸ And, *Tanzimat ve İstibdat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu (1839-1908)*, 94-97.

⁴⁹ Akıncı, *Beyoğlu: Yapılar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar (1831-1923)*, 208-209.

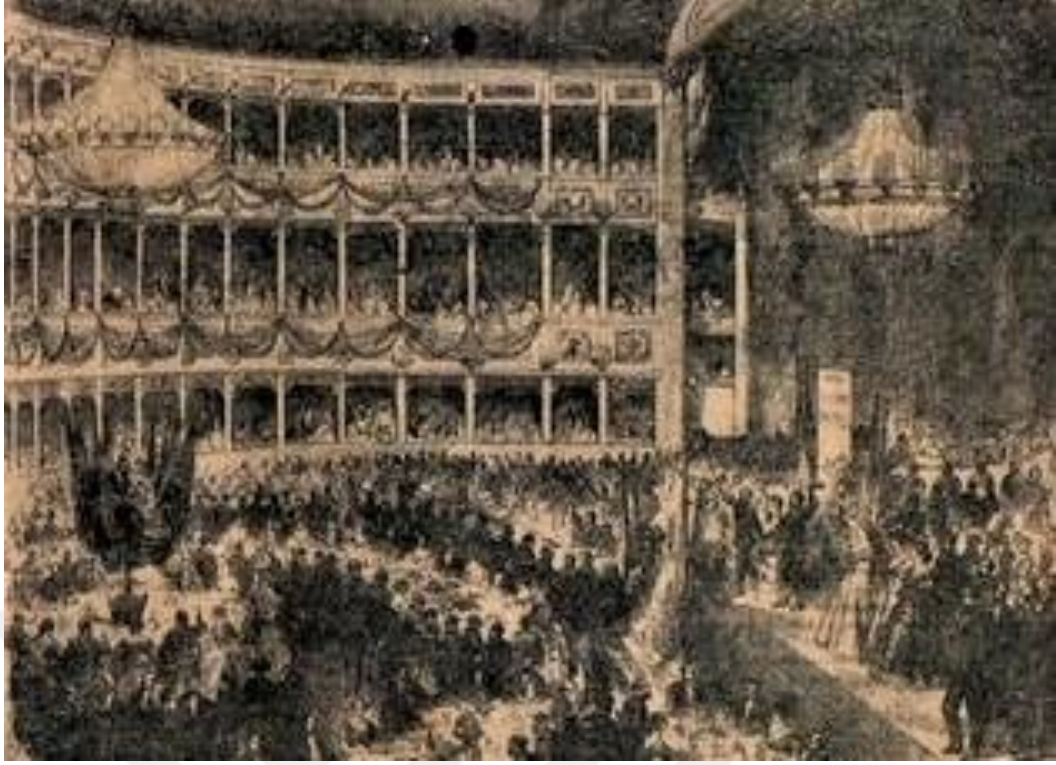


Figure 3. Naum Theater. *derived from* Şerban, A & Chan, K. K. Y. (2020). Operetta in Turkey A case study of Gün's translation of Strauss's *Die Fledermaus*. In *Opera in Translation: Unity and diversity*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Other theater buildings complemented the performance scene of that era. The Armenian Theater, also known as *Şark Tiyatrosu*, was established in 1861. The first plays performed at this theater were in Armenian, by actors and actresses who included David Tiryan, Mardinos, Mınakyan, Ohannes Acemyan, Thomas Fasulyeciyan, and Agop Vartaviyan.⁵⁰ In addition, the stage hosted acrobats and theater shows. After 1868, it was called “Alcazar de Byzans,” and it remained open until the fire in 1870. After this fire, Beyoğlu Municipality took some part of the theater to extend the road, and a small theater was built in 1883 by the architect Hosnep Aznavour. It was re-opened on December 29, 1883, and named as “New French Theater” with the attendance of the head of the Ministry of Education, Mustafa Nuri Paşa. Sarafin Minasyan, who had rented the theater after 1886, brought

⁵⁰ And, *Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu*, 34.

several European groups from Paris for a *vaudeville* performance. *Şark Tiyatrosu* had thus a vital impact on the development of theater in the Ottoman world. Unfortunately, the building was burnt in 1892. Instead, Tokatlıyan Hotel was built in its location.⁵¹



Figure 4. Minakyan Efendi of *Şark Tiyatrosu*, from SALT Online Archives.

Another important theater was the *Kristal Tiyatrosu*, also located along the Grande Rue de Péra, replacing the first indoor theater of Beyoğlu, known as the “French theater.”⁵² *Kristal Tiyatrosu* had a ballroom and a restaurant. It was re-opened in 1865 as Palais de Crystal.⁵³ In 1879, Spiraki Raftopoulos took over the theater for 31 years, during which the salon served as a *café-chantant* and a *café-concert*. Offering dining services besides the performance, Palais de Crystal soon became a popular place for people who wanted to enjoy the company of food and

⁵¹ Akıncı, *Beyoğlu: Yapılar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar (1831-1923)*, 208-209.

⁵² Ibid, 205.

⁵³ Ibid, 206.

drink during the performance. Palais de Crystal served until 1910, when it was demolished in 1920. It was replaced by Elhamra Passage and Theater in 1922.⁵⁴

Concordia Theater was opened on Grande Rue de Péra as a theater in 1871. It was a relatively small stage and was turned into a *gazino* until it was sold to St. Antoine Catholic Church in 1906.⁵⁵ Despite its modest stance vis-à-vis Naum Theater, Concordia's life lasted for 35 years as a colloquial venue for Ottoman entertainment. Documents of the Ottoman State archives confirm this, as the name “Concordia” appears most recurrently among the venues that surface in the primary sources.⁵⁶

Besides theaters, other sites of entertainment also offered musical performances in taverns, and coffeehouses turned into *gazin*os. The *Alçak Gazino*, for instance, was located in Kılburnu, Fener. It was built in the place of *Kılburnu Gazinosu*, which was previously burned down. *Alçak Gazino*, like its predecessor, was considered to be “the most significant party place of the Golden Horn.”⁵⁷ Crowded on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, it hosted rich people who gambled in its casino while others spectated performances over the bars. These performances spread into the Golden Horn during summers, with boats touring around the *gazino* with musicians performing. Such performances were often called “*sazlı sözlü eğlence*” which can be translated as “entertainment with music and conversation.” Memoirs cite the cries of “Aman Allah!”, which were heard as one could walk around examining peanuts, hazelnuts, pudding, and candy bars in the square that resembled a colorful ball of intertwined threads.⁵⁸ The important *gazin*os

⁵⁴ And, *100 Soruda Türk Tiyatrosu*, 101; Kuruyazıcı, *Armenian Architects of Istanbul*.

⁵⁵ And, *Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu*, 30; Akıncı, *Beyoğlu: Yapılar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar (1831-1923)*, 205.

⁵⁶ See Appendix B for the collection of primary source transcriptions.

⁵⁷ Çatanak, “Osman Cemal Kaygılı’nın Gezi Yazılarında Eski İstanbul’un Eğlence Mekânları,” 616.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 616.

of Tepebaşı area were *Kanuni Esasi*, *Şanzelize* and *Yıldız*. Kaygılı tells that *Yıldız Gazinosu* was full day and night, but *Kanuni Esasi* and *Şanzelize* were not as crowded.⁵⁹ The frequenters of these venues did not smoke hookah or cigarettes there but instead spent all their time slowly drinking (*hafif demlenerek*) and playing cards.⁶⁰

One should also mention the coffeehouses as significant sites of entertainment that had controversial perceptions at the turn of the 19th century. In his book on Ottoman sexuality, Dror Zeevi calls attention to how Western women were seen as “corruptible,” contrasting with the supposedly moral and superior Muslim women.⁶¹ The book mentions a conversation Ahmed Mithad Efendi had with a coffeehouse owner during his time in Europe. This conversation revolved around women who were “fallen” to the streets.⁶² These girls were “educated and well-mannered,” but they left their homes to have a source of income. They were employed in these coffeehouses as actresses, singers, dancers, and musicians. This, according to the coffee house owner, eventually led to their downfall to the street, supposedly doing prostitution at the end. Ahmed Midhat commented on the issue as follows: “Now I understand why all these female singers and musicians come in multitudes to Istanbul and then move on to Izmir, Thessalonica, and even to Syria.”⁶³

Unions established by Europeans were also venues of performances. Several of these unions appear in the primary sources provided in this thesis, such as *Union Française* and *Sosyete Opera*. *Union Française* was located in Tepebaşı, Meşrutiyet

⁵⁹ Çatanak, “Osman Cemal Kaygılı’nın Gezi Yazılarında Eski İstanbul’un Eğlence Mekânları,” 617.

⁶⁰ The phrase “oyynamak” is used here, which can either mean playing - likely playing cards - or dancing.

⁶¹ Zeevi, “Hiding Sexuality,” 49.

⁶² Ibid, 49.

⁶³ Ahmet Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir cevelan*, 1017.

Avenue. Alexandre Vallaury built it in 1896.⁶⁴ it was a project built for the French community in Istanbul. Its meeting rooms, library, and offices provided a space for French-speaking people living in Istanbul to meet and exchange ideas. Moreover, the stage located on the upper floor meeting salon provided a space for performances. Finally, the society is mentioned in one of the primary sources as the sponsor of the celebration of the French Revolution in Concordia Theater.⁶⁵

Sosyete Opera or Società Operaia Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso (Italian Workers' Mutual Aid Society) was built in 1863 in Istanbul, but *Sosyete Opera* was found in Italy in 1848 as a mutual aid society of workers and shortly spread around the country.⁶⁶ Its new building was located in Beyoğlu, Istiklal Avenue, Deva Street, and built-in 1885. In this building, there was a library, as well as a place to display important artworks. We also learn from the documents that meetings were held there, as well as musical performances.⁶⁷

Another prominent union that was located in Beyoğlu was the German Teutonic Union. Built in 1875, it was a small charity organization where German Austrian, and Swiss citizens gathered. German emperor Keiser Wilhelm II visited the organization in 1898. There was a restaurant and a garden on the first floor and a meeting salon on the second floor. Certain theaters concerts and conferences took place there; also, a conservatory used the Union's stage for their concerts.⁶⁸

Cercle D'Orient was built in Beyoğlu in 1882 as a social complex with a commercial center, cinema, and a theater. It was built with the initiative of then-English ambassador Alfred Sandison as “Cercle a Pera.” The main visitors of this

⁶⁴ Özlü, *Türk Mimarisi'nde İz Bırakanlar*, 295.

⁶⁵ Akıncı, *Beyoğlu: Yapılar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar (1831-1923)*, 263.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 261.

⁶⁷ COA, İ.HR 338-21909

⁶⁸ Tuna, *Taksim'den Tünele Adım Adım Beyoğlu*, 361.

venue were English businesspeople. People frequented the complex to create a network for politics and commerce. Ottoman Levantines were among the members of this community. Many of the ambassadors located in Istanbul were also among the community members and its managing committee. Among the members were the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress, Talat Paşa, Enver Paşa, and Cemal Paşa, and author Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan. It was under the control of the secret police of Fehim Paşa, who worked for the Palace.⁶⁹ That might be the reason why we do not encounter the name of this venue in censorship documents. Other notable unions were *Dersaadet Rum Cemiyet-i Edebiyesi*, *Fıkaraperver Kardeşliği Cemiyeti*, *Casa D'Italia*, *Union Hellenique*, *Circole Roma*, *Unione Sportiva*, *Club Suisse*, *Yugoslavska Sloga* and *B'nai Brith*. These venues were built to bring people of the same nationality together at first as a space to socialize and create networks. However, in time, these venues evolved into centers of cultural exchange, hosting theaters, concerts, conferences, balls, and exhibitions.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Akıncı, *Beyoğlu: Yapılar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar (1831-1923)*, 259.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 263.



Figure 5. Dolmabahçe Mosque and Theater, from SALT Online Archive.

3.6 Conclusion

Chapter 3 provided information on 19th century Ottoman Performing Arts scene.

First of all, the chapter presented a general survey of the performance studies in the Ottoman context. Then, after discussing the literature on Ottoman Performing Arts in the nineteenth century briefly, the chapter portrayed different genres of performance and their relation to the social life in Istanbul. The chapter then scrutinized the importance of Istanbul as a city as a site of crime and entertainment. Thus, the reader is informed about the necessary facts and concepts that help contextualize the relationship between Ottoman performing arts and social control.

Furthermore, the chapter provided a brief survey of forms of entertainment in the late Ottoman world, from traditional forms to modern experiments. Finally, the chapter described important sites of entertainment in late Ottoman Istanbul. Among

these were coffeehouses, winehouses, unions, and, most importantly, theaters. The chapter provided descriptive information, and the impression of the contemporaries of these sites is implemented into the narrative.



CHAPTER 4

TRIPARTITE CONTROL ON PERFORMING ARTS:

DAHILIYE, ZAPTİYE AND MATBUAT

4.1 Introduction

In his book *Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey*, Metin And refers to the 19th century as a period of “reorganization and despotism” in the practice of performing arts. He states that a period of despotism began in Ottoman theater in 1884, with the demolishing of the Ottoman Theater by Sultan Abdülhamid's order. According to the author, theatrical arts declined after this incident, and this period could be considered the “beginning of a period of despotism in Turkish theater.”⁷¹ And's argument is well-established, considering that during the 19th century, surveillance was increased not only in the domain of performing arts. Per the changing political, social, and economic context of the 19th century, we see that the intervention of the Ottoman State in almost all matters of everyday life escalated.⁷² This chapter explores the tripartite control mechanism that the Ottoman State enforced on performing arts between 1878 – 1908, through the involvement of the ministries of *Dahiliye* (Interior), *Zaptiye* (Security), and the office of *Matbuat* (Press).

⁷¹ And, *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey*, 23

⁷² On the Modernization of the Ottoman State, see İslamoğlu, “Politics of administering property: Law and statistics in the 19th century Ottoman Empire,” 211-246; Stamatopoulos, “From millets to minorities in the 19th-century Ottoman Empire: an ambiguous modernization,” 253-273.

4.2 Changing demographics of Istanbul and the increase of European influence in economic and cultural spheres

The texture of everyday life in Istanbul changed vastly during the 19th century, especially in demographics.⁷³ An important cause of this was the increasing migration waves after the Crimean War and Russian War. Many Muslims who had to leave Russia, starting from Crimea, sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire. Another factor was the Russian advancement towards the Balkans - Muslims of Bulgaria and Romania fled to Ottoman cities, primarily Istanbul. However, the flock of migrations was not limited to Muslim refugees. Many Ashkenazim Jews immigrated to the Ottoman Empire following the antisemitic pogroms in Russia that scaled up in the 1890s. A lot of the immigrants ended up in Istanbul. Although they were sent to places where “other Jews were,” such as Salonica, Izmir, and Aydın, the first target of many was Istanbul at first. Even though they were sent away later because the population of Istanbul was growing uncontrollably, they had to pass through Istanbul before reaching their desired or appointed destinations.⁷⁴

The economic model and situation of Istanbul changed significantly at the end of the 19th century. As previously stated in Chapter 3, from 19th century on, the influence of foreign capital in Istanbul increased. The capital was primarily the French capital which had officially entered the Ottoman realm with the establishment of the Ottoman Bank in 1863. Moreover, Edhem Eldem argues that Crimean War

⁷³ For a comprehensive survey on migration to the Ottoman Empire during the 19th and 20th century, see Freitag, *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*.

⁷⁴ In certain documents from the Ottoman State Archives, Izmir, Salonica and Aydın are referred to as places “where Jewish residents were” (sakine-i museviyyenin olduğu). This channeling was done to avoid the outcomes of the growing population of Istanbul that caused economic, social, and sanitary problems. For primary source documents, see COA, BEO 42/3096, COA, BEO 43/3211, COA, BEO 94/7018 and for literature, see Karpat, “Jewish Population Movements in the Ottoman Empire, 1862 – 1914,” 146-168; Deringil, “Jewish Immigration to the Ottoman Empire at the Time of the First Zionist Congresses: A Comment,” 141-149; Akyalçın-Kaya, “Immigration into Ottoman territory: The case of Salonica in the late nineteenth century,” 177-189.

was a key factor shifting Ottoman foreign relations, with Europe in particular. This turning point resulted from the two most powerful nations (namely England and France) participating in the war in favor of the Ottomans against Russia.⁷⁵ This progress in capital and political influence may explain why, from the 1880s on, the presence of foreign theater companies and foreign plays increased. Consequently, the urbanization of Istanbul, modernization of forms of entertainment, and European influence's entrance coincided with the emergence of suspicion on the part of the state and a sophisticated system of control in the domain of performing arts.

4.3 The pillar of censorship: The press regulations

The evolution of the press regulation provides an insight into the systematization of the control on performing arts in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Between 1890 and 1908, different agencies were involved in issuing and implementing censorship. These involved the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Security, but also a particular bureaucratic unit called the Press Directorate (*Matbuat Müdürlüğü*), a new unit which gathered considerable power under the Hamidian period, found in 1878. In performing arts, two significant pillars of this control can be considered to regulate the printed material and maintain order in situ. First, we must turn our attention to press censorship to understand the regulation of the printed material. As stated by İpek Yosmaoğlu, until 1857s, there were almost no laws or limitations regarding the press.⁷⁶ In 1857, however, submitting an application to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for printing license became mandatory. In 1862, the Press Directorate was established. In 1864, a new press regulation that required license

⁷⁵ Eldem, *Ottoman financial integration with Europe: foreign loans, the Ottoman Bank and the Ottoman public debt*, 432.

⁷⁶ Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word," 15-49.

applications to be made to the Ministry of Education was implemented⁷⁷. Censorship became more systematized after the formation of a board within the Directorate of Internal Press in 1878. This board aimed to regulate what would be published in newspapers and magazines.

Interestingly, from 1882, non-political publications, which were not censored before, started to be censored.⁷⁸ Due to the significant increase in censorship of non-political materials from 1882 on, such interventions would be implemented on the materials prepared for coffeehouse or theater performances. The increase in criminalization documents resulted in more information on Ottoman performing arts being recorded in the archives. Based on the correspondence between institutions regarding performance materials, we have the chance to find out about the content of the Ottoman scene of performing arts and what was permitted and what was prohibited.

By the 1890s, the period that the majority of the primary sources used in this thesis elaborates on, any printed material was systematically controlled, censored, and regulated. In this manner, the Press Directorate was heavily involved in monitoring the performance scene of Istanbul. At this point, as also can be observed in the primary source documents, any play that was supposed to be performed and any song that was supposed to be sung was expected to be sent to the Press Directorate first. In many instances, we see that performing any material that had not been approved previously by the Directorate resulted in state intervention.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ This regulation is argued to be an adaptation of 1852 Press law of Louis Napoleon. Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word," 15-49; Borovaya. *Modern Ladino Culture: Press, Belles Lettres, & Theater in the Late Ottoman Empire*.

⁷⁸ See Özkorku, "Basın Özgürlüğü ve Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki Görünümü," 65-84.

⁷⁹ This will be discussed in examples in detail in Chapter 5.

4.4 The involvement of the police

The implementation of press regulations to the performing arts scene required on-site examination. Here, the second pillar of the control mechanism came in: the intervention by the inspectors and police officers. There were two groups of officers that were involved in this manner. While the inspectors of the Press Directorate spectated the venues to determine if there was any delinquency, it was expected of the police (referred to as *Zaptiye Memurları*) to take the necessary actions when such instances occurred. As demonstrated in the primary sources, the Ministry of Security was asked to send officers to the performance venues to ensure that the performance was executed as planned. Any discrepancy ranging from inappropriate clothing, unwanted words, even to improvisation, could be a cause for trouble. This situation is especially evident in the case of a form of Ottoman theater called “*tuluat*.” Traditionally known as *orta oyunu* (theater-in-the-round, or “middle-play” as literally translated), *tuluat* is a theater form based on improvisation. Because the instance of performance would be gone far by the time the police recognized the unwanted performances, people involved in the *tuluat* theater were often criminalized without distinction. Names of people such as Kel Hasan Efendi, Şevki Efendi, Atıf Efendi, or Fevzi Efendi, who were renowned theater company owners, thus appear in censorship documents recurringly.



Figure 6. *Hamdi-Orta Oyunu* from 1840s, from SALT Online Archive.

At this point, we should be taking a look at the history of the Ministry of Security as an institution. In the 19th century, Ottoman State's criminalization and justice system rapidly modernized. This change occurred through various institutional developments, mainly concerning the centralization of criminal codes, new courts, modern law schools, a modern system, and most importantly, the formation of the police. Kent Schull, in *Comparative Criminal Justice in the Era of Modernity: A Template for Inquiry and the Ottoman Empire as Case Study*, argues that these changes were not “borrowed wholesale” from Western Europe but instead developed as a continuation of a classical Ottoman justice system. He also argues that the change in the criminal justice system was a culmination of the attempts by imperial and local officials, aiming to overcome the challenges brought by the developments of the era, such as migration, changing economic system and Westernization.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Schull, *Comparative Criminal Justice in the Era of Modernity: A Template for Inquiry and the Ottoman Empire as Case Study*, 7

Selim III, who ruled from 1789 until his assassination in 1808, is regarded as a pioneer figure in the modernization of urban surveillance system in Ottoman Istanbul. To begin with, the Sultan issued several codes titled “Nizam-ı Cedid Kanunları” and policed the imperial capital.⁸¹ Mahmud II, who ruled between 1808 and 1839, often referred to as the father of Ottoman modernity and remembered as the “reformer”⁸², abolished the Janissary. The abolishment of the Janissary was a turning point as it halted the Empire's guild system and thus can be seen as an instance of eradicating non-state actors.⁸³ This new police system put forward by Mahmud II surveilled the order in public areas.⁸⁴ With this development, the state created a centralized system of control.⁸⁵ It is important to note that this unit was later assigned to the Ministry of Interior, explaining why we encounter the term *Zaptiye* in the bureaucratic correspondence between the Ministry of Interior and the Press Administration.

In *Policing the Countryside*, Nadir Özbek focuses mainly on the period after 1879. The author explains his decision per the increase in the impact and size of the “gendarmerie” following this date. During this period, the presence of the “gendarmerie” expanded beyond the capital towards the provinces. Moreover, the institution developed a more “uniform character.”⁸⁶ During this period, one could argue that the Ottoman Empire was going through a phase in which social control in urban areas shifted from the military to the police force.⁸⁷ It is possible to see other

⁸¹ For Sultan Selim III's reign, see Başaran, Remaking the Gate of Felicity; Zarinebaff, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul*, 74.

⁸² “İnkılapçı”.

⁸³ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 134-140; Koç and Yeşil, *Nizam-ı Cedid Kanunları*.

⁸⁴ Here, it should be stressed that this was previously the task of the Janissaries.

⁸⁵ For a detailed survey on the evolution of Ottoman Police System, one of the most comprehensive pieces is written by Ferdan Ergut. See, Ergut, *Modern Devlet ve Polis*.

⁸⁶ Özbek, “Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of The Late 19th-Century Ottoman Empire (1876–1908),” 50.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 52.

reform movements in distinct countries relating to their modernization vision. For instance, in Prussia, the army dealt with social unrest.⁸⁸ Similarly, in Russia, the authorities preferred to abstain from relying entirely on the police, and military officers worked on maintaining the social order.⁸⁹ However, the government compensated the army with irregular officers if the military required any assistance. This situation could be seen in modernizing Empires, such as Prussia and Russia, as provided in the examples, and Austria and Ottoman Empire: while the army was responsible for maintaining the social order, the gendarmerie (or the police) provided additional force.⁹⁰

The “gendarmerie” (or the “police”) force in Ottoman Empire was formed in 1840 under the name “asakir-i zabtiye,” meaning “soldiers of control.” This development can be interpreted as parallel to the agenda of securing uniformity and order in provincial areas. One could argue that this need derived from attempts to settle down any potential problems within the Empire before forming the new national army - a necessity that is a consequence of the abolishment of the traditional Janissary company.⁹¹ The structure of the “gendarmerie” evolved between the 1840s and 1878. The 1864 Provincial Law, uniformizing the surveillance system, was a significant step for the Ottoman administration. Another important law was the 1869 Gendarmerie Law. These reform attempts were executed by the Police Directorate (Zaptiye Müşiriyeti).⁹² When we look at these developments, we can see that establishing a centralized police force aimed to eliminate non-state actors in setting the order.

⁸⁸ Emsley, *Gendarmes and the State*, 214.

⁸⁹ Frank, *Crime, Cultural Conflict, and Justice*, 8.

⁹⁰ Özbek, “Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of The Late 19th-Century Ottoman Empire (1876–1908),” 52.

⁹¹ Ibid, 52.

⁹² Ibid, 51

The main challenges that prevented the police force from forming more centralized units, however, stemmed from the political and social changes in the early and mid-19th century. To begin with, the Empire had to deal with nationalist uprisings in the Balkans and the Eastern provinces. Such problems, along with increased territorial losses, resulted in economic difficulties. Moreover, the economic difficulties increased in the second half of the 19th century.⁹³ Thus, while the Ottoman State was trying to embed a more organized and centralized structure within the system of social control because of economic problems and political unrest, these were, in fact, the same circumstances that made such reforms hard to execute.

4.5 Inter-institutional relationships

The relationship between the two pillars of control, *Zaptiye*, and *Matbuat*, is worth taking a close examination. The bureaucratic journey of these documents implicates friction between two ministries. In the bureaucratic correspondence, the Ministry of Interior functions as an umbrella institution that receives the petitions submitted by *Zaptiye* and *Matbuat*. The Ministry of Education and *Şehremaneti* (City Municipality) institutions appear as the institutions responsible for the execution of the order in the mid-19th century. From the late Hamidian period on, the Press Directorate submitted petitions in case delinquency is detected. Ministry of Security was responsible for the execution of the order. The communication between the two was not direct: both sides sent their petitions to the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Interior forwarded these petitions to each institution. An interesting point to note here is that the officers in Press Directorate were holding significant power in the maintenance of order, especially in the domain of the performing arts. The Press

⁹³ Özbek, "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of The Late 19th-Century Ottoman Empire (1876–1908)," 52.

Directorate submitted many petitions to the Ministry of Interior to ensure that the Ministry of Security was executing the necessary order. In some cases, Press Directorate complained to the Ministry of Interior about the lack of effectiveness of the Ministry of Security officers.

Conceivably, the police officers were occupied with dealing with more severe crimes such as theft or violence. Therefore, requests by the Press Directorate were not of preeminent importance to the Ministry of Security, and there is a chance that this was why the Press Directorate considered the efforts of the Ministry of Security to be not enough. After all, as argued in previous paragraphs, “Zaptiye” as an institution was evolved from the military itself. Therefore, such an institution can be expected to focus more on more solid crimes rather than vague accusations as “inappropriateness.”



Figure 7. Kel Hasan Efendi, derived from Şerban, A & Chan, K. K. Y. (2020). *Operetta in Turkey A case study of Gün's translation of Strauss's Die Fledermaus*. In *Opera in Translation: Unity and diversity*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

4.6 Protagonists of censorship

The documents revealed particular officials involved in the control of the social order.⁹⁴ An important figure behind the restrictions on performances at coffeehouses and theaters was, for instance, the head of the Press Directorate, Hıfzı Bey. Hıfzı Bey was a son of an Ottoman bureaucrat named Hüseyin Efendi. His name started appearing at annual state records (*devlet salnameleri*) from 1889 on. He became the chief censor in the Press Directorate in 1891. Abdullah Macit Bey, Pertev Bey, Mehmet Şevki Efendi, Ahmet Arifi Bey served as head of Press Departments during The Hamidian period. Yusuf Behçet Bey took this position in 1892 after a rather misfortunate mistake in the *Takvim-i Vakayi* newspaper and caused Ahmet Arif Bey to resign. Censorship became harsher when İbrahim Hıfzı Bey replaced him in 1901. It is understood that İbrahim Hıfzı did not delegate his control to anybody and pursued each case independently. Nevertheless, he died at a young age in 1905, leaving his place to Ebu Mükbil Kemal Bey, who was exiled after the Young Turk revolution in 1908. The prominent role of the Head of the Press Directorate (*Matbuat Müdürlüğü*) was indeed to be an intermediary agency between the Palace and the permit applications from the press.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Here I should state that “social order” is not a “given. The administrative authorities could define “social order” as it suited their interest. Members of the subject population usually consent to these definitions, and censorship aims to marginalize those who disagree or demonstrate skepticism. After all, as Marx argued, public opinion is the opinion of the governing class. For a comprehensive explanation of the subject, see Sallach, “Class Domination and Ideological Hegemony,” 38-50.

⁹⁵ See Kardeş, *Basın Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü 60 Yılın Hikayesi*; İmre, *Anadolu Basınının (Orta Karadeniz Bölgesi Yerel Basınının) Sorunları ve Çözümler*.



Figure 8. İbrahim Hıfzı Bey. Derived from “Operetta in Turkey A case study of Gün's translation of Strauss's *Die Fledermaus*”.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief overview of the documents issued during the Hamidian period, pertaining to the systematic control issued over the domain of performing arts. This section aimed to hand over how the three institutions, the Press Directorate, the Ministry of Security, and the Ministry of Interior, related to each other on this particular matter. While the Press Directorate issued the backbone of censorship, the Ministry of Security worked upon the directives given by the Directorate. At least regarding the documents provided for this research, the Ministry of Interior functioned as an intermediary institution. It did not interfere in the matters of censorship directly but rather forwarded the petitions of the Press Directorate and the Ministry of Security to each other. The next chapter, Chapter 5, will introduce case studies and evaluate each incident covered by the primary source covered. These cases will exemplify the proposed arguments in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5

CRIMINALIZATION OF PERFORMING ARTS: DIVERSITY OF CASE STUDIES

5.1 Introduction

The Ottoman Archives Directorate offers a diverse range of primary sources regarding the pressure and constraints of entertainment. Following a series of keywords, one could reach the essential elements of the entertainment domains in late 19th century Istanbul. In fact, as a researcher on *rebetiko*, my archival research first focused on the sites of performances where *rebetiko* could have been performed. The terms “*kahvehane*” (coffeehouse) and “*kafe-şantan*” (café-chantant) were the first entries I searched in the database of the Ottoman Archives. The search offered a long list of findings consisting of that included these keywords. These documents directed me to other sites of performances like the “*meyhanes*” (winehouses), “*birahanes*” (beer houses), and “*gazinos*” (places where people played card games and consumed alcohol). One other category emerged as “*çalgılı kahve*” (coffee house with music)—most of these documents referred to these performative venues in association with criminalized activities. Nevertheless, the documented crimes were not often as severe as theft, violence, or murder, but they were often associated with inappropriate or immoral behavior. The ambiguity of the terminology evoked many questions regarding the legitimacy of the criminalization of entertainment in general. The terminology of the archived documents also revealed how the state developed a criminalizing approach towards performance venues, genres, and their social players by the end of the 19th century. This terminology included such keywords like “*münasebetsizlik*” (inappropriateness), “*ahlaksızlık*” (immorality), “*muzır*”

(naughty), “*gayr-i musaddak*” (disapproved) or “*adaba mugayirlik*” (ill mannerism) or “*başbozuk*” (gadabout). The term “*gayr-i musaddak*” was of particular importance, as it oriented me towards persevering how the mechanism of “approval” (*tasdik*) functioned.

Indeed, these words were empty signifiers, meaning that they did not correspond to a specific crime. However, one could contextualize each incident separately to understand why the action was perceived as a criminal act. While each document displayed a case, which had a particular criminal significance, the comprehensive exploration of all these documents revealed a general scene and the essential elements of the entertainment domains of late 19th century Istanbul.⁹⁶ These documents informed us about the names of entertainment places and those of the managers and owners of theaters. They also revealed the range of performance genres, names of the performers, and the plays' titles.

Nevertheless, their most important aspect consisted of how the state positioned itself vis-à-vis public entertainment and how it regulated the domain of entertainment. As mentioned previously in Chapter 4, the documents showed different departments and officials of the state who were engaged in social control, mainly through censorship, but they also lay out diverse cases where entertainment and criminalization were associated. Therefore, this chapter will try to delineate these documents based on the primary sources reached from the Ottoman Archives Directorate.

⁹⁶ The justifications of criminalization are listed as a chart in the Appendix B.

5.2 On the sites of entertainment, and their owners and managers

The names of these performance sites and their owners provide a map of the late 19th-century world of entertainment in Istanbul. Documents from the Ottoman Archives related to the criminalization of various performances mentioned a variety of sites of entertainment. Firstly, they point out where entertainment activities concentrated in late 19th century Istanbul as districts and neighborhoods. Some cases, for instance, took place on the Anatolian side in Kadıköy or Küçük Çamlıca, some others in Şişli, Beyoğlu and Galata neighborhoods of the old city. Certain cases mentioned particular streets or avenues like Kılburnu in Fener, or Kuşdili in Kadıköy, referring to particular sites of entertainment. Some of these sites were the well-known, established theater halls like Concordia, Odeon and Kristal Theaters in the central Beyoğlu area, or the well-populated Kuşdili Theater in Kadıköy. Some were places just to drink and watch musical performances. There is mention of a series of “*gazinos*,” meaning in Turkish a site of entertainment where musical performances could be watched while eating and drinking. A certain Jardin du Clos, for instance, was a known site in Şişli. Documents also mention Komers Çalgılı Gazinosu, Kardiyal Çalgılı Gazinosu, Fener Kılburnu Gazinosu, Küçük Çamlıca Gazinosu and Aptalikos Gazinosu. Other such places were Panyolaki's baloz in Galata or the Sosyete Opera, which was located next to the hat store of Baltazar. Documents pointed out also some other musical coffeehouses, winehouses, or brothels.

We see that many of these sites and names are mentioned in other sources as well. Kılburnu Gazinosu was mentioned, for instance, in Ahmet Rasim *Fuḥṣ-i Atik* as well as in Osman Cemal Kaygılı's *Köşe Bucak İstanbul*. Both authors acclaim this site as the biggest *gazino* of the Golden Horn area, where Istanbul's most prominent

singers and musicians performed.⁹⁷ Ahmet Rasim also mentions entertainment sites like Concordia Theater and *Komers Çalgılı Gazinosu* in the Beyoğlu area. These documents give us a general view of the performance frames of these sites, mentioning not only famous performers but also the profile of the audiences, the transporters, and the serving women waitresses. Nevertheless, the criminal documents from the Ottoman Archives Directorate zoom us into a historical-ethnographic moment, which displays “a trespassing” or a possibility or discontent about it.



Figure 9. Kristal Tiyatrosu, derived from Şerban, A & Chan, K. K. Y. (2020). Operetta in Turkey A case study of Gün's translation of Strauss's *Die Fledermaus*. In *Opera in Translation: Unity and diversity*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

⁹⁷ Ahmet Rasim recalls the famous violin players Kör Sabuh and Serçe Tevfik performing in *Kılburnu gazino*. Similarly, Osman Cemal Kaygılı particularly mentions the *kemençe* player Anastas. See Ahmet Rasim, *Fuhs-i Atik* (Eski fuhuş hayatı) Avrupa Yakası; Kaygılı, Köşe Bucak İstanbul, Selis Kitaplar, İstanbul, 333; also cited in Canataş, Osman Cemal Kaygılı'nın Gezi Yazılarında Eski İstanbul'un Eğlence Mekanları, 611-630.

Some of these sites were cited through the names of their managers or owners. For instance, we learn from these documents that Atıf and Fevzi Efendis managed a comedy company. When they were punished, names of theater owners usually surfaced, like Hasan Efendi and Şevki Efendi, along with the coffeehouse owner Yorgi. In some cases, documents referred to foreign performers. For example, a document informs us that a music group of 13 people from Pandopoulo's company would be coming from Greece and performing at Odeon, December 27, 1903.⁹⁸ Another such document belonged to the coffeehouse owner Yorgi.⁹⁹ There is also reference to the Palamari Printing House, which most probably printed many of the performance events that made their way into criminal records.¹⁰⁰

5.3 On the genres of performances and their performers

The documents from the Ottoman Archives Directorate also offer essential information relating to the genres of performances in late 19th century Istanbul. The main genres included canto, polka, song, theatrical play, or pantomime. Documents reveal other performative events like improvisational plays, reading aloud practices, painting women, cinematic performances, or hanging advertisements. These genres were performed in several languages. Documents showed that besides Turkish, songs or theater pieces were performed in Arabic, Italian, French, and German. Certain documents revealed exciting details, including the titles of the plays and the names of the performers. Some of these criminal documents give us information on theater pieces overlooked in mainstream theater history of the late Ottoman world. It seems that plays like “*Kayseriye Yolcuları*” and “*Aşıklar*” were performed in Istanbul,

⁹⁸ COA, DH.MKT 792.74

⁹⁹ COA, ZB.601.127

¹⁰⁰ COA, DH.MKT 827.11

and “*Red Magician*” in Salonica. “*Aşıklar*” can be traced today either to a particular playwright Ahmed, who wrote a play named “*Bedbaht Aşıklar*” (1886)¹⁰¹ or to a translation of *Gl'innamorati*, a comedy written by Venetian playwright Carlo Goldoni in 1759.¹⁰² Such examples show how chasing criminal documents in a broader context can reveal a much more extensive repertoire of play names.

The documents found in the Ottoman Archives Directorate offer several names of notable performers as well. They also hint that there existed clusters of performers who were active during the late Ottoman era. One document, for instance, mentioned a theater group, *La Bruna Kumpanyası*,¹⁰³ while another mentions the aforementioned Greek music group of 13 people accompanying Pandopoulo's company.

Some of these criminal documents detail the artistic genres of the performers. There is, for instance, a mention of a nameless “canto singer” in Küçük Çamlıca casino, the “*çalgıcı*” (musical instrument player) Mösyö Silvi, the “singer” Marika Anglize or a comedian by the name of Hasan Efendi. Indeed, we understand from the documents that there were two famous performers named Hasan, distinguished as “Kel Hasan Efendi” and “Komik Hasan Efendi.” Documents also reveal a series of other performers like Şevki Efendi, Atıf Efendi, Fevzi Efendi, as mentioned previously, along with Tudori, Pavli, and Yorgaki Efendis.

5.4 Maintaining order in the domain of performances: Censorship and its challenges

The collected documents on the state's criminal approach towards performing arts during 1890-1908 in Istanbul lay out a historical ethnography of the bureaucratic

¹⁰¹ Aytaş, *Türk Tiyatro Eserleri I*.

¹⁰² Guidotti, “Carlo Goldoni,” 865-870.

¹⁰³ COA, DH.MKT 969.8

practices involving inspectors, censors, police stations, and officers. We learn, for example, of "Hayri Bey" or "Corci Efendi" reporting on censorship to their superiors, or of Galib and Refiki Mahmud Efendis, who oversaw Aziziye Police Station surveillance. In his book *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey*, Metin And points out that the officers assigned for censorship were often appointed from among the least competent people. The example of Yasefaçi, a censor of Jewish origin, was a case in point, as the appointed man knew almost nothing about theater, and had forbidden the performances of *La Fille du Tambour*, *Major Bébé*, *La grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*, *Otello*, *Le Roi S'Amuse* among some others.¹⁰⁴ Metin And also reminds us that in some parts of the play, this censor's intention was actually to remove certain words such as “conspire” or “conspirator.” One must understand today that he probably did change them, which explains why researchers find out about the censored documents but cannot chase the forbidden terminology in them.

Censorship had several dimensions, but it mainly concerned the “approval” of performances which included “*gayr-ı caiz*” (illicit) actions or a “*münasebetsiz*” (inappropriate) case. In this manner, the lyrics of songs and cantos were needed to be approved by the Press Directorate. The Directorate also controlled whether performances' announcements were issued with a proper permit. In this regard, script regulations were mainly concerned with “inappropriate expressions” in songs, plays, and cantos. In her book *Ordre et Désordres Dans L'Istanbul Ottoman (1879 - 1909)*, Noémi Lévy draws our attention to a consistent vocabulary used in documents regarding censorship during the late Hamidian period, most conspicuous ones being “*münasebetsizlik*” (impertinence), “*uygunsuzluk*” (inappropriateness), “*ahlaksızlık*”

¹⁰⁴ And, *A history of theatre and popular entertainment in Turkey*, 71-72.

(immorality) and “*adaba mugayirlik*” (ill mannerism).¹⁰⁵ In his before-mentioned book, Metin And also provides information regarding the state of theater performances at the turn of the 19th century. He underscores how rigid censorship has been the most critical barrier to any theater company or playwright's success.

Censorship was established during the reign of Abdülaziz and was reinforced and extended during Abdülhamid II's time. Although And sees this epoch as a period that emitted any contribution to the Ottoman theatricality, historians may disagree as the rigidity of this censorship allows them to see what took place on theatrical grounds at the end of the 19th century. In his review of this epoch, Metin And delineates the process of censorship as follows:

During the Hamidian rule, censorship worked in three different ways. First, every manuscript was submitted to the censor. In the beginning, this was to the Ministry of Interior. In later years, works were submitted to the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Police for their approval. Besides this, in every performance, an official was attending as a controlling force. The other kind of censorship was conditional; that which was found to be objectionable could be made regular with slight changes, suppressing inopportune passages, specific names of people, and localities. Alternatively, sometimes when a play to be performed was found objectionable, it would be reported to the authorities, who would demand prohibitory action. Nonetheless, performances that would have otherwise been lost in time were documented and later discovered by researchers thanks to censorship.¹⁰⁶

5.5 Inappropriateness: An elusive ground for criminalization

As it was portrayed in sub-chapter 5.1, the terminology used in most of the criminalization documents did not correspond to a specific crime. For example, one of the documents stated that in the play of the comedian Hasan Efendi, one of the actors had gone on stage in a “weird way and weird clothing” (*acayib hal ve kıyafet*). The same actor also expressed some “*malapropos* sayings” (*tefevvühat-ı bi-*

¹⁰⁵ Lévy, *Ordre et désordres dans l'Istanbul Ottoman (1879 - 1909)*. The justifications for criminalization are also listed as a chart in the Appendix B.

¹⁰⁶ And, *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey*, 21.

edebane), triggering the audience to respond.¹⁰⁷ In some cases, there were warnings about theatrical performances, which included speeches that were not in the initially approved script of the play.¹⁰⁸ In some other cases, the Press Directorate strongly forbade to hang “handwritten pamphlets,” as these were non-approved announcements put on public display. During the performance of “*Aşıklar*,” for instance, pamphlets in different colors, shapes, and handwriting were posted “here and there” (*öteye beriye*) by the theater company.¹⁰⁹ There were also warnings concerning actors' improvisation, which were considered as deviations from the approved script. The Press Directorate also targeted police officers, telling them to pay more attention to protect the prohibitions and avert any conversations outside the script. It also asked them to be careful about *malapropos* situations and actions that may take place during the performance.¹¹⁰

A document sent from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Security on March 2, 1902, mentioned two comedians, Hasan Efendi and pantomimist Tudori. Apparently, the Press Directorate had not approved their performance at Concordia theater and other musical performances at Commerce and Cardial musical coffeehouses. According to the Press Directorate, stated the Ministry of Interior, these performances included illicit actions, expressed as “*gayr-ı caiz*.” Therefore, the Press Directorate requested that the Beyoğlu Municipality should warn the managers and owners of theaters and musical coffeehouses.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ COA, DH.MKT 868.58

¹⁰⁸ COA, DH.MKT 969.8

¹⁰⁹ COA, DH.MKT 868.58

¹¹⁰ COA, DH.MKT 868.58

¹¹¹ COA, DH.MKT 2594.122

5.6 The power of the Press Directorate

As the head of the Press Directorate, Hıfzı Bey sent a document dated July 1, 1902, to the Ministry of Interior, informing them about an “inappropriate” case. His inspectors [...] ¹¹² Bey and Hayri Bey reported that songs in Turkish and other languages were performed at *Kilburnu Gazinosu*. The document stated that the establishment's owner should be reminded that the “canto notebooks should be approved” ¹¹³ by the Press Directorate first. If they refused to abide, it asked the Ministry of Security “to be informed and sent to duty.” ¹¹⁴ These documents show that the Press Directorate had developed an internal power within the state bureaucracy. We should note here that the Press Directorate was able to send requests and orders to the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Security in a roundabout way.

The Ministry of Interior issued another document on June 30, 1903, to the Ministry of Security. The document revealed that some plays staged at Beyoğlu Concordia Theater were performed in Italian, “without considering the implemented changes.” According to the Ministry of Interior, the statement was initially made regarding reports provided by the Press Directorate inspectors. The Ministry states that the Press Directorate asked the responsible people to be “warned recurrently” to prevent such events. However, when we look at the previously issued document - the one supposedly issued by the Press Directorate - we encounter the report issued back on June 27, 1903, by the Head of Press Directorate Hıfzı Bey to the Ministry of Interior. This document relates to the same issue: Hıfzı Bey requesting an order to be made for the Ministry of Security. Here, we learn that the Press Directorate did not

¹¹² I could not decipher the officer's name.

¹¹³ Meaning the lyrics and the notes of the songs that would be performed.

¹¹⁴ COA, DH.MKT, 2594.122

cease their effort of control with the script regulations, and they followed up these changes on stage via informers to make sure they are implemented.¹¹⁵

Another document pointed out a poster that was issued without a proper permit. The document was sent from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Justice on March 7, 1904. It stated that the poster of a play performed at the Concordia Theater was printed at Palamari Printing House “without a license.” The Press Directorate had issued a petition which asked the Ministry of Justice to take the necessary legal action. Indeed, two days before this petition, the Head of the Press Directorate Hıfzı Bey had asked the Ministry of Interior to warn, particularly the Ministry of Justice, about this issue. The circulation of these documents informs us that the scope of censorship also included posters published in printing houses. Moreover, in a similar way as the previous document, the Head of the Press Directorate Hıfzı Bey, seemed to be in a position of authority to ask the Ministry of Interior to take any action and give directions to the Ministry of Justice.

5.7 Criminalization of venues: Alcohol as an alibi

The fact that alcohol consumption coexisted with performance did not slip past the notice of the Ottoman Administration. The Ottoman State had quite an interesting relationship with the regulation of alcoholic beverages. The state experimented with banning alcohol during the rule of Selim III, but that turned out to fail seriously.¹¹⁶

Although alcoholic beverages were banned in Muslim-ran coffeehouses, Rum and Armenian coffeehouses served wine or rakı with coffee. Therefore, alcohol could be

¹¹⁵ COA, DH.MKT, 731.13

¹¹⁶ For a detailed survey on the control of alcohol consumption during the time of Selim III, see Başaran, Selim III, *Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century*.

consumed at both coffeehouses and winehouses, blurring the difference between these two venues.¹¹⁷

In accordance with the discussions in Chapter 3 regarding the increasing number of performative venues, in the 19th century, we see that alcohol companies, beerhouses, and winehouses that had already existed for a long time became much more popularized, especially with the entry of foreign capital to the Ottoman economy. However, in many instances, consumption of alcohol was reported in criminal documents as immoral behavior. For instance, according to a report issued on March 10, 1902, by the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Security officers detected that “Muslim people were publicly drinking.”¹¹⁸

An interesting incident occurred on 1893, May 11. In a report that was sent from the Aziziye Police Office to the Yıldız Palace, two people, Murtaza from “*Tüfengi-i hazret-i şehriyari bölüğü*”¹¹⁹ and “*mabeyn-i hümayun ketebes*”¹²⁰ Mehmed Efendi and “*Saray-ı Hümayun sandalcısı*”¹²¹ Salim Efendi were seen drinking and singing at night, around 3 o’clock at Panyolaki’s *baloz* (a place where people drink and dance) in Galata.¹²² Two actions were stated as crimes in this incident. The first is drinking with girls, singing with them, and being an anonymous “undisciplined person” (*başibozuk*).¹²³ The second crime was, although the soldiers were told that this was forbidden, they did not seem to hear the warning and opposed

¹¹⁷ Georgeon, F. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun son döneminde İstanbul kahvehaneleri,” 57.

¹¹⁸ “ahali-i müslümanın alenen müskirat istimal etmemeleri” COA, BEO.2299.172385

¹¹⁹ The armed section of the palace.

¹²⁰ Officer of the Palace secretary.

¹²¹ Boatman at the Palace.

¹²² COA, Y.PRK.ASK.90.40

¹²³ Başibozuk can also be defined as an irregular soldier. “Although evident throughout the century, the unevenness of this system manifested distinctive characteristics at various moments and in various parts of the Empire. During the mid-19th century, for example, Ottoman authorities frequently employed regular army units, the gendarmerie, or irregular units of armed men (*başibozuk*) to ensure provincial security.” Özbek, “Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of The Late 19th-Century Ottoman Empire (1876–1908),” 52.

the police by saying, “I do not know/recognize you” (“sizi tanımam”) when he was being taken from there. As the story went on, later that night, Murtaza, Mehmed Efendi and Salih Efendi were taken to Aziziye Police Station under the surveillance of Galib and Refiki Mahmud Efendi. They were then given to a police officer to be taken to the navy. It is worth noting that although singing and drinking were not considered criminal actions themselves, just like in other examples, the state saw them as alibis of criminal activities. What is important here, regarding the issue that this research is tackling, is that the main problem pointed out is the consumption of alcohol and singing with women in a *baloz*: soldiers and Palace officials spending time in this venue is problematized.

Finally, we should be paying attention to a document issued by the Lieutenant of Beyoğlu, Mehmed, who most certainly problematized drinking venues. In a document he issued to the Ministry of Security, he stated the following:

Winehouses are being left open until the morning, and many shameful situations are happening [there and] at the brothels. Inappropriate women from the brothels are constantly singing at coffeehouses, casinos, and winehouses and gallivanting on the street with men in a malapropos manner. Because of this, there turns out to be all sorts of unacceptable behavior, and warning alone is not helping such behavior to vanish. [...] Similarly, the sound of the drunk [people], caused by keeping the casinos and winehouses at Beşiktaş and Boğaziçi open until the morning, intervenes the resting of the public. The Beşiktaş Commissary reported that the residents of the area want to ban this.¹²⁴

5.8 Non-Muslims as potential criminals

In many cases, we see that the problem of “disorderliness” is attributed to the non-Muslim populations. For example, in one document, it was reported that the inspectors of the Press Directorate spotted inappropriate behavior among some of the

¹²⁴ COA, ZB 74.31

spectators during a cinematographic display at Beyoğlu Concordia Theater. However, it is worth marking that what was defined as inappropriateness was the action of whistling during the demonstration of German Emperor Wilhelm II's photographs. Moreover, it was emphasized that such inopportune behaviors were not endemic to the Ottoman State,¹²⁵ at least not to the Muslim citizens of the Empire, and it was therefore argued that this should have been the work of “some non-Muslims.”

To understand why whistling could have been considered a criminal act, we must look at the historical context. The early 1900s was a significant period for political *amitié* between Sultan Abdülhamid II and Kaiser Wilhelm II. From the initiated Ottoman assistance to the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion, from creating Berlin-Baghdad Railway to the Keiser Wilhelm II's visits, the alliance was garnished with the emphasis of Kaiser's support and admiration for the Islamic brotherhood and the policies of the Sultan in that direction.¹²⁶ Ottoman State was so cautious not to let any event that would jeopardize this relationship happen that a critical action towards the German Emperor was calumniated on the non-Muslim community without a second thought. The ambiguity created by using an empty signifier as a legal binder here is one of many cases via which the state aimed to ensure the survival of a scheduled political atmosphere.

¹²⁵ ”...Memleketimizde şimdiye kadar tiyatrolarca bu gibi münasebetsizlik vukuu müşahid olmamasıyla bunun huzzar meyanında bulunan bazı eşhas-ı gayrimüslime tarafından vukua getirilmiş olup...” COA, DH.MKT 801.60

¹²⁶ See “Keiser Wilhelm II and the political economy of personal diplomacy” in Yorulmaz, “Arming the Sultan,” 133-176; Soy, “II. Wilhelm, Weltpolitik ve II. Abdülhamid,” 25-33.

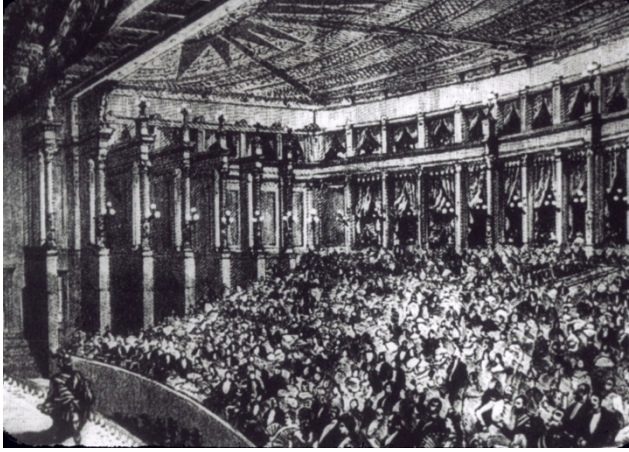


Figure 10. Depiction of a theater in the 19th century, from SALT Online Archive.

We encounter a similar attitude in a document issued back on December 10, 1890. There, the document not only criminalized the performance of the famous play *Richelieu*, but it also required a Rum officer, Yorgaki Efendi, to be expelled from his position at the representative commission of Beyoğlu Municipality and his position as an officer at the Ministry of Education, for granting license to the play. While the reason for the criminalization is not officially disclosed, Yorgaki Efendi was accused, bearing in mind his proficiency in Rum language.¹²⁷ The document argued that *Richelieu*, a play that should not have been licensed, was licensed and performed. According to the officers, since the play was nonetheless performed in Rum language, it could have only been Yorgaki Efendi from the License Commission. One can frankly see here that Yorgaki Efendi's identity (thus, ability to speak the language) as a Rum was the excuse provided by *Sadaret*,¹²⁸ and this situation required his expulsion from his positions. Following this, the document called upon the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Interior to hire another linguistically proficient officer for the same task. However, this time, they required

¹²⁷ The document uses the phrase *Rumca* (Rum language) instead of *Yunanca* (Greek), which is why I decided to use this term.

¹²⁸ The office of the Grand Vizier.

that this person should be of the *people of Islam*.¹²⁹ The document's discourse indicates the assumed incapability of a Rum person to make the desired judgments to decide what should be and what should not be performed. The urge to implement the action without warning the officer summons us to recognize an intense aspiration to promote Muslimhood as the desired quality for the officers working on performing arts, and more importantly, working on disciplining it.

One could see a parallel between this incident and another document issued by the First Secretary to the Palace (*Serkatib-i Şehriyari*), Tahsin Pasha. He stated that it was reported to him that “some harmful plays” were being performed at Aptalikos Gazinosu in Beyoğlu, Taksim. Therefore, censorship should be carried in a way that does not let such inappropriateness happen. To secure it, if the censors are not enough, “a few more moral men should be added to the office.”¹³⁰ When we ponder on the issue, we can understand that Tahsin Pasha was trying to delegitimize the positions of Press Directorate officers who do not work in cooperation with the Palace by calling them “immoral men” in a roundabout way, just like the Ministry of Education implied that Yorgaki Efendi was incapable of making moral decisions.

Tahsin Pasha appears in another interesting case. In a document from July 14, 1889, a warning by the office stated that there would be a feast in celebration of the founding of the French Republic by the France Trade Association (probably Union Française) at Concordia Theater. Furthermore, it was reported that La Marseillaise would be sung, “republican plays” performed, and orations would be made. Upon this, a petition was issued in Zilkade 16, 1306 (the same day). It was then reported that the Mayor of Beyoğlu, Monsieur Blacque, was called to “the palace” (Mabeyn-i

¹²⁹ “...işbu komisyon azalığına Maarif nezaretince Rumca bilir ve evsaf-ı matlubeye haiz ehl-i islamdan birinin tayini...” COA, A}MKT.MHM, 501.44

¹³⁰ I.HUS, 107.4

Hümayun) but remained absent. It was thought that he could not give a lawful answer to his questioning due to him being the one who issued the permit, so he was “faking being sick” (temaruz etmek). Therefore, Artin Paşa would orally inform the necessary people in order to carry the following at the venue mentioned above: Eliminating parts of to-be-performed performances that would suggest republican ideas to the public, banning the demonstration of the image at the end of the play, and a collective singing of La Marseillaise by forty-fifty actresses and banning if anything is done that would approve or support these ideas or more.¹³¹

5.9 Gatherings, spreading news, and European connections

A document dating to October 17, 1896, sent from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Interior, informed the latter of a dangerous act: Reading newspapers aloud coming from Europe out loud in coffeehouses. A second document followed up this request on November 21, 1896, sent from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Education, which ensured that the Ministry of Security was warned and informed about the issue.¹³² The reading of newspapers aloud in coffeehouses was also seen as a dangerous act. If one wonders why this action was criminalized, it should be kept in mind that the literacy rate was not that high at the time. The performance may look very mundane, but reading journals or newspapers coming from Europe could spread certain news whose content might concern the Palace.¹³³

¹³¹ COA, İ.HR 338-21909

¹³² COA, MF.MKT, 339.47

¹³³ In *Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals*, Ersoy argues that “overall exposure to printed material must have been wider due to the survival of oral and collective reading practices in the family and in the public realm – many reading rooms (kıra’athanes) in larger Ottoman towns, Serafim’s kira’athane being the most popular in Istanbul, carried copies of major newspapers and journals” due to the low literacy rate at the time. See Ersoy, *Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals*, 337.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the Ottoman administration tried to control the flow of information pertaining to the “West.” In this manner, certain criminal documents were related to the office of Foreign Affairs, where the performers belonged to other nationalities. For example, documents mention Mr. Silvi and Pavli of Italian citizenship, along with Mösyö Gilles Vaille, who lived at the hotel in Beyoğlu Grande Rue de Péra Street (Cadde-i Kebir). In this document, which was issued in 1893, September 4, we see that the state wanted to control musical gatherings. For instance, it “was inquired that a (musical) society was formed under the management of Pavli of Italian citizenship and their teacher (also of the same citizenship) Mösyö Gilles Vaille” and that “people gathered on August 5, Thursday night at the place called Sosyete Opera, which is located next to the hat store of Baltazar”. According to the document, Mr. Silvi, Pavli, and 14 other people who formed the community rented the main salon of Sosyete Opera, met there at night, and “collected money for the rent.” The document reminded that “such communities should not be formed without a license.”¹³⁴

In this regard, one could argue that the state wanted to control the musical societies because they were places where communication among different people happened. This position could be evaluated in parallel with previous examples of circumventing the communication among visitors, such as the criminalization of European magazines being read aloud.

Some of the documents related to foreigners consist of their complaints. An intriguing document is issued by a singer named Marika Anglize on two occasions. First, on September 12, 1903, she stated as follows:

Although I earned a living as a musician without problem for many years in nearby provinces, the Kozani commissaire objects [my work] regardless of a

¹³⁴ COA, DH.MKT 126.1

reason. Because I am in [such] miserable condition, I am wailing and pleading for the embassy to issue an order.¹³⁵

On April 4, 1904, she sent a petition to the public office of Salonica.¹³⁶

It is legally permitted to perform [art] in the Empire. Being coffeehouse singers is the source of income for my company of 7 people. Even though nothing has happened, we are banned from performing arts. In this regard, I kindly ask coffee singer[ship] to be allowed in this “great” country.¹³⁷

Here we see that the singer wants an embassy to intervene. Even though the telegraph is in French, we must keep in mind that the *lingua franca* of the time was French. Therefore, Marika could be of any nationality. Perhaps she was asking for an order from the embassy because she was not an Ottoman subject.¹³⁸

5.10 On the visibility of women in performative venues

We encountered one other case of a work prohibition of a woman back on April 8, 1890. In a document that was sent from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Security, it was claimed that Amelia, who was working as a waitress at a musical bar (çalgılı gazino) in Galata, was be prohibited from working by Beyoğlu Municipality (Mutasarrıflık) police council and this affected her income negatively. Amelia herself stated this ban, and the Ministry of Interior wanted the Ministry of Security to “take the necessary action about her petition.”¹³⁹

Here it is pretty interesting to see once again, as it was in the case of Marika Anglize, that the intervention of the police disabled non-Muslim women from venues of entertainment as waitresses or singers. In both cases, women filed complaints and provided reasons for compensation. This situation shows us that the field of

¹³⁵ COA, TFR.I.ŞKT 19.1835

¹³⁶ Selanik Rum İli Müfettişi

¹³⁷ Memalik-i mahrusa-i şahane

¹³⁸ It is possible that this could be Marika Papagika.

¹³⁹ COA, DH.MKT 1715.62

entertainment also functioned as a business venue for some people. Especially women, who often faced difficulties in employment, could join the economic system through the performing arts domain. The ban persisted, nevertheless. In 1908, the Ministry of Security sent a document to the Municipality of Beyoğlu. This document stated that coffeehouse owner Yorgi (whose establishment was located in Galata Topçu Avenue no.119) should not keep server girls and singers in his establishment.

A case regarding a woman going on stage and sketching on site appears among the issues reported to the Ministry of Interior by the Press Directorate.¹⁴⁰ A woman went on stage at Beyoğlu Concordia Theater and drew the images of some random people “who were there, prepared” (huzzar).¹⁴¹ It was stated that “the people who were chosen were not previously identified” and that there might be a “possibility that an inappropriate (hilaf-ı marazî) event occurred.” This event was regarded as “wrong” (gayr-ı caiz) and “worth surveilling” by the Press Directorate.

5.11 The image of the Sultan and the Empire

An accusation of inappropriateness appears within a document issued in February 1904. It was depicted in the document that during a performance in one of the theaters at Beyoğlu Halep Market, two comedians discussed where each other came from.¹⁴² One comedian replied as “(we are) coming from Istanbul” and added, “don't you see our medals?” while displaying his ragged clothes and pieces of tin. Seemingly, this action has infuriated then head of the Press Directorate, İbrahim Hıfzı Efendi, and he filed a complaint about the Ministry of Security implying that the institution lacked the ability to prevent such events from happening, despite

¹⁴⁰ COA, DH.MKT 907.31

¹⁴¹ This could also mean “the audience”.

¹⁴² COA, DH.MKT 827.40

multiple remarks made by the Directorate and called upon the Ministry of Interior to warn Ministry of Security officials more strictly.

This act of the comedians disturbed Press Directorate officials to such an extent that the Press Directorate, Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Security were urged to intervene. This intervention doubtlessly signifies that the concern went beyond the slippery and ambiguous grounds of so-called inappropriateness. The reason for the criminalization and demoralization of the action was to prevent the public from ridiculing the Sultan. As argued by Sohrabi, Abdülhamid II was granting scads of medals and ranks during various celebrations at that time.¹⁴³ Therefore, portraying someone worthy of Abdülhamid's medal with "ragged clothes" was most likely seen as an attempt to humiliate the Sultan. In *Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals*, Ahmet Ersoy discusses the importance of imagery and image management to Sultan Abdülhamid II and the Ottoman State. According to Ersoy, Sultan Abdülhamid saw visual imagery as a powerful political tool, and he "surrounded himself with a multimedia environment for collecting and archiving information."¹⁴⁴ In *The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908*, Selim Deringil explores the symbolism and its uses during the Hamidian rule. The author argues that symbols such as heraldry and the fez could be seen as imperial symbols being planted to everyday life, and Sultan Abdülhamid's depictions were being used in many state offices. Commemorative iconography also became prominent, particularly with the use of the state almanacs.¹⁴⁵ In a parallel fashion, in

¹⁴³ Sohrabi, *Revolution and constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran*, 65.

¹⁴⁴ Ersoy, *Ottomans and the kodak galaxy: Archiving everyday life and historical space in Ottoman illustrated journals*, 339.

¹⁴⁵ Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908," 10. Moreover, the author underscores the endeavor of the Hamidian regime to embed the imperial language into people's vocabulary. He draws a parallel to Anderson's example of Russification, where

primary source documents we see the terms morality and opportuneness were used to maintain the desired political power.

The reputation of the Empire was also important. Efforts to protect the image of the ruler and the state proceed in the Second Constitutional Era. Although there was relative softening of censorship during the Second Constitutional Era after the Committee of Union and Progress takeover, performing arts was still seriously under surveillance. A document that was sent from Beyoğlu Precinct to the Directorate of General Security in 1909 stated, “When Hasan and Şevki('s companies) perform plays around Beyoğlu, a lot of miserable people gather” and the author resembles the theater to “a gathering of bugs.”¹⁴⁶ He argued that “Many of these come for belly-dancing neck-bending canto singers. Indeed, with these canto singers, these theaters turn into a cafe-chantant.” Here we see that the author saw cafe-chantant as disgraceful places. He finally asked for canto musicians to be banned from performing in theaters: “In order to scatter these bugs to some extent and to threaten the disgrace of these theaters that show “Ottomanness” in an ugly manner, canto musicians must definitely be banned in Ottoman theaters.” Once again, we see that how the performance is perceived is more crucial than what the content is.

5.12 Resistance to censorship

All these criminal documents also show how resistance to censorship was also in the picture. The increasing tone of the Press Directorate confirmed that there were deviances from the enforced rules and regulations. In a document, we see that Hıfzı Bey asked the Ministry of Interior that the Ministry of Security “should be told” that

Russia utilized standardization policies and uniforming attempts in the education system to reach this goal. Ibid, 5. And Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 82-103.

¹⁴⁶ COA, DH.EUM.THR 93.62

the police officers should be paying close attention to implement such prohibitions well and “to issue punishment for theater owners” who do not follow the warnings. The correspondence between these offices showed how theater companies acted in such opposing manners and performing plays that were not approved. It could be possible that most theater managers took the risk of trespassing the boundaries to attract more audiences and making sure that they enjoyed the content of their performances. By the time they got caught, they might have acquired enough income and acclaim.¹⁴⁷

A document reveals a case in point in Salonica, where *Asır*, a newspaper, mentions a play that the theater company would perform under the management of Şevki Efendi. However, İbrahim Hıfzı, who realized that no such play was among the record of plays approved by the Press Directorate, stated that its performance should be banned. He particularly warned the Salonica City Council “to be ordered to send every necessary play to be inspected and approved.”¹⁴⁸ This document shows how Şevki Efendi took the risk of launching his repertoire despite the pressure on them.

5.13 Conclusion

This chapter canvassed certain documents from the Ottoman State Archives regarding the criminalization of the domain of performing arts. The actors, singers, or company managers were penalized for different performances, yet they were

¹⁴⁷ We see a similar case in the memoir of Ubeydullah Efendi, who escaped Hamidian Istanbul and went as far as the Chicago World Fair in 1893. There, he met Hakkı Paşa and Bustani Efendi who were both in charge of the Ottoman Pavillion. Ubeydullah Efendi volunteers to be a reporter for *Musavver Şikago Sergisi*, the Ottoman Newsletter for the Exhibition. The concern about his oppositional stance to Sultan Abdülhamid was quickly overlooked, when Hakkı Paşa said that by the time he asks the approval from the Palace, and got a reply, the Exhibition would end. See Alkan, (der.) 1989 *Sıradışı Bir Jön Türk Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Amerika Hatıraları*, İletişim Yayınları, s.152; 174-175; Varlık, “Musavver Şikago Sergisi (1893),” 35-42.

¹⁴⁸ COA, DH.MKT 466.2

considered inappropriate, ill-mannered, or harmful on account of similar crimes. The fact that different actions lead to similar consequences orients us towards questioning the political connotations behind criminalization because the petitions lack a solid, coherent definition of what the associated crimes were. The lack of license is an issue where there can be consensus; there was consistent regulation on the control of the printed material and what could be censored.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, other terms, such as *gayr-i caiz* or *münasebetsiz*, function as empty signifiers here. As a matter of fact, what is interesting, is that they are legally binding despite their subjective nature. Because these legally binding words are empty signifiers, not the words, but criminalized actions can tell us about the political concerns of the time. Thus, the documents also presented us the historical ethnography and the mentality of the Ottoman State vis-à-vis the domain of performing arts.

¹⁴⁹ Boyar, “The Press and the Palace: The Two-Way Relationship Between Abdülhamid II and the Press, 1876–1908,” 417-432.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Research on the history of performing arts in the Ottoman world has been a growing domain, where new perspectives arise in terms of content, methodology, and comparative analyses. There is a clear difference between medieval and early modern performances and the new theatrical space that developed during the modernization process of the 19th century. With Istanbul's encounter with urbanization as the imperial capital city had its particularities, everyday life performances varied alongside theatrical events.

This thesis examined the realm of entertainment in late 19th century Istanbul, using criminal documents, which have, in fact, combined two domains of Ottoman historiography. These domains are namely performing arts and social control. The research benefitted primarily from documents of the Ottoman State Archives, which reported interventions in performance-related sites like theaters, coffeehouses, and other urban gathering spaces, including winehouses or beerhouses. When my research interest in the history of performing arts in 19th century Istanbul started with my pursuit of rebetiko, I expected that the archival documents would disclose information on the different aspects of this particular genre and its performers and performance contexts. Given that many performers migrated to Greece, Europe, and even the United States for job opportunities, I was also hoping to reach documents on their migration. Although my search for such inquiries ended in disappointment, oral history accounts highlighted another aspect of rebetiko performance milieus: trespassing some social and legal codes. Many of the rebetiko performers were often

involved in drugs or wrote protest lyrics, offering a domain of criminalization that enabled the researcher to look at performances from another perspective.



Figure 11. Inside of a Turkish coffeeshouse by Bergrenn, from SALT Online Archives.

This starting point led me to research criminal charges and censorship imposed on sites where rebetiko was performed. The criminal records that I collected from the Ottoman State Archives displayed a variety of criminalization cases, whose subtexts included glimpses of genres, sites, and performers of many other musical and theatrical performances. Bringing us to the actual places where performative events took place, documents also provided us with a historical ethnography of the late Ottoman scene of performing arts. Documents also revealed two types of performativity: cultural performances of music, dance, or drama, and the everyday life performance of state authorities. In his analysis of performance, Richard

Schechner approaches this issue by distinguishing between “is performance” and “as performance.” He calls attention to the interwoven nature of different forms of performativities. “As” performance refers to all human activities where “social roles are enacted,” while “is” performance involves more definite events enacted in their traditional context. He states, “Any behavior, event, action, or thing, can be studied “as” performance,” whereas “is” performance refers to more definite, bounded events marked by context, convention, usage, and tradition.”¹⁵⁰ The documents from the Ottoman Archives were informative in both domains. While informing us about the sites, genres, and performances of late 19th century Istanbul, they also took us to the historical ethnography of bureaucracy, where state control was executed.

The correspondence among state officials presented the codes of enacting social control in between different administrative departments. Be it “as” performance, or “is” performance, Beverly Stoeltje, and Richard Bauman remind us how performances are “public enactments in which a culture is encapsulated, enacted, placed on display for itself and outsiders.” ¹⁵¹ In that sense, the criminal records related to the late Ottoman performances encapsulated the culture of bureaucracy and entertainment, thus showing the late Ottoman society's political, social, and cultural features.

In addition to this, the documents also provide materials to work with from the aspect of archival ethnography. Archival ethnography is a historical research method that examines the institution of “archive” as a domain of fieldwork. By taking the context of the archive in the center, archival ethnography involves an ethnographic sensibility. “Just like an ethnographer”, the researcher observes details of the ordinary functioning of the archive, trying to deduce beyond what meets the

¹⁵⁰ See Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, 40-49.

¹⁵¹ See Stoeltje & Bauman, “The Semiotics of Cultural Performance,” 585-599.

eye.¹⁵² To begin with, the people who put the archives together and the ones who use them later on – which Ritter calls “the own inheritors” of a community – are significant in this manner. Moreover, she adds:

Like an anthropologist, an archival ethnographer works with what is available, and in doing so not only represents the history of the people and places (and events) narrated within these archives, but also shapes a past community in order to revoice its legacy, and materialize its beliefs and values. Consequently, the archival ethnographer also assumes the values and position of the original archivist, knowing only what remains, never what was lost.¹⁵³

An example of this idea can be seen in Sinem Erdoğan-İşkorkutan's article, *Chasing Documents at the Ottoman Archive: An Imperial Circumcision Festival Under Scrutiny*. In her research, the author focuses on personal ties, preferences, and the backgrounds of people who were involved in the documentation process. She reminds that there was a shift towards an expansion in documentation starting from the late 16th century Ottoman Empire.¹⁵⁴

It is crucial to keep in mind that different factors determine the documentation process and the “final product” as well. As Ferreira-Buckley argues, because it is molded by different perspectives, theories, and positions, the historical account “is subject to challenge and hence to revision, small and large”.¹⁵⁵ On the other hand, from a methodological viewpoint, searching for performing arts history through criminal records provided us with a new prospect. These primary sources presented a historical ethnography of the sites, performers, and performances of the

¹⁵² For a comprehensive study on archival ethnography, on which this description is based, see Decker & McKinlay, “Archival ethnography.”

¹⁵³ Ritter, *Archival Research in Composition Studies: Re-Imagining the Historian's Role*, 474.

¹⁵⁴ This shift was a direct outcome of the sociopolitical and institutional transformations. In this situation, the government offices like the Grand Vizier became more influential in state affairs. At this time, the scribal community attached to the Grand Vizier and the Imperial Chancery grew significantly. Because these offices separated from the palace physically and institutionally, record-keeping increased during the 1700s and 1800s. Scribal services also became essential as a consequence of progressing bureaucratization in international relations. See Erdoğan-İşkorkutan, “Chasing Documents at the Ottoman Archive,” 161-162.

¹⁵⁵ Buckley et al., “Rhetorical Historiography and the Octalogs,” 247.

late Ottoman scene of performing arts. They also showed how criminalization generates a research tool for social historians. However, one should remember that many details lacked regarding the restrained performances, alongside performances that authorities intervened but did not issue any report. Future research can also benefit from a more in-depth exploration of the European primary sources like newspapers, pamphlets, and biographies of visiting performers. In most cases, for instance, we do not know what happened to the criminalized performers. Considering that many were European citizens, it is highly possible that many returned to Europe and performed in venues where there was much less censorship. Therefore, this thesis is an early attempt to discover some of the unfound performances in the Ottoman archives, which hopes to contribute to the growing literature on the history of Ottoman performing arts.

Research on the history of performing arts will develop further, focusing on the study of performance in everyday life and entertainment and seasonal festivities in the provinces. Given the differences between urban and non-urban performances, new research on the history of Ottoman performing arts and social control should take localities and temporalities into consideration. This study limited itself to the urban Istanbul context, focusing mainly on Beyoğlu and Kadıköy neighborhoods. It also confines itself to the inter-constitutional era.

The thesis began by providing an insight into the existing literature on performing arts and social order in Ottoman Istanbul, focusing on the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The significance of the primary sources is discussed at the beginning of the introduction. The reflexivity of the researcher is also canvassed, given the fact that the researcher is undoubtedly biased and that this had an impact on the outcome of the research. Such a stance could be evaluated in parallel with the

researcher's awareness and concerns in archival ethnography. Just as we should approach the archives as “real institutions,” being self-conscious in historical research explains why the author presents specific research outcomes.¹⁵⁶ In this regard, Hayden White's argument regarding historiography's relation to the current social system bears utmost relevance: “The more historically self-conscious the writer of any form of historiography, the more the question of the social system and the law which sustains it, the authority of this law and its justification, and threats to the law occupy his attention.”¹⁵⁷ As stated before, acknowledging this possibility enables future researchers to take the matter on a different path, analyzing from a different perspective, enriching the existing literature on Ottoman history.

Although difficulties arose due to the language barrier in the archives and founded materials being relatively raw, this research provided an in-depth analysis of the documents with a careful contextualization. It also provided an insight into different aspects of the society in Ottoman Istanbul between 1878 and 1908. First of all, the venues where performances took place – coffeehouses, theaters, or unions, for instance - contributed to community-making. Considering the communicative nature of performing arts and its venues, one could argue that they had the capacity to bring people from different cultures and different backgrounds together. It should be kept in mind that most of these were owned by either non-Muslims or European foreigners. It could be argued that the authorities feared the possibility of Ottoman subjects being influenced by “Western” plays, challenge the existing status quo, and form alliances with some non-Muslims, who were occasionally seen as perpetrators of immoral actions. Such cases could have been seen in the cases of Yorgaki Efendi

¹⁵⁶ See Ritter, “Archival Research in Composition Studies: Re-Imagining the Historian's Role,” 461-478; Schwartz & Cook, “Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory,” 1-19.

¹⁵⁷ White, “The Value of Narrativity,” 17.

and the criminalization of whistling against Keiser Wilhelm II. Authorities could have also feared that these venues would gather people of the same ethnic and linguistic identities, creating an ethnic-nationalist awareness. This claim would not be far-fetched, keeping in mind that many of the post-Ottoman nation-states were formed and recognized as independent states in the 19th century: Greece in 1830, Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro in 1878, and Bulgaria in 1908. Indeed, it was not a coincidence that the famous nationalist play of Namık Kemal, *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, was published in 1878. These venues were eligible for disseminating ideas not just at a local level but also on an international level. Indeed, that is most likely why we see reading the newspapers coming from Europe out loud was forbidden if the Press Directorate did not approve them.¹⁵⁸

Enabling people from different backgrounds to gather could also have challenged the existing status quo in terms of social codes, such as class awareness and gender. In *Eğlenirken Modernleşmek: Meyhaneden Baloz, İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e İstanbul*, Kabagöz argues the following:

It does not matter if the venues are named as baloz, cafes, casinos, bars, or pubs. All sorts of entertainment are available [everywhere]. One can listen to a non-Muslim woman's canto performance, dance, watch acrobatics, chat with the waitresses and satisfy the need for a woman to talk and flirt with, and even get prostitution services in rooms, the first examples of which can be found in old taverns. This polyphonic structure of these new spaces also manifests itself in their orchestras. Orchestras with alaturca and alafranga instruments could play the waltz or polka and switch to ney or oud pieces. In other words, these new entertainment places are the manifestations of Beyoğlu bonmarches in entertainment that contains all kinds of irrelevant products. All kinds of entertainment services are provided here [at the entertainment venues] at the same time. These features make these spots of entertainment “unidentified.” In other words, it is possible to talk about a baloz as a bar or a casino as a pub. [This is] because there is no definite

¹⁵⁸ The M.A. Thesis of Seren Akyoldaş submitted to Boğaziçi University, Department of History, explores the influence of music as a medium that demonstrates the political context of its era, particularly focusing on the German Club Teutonia, which was also mentioned in Chapter 3. See Akyoldaş, *Instrumentalization of Music in the Late Ottoman Empire: The case of the Teutonia*.

difference between them. On the other hand, this indefinability, this lack of identity, gives these spaces a “multi-identity”.¹⁵⁹

The venues were most likely seen as disorderly and disorganized, making it difficult for the authorities to keep the consumed content under control. Moreover, one could argue that this sort of ambiguity among the audience was the very factor that enabled people from different classes (and therefore bearing diverse social codes) to spend time together, threatening rigid categorizations of the social structure. Such an attitude could also be found in the early years of Ottoman coffeehouses by Mustafa Ali, a renowned Ottoman bureaucrat from the 16th century. In *Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings*, the author discussed why coffeehouses were inappropriate and why the state should surveil them.¹⁶⁰

Finally, this research pointed out the discussions on the visibility of women in public, pertaining to the venues of performance. Be it a singer, a waitress, a canto dancer, or simply a woman going on stage, the presence of women caused interventions on the part of the state. The criminalization presented in documents was never as straightforward as “a woman went on stage” or “they performed.” These actions were only represented as alibis of other crimes. The crimes were presented within the slippery, vague, flu categorization of “inappropriateness”. In one of the documents, we see that gallivanting in the street until the morning, working at a brothel or a coffeehouse, turned women into “immoral women.”

In some cases, certain women who were new in these practices were presented as “deceived by immoral women.” However, these reactions were nothing but foreseeable. Before the 19th century, the public space was not as urban, and it

¹⁵⁹ Kabagöz, *Eğlenirken Modernleşmek: Meyhaneden Baloza, İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e İstanbul*, 218.

¹⁶⁰ Brookes, *Tables of delicacies concerning the rules of social gatherings: An annotated translation of gelibolulu Mustafa Âli's mevâ'idü'n- nefâ'is fî kavâ'idü'l-mecâlis*.

was usually pre-defined for women and men separately. The emergence of alternative public places in these performative venues, a new framework where people could gather to spend time regardless of their gender or social class, where women and men could go together, caused a profound societal change. In this regard, it can be argued that a part of the Ottoman modernization process is reflected in the domain of entertainment. In fact, the domain of entertainment was and still is a “rehearsal” for the quotidian life.¹⁶¹ Women, who were less visible than men in other aspects of life, started becoming visible in the field of entertainment. Singers, waitresses, and other performers normalized women's visibility outside the domestic sphere and women's participation in the labor force. This process enabled women to become active participants of society, eventually paving the way for the installation of gender equality. Although these women and other criminalized performers were outcasted, as can be evidently observed in the documents from the Ottoman Archives, they were the vanguards of the Ottoman society. After all, people who fail or refuse to abide by the restrictions imposed by political authorities are usually ostracized. However, once the vanguards proceed living so regardless of these restrictions, end up as pioneers of societal change.

¹⁶¹ Kabagöz, *Eğlenirken Modernleşmek: Meyhaneden Baloz, İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e İstanbul*, 222.



Figure 12. “The most artistic woman of our stage: Madam Eliza Binemeciyan”. From SALT Online Archive.

APPENDIX A
LIST OF DOCUMENTS

Documents From the Ottoman State Archives

(T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivleri)

1. DH.MKT 1592.111 (1889, February 10)
2. DH.MKT.1748.107 (1890, August 6)
3. A.MKT.MHM, 501.44 (1890, December 10)
4. Y.PRK.ASK.90.40_001 (1893, May 10)
5. Y.PRK.ASK.90.40_002 (1893, May 11)
6. DH.MKT 126.11_001 (1893, September 4)
7. DH.MKT 126.11_002 (1893, August 29)
8. MF.MKT, 339.47_001 (1896, October 17)
9. MF.MKT, 339.47_002 (1896, November 21)
10. İ.HUS 88.49 (1901, April 22)
11. DH.MKT, 2594.122 (1902, March 2)
12. DH.MKT 466.2 (1902, April 1)
13. DH.MKT 486.63_001 (1902, April 24)
14. DH.MKT 486.63_002 (1902, February 27)
15. DH.MKT 486.63_003 (1902, April 11)
16. DH.MKT 486.63_004 (Date unidentified)
17. DH.MKT 532.26_001 (1902, June 24)
18. DH.MKT 532.26_002 - (1902, June 30)
19. DH.MKT, 731.13_001 (1903, June 27)

20. DH.MKT, 731.13_002 (1903, June 30)
21. I.HUS, 107.4 (1903, June 29)
22. TFR.I.ŞKT, 19.1835 (1903, September 12)
23. DH.MKT 792.74_001 (1903, November 2)
24. DH.MKT 792.74_002 (1903, November 2)
25. DH.MKT 792.74_003 (1903, December 13)
26. DH.MKT 792.74_004 (1903, December 27)
27. DH.MKT 801.60 (1903, November 18)
28. DH.MKT 827.40_001 (1904, February 24)
29. DH.MKT 827.40_002 (1904, February 24)
30. DH.MKT 827.11_001 (1904, March 7)
31. DH.MKT 827.11_002 (1904, March 7)
32. TFR.I.SKT 35.3492 (1904, April 4)
33. DH.MKT 868.58 (1904, July 4)
34. DH.MKT 868.58_002 (1904, July 6)
35. DH. MKT. 868.58_001_001 (August 10, 1904)
36. DH.MKT 907.31 (1904, November 1)
37. DH.MKT 969.8 (1905, June 11)
38. ZB 385.11 (1906, March 19)
39. DH.MKT 1131.67_001 (1906, November 26)
40. DH.MKT 1131.67_002 (1906, December 1)
41. DH.MKT 1259.91 (1908, June 9)
42. ZB 74.31 (1908, August 18)
43. DH.EUM.THR 93.62 (1909, December 29)

APPENDIX B

TERMINOLOGY OF REASONS FOR CRIMINALIZATION

Document	Reason/Excuse
A}MKT.MHM.501.44 (December 10, 1890) DH.MKT.126.11 (September 4, 1893) DH.MKT.2594.122 (March 2, 1902)	gayr-i caiz (inpermissible)
MF.MKT.339.47 (October 17, 1896) I.HUS.107.4 (June 29, 1903)	mazarat (harmfulness)
DH.MKT.466.2 (April 1, 1902) DH.MKT.532.26 (June 24, 1902) DH.MKT.792.74 (December 27, 1903) DH.MKT.827.11 (March 7, 1904) DH.MKT.868.58 (July 4, 1904) DH.MKT.868.58 (July 6, 1904)	gayr-i musaddak & ruhsatsız (inapproved content)
DH.MKT.731.13 (June 27, 1903) DH.MKT 969.8 (June 11, 1905)	tayy ü tashihatın dikkate alınmaması (disregarding of the corrections)
DH.MKT.792.74 (November 2, 1903) DH.MKT 1131.67 (November 26, 1906)	adab-ı umumiyyeye muhalif usul (action against the common manners)
I.HUS.107.4 (June 29, 1903) DH.MKT.801 (November 18, 1903) DH.MKT.827.40 (February 24, 1904) DH.MKT.868.58 (July 4, 1904) DH.MKT.868.58 (July 6, 1904)	münasebetsizlik (inopportuneness)
DH.MKT.868.58 (July 4, 1904)	acayib kıyafet (weird clothing)
DH.MKT.868.58 (July 4, 1904) DH.MKT.792.74 (November 2, 1903)	tefevvühat-ı bi-edebane (mannerless speech)
DH.MKT.126.11 (September 4, 1893) DH.MKT 907.31 (November 1, 1904)	hilaf-ı marazi (morbid opposition)

APPENDIX C

DOCUMENT TRANSCRIPTIONS

1. Adliye Nezaret-i Celilesine,

Kazahat-ı lisanıyeye ictisar etmesinden dolayı maznunen firarda bulunan çalgıcı Leonidi oğlu Lamb[e]ro hakkında Urla Bidayet Mahkemesi İcra Dairesince gıyaben icra kılınan tahkikat-ı hafiyeyi mutazammin (olup Vilayet-i Bidayet Mahkemesi mu[...] umumi muavenetinden alelusul tevdi edilen) evrakın gönderildiğine dair abdiyet-i vilayetinden varid olan tahrirat evrak-ı mezkure ile beraber su[...]aid irsal kılınmış icra-yı icabına himmem-i aliyye-i nezaretpenahinin m[...] buyurulmak babında.

2. Fi 20 Zilhicce 307 ve Fi 5 Temmuz 306

Zabtiye Nezaret-i Aliyesine,

Makam-ı alilerinden muharrer işbu cevap müverra-yı malum-ı acizisi olup, mezkur gazino ve kahvehaneler - berüce işyar - şimdiye kadar nasıl açılıp kapatılıyor ise yine o yolda ve şuray-ı devlet kararı dairesinde devam-ı muamelelerine müsaade olunması ve karar-ı mezkurun muhafaza-i ahkamına itina buyurulması muvafık(-ı) maslahat olarak melfuz-ı mezkur leffen iade kılınmış olmakla ona göre iktizasının ifasına himmem-i aliyeleri derkar buyurulmak babında.

3. Beyoğlundaki tiyatrolarda oynanacak piyeslerde oynatılmazdan evvel teftiş ve muayenesiyle hazır olmayanların oynatılmasına ruhsat itası hakkında Maarif Nezaret-i Celileleriyle Beyoğlu mutasarrıflığından dahi birer memur bulunmak üzere altıncı daire belediye müdürü atuvfetlu Macid Bey Efendi hazretlerinin taht-ı seniyyede mahsusen teşekkül eden komisyonda Rum lisanına aşına olarak nezaret-i müşarünileyha nezaret-i celilelerin memurinin olup mezkur komisyon azalığında

bulunan Yorgaki efendiden mada kimse olmayacağından Rumca piyesler onun ruhsatıyla mevki-i temaşaaya vaz edilmekte olduğu ve halbuki bu defa mumaileyhin ruhsatıyla Rum tiyatrosunda Rumca olarak oynatılan “Richelieu” nam piyesin mazaratı cihhetiyle mevki-i temaşaaya vaz-ı kat caiz olmayan oyunlardan idüğü tahkik kılınmış ve bunun mesuliyeti bittabii mumaileyh Yorgaki efendiye ait bulunmuş olmasına mebni kendisinin hem Maarif Dairesindeki memuriyetinden hem de komisyon azalığından azliyle işbu komisyon azalığına Maarif nezaretince Rumca bilur ve evsaf-ı matlubeye haiz ehl-i islamdan birinin tayini hususuna irae-i seniyye Hazret-i padişahi şerefsanım olduğu mabeyn-i hümayuna baş kitabet-i celilesinden 29 Rebiyyülaher 308 tarihli tezkire hususuiye ile tebliğ kılınmış ve keyfiyete maruz dahiliye nezaret-i celilesine dahi bildirilmiş olmakla ber-mantuk-ı emr ü ferman-ı himmem Nezaret-i Celilelerince de iktiza-i halin icrasına himmet buyrulması siyakında tezkire.

4. Yıldız Sarayı hümayununda sandalcı olduğunu beyan eden bahriye mülazım-ı evvellerinden Salih Efendi. Bilasefir olduğu, Balada muharrer mumaileyh işbu gece saat üç raddelerinde Galata’da doğru yolda Panyolaki’nin balozunda isimleri badettahkik anlaşılan tufengi-i hazret-i şehriyari bölüğünden Murtaza ve mabeyn ketebelerinden Mehmed Efendiler birlikte kızlar ile işret ve daha ismi mechul bir başıbozuğa şarkı söyleyip ahenk etmekte oldukları haber alınıp gidilerek suret-i memnuiyet tebliğ olunmuş ise de işaa etmemiş ve müehheren bittahrib balozdan aşağı indirildikte sizi tanımam diyerek ve zabıtarımıza karşı muhalefette bulunması dahi her ne kadar kıyam edilmiş olduğu halde o esnada vürüd eden bahriye kanunlarından Galib ve Refiki Mahmud Efendilerin muavenetiyle aziziye karakolhanesine götürülüp sekri tasdik ettirilerek canib-i bahriyeye gönderilmek

üzere [...] zabıtına teslim edildiği maruzdur. Ol babda emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 28 Nisan 309

[...] Mahmud Bey

Kanun-ı Bahriye [...]

Kanun-ı kolhane Mehmed Lütü

Kanun-ı kolhane Muhammed Hilmi

Efendi-i mumaileyhanın sekr-i hal olduđu taraf arz etmeden tasdik kılındı.

Fi 21 Nisan 309

Aziziye Karakolhanesinde

ledelhavale

Muh[...] Mehmed Bey

5. Liman Kumandanlığı Kalemı, Aded 744,

Ser-i kimlari-i Hazret-i Şehriyari Cenab-ı Alisine,

Atuvfetlü Efendim Hazretleri,

Tüfengi-i hazret-i şehriyari bölüğünden Murtaza ve mabeyn-i hümayun ketebesinden

Mehmed Efendiler ile Saray-ı Hümayun sandalcılarından mülazım Salim Efendi[nin]

dün gece Galata'da Panyolaki'nin balozunda işret ve ahenk etmekte oldukları

görülerek kaldırılmış olduğuna dair Tophane ve Bahriye kanunları tarafından

müştereken verilen jurnal manzur-ı alileri buyurulmak üzere leffen ve mülazım

mumaileyh dahi memur-ı mahsusa terfiken irsal kılınmış olmakla muktazasının ifası

babında emr ü irade hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 29 Nisan 309

Liman Kumandanı Vekili

Hulusi

6. Fi 22 Safer 311 ve Fi 23 Ağustos 309, Şehremaneti Celilesine,
Beyoğlu'nda Büyük Cadde'de Sosyete Opera denilen mahalde İtalyalı çalgıcı Mösyö
Silvi ile tebaa-i merkureden Pavli vesaire tarafından bir musiki cemiyeti teşkil
olunarak ictima olunmakta ve levazım-ı tedarike için [...] bin akçe toplanmakta
olduğu tahkik ettirildiğine ve ruhsat-ı resmiye istihsal olunmaksızın cemiyet akdi
gayr-ı caiz bulunduğu binaen [...] nazar-ı dikkate alınması altıncı altıncı daire
belediye müdüriyetine tebliğ olduğu ve [...] havi [...] 17 Eylül/Ağustos 319 tarihli
tezkire-i aliyye-i asafaneleri [...]kedar [...]oldu. Filhakika ruhsat-ı resmiye istihsal
olunmayarak böyle cemiyetler akdi caiz olamayacağı cihhetle takayyüdat ve icraat-ı
aliyye-i daveraneleri muvafık hal ve maslahat olduğundan emsali hakkında cari
muameleye tevfikeyen icrarının ifasıyla beraber programının dahi bilmütalaa gerek
anda ve gerek ... vakıada hilaf-ı marazi bir şey görüldüğü halde keyfiyetin işar ve
itası hususuna himmem-i aliyye-i asafaneleri derkar buyurulmak babında.
[...]

7. Şehremaneti Mektubi kalemi, Aded 407,
Dahiliye Nezaret-i Celilesi Cenab-ı Alisine,
Devletlü efendim hazretleri,
Beyoğlu'nda Cadde-i Kebirde Latin Sokak'ta Sosyete Opera denilen mahalde
Şapkacı Baltazar'ın yanında serkeş/sakin İtalya tebaasından Pavli ile bunlara hocalık
eden şapkacının üzerindeki otelde bulunan tebaa-i merkureden Mösyö Gilles Vaille
nam kimsenin taht-ı idaresinde hafıyyen bir kulüp guşad edildiği ve ağustosun
beşinci perşembe gecesi bazı kimselerin ictima ettiği istihbar kılınması üzerine sabk
eden istilam-ı altıncı daire-i belediye müdüriyetinden alınan cevapta hass ü halbi icra
ettirilen tahkikattan mestyan olduğuna göre dersaadet'te serkeş/sakin Almanyalılar

ile sair tebaa-yı ecnebiyeden bazılarının kendilerine mahsus birer musiki cemiyetleri olduğu gibi İtalyalılara mahsus olmak üzere dahi böyle bir cemiyetin tesis ve teşkili zımnında icra-yı [...]giran eylemek için tebaa-yı merkumeden çalgıcı Mösyö Silvi'nin taht-ı riyasetinde olarak merkum Pavli ile daha on on dört kişiden merkeb bir cemiyet teşkil ederek şehri iki bira bedel icar ile mezkur operaya İtalyano nam cemiyet-i Hayriye merkezi salonu isticar kılınarak leylen merkume de orada içtima eyledikleri ve mezkur iki bira bedel icarın tesviyesiyle tedarik edecekleri edevat-ı musikiye levazımat-ı saireye harf/sarf olmak üzere biletlerinde şehri birer miktar akçe toplamakta bulundukları anlaşıldığı gösterilmiş ve bu mukavele tesisatın ruhsat-ı resmiyeye [...] ettikten sonra icra-yı lazımeden bulunmuş olmasına ve böyle ruhsat-ı resmiye istihsal edilmeksizin bir takım cemiyetler in'ikad-ı gayri caiz bulunmasına mebni maslahatın daire-i ailesince nazar-ı dikkate alınması lüzumu bedihi bulunmuş dam'-ı mafiye altıncı daire müdüriyetine ifa-yı tebligat kılınmış olmakla istizan-ı muameleye müsabirat kılındı. Ol babda emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 16 Safer 311 ve Fi 17 Ağustos 309

Shremniyeti Hıfzı

8. Fi 10 Cemaziyülevvel 314 ve Fi 5 Teşrin-i Evvel 312

Dahiliye Nezaretine,

Avrupa'dan vürud eden gazetelerle musavver ve gayrı musavver resail-i mevkute-i muzuranın Beyoğlu ve Galata cihhetlerinde bilcümle kahvehane ve gazino ve birahanelerde alenen mutalağa olundukları teftiş esnasında görüldüğü müfettiş tarafından batezkire ifade olunmuş, ve bu babda tedabir-i lazımenin ittihazı nezaret-i celile-i daveranelerine ait bulunmuş bulunmağla ol babda.

9. Bab-ı Ali Daire-i Umur-ı Dahiliye Mektubi Kalemi, Aded 293

Maarif Nezaret-i Celilesine,

Devletlü Efendim Hazretleri,

Avrupa'dan vürud eden gazetelerle musavver ve gayrı musavver resail-i mevkute-i muzuranın Beyoğlu ve Galata cihhetlerinde bilcümle kahvehane ve gazino ve birahanelerde alenen mutalağa olunduğu tevazil eden 5 Teşrin-i Evvel 312 tarihli tezkire-i aliyye-i asafanelerinde izbar olunmaktan naşı bu babda takayyüdat icrasıyla badezin muzur ve memnu olan şeylerin idhal ve intişarına meydan verilmemesi esbabının istikmalî zabıta nezaretine tebliğ ve tavsiye edilmişti. Tebaa-ı devlet-i aliyyeden olan mevzuatlarla gazino ve birahanecilerde bulunan evrak-ı muzırre toplattırılmakta olup maarif memurları bu gibi evrak-ı muzureyi gördükleri ve bilmüracaa zabıtaya ihbar ettikleri halde maksad bir kat daha temin ve teshil edilmiş olacağı, ve ecnebi postalarına gelen ve ecnebi dükkanlarında furuhat edilen matbuat-ı muzurenin elde edilmesi hususunda müşkülata tesadüf edilmekte bulunduğundan bu babda bir tedbir-i müessir ittihazını. nezaret-i müşarünileyha makamından cevaben alınan 18 Teşrin-i Evvel 312 tarihli tezkirede işar ve icab-ı hal huzur-ı sami-i sadaretpenahiye izbar edilmiş olduğundan nezaret-i celilelerince iktizasının ifasına himmem-i aliyye-i daverileri derkar buyurulmak babında emr-ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 15 Cemaziyülahir 314 ve Fi 9 Teşrin-i Sani 312

Nazır-ı Umur-ı Dahiliye

Mehmed

10. Yıldız Saray-ı Hümayun Baş Kitabet Dairesi,

Saye-i füyuzatvaye-i hazret-i mülkdaride şu'bat-ı hükümetin cümlesinde icra olunan ıslahattan idare-i zabıta dahi hissemend-i tekemmül olmuş ise de, ahiren şimendifer vesaire gibi vesaitin ve Avrupa ile ihtilatın tekessürü sebebiyle zabıtaca evvelce

lüzum ve ihtiyac mess etmemek hasebiyle henüz mevki-i icraya konulamamış şeyler olabileceğine, ve bu cümleden olarak mesela Büyükdere'den başlayarak Boğaziçi ve Bilad-ı Selase dahi dahil olmak üzere İstanbul'un her cihetinde bulunan otel ve kiralık hanelerle meyhane ve birahane ve kahvehaneler vesaire gibi umumi mahallerin ve ecnebi hastahanelerinin mevki ve nümerolarını ve tabiyetlerini ve sahipleri esamesini mübeyyin ve mükemmel bir defter tanzim olunması, ve mesakin-i mezkûre ashabından kefalet alınmakla beraber hane ve otellerine şüpheli eşhas gelecek olur ise, derhal zabıtaya haber vermeleri lazım geleceğinin, ve aksi takdirde kendilerine eşhas-ı merkumenin şeriki nazarıyla bakılarak haklarında ona göre muamele-i şedide icra edileceğinin, ashab-ı emlake tenbih ve takdim kılınması ve otellerde ikamet edenlerin otel defterlerine nam ve şöhrat ve mahal-i vürudlarını behemehal kaydetmelerinin usul ittihaz ettirilmesi ve bu usule riayet olunup olunmadığı anlaşılmak ve oteller teftiş olunarak otellerde bulunanlar hakkında her zaman malumat alınabilmek için zabıtaca memurlar tayin edilmesi gibi tedabire müracaat lazımeden bulunduğu binaen Beyoğlu ve Üsküdar mutasarrıflarıyla Zabtiye Nezareti rüesası memurininin münasiblerinden olmak ve bazen müdde-i umumi Celal Bey Efendi hazretleri de bulunmak üzere Zabtiye Nezareti'nin taht-ı riyasetinde bir komisyon teşkil olunarak tertibat-ı mukteziyenin teemmül ile bir layiha kaleme alınması ve muahedat-ı atika ahkâmının otellere şümulü olamayacağı ve binaenaleyh bu hususta zabıtaca ittihaz olunacak tedabire ecanib tarafından itiraz edilemeyeceği derkâr ise de, ol babda müşkülât ihdasına kıyam edilecek olur ise Hariciye Nezaret-i Celilesi'nce teşebbüsât-ı mukteziye ifa olunmak üzere itirazat ve müşkülât-ı vakiye karşı ne yapılmak lazım geleceğinin de kaleme alınacak layihaya derc olunması ve vasıl-ı sem'-i taaccüb-i âli olduğuna göre zabıtaca mübaayası emr ü ferman buyrulmuş olan istimbotlar henüz tedarik edilmemiş ve sevahilin pek açık

olması hasebiyle suret-i kaviyede tarassud ve nezaret altında bulundurulması lazımeden olmakla beraber Dersaadet'e gelmek isteyen eşhas-ı muzırının nail-i emel olmak için her türlü desais ve vesaite müracaat edecekleri ve hatta Tekfurdağı'na çıkarak oradan berren İstanbul'a gelebilecekleri derkâr bulunmuş olmakla marüzzikr istimbotlar bir an evvel tedarik olunup tezyid-i takayyüdat edilmesi ve diğer tezkire ile tebliğ olunduğu üzere idare-i Zabtiyece derdest edilen veya ahvali dai-i şübhe görünen eşhas-ı muzırının fotoğraflarının ahzi usulüne Avrupa'da pek çok istifade edilmekte olarak ez cümle Fransa'da külli mikdarda anarşist bulunduğu halde polis idaresince bunların fotoğrafları ahz ü hıfz ve hal ü şanları hakkında malumat-ı lazıme zabt ve kayd olunup bu muamele sebebiyle kendileri haricde hiç bir şeye muvaffak olamayarak inzibat ü asayiş mükemmelen temin edilmekte olduğundan zabıta-i Osmaniyece dahi maznunin ve mücrimin fotoğraflarının ahz ü hıfzı usulünün dahi tamamıyla tesisine ait suretin ilave-i müzakerat edilmesi şerefsudur buyurulan irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı hilafetpenahi icab-ı alisinden olmağa ol babda emr ü ferman hazret-i veliyyülemrindir.

Fi 3 Muharrem 319 ve Fi 10 Nisan 317

Ser katib-i hazret-i Şehriyari

Tahsin

11. Fi 22 Zilkade 319 ve Fi 18 Şubat 317

Beyoğlu'nda Concordia tiyatrosunda icra-yı lubyiat eden Hasan Efendi'nin birer perdelik komedyalarının bazısı ile pandomimacı Tudori'nin iki perdelik komedyalarının ve mezkur Concordia tiyatrosuyla yine mahal-i mezkurda mezburda Komers ve Kardiyal ve misillü çalgılı kahvelerde taganni olunan kantoların li-acle'l-tedkik matbuat-ı dahiliye-i idaresine götürülmemekte olduğu tiyatrolar ser-i müfettiş tarafından verilen melzuf raporda beyan ve ihbar edilmiş ve şu halde devamı ile

gayr-ı caiz görülmüş görülmüş olmağa [...] olduğundan zikr olunan tiyatro ve çalgılı kahve müdir ve sahiplerine Beyoğlu mutasarrıflığı maarifetiyle tenbihat-ı lazıme icrasıyla kendilerinin ba irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i padişahi-i müttehiz olunan usule riayete mecbur edilmeleri lüzumu matbuat-ı dahiliye müdiriyet-i behiyyesinden gelen tezkerede arasından ifade kılınmağa kılınmıştır. Muktazasının resimen ifasına himmem-i aliyye-i asfaneleri derkar buyurulmak babında.

12. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 702

Tiyatrocu Şevki Efendinin idaresinde olup Selanik'te icra-yı lubiyyat etmekte olan tiyatro kumpanyası tarafından “Kızıl Sihirbaz” namında bir piyesin mevki’-i temaaşaya konulacağı “Asır” gazetesinde münderic bir ilandan ve idare-i acizice musaddak piyesler meyanında böyle bir piyes olmadığı kuyuddan anlaşılmış ve musaddak olmayan piyeslerin oynatılması gayr-i caiz bulunmuş olduğundan teşhisinin men’iyle istenildiği halde muayene ve tasdik edilmek üzere her piyesinin irsali lüzumunun Selanik vilayet-i aliyyesine emr ü işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 3 Zilhicce 319 ve Fi 28 Şubat 317

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Hıfzı

13. Huzur-ı Maalimevfur Cenab-ı Vilayetpenahiye, Maruz-ı Çakerleridir,

Padişah-ı maarifperver ve şehinşah maalikester veliyyünnimet-i mibinnetimiz efendimiz hazretlerinin eser-i hümayunlarına iktiza-yı derece-i lüzum ve ehemmiyeti müstağni-i arz ü beyan bulunan maarifin terakkisi için sarf-ı nakdine-i vücud ederek her türlü gayret ve fedakarlıktan geri durmamakta isem de, her matlabin husulü bittabii paraya tevakkuf ettiğinden kasabada bulunan millet-i sadıka-i acizanemizin

kısm-ı küllisi ihtiyacat ruzmerresini tedarikten aciz ve mektebe ianeye gayr-i muktedir kesandan ibaret bulunması hasebiyle zir-i idare-i naçizanemde bulunan şakirdan kullarını matlub olan derece-i terakkisi ve tekamüle isal etmek suretiyle da'vat-i hayriye isticlabına muvaffak olmak için şakirdan tarafından icra edilmek ve hasılatı mektebimize aid olmak üzere bir tiyatro tertib edilerek alelusül mütalaa ve tedkik ile icrasına müsaade buyurulması kasaba hükümetinden istida kılınmış ve cevaben vilayet-i celile maarif müdüriyetinden istizan edileceği beyan edilmiş idi. Maarif müdüriyetinden bu kere cevaben vürud eden tahriratta keyfiyetin makam-ı celil-i vilayetpenahilerine arz beyan edilmiş ve gönderdiğimiz tiyatro piyesleri iade kılınmış olduğundan manzur-ı ali-i cenab-ı hıdiv-i azamileri buyurulmak üzere mezkur piyesleri arz ve takdime ictisar eyledim . Bunlardan “İskanarel, Ester, [...]” Nam üç kıtası İzmir ile bilad-ı saire-i şahanede defaatle sahne-i temaşaya vaz olunmuş ve “Namus ve Zaruret” ise Dersaadet'te neşr olunan “Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete”nin fi 5 Kanunuevvel 312 tarihli ve (31) nümerolu nüshasına aynen ve harfiyen istinsah edilmiş bulunulduğundan icrasına lütfen müsaade edilmesi zımında lazım gelenlere irade ve ferman buyurmak suretiyle millet-i acizanemizin ihya (diriltilmesi) edilmesi babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 6 Şubat 317

Kasaba Musevi Mektebi Alyans Mektebi Müdürü Baruk Amil

14. Aydın Vilayeti Mektubi Kalemi Aded 321

Dahiliye Nezaret-i Celilesi'ne,

Devletlü efendim hazretleri,

Hasılatı taht-ı idaresinde bulunan mektebe iade olmak üzere tertip ettirdiği dört kıta tiyatro piyesinin badelmuayene şakirdan tarafından mevki-i temaşaya vazına ruhsat itası istidasına dair Kasaba Alyans İzrailiyet mektebi müdiri Bahur Amil imzasıyla

verilen arzuhal mezkur piyeslerle beraber leffen irsal olunmakla iktizasının ifa ve enba buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 20 Zilkade 1319 ve Fi 14 Şubat 1317

Vali-i Vilayet Eden

Bin [...] Mahmud Kamil

15. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 70

Kasaba Musevi mektebi menfaatine olarak mevki'-i temaşaaya vaz edilmek üzere ruhsat atası istida olunan dört kıta piyesin muayene ve tasdiki zımında leffen gönderildiği Aydın vilayet-i celilesinin idare-i aciziye suale buyurulan melzuf tahriratında işar olunmuş ise de beş kıta piyes gönderilmiş ve ledelmuayene Türkçe Zor Tabib ve İspanyolca İskanarel nam piyeslerin teşhisinde mahzur görülmekle idare-i acizide hıfz edilerek diğer üç kıtanın teşhisinde bes görülemediğinden biltasdik leffen takdim kılınmış olmakla bunların vilayet-i müşarünileyhaya irsaliyle beraber tayy ü tashif olduğu vechile oynatılmasına itina edilmesinin iktiza edenlere emr ü tenbih lüzumunun cevaben işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 2 Muharrem 320 ve Fi 28 Mart 318

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Hıfzı

16. 14 Şubat 317 tarihli dört yüz altmış bir nümerolu tahrirat-ı aliye-i daver [...]mileri cevabıdır.

Kasaba musevi mektebi menfaatine olarak mevki-i temaşaya vaz edilmek üzere ruhsat atası istida olunan ve liacleltasdik irsal kılınan piyeslerin Türkçe Zor Tabib ve İspanyolca Eskinarel namındakilerin teşhisinde mahzur görölme[...] hıfz olarak diğer

üç kıtası [...]dık leffen takdim olduğundan bunların tayt ü tashih edildiği vechile oynatılmasına itmina olunmasının lazım gelenlere emr ü işar buyurulması hususunun matbuat-ı dahiliye idaresi ifadesiyle arz ü beyana mübaşeret/müşaberet kılınması babında.

17. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matubat, Aded 321

Fener’de Kılburnu Gazinosu’nda bulunan şantözler tarafından idare-i acizice tasdik edilmemiş Türkçe ve sair lisanlarda bir takım kantolar taganni edilmekte olduğu idare-i çakeri muavinlerinden tiyatrolar ser müfettişi saadetlü ve hacı bey efendi ile müfettiş inayetlu Hayri Bey tarafından müştereken verilen raporda ifade ve ihbar kılınmış olmakla mezkur kanto defterlerinin emsali vechile idare-i aciziye irae ve tasdik ettirilmesi hususunun gazino sahibine tenbihi ve ısga eylemediği takdirde men-i lüzumunun Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesi’ne emr ü işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 18 Rebiyülevvel 320 ve fi 11 Haziran 318

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Hıfzı

18. Fi 24 Rebiyülevvel 320 ve Fi 17 Haziran 318

Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesine,

Fener’de Kılburnu gazinosundaki şantözler tarafından memurin-i idare-i matbuatça Matbuat-ı Dahiliye-i acizice gayr-i musaddak Türkçe ve sair lisanlarda bir takım kantolar taganni edilmekte bulunduğu tiyatrolar ser-i müfettişliğinden barapor verilip ihbar kılınmış olduğundan anlaşılmakla mezkur kanto defterlerinin emsali vechile matbuata irae ve tasdik ettirilmesinin gazino sahibine tenbihi ve ısga etmediği halde

men'i lüzumunun matbuat-ı dahiliye idare-i mezkure ifadesiyle beyan-ı itidar kılınmakla ol babda.

19. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 228

İdare-i acizi tiyatrolar müfettişleri tarafından verilen raporda Beyoğlu'nda Concordia Tiyatrosu'nda İtalyanca olarak oynatılan piyeslerde alessual icra edilmiş olan tayy ü tashihatın nazar-ı dikkate alınmayarak söylenmekte olduğu ifade ve ihbar kılınmış olmakla tekerrürüne meydan verilmemesi hususunun lazım gelenlere suret-i müessirede tenbihatı zımnında keyfiyetin Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesine emr ü işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 1 Rebiyülahir 321 ve Fi 14 Haziran 319

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Hıfzı

20. Fi 4 Rebiyülahir 321 ve Fi 17 Haziran 319

Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesine,

Beyoğlu'nda Concordia Tiyatrosu'nda İtalyanca olarak oynatılan piyeslerde alessual icra edilmiş olan tayy ü tashihatın nazar-ı dikkate alınmayarak söylenmekte olduğu Matbuat-ı Dahiliye müfettişleri tarafından verilen raporda ifade edildiğinden tekerrürüne meydan verilmemesi zımnında hususunda icab edenlere suret-i müessirede tenbihat icrası lüzumunun Matbuat-ı Dahiliye İdaresi ifadesiyle beyan olunur ibtidar kılındı. Ol babda.

21. Yıldız Saray-ı Hümayun Baş Kitabet Dairesi, 2324

Beyoğlu'nda Taksim'de kain Aptalikos nam gazinoda ruhsatsız kuşad edilen tiyatroda muzır bir takım oyunlar oynanmakta olduğu arz ü ihbar kılındığından sansür usulünün bu gibi münasebetsizliklere meydan vermeyecek surette taht-ı

temine alınması ve sansür memurları kafi derecede değilse namuslu bir kaç adamın daha tayin ve ilave edilmesi şerefsudur buyurulan irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı padişahi icab-ı celilinden olmakla ol babda emr ü ferman hazret-i veliyyülemrindir.

Fi 3 Rebiyülahir 321 ve Fi 16 Haziran 319

Şehriyari

Ser Katib-i Hazret

Tahsin

22. Ha[...] Umumilik Memurin-i Celilesine,

Senelerce civar kazalarda bila-vukuat çalgıcılıkla kesb-i maaşiyet edilmiş iken Kozana komiseri mahzur olmadığı halde muhalefettedir. Buyur eden tayin hakkında aile-yi sefalette bulunduğumdan sefaret emrinin ita buyurulması ağlayarak istirhamdayım. Fransa.

Şantöz Cariyeleri Marika

Hıfzı

23. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 701

Yunanistan'dan gelip Beyoğlu'nda Odeon Tiyatrosu'nda her sene mevsim-i şitada icra-yı lubiyat etmekte olan Pandopulo idaresindeki tiyatro kumpanyasının bu sene dahi vürud eylediği ve bunlarla beraber Yunan havanında ve sazandelerinden mürekkeb on üç kişilik bir saz takımının dahi icra-yı ahenk edeceği istihbar kılındığı idare-i acizi tiyatro müfettişleri tarafından verilen raporda ifade kılınmış olmakla okunacak şarkı ve kantolar tedkik edilmek üzere mecmualarının İdare-i Matbuat'a gönderilmesi ve icra-yı lubiyat ve ahenk ediliği sırada adab-ı umumiyyeye muhalif tefevvühata meydan verilmemesine memurin-i aidesi tarafından dikkat ve itina olunması hakkında Beyoğlu mutasarrıfiyet-i aliyesine icra-yı tebligat edilmesi

hususunun Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesine emr ü işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

24. Yunanistan'dan gelip Beyoğlu'nda Odeon tiyatrosunda her sene mevsim-i şitada icra-yı lubiyat etmekte olan Pandopoulou'nun idaresindeki tiyatro kumpanyasının bu sene dahi geldiği ve bunlarla beraber Yunan havanında ve sazandelerinden mürekkeb on üç kişilik bir saz takımının dahi icra-yı ahenk edeceği istihbar kılındığı tiyatro müfettişleri tarafından barapor bildirildiği beyanıyla okunacak şarkı ve kantolar tedkik edilmek üzere mecmualarının idareye gönderilmesi ve icra-yı lubuyyat ve ahenk edildiği sırada adab-ı umumiyye muhalif evza ve tefevvühaat meydan verilmemesine memuirin-i aidesi tarafndan dikkat olunması zımında Beyoğlu mutasarrıflığına tebligat-ı icra-yı lüzumenin matbuat-ı dahiliye idaresi ifadesiyle beyanına müsayet kılınmıştır. Ol babda.

Fi 11 Şaban 321 ve Fi 19 Teşrin-i Evvel 319

25. Dahiliye Nezaret-i Celilesine,

Devletlü Efendim Hazretleri,

Yunanistan'dan gelip Beyoğlu'nda Odeon tiyatrosunda her sene mevsim-i şitada icra-yı lubiyat etmekte olan Pandopoulou'nun idaresindeki tiyatro kumpanyasının bu sene dahi geldiği ve bunlarla beraber yunan havanende ve sazandelerinden mürekkeb on üç kişilik bir saz takımının dahi icra-yı ahenk edeceği ve okunacak şarkı ve kantolar tedkik edilmek üzere mecmualarının idareye gönderilmesi ve icra-yı lubiyat ve ahenk edildiği sırada adab-ı umumiyye muhalif evza ve tefevvühata meydan verilmemesinin Beyoğlu Mutasarrıflığı'na tebliği reside-i dest-i tekrim olan 28 Teşrin-i Evvel 319 tarihli ve bin yüz seksen numarolu tezkire-i aliyye-i nezaretpenahilerinde işar ve keyfiyet mutasarrıfiyet-i müşarünileyhaya tebliğ ve

izbar kılınmış idi. Bu kere cevaben alınan tezkirede bu babda icab edenlere tebligat-ı lazıme bilicra zikr olunan şarkı ve kanto mecmuaları nezaret-i acizi tiyatro sansörlerinden Corci Efendi tarafından tedkik edilmiş, ve memurin zabıta tarafından tiyatrolarca umur-ı inzibatiyeye dikkatten geri durulmamakta bulunmuş olup ancak üçra olunacak lubiyat ve okunacak şarkı ve kanto gibi şeylerin evvelce tedkik ve tasdik edilmiş olması lazım gelen piyes ve mecmualarına muvaffak olup olmadığına ve bunların haricinde ve adab-ı umumiyye ve marzi-i hükumete mugayir surette ahval ve tefevvühat vukua gelip gelmediğine dikkat etmek üzere sansür memurlarına tebligat icrası izbar olunmuş ve memurin-i mumaileyhime tenbihat icra edilmiş olmakla ol babda emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 23 Ramazan 321 ve Fi 30 Teşrin-i Sani 319

Zabtiye Nazırı Şefik

26. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 871, Yunanistan'dan gelerek Beyoğlu'nda Odeon Tiyatrosunda icra-yı lubiyat etmekte olan Pandopoulou'nun idaresindeki kumpanyanın on üç kişilik saz takımı tarafından okunan şarkı ve kantoların tedkiki ve esna-yı lubuyyatta adab-ı umumiyye muhalif evza ve hareket ve tefevvühata meydan verilmemesi lüzumunun da beyoğlu mutasarrıfiyet-i aliyesine izbarı hakkında takdim kılınan müzekkere-i acizanem ve sebk eden işar-ı ali-i nezaretpenahileri üzerine zabtiye nezaret-i celilesinden cevaben varid olup havale buyurulan melfuf tezkirede bu babda mezkur mutasarrıflığa tebligat-ı mukteziye ledelifa alınan tezkire-i cevabiyede zikr olunan şarkı ve kanto mecmualarının zabtiye tiyatro sansörlerinden Corci Efendi tarafından tedkik edildiği gibi piyes ve mecmualar haricinde mugayir-i adab-ı usule mahal bırakılmaması zımnında memuriyet-i aidesine tenbihat-ı mukteziyede bulunulduğu bildirildiği inba edilmiş ise de, bilumum tiyatro piyeslerinin idare-i acizi tarafından dahi tedkik ve

muayenesi irade-i senyye-i hazret-i padişahi iktiza-yı alisinden olmakla badema yalnız zabıta memurlarının mutalağa ve tasdikiyle bu misillü piyes ve şarkı ve kantoların teşhis ve icrasına katiyyen meydan verilmemesi lüzumunun iktiza edenlere ekiden tenbihi hususunun ve bir de bu kere idare-i acizi tiyatrolar müfettişleri tarafından verilen raporda beyoğlu'nda Concordia ve Kristal tiyatrolarında ve Şişli'de Jardin Du Clos gazinosunda söylenmekte olan Fransızca ve Almanca ve İtalyanca şarkıların dahi idare-i acizice muayene edilmemiş şeylerden olduğu ve tiyatrocuların bunları tenbihat-ı mükerrere hilafında olarak sansür için idareye getirmemekte oldukları beyan ve ifade kılınmış olmakla bunların dahi beray-ı tedkik idare-i çakeriye irsal edilmesi için ashabının mecbur edilmesi lüzumunun nezaret-i müşarünileyhaya cevaben emr ü işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 7 Şevval 321 ve fi 14 Kanun-ı Evvel 319

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Hıfzı

27. Fi 27 Şaban 321 ve Fi 4 Kanun-ı Evvel 319

Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesine,

Evvelki akşam Beyoğlu'nda Concordia Tiyatrosu'nda irae olunan sinematograf tabloların meyanında haşmetli Almanya imparatoru hazretlerinin resimleri teşhis ediliği sırada huzzardan bazıları tarafından ıslık çalındığı tiyatro müfettişleri tarafından haber verilmiş ve bu gibi münasebetsizliklerin tiyatrolarda vukuu fevkalade calib-i dikkat ahvalde bulunmuş olmakla adem-i tekerrürüne dikkat edilmesi ve tiyatro müsteciri ve saire hakkında (lazım gelen) icab eden muamelenin icrası hususunun savb-ı ali-i daverilerine tebliği matbuat-ı dahiliye idaresinden bamüzeekkere ifade olunmuştur. Memleketimizde şimdiye kadar tiyatrolarca bu gibi

münasebetsizlik vukuu müşahid olmamasıyla bunun huzzar meyanında bulunan bazı iştirak gayrımüslime tarafından vukua getirilmiş olup bu gibi şu yolda çirkin hareketlere meydan bırakılması bilahere su-i netaice sebep verebileceği cihhetle gayr-i caiz bulunduğu ita göre[...] iktiza-yı halin seriyyen ifa ve keyfiyetin inbası husuna himmem-i aliye-i düsturileri derkar buyurulmak babında.

28. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 1097

Beyoğlu'nda Haleb Çarşısı'ndaki tiyatrodaki evvelki gün icra-yı lubiyat olduğu sırada sahneye çıkan iki komikin diğer bir komik tarafından “nereden geliyorsunuz” suali irad olunması üzerine “İstanbul'dan geliyoruz” cevabını irad ve arkalarındaki köhne elbiseleriyle bir takım teneke parçalarını irae ederek “nişanlarımızı da görmüyor musunuz” gibi gayet münasebetsiz evza' ve akvalde bulundukları idare-i acizi müfettişleri tarafından verilen raporda ifade kılınmış olduğu gibi mezkur tiyatrodaki geçende sinematograf ile irae edilen ve men'i hususunun Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesi'ne emr ü işarı 2 Şubat 1319 tarihli ve bin yetmiş numarolu müzekkere-i acizanem ile arz edilen manzara ve resimlerin irae ve teşhirinde devam edilmekte olduğu da ihbar edilmiş bulunmasına mebni' men'-i tekerrür ve devamı zımında memuriyet-i aidesine tenbihat-ı ekide ve müessire ifası lüzumunun nezaret-i müşarünileyhaya tekiden emr ü işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

29. Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesine,

Beyoğlu'nda Haleb çarşısındaki tiyatrodaki şubatın yedinci günü icra-yı lubiyat olduğu sırada sahneye çıkan iki komikin diğer bir komik tarafından azad olunamadan “Nereden geliyorsunuz?” sualine karşı “İstanbul'dan geliyoruz” cevabını verdikleri ve arkalarındaki köhne elbiseleriyle bir takım teneke parçalarını

irae ederek “nişanlarımızı da görüyor musun” gibi gayet münasebetsiz evza ve ahvalde bulundukları müfettişler tarafından bildirildiği ve mezkur tiyatroda geçen de sinematoğraf ile irae edildip men’i 3 Şubat 319 tarihli tezkire-i acizi ile [...] manzara ve resimlerin irae ve teşhirinde devam edildikte ol[...] izbar kılındığı beyanıyla bunların men’i tekrar ve devamı zımnında memurin-i maidesinin tenbihat-ı ekide ve müessire ifası hususunun savb-ı ali-i desturilerine tebliği matbuat-ı dahiliye idaresinden ba müzekkere ifade kılınmıştır. Ona göre iktizasının ifası hususuna himmem-i aliye-i daverileri derkar buyurulmak babında.

Fi 5 Zilhicce 1321 ve Fi 9 Şubat 319

30. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 1119

İdare-i acizi müfettişleri tarafından elde edilip leffen takdim-i pişgah-ı ali-i cenab-ı nezaretpenahileri kılınan varaka-i ilaniye Galata’da Palamari Matbaası’nda ruhsatsız olarak tab ü neşr edilmiş olduğundan tabı hakkında muamele-i mukteziye-i kanuniyenin ifası için keyfiyetin Adliye Nezaret-i Celilesi’ne işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 17 Zilhicce 321 ve Fi 21 Şubat 319

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Hıfzı

31. Fi 19 Zilhicce 321 ve Fi 23 Şubat 319

Adliye Nezaret-i Celilesi Canib-i Alisine,

Concordia Tiyatrosu’nda icra edilmiş lubiyata dair neşr edilmiş olup bir nüshası elde edilmiş varaka-yı ilaniyenin Galata’da Palamari Matbaası’nda ruhsatsız olarak tab ü neşr edilmiş oldukları anlaşıldığından tabı hakkında muamele-i mukteziye-i kanuniyenin ifası hususunun savb-ı ali-i destur-ı ekremilerine işarı Matbuat-ı

Dahiliye idaresinden bamüzekkere ifade kılınmış ve mezkur varaka-i ilaniye leffen takdim olunmuş olmakla iktizasının ifası hususuna müsaade-i aliye-i daver-i ekremiye şayan buyurulmak babında.

32. Date du dépôt: 22 Mart 320

Selanik'te Rum ili Müfettiş-i Umumiliği huzur-ı samiine,

Saye-i hrbt ve vaiye-i hazret-i cihanında icra-yı san'at etmek kanuni bir müsaadedir.

Yedi candan ibaret bulunan kumpanyanın medar-ı taayyüşü kahve şantözlüğe

menuttur. Bir guna vukuat olmadığı halde icra-yı san'attan men' olunmaklığımızın

esbabı nezd-i hakayık-ı cevabanelerince müslimdir. Bu babda memalik-i mahrusa-i

şahanenin her birinde icra edilen kahve şantöze müsaade buyurulması müsterhamdır.

Ferman.

Marika Anglize

Hıfzı

33. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 374

İdare-i acizi tiyatro müfettişleri tarafından verilen iki kıta raporda Küçük Çamlıca'da

bir şantöz tarafından Arapça ve Türkçe olarak taganni edilen kantolar meyanında

bazı münasebetsiz tabirat bulunduğu ve bunların defteri idare-i aciziye irae ve tasdik

ettirildiği ve komik Hasan Efendi idaresindeki oyunda dahi oyuncularından biri acayip

bir şekil ve kıyafette sahneye çıkıp gerek merkurum gerek diğer oyuncular tarafından

piyes haricinde olarak tefevvühat-ı bi-edebanede bulunduğu gibi mezkur tiyatrodan

icra edilen Aşıklar oyununda dahi piyes haricinde idare-i lisan edildiği gibi

kumpanyalar tarafından türlü renk ve şekilde ve el yazısıyla oyun mahallerine ve

öteye beriye bir takım ilanlar tayin etmekte olduğu beyan ve ifade kılınmıştır. Bu

babda evvel ve ahir takdim olunan müzekkerelerde arz ve işar olduğu vechile her

nevi kanto mecmuaları ile tiyatro piyeslerinin idare-i aciziye irae ve tasdik edilmesi lazım geleceğinden mezkur mecmua ve piyeslerin idare-i matbuata gönderilmiş oyuncuların icbar eylemesi ve el yazısıyla öteye beriye ilan yapıştırılması katiyyen memnu bulunduğundan işbu memnuiyet hükümetin muhafazasına ve musaddak piyeslerin hin-i icrasında dahi böyle piyes haricinde tefevvühat ile bi-edebane evza ve harekata meydan verilmemesine memurin-i zabtiye tarafından dikkat olunması hususunun Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesi'ne emr ü işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 20 Rebiyülahir 322 ve fi 21 Haziran 32

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Hıfzı

34. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 389

Dünkü gün Kadıköyü'nde Kuşdili'nde vaki tiyatroda Şevki Efendi'nin idaresindeki kumpanya tarafından teşhis edilmek istenilen kumpanyanın ruhsatlı olmadığı ve münasebetsiz bir oyun olduğu hissedilerek derhal tiyatro sahibine ihtar-ı keyfiyetle men edildiği ve gelecek cuma günü yine mezkur tiyatroda Hasan Efendi'nin kumpanyası tarafından icra edilecek oyun hakkında perdenin üzerine talik edilen varaka-i ilaniyedeki piyesin evvelce idare-i aciziye irae ve tasdik ettirilen oyundan başka olduğu ve mezkur varakanın usul-ı müttehize ve tenbihat-ı mükerrere hilafında olmak üzere el yazısıyla müretteb bulunduğu görülmesi üzerine bunun da suret-i münasebede perdeden kaldırıldığı tiyatrolar müfettişleri tarafından verilen raporda bildirilmiş olmakla tiyatro kumpanyalarının bu gibi muhalif usul hareketına ve gayr-i musaddak oyunları teşhis etmelerine meydan bırakılmaması ve bhusus evvel ve aher takdim kılınan tezkirelerde arz edildiği vechile öteye beriye bu misillü el yazmasıyla ilanat yapıştırılması katiyyen memnu olmasıyla memnuiyet-i m...nın

muhafaza-yı hükmüne begayet itina eylemesi için memurin-i zabıta tarafından dikkat-i mütemadiyede bulunulması ve tenbihat-ı vakayı ısga etmeyen tiyatrocular hakkında bir ceza tertib ve icrası hususunun Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesi'ne emr ü işar buyrulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 22 Rebiyülaher 322 ve fi 23 Haziran 320

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Hıfzı

35. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 508

Atıf ve Fevzi efendilerin idaresinde olarak icra-yı lubiyat eden komedi kumpanyası tarafından dünki çarşamba günü Kadıköyü'nde idare-i aciziyece gayr-i musaddak bulunan Kayseriye Yolcuları nam piyesin teşhis edilmiş olduğu idare-i acizi tiyatrolar müfettişleri tarafından verilen raporda beyan ve ifade kılınmış, ve mezkur kumpanya yeddinde musaddak olarak açık bir iki piyes mevcut olduğu halde mahhal-i muhtelifede lubiyatta bulunması icra ettiği oyunlardan ekserisinin ruhsatsız olduğunu göstermekte olduğundan 23 Haziran 320 tarihli ve üç yüz seksen dokuz nümerolu tezkire-i acizanemde arz edildiği vechile gayr-i musaddak piyeslerin teşhis ve icrasına memuriyet-i zabıtaca katiyyen meydan verilmemesinin ve tenbihat ve vakıayn etmeyen tiyatrocular hakkında bir ceza tertib ve icrasıyla neticesinin ihbası hususunun Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesine tekeyyüden emr ü işar buyrulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 28 Cemaziyülevvel 322 ve Fi 29 Temmuz 320

Matubat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Hıfzı

36. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 786

Beyoğlu'nda Concordia Tiyatrosu'nda sahneye çıkan bir kadının huzzar tarafından keyfe ma ittafak intihab ü tayin olunan eşhasın resimlerini teressüm eylediği ve intihab edilmiş eşhasın kimler olduğu evvelce bilinemediğinden hilaf-ı marazi bir halde vuku-yı muhtemel bulunduğu idare-i acizi tiyatrolar müfettişleri tarafından verilen raporda ifade olunmuş ve bu hal ise mahzurdan gayr-ı salim ve nazar-ı dikkati calib bulunmuş olmakla ol babda emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 22 Şaban 322 ve Fi 18 Teşrin-i Evvel 320

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Hıfzı

37. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 239

Bu sene için henüz idare-i çakerince tetkik edilerek ruhsat-ı ita kılınmamış olan Rigoletto “Le Roi S’Amuse” piyesinin dün akşam Beyoğlu Concordia tiyatrosundan La Bruna kumpanyası tarafından sahne-i temaaşaya vaz’ edildiği idare-i acizi tiyatrolar müfettişi tarafından verilen raporda bildirilmiştir. Zikr olunan Rigoletto piyesi her ne kadar iki sene mukaddem idare-i matbuattan tasdik edilmiş ise de yeniden tedkik ve imza edilmesi lazım geleceği dün idare-i aciziye müracaat eden mezkur kumpanya direktörüne katiyyen tefhim edilmiş ve kendisi tarafından dahi oynatılmayacağına dair kaviyyen söz verilmiş olduğu halde oynatılması zikr olunan kumpanyanın teşhisine cevaz verilemeyeceği akva-yı ihtimalatden bulunan bir takım piyeslerin bu suretle oynanmasına devam edeceğini işrab eylemekte bulunmuş ve zaten Rigoletto piyesinin ilanı dahi idare-i matbuata irae ve tasdik ettirilmemiş olduğundan mezkur kumpanyanın menajeri hakkında emsaline ibret-i müessire olacak surette muamele-i nizamiye icrasıyla beraber badema bu defa görülerek tasdik edilmiş olan piyeslerin oynatılmaması ve bu yolda ruhsatsız lubiyatın icrasına katiyyen meydan verilememesi esbabının istikmalî hususunun Zabtiye Nezaret-i

Celilesine müsaraaten emr ü işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 7 Rebiyülahir 323 ve Fi 29 Mayıs 321

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

Kemal

38. Beyoğlu Mutasarrıf-ı Aliyyesine,

Fi 6 Mart 322 / 26 / Beyoğlu mutasarrıf-ı aliyyesine / tezkire ve buyurulmak / 6 Mart 322 tarihli tebligat

Galata'da Topçular Caddesi'nde altmış dört numarolu arsa üzerine inşa edilen mağaza ile fevkindeki salonu çalgılı gazino yapılmak üzere icara verdiğinden bahisle ruhsat itası Hasan Ziya mührüyle verilen arzuhalde istida edildiği beyanıyla zikr olunan mahalin ol vechile istikalinde zabıtaca mahzur olup olmadığı şehir emanet-i celilesine batezkire istifsar edilmiş olmakla keyfiyeten tahkik ve işarı hususuna himmem.

[...] cevaben varid olan 59 numarolu tezkire ile bir şeye işar.

39. Bab-ı Ali Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye, İdare-i Matbuat, Aded 741

Tiyatrolarda icra-yı terennüm etmekte olan kantocu aktrislerin tenbihat-ı mükerrere ve katiyyeyi ısga etmeyerek sahne-i temaşada adab-ı umumiyye mugayir etvar ve evza iraesinde devam edegeldikleri idare-i acizi tiyatro müfettişleri tarafından beyan ve ihbar edilmiş olmakla bunların badema edeb ve terbiye dahilinde icra-yı sanat edeceklerine dair kendilerinden teminat-ı kuvviye alınması ve netice-i halin inba kılınması lüzumunun Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesine ehemmiyetle emr ü işar buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 10 Şevval 324 ve Fi 13 Teşrin-i Sani 322

Matbuat-1 Dahiliye Müdürü

Kemal

40. Zabtiye Nezaret-i Celilesi'ne

Tiyatrolarda icra-yı terennümat etmekte olan aktrislerin [...]fat-ı mükerrere ve katiyyeyi ısga etmeyerek sahne-i temaşada adab-ı umumiyyeye mugayir etvar ve evza iraesinde devam edegeldikleri Matbuat-1 Dahiliye idaresi müfettişleri tarafından beyan ve ihbar edilmiş olduğundan bahisle badema bunların edeb ve terbiye dahilinde icra-yı sanat edeceklerine dair kendilerinden teminat-ı kuvviye alınması lüzumunun Matbuat-1 Dahiliye İdare-i Aliyye ifadesiyle beyanına mübaderet kılındı. Ol babda.

41. Bab-1 Ali

Nezaret-i Celile-i Dahiliye

İdare-i Matbuat

Aded

173

Muhteviyatı adab-ı umumiyyeye muhalif olan melfuf kanto mecmuasının köprü üzerinde bir takım kesân tarafından satılmakta olduğu görülerek bir nüshası elde edildiği ve işbu mecmua kimin tarafından ve hangi matbaada tab ettirildiği Boğaziçi vapurları iskelesinde gazete mevzii İsmail Efendi'den sual olunmakta mukaddema nezdinde bulunan Trabzonlu İsmail namında biri tarafından tab ettirildiğini ve nerede basıldığını bilemediğini ifade ettiğini idare-i acizi müfettişlerinden Rıfatlı Hüsnü Efendi tarafından verilen raporda beyan edilmiş ve böyle hilaf-ı adab-ı asarın abadi-i nasında tedavülü gayr-i caiz bulunmuş olduğundan mevcudlarının hemen toplattırılmasıyla beraber kimin tarafından ve hangi matbaada bastırıldığının

tahkikiyle mütecasirleri hakkında muamele-i kanuniye ifası zımnında keyfiyetin
cihhet-i adliyyeye tevdiî hususunun Zaptiye Nezaret-i Celilesi'ne emr ü işar
buyurulması babında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü

[...]

Fi 5 Cemaziyülevvel 326 ve Fi 22 Mayıs 324

42. Beyoğlu Mutasarrıflığı, Aded 537

Zabtiye Nezaret-i Aliyyesine,

Atuvfetlü Efendim Hazretleri,

Leylen Miyad-ı Nizamnaiyesinde kapatılmayan meyhane sahipleriyle adab ve ahlak-ı
umumiyye mugayir ahval ve harekatta bulunan umumhanecilerden ve o gibi
yerlerdeki kadınlardan icabına ve iktidarına göre öteden beri kanuna tevfi ken meclis
kararıyla ikişer beşlikten beşer beşliğe kadar ceza-yı nakdi ahz ü istifa olagelmekte
iken yirmi beş günden beri heyecana sebebiyet verilmemek üzere bu babda imaz-ı
ayn edilmekte ise de Beyoğlu'nun hemen ekser taraflarında, meyhaneciler
umumhaneciler kendilerini her bir cezadan muaf addederek men'ine teşebbüs
olundukça hürriyet var diyerek meyhaneler sabahlara kadar açık tutulmakta ve
umumhanelerde dahi bir çok ahval-i rezaletkarane vuku' gelmekte olmakla beraber
umumhanelerde bulunan uygunsuz kadınlar kahve ve gazino ve meyhanelere devam
ile işret ederek ve sokaklarda erkeklerle beraber bi-edebane bir surette gezerek bu
yüzden her türlü hareket-ı gayr-ı merziye eksik olmamakta ve yalnız tenbihat ile o
gibi hallerin men'i kabil olamamakta bulunduğu gibi bu kabileden olarak Beşiktaş ve
Boğaziçi taraflarında gazino ve meyhaneler sabahlara kadar açık bulundurularak
saika-i sekr ile istirahat-ı umumiyyeyi salib-i ahval vuku bulmasından naşi ahali-i

mahalliye bunun men'ini istirham eylemekte bulundukları, Beşiktaş Komiserliği'nin ve öteden beri bir takım uygunsuz eşhasın devamgahı olan Galata cihhetinde dahi evvelce ittihaz ve icra kılınan tedabir-i inzibatiyeden olarak ikiye indirilmiş ve baloz denilen rezalet mahallerinde bu kere üç daha küşad olunup gerek oralar ve gerek rıhtım boyunca çalgılı gazinolar ve umumhaneler sabahlara kadar açık tutulmasından ve mahhal-i mezkurede hanende sıfatıyla bir takım alufteler bulundurulmasından dolayı mugayir-i adab ve inzibat-ı ahval eksik olmamakta ve oralara devam eden bir takım sadedilan iğfal edilerek nukud-u mevcudeleri ahz edilmekte bulunduğu Galata Komiserliğinden alınan jurnallerde ifade olunmuştur. Ahval-i mezkurenin vuku' ve devamı inzibata ne derece tesir ettiği muhtac-ı arz ü izah olmamasıyla men'i ehemmi ve elzem olarak çünkü o misillüler hakkında öteden beri muttehiz ve cari olan tedabir-i inzibatiye cümlesinden olduğu üzere kendilerinin haber alındırılmamaları bu yüzden iş büsbütün çığırından çıkarak her tarafta inzibat emr-i ehemmi sektedar olmak gayr-ı müstebid olmasıyla o gibilerin kemakan ceza-yı nakdi ile tecrim edilmeleri hususunu arz ü istizan ve emr-i cevabisine intizar ile beraber baloz ve gazino gibi mahallerin de kavaid-i inzibatiyeye muvafık bir surette açılıp işletilmesi hususunun şehremanet-i celilesiyle bilmuhabere bir kaide-i salime ve mazbutaya rabt edilerek neticenin emr ü izbarının müsaide-i aleyhin nezaretpenahilerinden istirham eylerim. Ol babda emr ü irade-i hazret-i menlehülemrindir.

Fi 20 Receb 326 ve Fi 4 Ağustos 324

Beyoğlu Mutasarrıf Vekili,

Mahmud

43. Beyoğlu Mutasarrıflığı, Aded 1251

Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdiriyeti Vekalet-i Aliyesine,

Saadetlü Efendim Hazretleri,

Beyoğlu cihhetinde Hasanlar Şevkiler oyun verdikleri zaman bir çok da esafildan toplanıyor ve bu tiyatrolar adeta biraz müstesnasıyla cem-i haşarat oluyor. Dikkat ettim. Bunların çoğu göbek atan gerdan kıran kantocular için gelir. Zaten bu kantocularla bu tiyatrolar birer kafe şantan şeklini alıyor. Bu haşaratı kısmen dağıtmak ve Osmanlılığı Beyoğlu'nda ve Galata'da pek çirkin surette gösteren bu nevi tiyatroların rezailini tehdit etmek için Osmanlı tiyatrolarında kantoculuğu katiyyen men etmek lazım gelir. Tedbir-i umumi olmak üzere ehemmiyetle arz-ı keyfiyet edilir. Ol babda emr ü irade efendim hazretlerininindir.

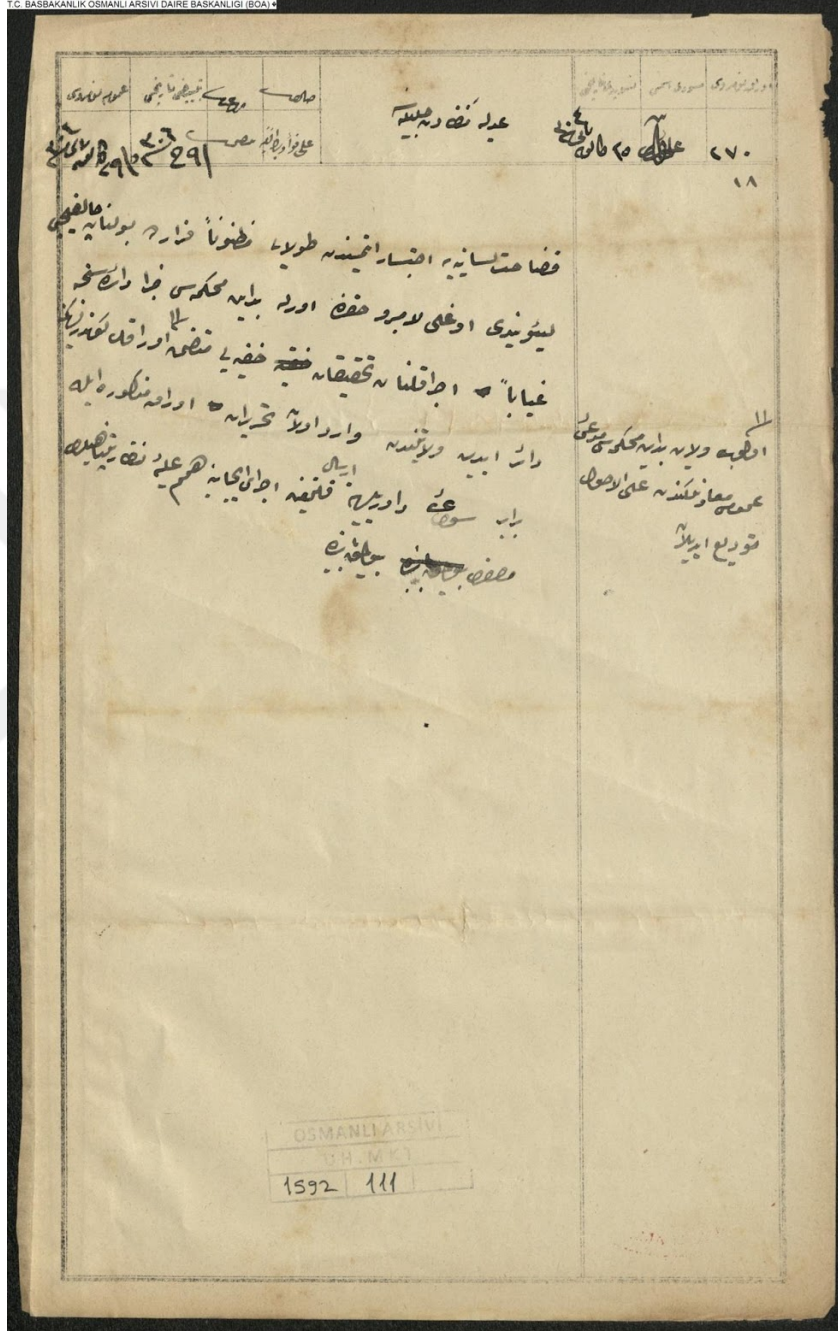
Fi 12 Zilhicce 327 ve fi 12 Kanunuevvel 325

Beyoğlu Mutasarrıfı

Mehmed

APPENDIX D

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS



DH.MKT.01592.00111.001

عبدی سرای کهنون خدیو اولدی
بیایه ایله بیایه ایله
صالح افندی
بایک

بالاده محرم موید انوشی رجه اوج رام زنه غلط م طوغری بولده یانولا کنلک
بالوزنده اسلمی بعد انقیض اکلا سلاطه تقای حضرت شیری بولنده مرقعی ویه
کینه زنده محمدا فندی برکنده فرزند شیره درها می بول بریا یوزغ سرخی
سویله رجب اهنگ انجک اولد قری خرافونه کیده رن صورتیه محوطه یانغ
اوشیلم ایشا انجک و موغرا بالقریب مالوز ده اشغی اندر لکس بری
طاجام دیرک و قطعه رجه قاریو می خور بوشه و منی خورنده قیام باجه
اولدینه حال اوتانام درود ایدیه حره فایز زنده غلاب و قرضی محمور اقدیرک
هوا و خنده عزیز فرقه غوطانه نه کور بوب سدی نقد بعد انجیر بر لک جانب تحریر
کوند ملک ادرزه نونجی خایه نسیم اولدینه مدینه اولدین امر و فتح خنده نه کور
سایه ایله



افندی صالح ایلک سکره ای اولدین طرفه عزیز نه نصیبه قلدن ایله سائیک

عزیز و محرم
درین



Y.PRK.ASK

90/40

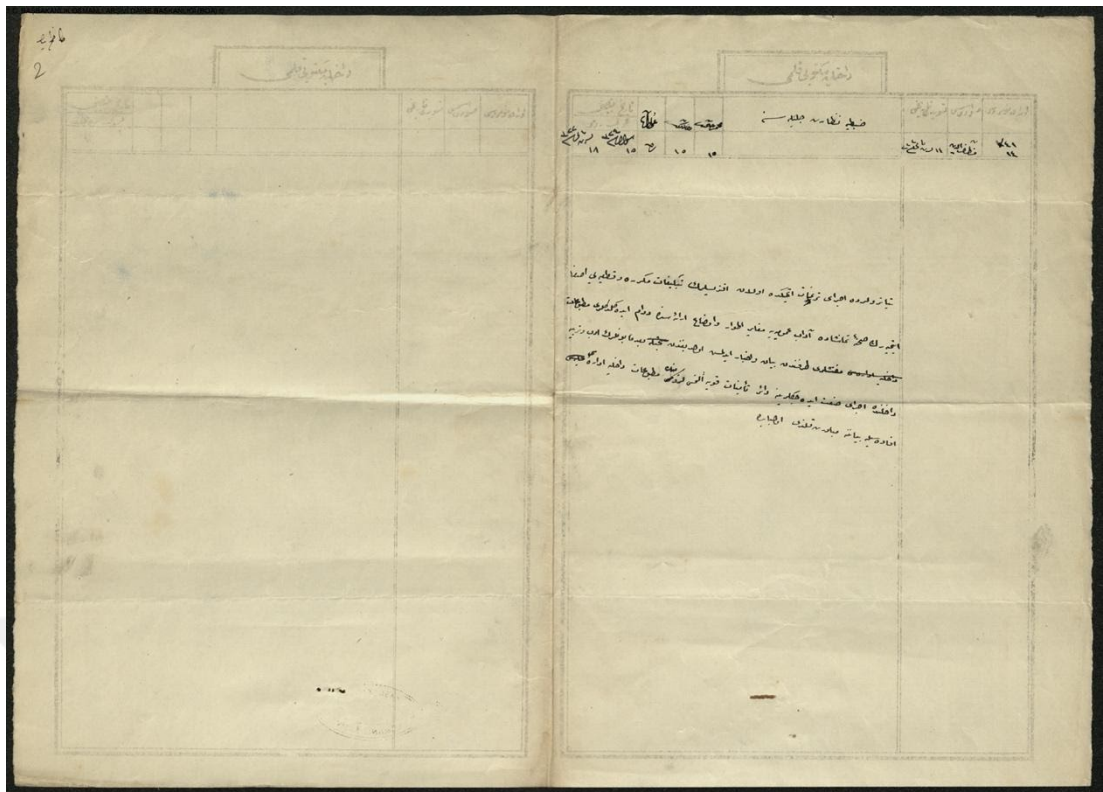
2

۱۷۵۱

جی

تدوین و تصحیح

بہارِ حق و حقیقت (۱۰۰)



DH.MKT.01131.00067.002

تیار و ردہ جاری ترسم تحکیمه و نه قیود و تغییرات مکرره و قطعی اصفا اینجین صحت مشروطه از عموم معیار
 امور و وضع از این سده دوام ایده که کدی اداره عجزی تیار و رد مفیدی طرفه به بیامه و خبر ایجه ایشیم بوزن
 بسما ادب و تربیه و خنده جاری ضمه ایده جعفریه دار کسیریه نه تأمین قویه انسه و نتیجه حالت با فنی از وقت ضمیمه
 نفه و جعفریه الهیه از سنا بر حیا یخ از در سنا هفته مه اوله که -
 اینجین ایتره و شیخ

مجموعت و ضمیمه
 کماله

521/511

OSMANLI ARŞIVI		
DH. MKT		
1131	67	1

طابقت
اداره مطبوعات
عنه
٢٤٩

بوسنه اعظمه لفظه اداره حاكمه تقييد برك - صفحه اعظمه قلمه اوله ريفولنو ، لور واساموز ، ب سلك دونه اقسام
 في اقله قونفور دياتا نروسه لادرونا قوميا نيك طقده صفه غاشايه وضع ايد ليكي اداره عاقرى نياز لرمقتى واضعه
 و برموده رايورده بدير لدر ذكر اولنه ريفولنو توبيك لهره قدر اكي نه مقصم اداره مطبوعات نه تصحيحه اليه ايسره بليجه تصحيحه
 واضعا اليه لازم حكمه دونه اداره عاقرى مراجع ايد مذكور قوميا نيك دير كوتيه بليغ اليه و كذا طقده دقي اويا دلي صفه
 قويا سوز و لير اولينه حاله اريا دلي ذكر اولنه قوميا نيك تحيظه جواز و برير مكي افوا استعمال نه بولنه برص خمي سيزك
 برصو اويا دلي دلم ايد مكي اشرا ب ايمكه بولنه و داتا ريفولنو ب سلك اعلان دقي اداره مطبوعات اراء و تصحيحه ايد بيلمه
 اولينه مذكور قوميا نيك مناقرى صفه املكه عجمه مؤثره اولوجه صورته معمله تصحيحه اجابو بارر بعضا بودفعه كوتيك
 تصحيحه ايد اوله سيزك اويا دلي و بولنه رخصت بليغ اجات قطعاً ميدنه و برير مكي اجابو استعمال موصوله
 صليغ نه رجبه ماعه امر و اشعار بوليك باي اروزانه صفحه مذكوره لادركه لادركه و ايد بوليك و ايد بوليك
 مطبوعات و ايد بوليك
 كماله

OSMANLI ARSIVI		
DH. MKT		
969	8	1

في ١٩٠٠
Le 1900

وصول نومروسي
N° d'arrivée
دقيقه ساعت
h. m. du

ارسالي
Réexpédié
à

مأمورك امضاسي
Signature de l'employé



ل'État n'accepte aucune responsabilité
à raison du service de la télégraphie.

في ١٩٠٠
Ee 1900

واستله سيله
Transmis par
دقيقه ساعت
h. m. du

بدا مخبره
Commencé à
ختم مخبره
Fin à

مأمورك امضاسي
Signature de l'employé

No. Pour

عن كرميه الى

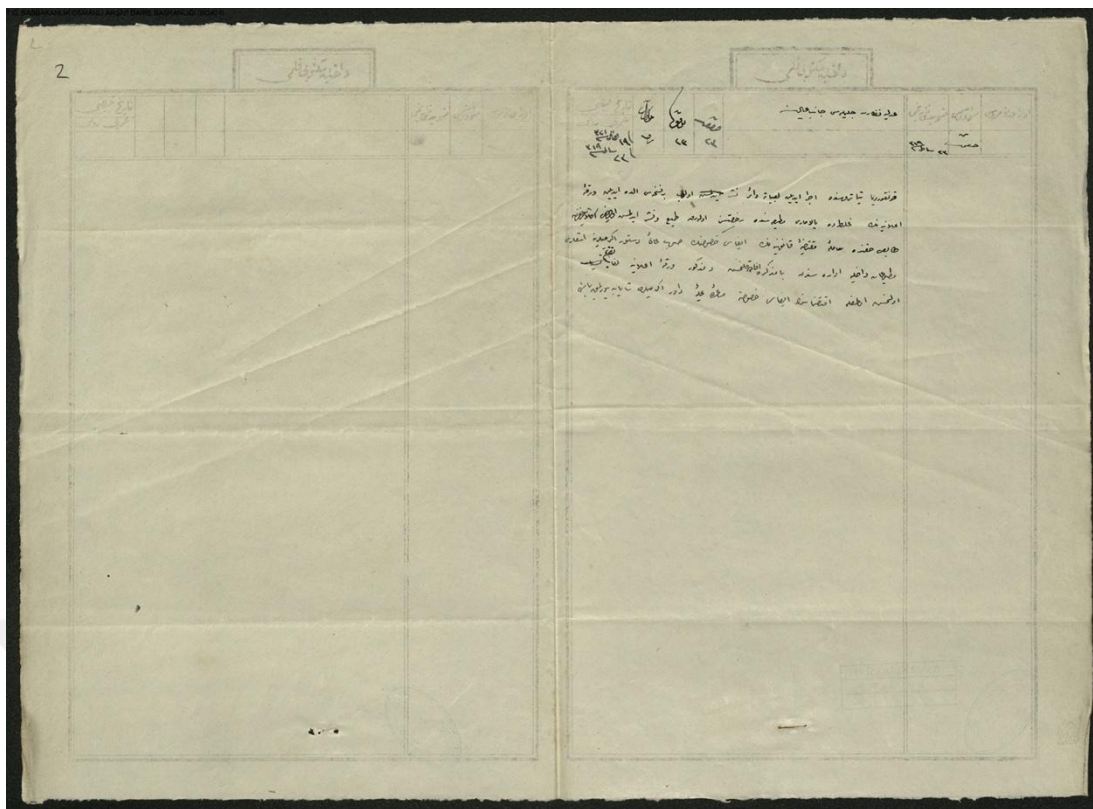
اشارات مخصوصه	طريق	روز و شب	دقيقه	ساعت	محل تاريخي	غروب	عدد كلمات	محل نومووسي
Indications non taxés	Voies	Matin ou soir	Minutes	Heures	Date du dépôt	Group	Nombre de mots	N° du dépôt
٥	٥	٥	٥	٥	٥	٥	٥	٥

سازيده دولتي نفس عموميك حضور است
ساي حريت و ايه عهديه و طيناني اجاي صفت اتحاد قانونا بر صحت در
بي جاي عباديه بولنايه قوميايه مله مدار تقبلي قوه شانوزلفه منوطه
بركونا وقوعات اولديف عاده اجاي صفتيه منع اولتقافوا اسباب
نزد مقابله جويانه لرجه ماسدر بويابده محالك محروسه كهانه مله
هر بين اجاي ايد يلايه قوه شانوزله مع جوياس مستر عدر قوه
ما يقه انگليزه

مفت

OSMANLI ARŞIVI
TFR.I.ŞKT
35 3492

TFR.I.ŞKT.00035.03492.001



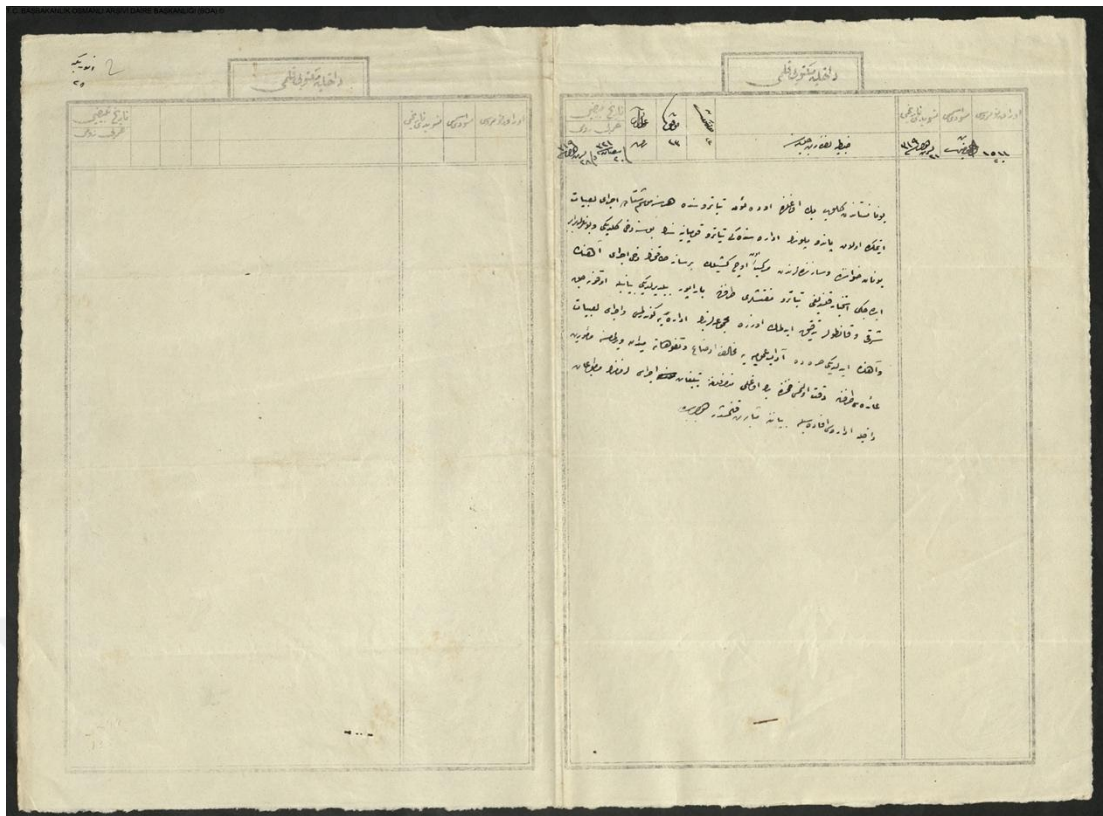
DH.MKT.00827.00011.002


 نظامی حاکمیت
 اداره مطبوعات
 عتبات
 ۱۱۹

اداره عتبات مطبوعات مطبوعه الیه ایستاد نظامی حاکمیت عتبات و قلمه و قلمه عتبات
 بالامای مطبوعه مطبوعه اوله رقم طبع و نشانی کتبه اوله عتبات طبعی عتبات معامله و مقننه قانونه نکت
 ایستادیه کیفیت عمل نظامی حاکمیت اشخاص بیست و نه اردو قلمه عتبات مطبوعه الیه
 مطبوعه و عتبات مطبوعه
 مطبوعه و عتبات مطبوعه

OSMANLI ARŞİVİ		
DH. MKT		
327	11	1

یونانستانه کلمه رک بک اوغله اوده نوبه تاروندنه اجرای لعیات اعلمه اولده باند و بولونک ادره نه کی قومینیه نیک اوده اوچ کیشک
 ساز طاقی طرفه اوقونانه شرقی و قاطولایه تحقیق و انشای لعیات آداب عمومی بم مخالف اوضاع و حرکات و تفویضات میدانه و بیکار
 لزوم ده بیت اوغله تقریب عید نه از برای عقده تقدیم قلمانه مذکره عاجز انم و سجه ایدنه اشاعه عالی نظارتیه هدیه و بیکار
 خطیه نظارت حلیه سنده جواباً وارد اولوب حواله بویریلده ملغوف تذکره ده بوباده مذکور متعلقه تبلیغات مقصد لای الیضا آناه
 تذکره جوابیه ده ذکر اولانه شرقی و قاطولایه مجموع لریک خطیه تاروندنه بویریلده بویریلده بویریلده بویریلده بویریلده بویریلده
 خارجیه معیار آداب احوال محلی بر قلمی عقده ملو به عاده نه بیزات مقصدیه ده بولمیشی بیلدیرلکی انبا ایدسه ایسده
 معلوم تاروندنه بیزات اداره عجزیه طرفه دخی تفرجه و معاینه سی اراده سیه هفت یادشگی اقتضای عالیه سنده و طلع بعدا
 بایک ضابطه امور لریک مطالبه و تصدیقیه بوشلوی بیری و شرقی و قاطولایه تحقیق و اجرائیه قطعاً میدانه و بیکار لرونک
 اقتضا ایدنده ایداً تری خصوصیت و بورد بکره اداره عجزیه تاروندنه بولمیشی اولده فرانسه و المان و ایتالیا و
 قونقور دیا و فریسات تاروندنه و شکیله تاروندنه دوله غازی سنده بولمیشی اولده بولمیشی بولمیشی بولمیشی بولمیشی
 شریک دخی اداره عجزیه معاینه ایدسه شیدده اولدینی و تاروندنه بولمیشی بولمیشی بولمیشی بولمیشی بولمیشی بولمیشی
 نسو- ایچونه اداره عجزیه کیه مامکده اولدقله بایه و افاده قائمه اولقله بولمیشی دخی برای تدقیق اداره هاکیم ایل ایل
 ایچونه اصحاب مجبو- ایدلی لرونک نظارتیه ایلام جواباً امر و اتعا- بویریلده باینده اردو زمانه هفت سیه الامرکده-



DH.MKT.00792.00074.002

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

باسم کتاب داره

۷۷۷

بک اعلیه تقیه کانه ای الفوس نام غایبده - مقصود کتاب دایمیه بآرد
 مقصود برهانم اونیورس اونیورس اولیقه عده دایمیه کله یقینه سانسو - اصولک
 بویک مناسبت لکده میانه دریم جک صودنه تحت تأمیه آله رسو - مؤلف
 کانه دریم ده دیک ناموسک بنای ارمک دهانقیه رعایده ایله ترغیصده
 جریقه ایداره سینه منایار لکله ایجا صلیقه اولیقه اوردنانه مقصود
 ولی لکله - ای - ع - مقصود با صلیقه
 لکله
 لکله

OSMANLI ARSIVI			
i.HUS			
107	4		

1321.2/4

İ.HUS.00107.00004.001


 دایرة المعارف
 اداره مطبعه
 ۶۶۸

اداره معاصری تیار در مقتدی طرز و بیلا ایوره یک اقلق قونقوردا نیاز و سنده انبالیا بح ادریه اربادیللا
 بی سدره علم الوصول اجد ایله اوللا طو تصحیحان نظر دق انیورده سیمکنده ارباقی افاده و احباب قفسه اولقد کمرینه نیاید
 در ایکی خیرینک لازم کلازده صورده مؤزده نهی کیمین خیارقه جیلدنه امرلعا بیوکلای اورزانه خیریه کلازده
 مایه اوروکلی (مجدد)

ملحوظه راغبه
 مصلحه

721/13
 DH.MKT


 نظامی حاکمیت
 اداره مطبوعات
 عتد
 ۴۴۱

قنا- ده قبل بروی غایب بوناه ساتویر طرفه اداره عجیبه نقیبه ایلمه رنج و سار ساندوه
 برقم قنار نقی ایلمه اداره هکری مازده تیار در سقشی معالکو و هی بیق ایزی اید مقسه
 غایب غیری بی طرفه شترکا و پیدیه ایلمه اداره و احضا قنیه انقله مکهو قنیه دفر لریک اصا و جله
 اداره عجیه ایله و نقیبه ایلمی حضور غایب صاحبه تجری و اصفا ایلمی نقیبه منی لرو منک
 غایب نقیبه جیدنه امر و احضا و هی بایق اردو منک حفظ صله ادر مکهو
 با سید لایحه و احضا
 و طوعاف و احضا
 مصطفی

59
 181
 DH.MKT 532/26

1


 دایرة المعارف
 عتبات
 ۷۰

قضیه موسوی مکتبی منقذیه اول در وقت وقوع تظاهرات وضع اید ملکی او را در وقت استعفا اولیاده در وقت قطع پیوسته معاینه
 و نقد بقی ضمیمه لغا کوندلریکی آید به ولایت جلدیست اداره عا برقی هوالم سورملیه ملغوفی تحریر شده اخبار اولیاده ایسه ده بسته قطع
 بیسی کوندلرله ولدی المعاینه ترکیه زور طبیب واسیا نیوی استعارن نام به سترک تشخیص محدود کور طحله اداره عا جزیده حفظ اید بیلدن
 دیگر اویچ قطع سکت تشخیص باسی کور بیل مدینه با تشخیص لغا تقسیم فائمه او غله بوندلر ولایت مشارالیه ارسالیم برابر طی
 و توضیح اولیاده و در علم او بناد طه اعتنا اید بسلک اقتضا اید لدره او و تبیین فرمست جوابا اخبار سورملی باند ه امر و فرمانه
 در وقت مه لالار کله ۱ عه محرم ۱۲۸۱ مار و طایع

رطب عات رفیه میله
 مکتب

DH.MKT 486/63

3

ایمانی

تکلیف و تالیف

عسکری

۶۱

داخیه نفق هیلده

نقو اقم مغزی

علا هیلده تحت اداره سده بولمان مکتبه عارفه و لوله دوزده ترتیب آید ریجی در نه قطع تیار ویم سیک بعد المعاینه شاردان
طرفه موقع تماشایه وضعه رفعت اعطای است عا سده در قطع ایستای ایزد ایللیت مکتبی مدیری خور امین امضا سیکه ویریلان
عزیزان مذکوریه سیرله برابر لغا ارسال الوفتم اقتضای سیک ایضا و بنا بر طریقی بایده مردوغان هفده مدله الامور که
دایه ولایه بایده



بایه
۱۲۱۶
۱۲۱۷

DH.MKT 486/63

2

سید محمد
مکتب عثمانی
عزیز
۹۰۰

دعوتی بقدر حاجت علیا

۱۲۶/۱۱

DH-MKT 1311-5-22

دوئل افق حقیقه

بک انجمنه جاده کبریه لویه زقاده سوسیه او بر دینده محکمه بجهت انظار بانه که ایالتی بنده با و با ایوب بوسه جود لک بدیه سابقه جلیک و زریح اوسره بوضع بقدر
موقوفه و موقوفه لک نام لک تحت ادره سرح حقیا بر قلوب کس را بر لک و غرض کس شنبه بجهت کجس بعد کس کس اجتماع انجمنی آتخا قفسی اوزر سجد بر استعلام انجمن ادره
بدیه مدیریت لک جودیه حق جلی ایدرینده تحقیقاته مسیله اولیقه کوره دسما و نه کس که ایالتی لک بدیه سرتیه اجید و نه بدیه لک کد و لک بوضع جلیک
اولیقه کس ایالتی لک بوضع جلیک ادره دسما و نه کس که ایالتی لک بدیه سرتیه اجید و نه بدیه لک کد و لک بوضع جلیک
و ها او و نه کس که ایالتی لک بدیه سرتیه اجید و نه بدیه لک کد و لک بوضع جلیک
ایدرین و نه کس که ایالتی لک بدیه سرتیه اجید و نه بدیه لک کد و لک بوضع جلیک
کس لک و نه کس که ایالتی لک بدیه سرتیه اجید و نه بدیه لک کد و لک بوضع جلیک
دره عماره سرح نظر و قد ایمن از و بریه بولنه و معافیه تنجی ادره مدیریت ایفا بقیامه فقه اطلعه سید نه بدیه بوضع جلیک
اجید لک ۱۳۱۱

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