EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH VIEWS OF THE LEVANTINES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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ABSTRACT

ON DOKUZUNCU YÜZYILIN BAŞINDA İNGİLİZLERİN OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞUNDAKİ LEVANTENLERE BAKIŞI

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The Levantines though originally a given name for the people of the Eastern Mediterranean by the Europeans began to cover the Europeans who resided permanently in significant port cities of the Ottoman Empire such as Izmir, Istanbul, Mersin, and Alexandria following the capitulations granted to European countries from the sixteenth century onwards. The privileges granted by the capitulations allowed Europeans to expand their commercial activities within the Ottoman Empire, positioning the Levantines as pivotal players in the commercial life and cultural mosaic of Eastern Mediterranean port cities. These Europeans, through extensive cultural exchanges with local Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, developed a unique cultural identity distinct from traditional European norms in aspects such as language, lifestyle, religion, dress, and living spaces. In the first half of the nineteenth century, British travelers visiting the Ottoman Empire documented their observations of the Levantine communities in their travelogues. This study examines the observations of British travelers regarding the Levantines residing in Izmir and Istanbul during this period. The primary objective is to analyze the formation of the Levantine identity, the factors contributing to this identity, and how the British perceived and evaluated this unique cultural identity. Within this framework, the study will evaluate the social, cultural, and economic lives of the Levantines in the Ottoman Empire and how these aspects were perceived and interpreted by British travelers. This examination aims to elucidate

how the Levantines developed their distinctive identity as part of the multicultural fabric of the Ottoman Empire and how this identity was assessed by British travelers.

Key Words: Levantines, Ottoman Empire, British Travelers, Nineteenth Century

ÖZ

İNGİLİZ SEYYAHLARIN GÖZÜNDEN ON DOKUZUNCU YÜZYILIN İLK YARISINDA OSMANLI LEVANTENLERİ

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Levantenler, başlangıçta Avrupalılar tarafından Doğu Akdeniz halklarına verilen bir isim olsa da, on altıncı yüzyıldan itibaren Avrupa ülkelerine tanınan kapitülasyonların ardından İzmir, İstanbul, Mersin ve İskenderiye gibi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun önemli liman kentlerinde kalıcı olarak ikamet eden Avrupalıları kapsamaya başlamıştır. Kapitülasyonların sağladığı ayrıcalıklar Avrupalıların Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki ticari faaliyetlerini genişletmelerine olanak tanıyarak Levantenleri Doğu Akdeniz liman kentlerinin ticari hayatında ve kültürel mozaiğinde önemli aktörler olarak konumlandırdı. Bu Avrupalılar, yerel Türkler, Rumlar, Ermeniler ve Yahudilerle kapsamlı kültürel alışverişler yoluyla, dil, yaşam tarzı, din, kıyafet ve yaşam alanları gibi konularda geleneksel Avrupa normlarından farklı, kendilerine özgü bir kültürel kimlik geliştirdiler. On dokuzuncu yüzyılın ilk yarısında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu ziyaret eden İngiliz seyyahlar, Levanten topluluklara ilişkin gözlemlerini seyahatnamelerinde belgelemişlerdir. Bu çalışma, İngiliz seyyahların bu dönemde İzmır ve İstanbul'da ikamet eden Levantenlere ilişkin gözlemlerini incelemektedir. Öncelikli amaç, Levanten kimliğinin oluşumunu, bu kimliğe katkıda bulunan faktörleri ve İngilizlerin bu özgün kültürel kimliği nasıl algıladıklarını ve değerlendirdiklerini analiz etmektir. Bu çerçevede çalışmada, Levantenlerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik yaşamları ile bunların İngiliz

seyyahlar tarafından nasıl algılandığı ve yorumlandığı değerlendirilecektir. Bu inceleme, Levantenlerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çok kültürlü dokusunun bir parçası olarak kendilerine özgü kimliklerini nasıl geliştirdiklerini ve bu kimliğin İngiliz seyyahlar tarafından nasıl değerlendirildiğini aydınlatmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Levantenler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, İngiliz Seyyahlar, On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Levant is a geographical concept describing a large area in the Eastern Mediterranean region of Western Asia. The term was introduced to English in the late sixteenth century from French, and derived from the Italian *Levante*, meaning rising, implying the sun's rising in the east.[1] As Şerife Yorulmaz reports, the word Levantine entered the French language in the sixteenth century in 1575, meaning "people of the East, born in Eastern countries." On the other hand, it is clearly stated in Livor Missir's "Turchia Preottomana e Ottomana" that the concept of Levantine is intertwined with concepts such as Latin and Eastern Latinity in European languages. Missir writes, "Eastern Latinity or Frankish means Roman Catholicism; those who were baptized according to the Latin rite in a church in the areas covered by the former Ottoman lands called the Levant; those who had lived in the Levant for a long time; those who belonged to a Roman Catholic family or who had become Latinized, descendants of those who had settled in the East."[2] The nineteenth century, on the other hand, -- the period when the Levantine population in the Ottoman Empire increased dramatically in certain cities--was also when the Levantine identity reached modern definitions, which were portrayed by the Europeans, the Ottomans, and the Levantines themselves. In the Ottoman Empire, Izmir, Istanbul, Mersin, and Alexandria were famous for their Levantine populations. In the nineteenth century, Levantines had a significant share in these cities' economic, commercial, social, and cultural life.

Levantines, who initially came to these cities with commercial concerns, became crowded with the continuation of their generations and formed a hybrid identity by

[1] Raziye Oban Çakıcıoğlu, "Levanten Kavramı ve Levantenler Üzerine Bir İnceleme," *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 22 (January 2007): 337–56, 337.

[2] Şerife Yorulmaz, "Tarih Sürecinde Bir Zümre: Levantenler," *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2, no. 4 (1994): 129–36, 130-31.

mixing with different cultures over time. This identity, which included Eastern and Western components, had become a living cultural concept over the centuries. Although definitions are very different, the Levantines were legally "permanent residents" of the Ottoman Empire and were known often of culturally assimilated Europeans for Westerners. It has often been quite complicated for Levantines to define their identity. Maria Rita Epik made one of the hundreds of definitions of being a Levantine by stating that Levantines "serve[d] a Turkish style pilaf at Christmas."[3] Herein, Epik draws attention to cultural transitivity and emphasizes that Levantine culture emerged due to a cultural interaction between the East and West.

On the other hand, European travelers' voyages to the Ottoman Empire significantly increased in the nineteenth century due to improved travel facilities and technological advantages. During this period, several French, English, and German travelers visited the Ottoman Empire for political, archaeological, and anthropological observations or for commercial, religious, and Grand Tour purposes. Those travelers also observed the society culturally, and depicted their observations as pieces of travel literature, a prevalent genre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the West. As it is also highlighted in this study, most of these travelers frequently mentioned the Levantines in many ways in their writings and broadly focused on the Levantines and Levantine culture.

This study will discuss the views of selected British travelers on the Levantines who visited the cities of Izmir and Istanbul in the first half of the nineteenth century. The primary reasons for selecting Izmir and Istanbul for this study are the substantial presence of Levantine communities in these cities and the wealth of primary sources available, owing to the frequent visits of British travelers. Heretofore, many studies have been conducted on the Eastern experience of British travelers and the factors shaping these experiences (prejudices, arrogance, Orientalist perspective, and

[3] Maria Rita Epik is a Turkish artist from a Levantine family of Italian origin from Izmir. Maria Rita Epik, "Levant, Levanten ve Levantenlik yada Öteki'ni Tanımlama Bağlamında Kavramların Yeniden Üretimi," essay, in *Avrupalı Mı Levanten Mi?*, ed. Arus Yumul and Fahri Dikkaya (İstanbul: Bağlam, 2006), 55-58, 55.

counterarguments).[4] Likewise, the issues that particularly attracted the attention of British travelers during their travels to the Ottoman Empire were studied many times. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to examine *everything* observed by *all* British travelers in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. Based mainly on the British travelers' accounts, who constituted an important component of one of the most powerful empires of the nineteenth century, this study will use the narratives of primary observers--who were in direct contact with the Levantines--as historical material and reveal how they viewed Levantines. Since the Levantines were a unique community living within the Ottoman Empire, the central question of this thesis is, therefore, how British travelers viewed the Levantines and their lives in the Ottoman Empire. This vital question raises the questions of who the Levantines were, what kind of sociocultural and socioeconomic structures they possessed, in what ways they were Westerners, and in what ways they were Easterners. To answer all these questions, the examination of British travelogues is essential because, as a part of British society, those travelers were both creators and re-interpreters of the Levantine perception in British society. However, this study will not ask just who the Levantines were, but also who the Levantines were according to the British travelers of the first half of the nineteenth century. Although various Levantine interpretations of the travelers will be examined one by one, one of the aims of this study is to reach a cumulative conclusion and to reveal the general views and tendencies of contemporary British travelers about the Levantines. Hence it will aspire to explicate how the British shaped and reinterpreted the Levantine identity, which was already Eurocentric. Therefore, the interpretations of the British travelers regarding the Levantines will be examined within the framework of the concept of "the self and the other." The thesis will also clarify how and in what ways the Levantines were deemed as the "other" in the accounts of nineteenth-century British travelers.

In this study, the first half of the nineteenth century was chosen as the study period for three main reasons. First, the first half of the nineteenth century is a very rich period in terms of sources due to the high number of travelers who visited the Ottoman

[4] Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs, *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2017), 74.

Empire. During this period, travel opportunities and Europe's growing interest in and desire to explore the East were at its peak. Secondly, since the first half of the nineteenth century was a period in which national and ethnic identities became increasingly prominent both in the Ottoman Empire and in Europe, the Levantine society, which did not fit neatly into these emerging identities, stands out as a significant exception. Additionally, the travelers of the time often carried with them the idea of nationalism, which they then infused into their observations and writings. Therefore, examining the Levantines in the Ottoman Empire via the description and observation of the British travelers will provide clues to discuss who the Levantines were. Moreover, there are two primary reasons for focusing on the Levantine communities in the cities of İzmir and Istanbul, as well as on the observations of British travelers regarding these communities. The first reason is the substantial population of Levantine communities in these two cities during the first half of the nineteenth century. This demographic prominence provided travelers visiting these cities with ample data to incorporate into their narratives. Secondly, during the first half of the nineteenth century, these two cities were among the most frequently visited Ottoman urban centers by European travelers. Owing to its strategic location, İzmir served as a critical port in the Mediterranean and was frequently used as a stopover during voyages to Anatolia, North Africa, and the Middle East. Istanbul, on the other hand, as the capital, was a city that all travelers to the Ottoman Empire visited.

The second chapter of this thesis--after presenting a summary of the development of several critical concepts like traveler, travel, and travel literature and fundamental discussions about travel literature--will explain nineteenth century British travelers, their journeys to the East, and their purposes. In this context, the world of thought the travelers came from will be examined, and the relationship between travelogues and historiography will be discussed. Finally, the travelers' personal backgrounds and travel purposes, which will be mentioned frequently in this thesis, will be presented.

The third chapter is dedicated to the concepts of the Levant and Levantine. This chapter will evaluate the historical development of the concept of the Levant and the elements that made the Levant possible. After determining the historical and geographical boundaries of the Levant, the important cities of the Levant, Istanbul, and Izmir will

be examined in terms of Levantine history, and the Levantine populations of these cities in the nineteenth century will be discussed. Subsequently, the differences between the concepts of Frank, Levantine, and Freshwater Franks will be stated, and the discourse that had been developed over these concepts will be argued.

In the fourth chapter, the Levantines and the concepts developed around them will be evaluated under four headings within the framework of the narratives of selected British travelers who visited the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. These titles are (4.1) Levantine Districts, (4.2) Legal Positions and State-Individual Relations of Levantines, (4.3) Ethnicity, Nationality and Language, (4.4) Social Structure of Levantines, (4.5) Social Life (4.6), Otherization of the Levantines by British Travelers, and (4.7) Occupation and Business. Hence, whether the British travelers' thoughts on the Levantines appeared to be internally consistent and compatible with the prevailing paradigm will be discussed. Herein, the relationship between these travelers and Levantines will be examined in the contexts of "identity construction" and "the self and the other."

1.1. Literature Review

It is possible to divide the sources on which this thesis is based into two sections. The first includes studies regarding nineteenth-century Ottoman Levantines, and the second one comprises pertinent travelogues and travelogue studies. Studying travelogues as primary sources has epistemological drawbacks. These difficulties, which arise from the subjective nature of travelogues, are directly related to the travelers' travel reasons, writing purposes, and observation abilities.[5] For these reasons, apart from the studies based on travelogues, the nature and structure of travelogues also constitute a separate field of study. Since British travelers' accounts are one of the two bases of this study, understanding the nature of travel writing is vitally important. Accordingly, in recent years, many studies have been carried out on how travelogues should be classified, the effects of the ethnic and religious identities of travelers on their writings, and the similar patterns of travelers of similar periods. Especially, *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (2019) which focuses on travel

[5] İlber Ortaylı, "19. Asırdan Zamanımıza Hindistan Üzerine Türk Seyahatnameleri, Ankara Üniversitesi, *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, no. 47: 271-277.

writing periodically, thematically, and geographically, provides a significant overview of this topic. Similarly, *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (2015) draws the borders of the main problems of studying travelogues and brings terminological questions and possible answers about travel writing. Moreover, some prominent studies focus on specific periods with unique features, such as *Travel Writing in Nineteen Century: Filling the Blank Spaces* (2006), which is edited by Tim Youngs.[6] All these studies can be classified as overviews of travel writing. On the other hand, Barbara Korte's *English Travel Writing: From Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations* (1996),[7] Carl Thompson's *Travel Writing (2011),* Casey Blanton's *Travel Writing: The Self and The World* (2002), and Reinhold Schiffer's *Oriental Panorama: British Travelers in 19th Century Turkey* (1999) denote some critical points about the idea of travel such as representing the self and others, significant changings in nineteenth century travel writing as a genre, and common features of nineteenth century English travel writings.[8] These substantial sources provide extensive evidence for this thesis since they highlight the details about travelers and travel writings.

In addition to all these studies, there are also studies that use the travel accounts of the British on the East as the main source, and in this way, there are works on the image of the East in English literature, self-representation, and how the British approach the Orient and the elements of the East. For a detailed analysis of the interest of British travelers and writers in the Ottoman Empire and how Romantic writers shaped the perception of the East in Western culture, how they were exposed to this perception, and how they contributed to the reinterpretation of this perception through their writings, see Filiz Turhan's *The Other Empire: British Romantic Writings about the*

[6] Tim Youngs, *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces* (London: Anthem Press, 2006).

[7] Barbara Korte and Catherine Matthias, *English Travel Writing: From Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2003).

[8] Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999).

Ottoman Empire has made great contributions to this field.[9] According to Turhan, the sharpening and exposure of the failed aspects of a decadent Eastern Empire, the othering of elements of this empire, and the dichotomies such as East-West, barbarian-civilized, successful-failed, etc., not only fed their own image of the Empire but also created a distinction between Eastern and Western societies as sharp as black and white by using the image of a decadent empire.[10] Eva Johanna Holmberg's "In the Company of Franks: British Identifications in the Early Modern Levant," explores how British travelers visiting the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century were evaluated and defined by the peoples of the Ottoman Empire and how they sought both self-identification and understanding at a time when the as-yet-unclarified Levantine identity was intertwined with the Catholic/Latin identity.

Similarly, in *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800*, Gerald Maclean examines the narratives of different travelers in the Ottoman Empire, the culture and the prevailing paradigm that formed these narratives, and the imperial mentality's perspective on an Eastern empire.[11] In MacLean's other work, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720*, he uses a similar method to reveal the Ottoman depictions and the widespread imperial perspective of the period through the narratives of well-known travelers of the seventeenth century such as Thomas Dallam, William Biddulph, and Sir Henry Blount.[12]

The concept of Levantine, which is a Eurocentric concept, and the Levantine people in the Ottoman Empire found a limited place in studies in the field of history compared

[9] Filiz Turhan, *The Other Empire: British Romantic Writings about the Ottoman Empire* (London: Routledge, 2014).

[10] Ibid.

[11] R. Ballaster, "Gerald MacLean. Looking East. English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800.," *The Review of English Studies* 59, no. 241 (November 27, 2007): 614–16, https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgn048.

[12] Gerald M. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

to other minority studies. Nevertheless, Levantines have been frequently mentioned in urban and area studies, Mediterranean trade studies, and religious studies. First of all, one of the most critical studies on Levantines is *Levantiner. Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im osmanischen Reich im "langen 19. Jahrhundert* (2005) by Oliver Jens Schmitt.[13] In his research, Schmitt makes a detailed analysis of the Levantine identity, examines its perception by Europe within the framework of Edward Said's Orientalism, draws attention to the class structure and economic activities of the Levantine population in Istanbul and Izmir, and emphasizes its transformation in the nineteenth century. Schmitt's research, one of the detailed studies on the Levantines in terms of scope, underlines that the Levantines are an ethnic group. Because of the fact that Levantines culturally and socially identify themselves with Catholicism and legally were the subjects of Italy and France to a large extent, Schmitt used both Catholic, Italian, and French state archives as primary sources for research. On the other hand, although Schmitt's analysis is comprehensive regarding Levantine history, it is limited to the interests and perspectives of European states, as Selçuk Akşin Somel conveys in his review.[14] Moreover, it does not cover the social position of the Levantines and their relations with other European and Ottoman elements. Nevertheless, Schmitt's research raised new questions for future study of the Levantines when it was first published. Another critical study directly focusing on the Levantines is *Avrupalı mı Levanten mi?* (2006) edited by Arus Yumul and Fahri Dikkaya.[15] As editors emphasize in the preface, the book is based on papers presented at the 1998 conference, *Levantenler ya da Avrupalılar.* The study, which brings together many researchers studying the Mediterranean world, such as Edhem Eldem, İlhan Pınar, Serap Yılmaz, and Stefanos Yerasimos, emphasizes the identity problems of the Levantines, the conceptualization of being a Levantine, and their contributions to the urban culture.

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[13] Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Levantiner: Lebenswelten Und Identitäten Einer Ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe Im Osmanischen Reich Im "Langen 19. Jahrhundert"* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005).

[14] Selçuk Akşin Somel, review of *Levantiner. Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im osmanischen Reich im "langen 19. Jahrhundert*, by Oliver Jens Schmitt, Jahrbücher *für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 55, No.2 (2007), 318-320.

[15] Arus Yumul and Fahri Dikkaya, *Avrupalı Mı Levanten Mı?*(İstanbul: Bağlam, 2006).

Similarly, there are some unpublished dissertations such as "Izmir Levatenleri ve Kültürel Etkileri,"[16] written by Salih Narin, and "Levantenleri Toplumsal Konumu: Izmir Örneği" by Serkan Aksu, which focus on the relations between the Levantines residing in Izmir and other ethnic groups, the hybrid culture they created, and the social equivalent of Levantine identity.[17] At the same time, articles like "19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de İtalyan Cemaati," written by Mevlüt Çelebi, contributes to the literature as a study centered on the Italian origins Levantines,[18] while the article written by Filomena Viviana Tagliaferri, "In the Process of Being Levantines," focuses on the Levantinization of the Catholic Community of Izmir and examines the process of the Catholic communities coming together with a new upper identity.[19] Apart from these, studies that do not focus on the construction of the concept of Levantine, the Levantines as a community, and the relationship between Europe and the Levantine community but focus on the activities of specific Levantine families have also been frequently carried out in recent years. While these studies contribute to understanding the Levantines as a by-product, they are generally built on individual examples. One of the best examples of that kind of study is Frank Castiglione's "Levantine Dragomans in Nineteenth Century Istanbul: The Pisanis, the British, and Issue of Subjecthood." The article, on the one hand, focuses on the self-identification of a Levantine family, the *Pisani* family; it reveals the conflict between the British embassy and the Pisani family regarding the ethnicity of the Pisani family in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[20] Similarly, Semih Sefer's "Osmanlı Devletinde Faaliyet

[16] Salih Narin, "İzmir Levatenleri ve Kültürel Etkileri" (Master's diss., Dicle Üniversitesi, 2012).

[17] Serkan Akarsu, "Levantenleri Toplumsal Konumu: İzmir Örneği" (Master's diss., Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2019).

[18] Mevlüt Çelebi, "19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de İtalyan Cemaati," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 22, no. 1 (2007): 19–51.

[19] Filomena Viviana Tagliaferri, "In the Process of Being Levantines. The 'Levantinization' of the Catholic Community of Izmir (1683–1724)," *Turkish Historical Review* 7 (2016).

[20] Frank Castiglione, "Levantine Dragomans in Nineteenth Century İstanbul: The Pisanis, the British, and Issue of Subjecthood," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 44, no. 44 (2014): 169–95.

Gösteren Banker Lorondo ve Tubini Aileleri"[21] and Ayşegül Avcı's "Yankee Levantine: David Offley and Ottoman-American Relations in the Early Nineteenth Century" focus on the commercial activities of Levantine families and individuals within the Ottoman Empire and the political and social relations formed due to these activities.[22] In the same way, Zeynep Naz Simer's "Impacts of A Levantine Bourgeois Family; The Whittalls in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire" explains the transformation of Levantines in the nineteenth century through the Whittall family, who were merchants, and focus on revealing the relationship between sovereign powers and Levantines. [23]

Finally, although Levantines constituted a very small part of the total population of the Ottoman Empire, they are frequently mentioned in the studies that focus on urban history since they had a significant role in Ottoman social and commercial life. Many studies which concentrate on the cultural and commercial life that developed in and around Izmir, as well as nineteenth century Istanbul and its non-Muslim communities, inevitably encounter the traces of Levantine life—Olaf Yaranga's *XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Fransız Gezginlerin Anlatımlarıyla İzmir*, Bülent Şenocak's *Levant'ın Yıldızı İzmir*, Rauf Beyru's *19. Yüzyıl'da İzmir'de Yaşam,* and *Üç İzmir* edited by Şahin Beygu, are the major studies which focus on nineteenth century Izmir. Similarly, Zeynep Çetin's "Avrupalı Gezginlerin Gözüyle Batı Anadolu,"[24] Onur Kınlı's "19. Yüzyıl'da Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin İzmir'deki Konsolosluk Faaliyetleri,"[25]

[21] Semih Sefer, "Osmanlı Devletinde Faaliyet Gösteren Banker Lorondo ve Tubini Aileleri" (Master's diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2017).

[22] Avcı, Ayşegül. "Yankee Levantine: David Offley and Ottoman-American Relations in the Early Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., Bilkent Üniversitesi, 2016).

[23] Zeynep Naz Simer, "Impacts of A Levantine Bourgeois Family; The Whittalls in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire" (Master's diss., İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2014).

[24] Zeynep Çetin, "Avrupalı Gezginlerin Gözüyle Batı Anadolu" (Master' diss., Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi, 2013).

[25] Onur Kınlı, "19. Yüzyıl'da Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin İzmir'deki Konsolosluk Faaliyetleri" (PhD diss., Ege Üniversitesi, 2009).

Theophilus C. Prousis's "Smyrna in 1821: A Russian View," Tuğçe Atik's "The Rise of Ottoman Izmir As a Commercial Center,"[26] and Feryal Tansuğ's "Communal Relations in Izmir/Smyrna, 1826-1864: As Seen Through the Prism of Greek-Turkish Relations"[27] are some of the recent works on life in Izmir as well as Levantine life, identity problems and commercial activities of the Levantines.

Moreover, it is possible to find traces of the Levantines in many studies conducted within the framework of Istanbul's urban history. "*Osmanlı İstanbulu II,*" edited by Feridun Emecen, Ali Akyıldız and Emrah Safa Gürkan, Füsun İstanbullu Dinçer's *Seyyahlar Şehri İstanbul ve Tarihi Devinim İçersindeki Bir Kent Görüntüsü,* and Suraiya Faroqhi's *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam,*[28] are some of the urban history studies which focus on Istanbul, and define Levantines as a vital element of Istanbul's urban culture. Esin Yüzbaşı's "18. ve 20. Yüzyıllar arasında Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslimlerin Yaşamları,"[29] Pinelopi Stathis's "19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Gayrimüslimler," Christina Kiskira's "American Christian Penetration of Constantinople Society in the Late 19th Century" are significant studies that focus on non-Muslim life in nineteenth century Istanbul including Levantines.[30]

All these recent studies have shed light on who nineteenth century Ottoman Levantines were, how they lived, what jobs they possessed, who they were in contact with as well

[26] Tuğçe Atik, "The Rise of Ottoman Izmir As a Commercial Center" (Master's diss., Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 2014).

[27] Feryal Tansuğ, "Communal Relations in İzmir/Smyrna, 1826-1864: As Seen through the Prism of Greek-Turkish Relations" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2008).

[28] Suraiya Faroqhi and Elif Kilic, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam: Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla* (İstanbul: Türkiye Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998).

[29] Esin Yüzbaşı and Melike Sarıkçıoğlu, "18. ve 20. Yüzyıllar Arasında Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslimlerin Yaşamları," *Akademik Tarih ve Araştırmalar Dergisi (ATAD)* 4, no. 4 (2021): 48–67.

[30] Christina Kiskira, "American Christian Penetration of Constantinople Society in the Late 19th Century," *Balkan Studies* 40, no. 2 (1999): 310–25.

as their place in the urban culture, and identity conflicts. Moreover, the detailed analysis in Schmitt's study clarifies that Europeans defined Levantine identity from the Orientalist perspective, just like other ethnic elements of the Ottoman Empire. However, since Levantine is a Eurocentric identity, various archival documents are needed to understand this identity's nature. Therefore, this thesis will construct a narrative based on the primary observer travelers who were in direct contact with the Levantines. The central question of this thesis is why and how the British travelers labeled the Levantines as the *other* just as they classified the other peoples of the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. To answer this question, examining British travelogues would be essential since these works include detailed observations on the Levantines that will reveal the common British line of thought of the nineteenth century. Although the views of the travelers to be examined will be analyzed separately, the thesis will aim to reach a cumulative conclusion and reveal the prevailing mentality, common thoughts, and tendencies of nineteenth-century British travelers regarding Levantines. In this way, personal impressions of the travelers will reveal the spirit of the time by pursuing an inductive method. Accordingly, the basic features and definitions of the Levantine community will be redefined by unconscious but active agents in the process, British travelers.

Developing transportation technology, international military mobility, and orientalist motivation made nineteenth century travelers different from their predecessors and successors. Likewise, the nineteenth century was a very active period for travelers visiting the Ottoman Empire. Many travelers, especially the French, German, and British, visited the Ottoman Empire for various purposes and recorded these visits in line with their intentions. Almost all these travelers visited Istanbul, and a significant number stayed in Izmir, interacted with people, and evaluated daily life. These travelers' writings contain various information about the Levantines. Their diaries, specifically the British ones, are the most significant primary sources for this thesis. To precisely point out, Francis Hervé's *A Residence in Greece and Turkey, with notes of the Journey Through Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary, and the Balkan* (1837), provide detailed accounts of Levantine societies in Izmir and Istanbul with respect to ethnic diversity and population, while Charles Fellows's *Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor* (1839), and Adolphus Slade's *Turkey, Greece and Malta*

(1837) contain detailed descriptions of Levantine daily life, commercial activities and the interrelationship between Levantines and other ethnic elements of the empire. In addition, Charles Colville Frankland's *Travels to and from Constantinople* (1829) frequently refer to the Levantines residing in Galata, their commercial activities, and their relations with the palace. On the other hand, Charles Mac Farlane's *A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces* (1829), John Hobhouse's *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the years 1809 and 1810* (1817), and Alexander William Kinglake's *Eothen; or Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East* (1845) provides an overview of Ottoman Levantine. Although all these works are the main primary sources of the study, the sources are not limited to them. All these travelers became interested in similar issues during their visits to the Ottoman Empire and highlighted identical characteristics of the Levantines, like their living spaces, legal positions, Levantine culture, and social life of the Levantines. Being aware of the fact that the most of the Levantines were of European origin in Izmir and Istanbul (Frank in common use in the Ottoman Empire), the travelers did not hesitate to examine them as the "other" and conveyed their "different and exotic" lives, family structures, commercial relations, and their unique social life to their readers. In the light of all these studies, this thesis will make a detailed source analysis by compiling all the thoughts of British travelers on Levantines who visited the Ottoman Empire and interacted with the Levantines in the first half of the nineteenth century by reinterpreting them within a coherent narrative.

CHAPTER 2

TRAVEL, TRAVEL WRITING, AND NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH TRAVELERS

The word *travel* is defined as "to make a journey, usually over a long distance," and travelogue is "a film or book about traveling to or in a particular place."[31] However, the boundaries of the travel writing genre are quite ambiguous rather than specific and strictly fixed. In fact, it is a controversial issue whether it is openly a literary genre in itself or a sub-genre of another literary genre.[32] While some literary historians consider travelogues as a literary genre in itself by classifying them with their own characteristics, others consider these writings as a sub-genre of autobiography and memoirs.[33] On the other hand, some researchers, such as Tim Youngs, emphasizes that even trying to define travel literature involves various risks. Youngs, who specializes in travel writing studies, states in his study, *Travellers in Africa:* "Travel writing feeds from and back into other forms of literature. To try to identify boundaries between various forms would be impossible, and I would be deeply suspicious of any attempt at the task."[34] Yet, there are also attempts to introduce various definitions. For instance, Casey Blanton defines travel writing as "a narrator/traveler who travels for the sake of travel; a narrative organization that owes much to fiction; a commitment to both a

[31] "Travel," *Cambridge Dictionary*, accessed February 26, 2023, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/travel.

[32] For detailed account of those debates, see Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca (Nueva York): Cornell University Press, 1991); Jan Borm, in *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, ed. Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs, vol. 19 (London, England: Routledge, 2016), pp. 12-26; Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (Abingdon England: Routledge, 2011), 11-27.

[33] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 14.

[34] Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850–1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 8.

literary language and a personal voice; and thematic concerns of great moral and philosophical import."[35] On the other hand, while Carl Thompson defines travel as "is the negotiation between self and other that is brought about by movement in space," he describes travelogues as the records of this negotiation.[36] Travelogues are the records of the negotiation between the self and others in which the travelers subjectively and partly literarily describe the ways they travel in space and the differences and similarities they encounter.[37]

Travel literature has a long history. Ancient people traveled for a variety of purposes, including conducting trade by land or sea, visiting religious shrines and oracles, and managing and maintaining the different empires of the ancient world, from the Egyptian to the Roman.[38] All these activities led to the emergence of a number of travel-related text formats. Among the most basic and functional documents were those known as the Greek *periploi* or the Latin *navigations*.[39] The writings of early travelers such as Hecataeus of Miletus (550 BC - 476 BC), Herodotus (484 - 425 BC), Strabo (64 - 24 AD), and Pausanias (110 AD – 180 AD) can be regarded as the first texts of this emerging genre.[40] None of these writings, however, would convey the experience of travel" that is typical of what we shall now refer to as travelogues. Ancient travelers aimed to create a guide rather than recording their individual experiences.[41] The texts written by the pilgrims in the fourteenth century would be the

[35] Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and The World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 30.

[36] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 9.

[37] Blanton, *Travel Writing 30*; Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 9-10.

[38] Ibid., 35.

[39] Ibid., 36.

[40] Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and The World*, 1-4.

[41] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 37.

first travelogues in the modern sense in Western literature. The medieval era, like the Classical era, produced an abundance of travel-related texts. The "*peregrinatio*," or pilgrimage story, is the most typical first-person description of actual travel in this period.[42] Yet, for the medieval pilgrims, traveling and writing were more of a religious duty than a passion. While pilgrims, who had limited mobility in the feudal system, mostly gave comprehensive coverage to religious feelings and religious places in their writings, nature, environment, and human descriptions were often ignored.[43]

Another form of travel in the Middle Ages was the diplomatic mission text. Marco Polo's famous travel began with Polo being sent to the palace of Kublai Khan. However, in the history of European travel and travel writing, Christopher Columbus' four trips between 1492 and 1504 represent a turning point. A new emphasis on eye witnessing, of seeing for oneself and establishing facts via empirical inquiry rather than by referencing the great authors of the past, was the critical outcome of Columbus's startling discoveries. In this way, the genre that would be recognized for many centuries as "voyages and travels" started to take shape.[44]

By the eighteenth century, travelogues occupied a large place in the European intellectual realm. This popularity, in part, resulted from the economic and technological gains that eased travel. However, the increase in travel during the eighteenth century scarcely explains the extraordinary popularity of travel literature.[45] The travelers of the eighteenth century were no longer obsessed with factuality like

[42] Ibid.

[43] Alan Kendall, *Medieval Pilgrims* (London: Wayland Publishers, 1986), 17-34.

[44] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 38.

[45] Charles L. Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021), 3.

medieval travelers, but they described factual information obtained from their travels to foreign lands by blending it with a literary style.[46]

The nineteenth century was truly an age of mobility. As William Hazlitt, one of the most significant critics and essayists in the history of British literature, wrote in 1826: "We now seem to exist only where we are not to be hurrying on to what is before us, or looking back to what is behind us, never to be fixed to any spot."[47] The pillars of modern globalization were created by imperial expansion, which merged formerly regionalized economies and increased the frequency and closeness of cultural exchange.[48]

This trend could be observed as early as the end of the eighteenth century, with the rising popularity of travel on the Continent and the emergence of scenic tourism. Furthermore, travel during this period became increasingly accessible for various segments of the society. In the nineteenth century, there was a notable shift in travel patterns, with an increasing number of people from different social classes embarking on journeys for leisure and educational purposes. This shift was facilitated by various factors, including advancements in transportation and infrastructure.[49] The Industrial Revolution brought about significant improvements in steamship technology, making sea travel more efficient and affordable. Similarly, the development of railways opened new possibilities for domestic and international travel, making distant destinations more accessible.[50]

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Nandini Das and Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 108.

[48] Ibid., 109.

[49] Detailed account of transportation and transportation revolution in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see, Philip Sidney Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution 1770-1985* (London: Routledge, 2015).

[50] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 54.

The early eighteenth century saw the emergence of the "Grand Tour," a traditional educational journey undertaken by young men from wealthy British families.[51] The Grand Tour typically involved traveling through Europe to experience different cultures, visit historical sites, and gain knowledge and refinement. It became a rite of passage for the aristocratic class and was considered an essential part of their education. This practice laid the foundation for the growing interest in travel and exploration that would continue into the nineteenth century.[52]

Additionally, the advent of mass-produced travel guides and the establishment of travel agencies further contributed to the growth of travel during this period. People like Thomas Cook, a British travel entrepreneur, played a crucial role in popularizing travel and making it accessible to the middle and working classes.[53] He organized package tours and introduced the concept of inclusive travel, providing accommodation, meals, and transportation as part of a fixed price. These innovations made travel more affordable and convenient for a broader range of individuals.[54]

The increasing popularity of scenic tourism also played a significant role in the intensification of travel during the Victorian era (1837-1901). People began to appreciate the beauty of nature and sought out picturesque landscapes for their leisure activities.[55] The Romantic movement, which celebrated nature's sublime and beauty, influenced the desire for scenic travel experiences. As a result, destinations such as the Swiss Alps, the Italian countryside, and the Scottish Highlands became popular among

[51] For a detailed account of Grand Tours, see; John Towner, *The European Grand Tour* (University of Birmingham, 1984).

[52] Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and The World*, 32-36.

[53] Ibid., 61-62.

[54] Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature*, 63-64.

[55] Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and The World, 38-40.*

travelers seeking aesthetic and recreational pleasures.[56] Overall, the nineteenth century, particularly during Queen Victoria's reign, witnessed a remarkable intensification of travel. The increased popularity of travel on the Continent, the emergence of scenic tourism, advancements in transportation, and the efforts to make travel more accessible to different social classes all contributed to this phenomenon. The Victorian era marked a significant turning point in travel history, paving the way for the modern tourism industry as we know it today.[57]

All these developments acted as both a driving force behind the development of travel literature and a lever in increasing social mobility. Travel writers were not the only travelers mediating the non-Western world to European and American audiences, but reports and narratives also flowed from diplomats, traders, and army and naval officers (and less commonly from lower-ranking writers).[58] Regardless of their intellectual or artistic accomplishments, however, many of these travelers evinced a desire to get "off the beaten track" and avoid the usual tourist itineraries.[59] This agenda was driven partly by a romantic desire to visit sites of unspoiled natural beauty and cultures seemingly untouched by modernity. A desire to escape the stifling moral codes of the Victorian era was also a factor for some travelers.[60]

At this point, the port cities of the Mediterranean and their hinterlands were the perfect destinations for European travelers. There were basically three reasons for this; firstly, they were conveniently located in terms of transportation, and it was possible to reach these ports by ship with relatively less cost and time saving. Secondly, in the first half

[56] Ibid.

[57] Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature,* 92-101.

[58] Das and Youngs, *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing,* 118.

[59] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 54.

[60] Ibid.

of the nineteenth century, these port cities had not yet been caught in the grip of modernity and urbanization, and their natural beauty had managed to remain unspoiled and untouched by urbanization and industrialization. Finally, these regions provided an opportunity to experience the uncivilized, away from the bustling nature of European urban life and its traditional structure dominated by strict morals and etiquette.[61] For all these reasons, the Western Aegean and the Levant became one of the most important destinations of the Grand Tour and scenic tourism. Especially Izmir and its hinterland were frequently mentioned by the travel guides of the period as having a great potential for scenic tourism, while the Aegean coasts became the way stations of many Grand Tours.[62]

For British travelers, the Near East, Middle East, and Eastern Mediterranean had become quite popular since the second half of the eighteenth century. Port cities such as Izmir, Istanbul, and Aleppo were important stopping points for many European travelers. Regions such as Ephesus, Antioch, and Nicaea were frequently visited because of their great importance to Christians. The most significant era of English interest in the Near East began in the middle of the eighteenth century, and not until then did this region become generally known to the people at home through accurate first-hand accounts by Englishmen.[63] Three critical factors in most of the trips British travelers made to these regions. These were the growing interest in scientific archeology in Europe, the shift of travel to the East due to European infighting, and the colonial desires of the British in the Near East.[64] A large number of British travelogues took over the world of nineteenth century English literature. A significant part of these were about the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean, mainly the Levant. On the other hand, the thoughts, and opinions of the travelers and of the society

[61] Ibid.

[62] Das and Youngs, *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, 120.

[63] Wallace Cable Brown, "The Popularity of English Travel Books About the Near East, 1775-1825," *Philological Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1936): pp. 70-80, 72.

[64] Ibid.

interacted with each other in two ways: While the accounts of the travelers reflected the general judgments of the society they came from, they also prepared the ground for their popularity. In other words, travelers had been influenced by the common discourse about the East and started their travel with a pre-defined mindset, while the common paradigm was fed by various texts written by travelers about the Orient within this mindset. Travel literature produced the "elemental questions of epistemology, the relation between subject and object, knower and the known."[65] The orientalist discourse also promotes an active Occident trying to "know" a fixed and passive Orient, transforming the self into a subject via the category of "the knower" and the other into an object through the category of "the known." Thus, travelers became both producers and consumers of what they produced.[66] Since a traveler is a person who travels from the perspective of the "self," considering, evaluating, and discovering the "other" while reconstructing the self in this journey, the conflict between "self" and "other" (or the knower and the known), which spread throughout the travelogues, dominates at every point of the narratives. For travelers, Levantines revealed the impossibility of being the other, the alienation of the self, and the stigma of the familiar with distance.[67]

2.1. British Travelers in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire

Nineteenth century British travelers are one of the two pillars of this study. In other words, travelers are in the position of the subject in the dialogue between subject and object, who sees, interprets, and produces knowledge. The society to which these travelers belong and the value judgments arising from that society have been examined in many studies before. On the other hand, the enormous pile of information produced by these travelers has been the subject of different studies. However, in order to reinterpret the information produced by the travelers and to create a meaningful and

[65] Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World*, 3.

[66] Mustafa Serdar Palabıyık, "Travel, Civilization and the East: Ottoman Travellers' Perception of "The East" in the Late Ottoman Empire" (Phd diss., Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 2010), 39.

[67] Arus Yumul, "Melez Kimlikler," in *Avrupalı Mı Levanten Mi?,* ed. Arus Yumul and Fahri Dikkaya (İstanbul: Bağlam, 2006), pp. 39-50, 43.

coherent narrative, it is necessary to examine not only the society and mentality of the travelers but also the personal backgrounds of these travelers and their travel and writing purposes. The primary British travel writers to be examined in this study are as follows: John Hobhouse, Charles Colville Frankland, Charles Macfarlane, Francis Hervé, Adolphus Slade, Charles Fellows, Julia Pardoe, Charles Addison, John Fuller, John Galt, Thomas MacGill, and Albert Smith.[68]

These travelers are selected based on three main criteria. They are chosen to represent almost every decade of the first half of the nineteenth century. This approach aims to cover the entire period and reveal changing perspectives and social norms from the beginning to the end of this era. For example, Thomas MacGill (1805-6), John Galt (1808), and John Hobhouse (1813) traveled at the turn of the century, while Charles Macfarlane (1829) and Adolphus Slade (1829-31) journeyed in the middle of the first half, and Francis Hervé (1837), Charles Fellows (1838), and Albert Smith (1850) traveled towards the end.

The second criterion is the selection of authors from diverse professional backgrounds. This diversity aims to reveal as many aspects as possible of the general stereotypes within English society. For instance, John Hobhouse was a politician, Frankland was an admiral, Francis Hervé was an artist, Charles Fellows was an archaeologist, Charles Addison was a lawyer, Julia Pardoe was a poet, and John Galt was a social theorist and entrepreneur. This variety ensures that the focus of each traveler's narrative reflects their professional interests, providing a comprehensive and encompassing British view of Levantine society, and allowing an examination of its many facets.

The third and final criterion is that the authors had close contact with Levantine society during their travels. They maintained close relations with Levantines and referred to these interactions in their narratives. These travelers' works that are employed as primary sources in this study encompass their writers' dialogues with Levantine society who were guests in Levantine homes, and visited casinos run by Levantines, attended balls, and detailed these experiences in their writings.

[68] As a result of the research, the identity of the traveler John Fuller remains undetermined.

John Cameron Hobhouse, also known as Lord Broughton (1786-1869), was born in Gloucestershire, England. He graduated from the Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1809, traveled in Europe in 1809–10 and in 1816–17 with his close friend Lord Byron.[69] In the 1820s, he shared Byron's enthusiasm for Greece's independence from Ottoman Empire.[70] Imprisoned (1819–20) for his pamphlet titled attacking the unreformed House of Commons, he was then elected as Member of Parliament in 1820. In 1825, he secured the prohibition of night labor by children in factories. After the enactment of the major parliamentary reform in 1832, Hobhouse (2nd baronet from 1831) became increasingly conservative. He served as secretary at war (1832–33), chief secretary for Ireland (1833), first commissioner for woods and forests (1834), and president of the Board of Control for India (1835–41, 1846–52).[71] Hobhouse, who collected the notes of his two-year trip with Lord Byron in *A Journey Through Albania, And Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, To Constantinople*, published in 1817, also wrote travelogues about his travels in the following years. This work, which consists of two volumes, was written in the form of letters. After the main part of the book, which consists of fifty-one letters, there is a relatively long and very detailed appendix.

Charles Colville Frankland, a British admiral and travel writer, embarked on a remarkable journey in 1827 while serving as a naval lieutenant. His travels took him from Vienna to Southeastern Europe and the East, spanning a period of 15 months. After his return, Frankland published his travelogue titled *Travels to and from Constantinople in the years 1827 and 1828.* In his travelogue, he adopted the format of a travel journal to recount his experiences.[72] He also provides a meticulous account

[69] Lord Byron was British Romantic poet and satirist whose poetry and personality captured the imagination of Europe. For detailed information, see "Lord Byron," Encyclopædia Britannica, accessed April 15, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Lord-Byron-poet.

[70] "John Cam Hobhouse, Baron Broughton," Encyclopædia Britannica, accessed May 30, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Cam-Hobhouse-Baron-Broughton-de-Gyfford.

[71] Ibid.

[72] "Charles Colville Frankland." Ioli Vingopoulou, accessed May 31, 2023, http://eng.travelogues.gr/collection.php?view=228.

of his itinerary, starting from Vienna and progressing through Hungary, Wallachia, and Bulgaria, eventually reaching Istanbul. Along the way, he describes the various monuments, sights, and places of interest that he encountered, and provides his readers a vivid picture of the region.[73] Frankland's travelogue serves as a valuable record of his journey, capturing the essence of each location and presenting insights concerning the cultural and historical significance of the places he visited. Through his observations and descriptions, he offered readers a unique perspective on his travels from Vienna to Istanbul and the surrounding areas.

Scottish-born writer and poet Charles Macfarlane (1799-1858) reached Izmir from Çeşme during the Battle of Navarino (October 1827) and traveled to the island of Hios (Chios), the Çeşme-Karaburun Peninsula, and Northern Anatolia. He stayed in Istanbul for the entire 1828.[74] He published the notes of his trip in 1827 under the title *Constantinople in 1828: A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces*. He indicated in this work's preface that he desired to write an original travelogue, and wrote every detail of his private or public life in the Ottoman Empire.[75] Monuments, marketplaces, commerce, various ethnic groups, ports, folk beliefs, music and education, women, and political events of the period were among his descriptions.[76] In his original travel book, Macfarlane denotes very clearly the "great changes" that took place in the Ottoman administration and society at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as well as his impressions about the people and the private and public life of the Ottoman Empire, especially in its capital.[77]

[73] Ibid.

[74] "Charles Macfarlane." Ioli Vingopoulou, accessed May 31, 2023, https://tr.travelogues.gr/collection.php?view=217.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

Francis Hervé (1781-1850), a British artist of French descent, actively participated in the exhibitions of the Royal Academy between 1818 and 1840. He had a close friendship with Madame Tussaud and collaborated with her sons on a book about her life. In 1833, Hervé embarked on a journey to the East.[78] The Philhellene general Richard Church commissioned him to create portraits of Greek revolutionaries. Initially planning to sail directly to Istanbul, Hervé instead disembarked in Nafplion and stayed in Greece for a significant period.[79]

Hervé documented his journey in a two-volume work published in 1837, titled *A Residence in Greece and Turkey: With Notes of the Journey Through Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary, and the Balkans*. In this work, he provides a lively and entertaining description of life in King Otto's Greece and the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, with various anecdotes.[80] Hervé's journey began in Marseille in August 1833, and he reached Nafplion, then the capital of the Greek State, through Malta and Naples. His chronicle encompasses topics such as Bavarian politics, prominent public figures, visits to archaeological and historical sites, religious ceremonies, and encounters with foreign diplomats. Continuing his journey in Izmir, Istanbul, and its surroundings, Hervé offers equally rich and engaging descriptions of these locations.[81]

Hervé's chronicle is accompanied with lithographs of portraits and views, which he personally drew during his journey.[82] His drawings were also used in other popular editions of the time, including the albums by Thomas Allom and Christopher

[78] "Francis Hervé." Ioli Vingopoulou, accessed May 31, 2023, http://eng.travelogues.gr/collection.php?view=359.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

Wordsworth's descriptions of Greece.[83] These illustrations contribute both to the surrounding's visual representation and overall appeal of Hervé's book, making it a valuable resource for understanding the historical and cultural context of the regions he explored.

In the nineteenth century, many British naval officers served as consultants, trainers, or regular officers in the Ottoman Navy. Among the most important of these names were Sir Baldwin Walker (Yaver Pasha), Sir Adolphus Slade (*Müşavir* Pasha), Augustus Charles Hobart Hampden (Hobart Pasha), and Henry Felix Woods (Woods Pasha).[84] Among these people, Adolphus Slade was the one who knew Turkish well, and observed Ottoman society very closely. Slade provided important information about the Ottoman navy, bureaucracy, and society in four separate books published in 1833, 1837, 1840, and 1867.[85] He arrived in the Ottoman Empire for the first time in 1829 after the Battle of Navarino and served as a consultant in the Ottoman Navy between 1850 and 1866. Slade rose to the rank of vice-admiral in the Ottoman Navy,[86] and published his notes on Istanbul and Izmir in *Turkey, Greece, and Malta* in 1837.

Sir Charles Fellows, a British traveler and archaeologist, gained recognition for his significant contributions in Lycia, Turkey. Born in Nottingham, he extensively explored Italy, Greece, and the Levant after his mother's passing in 1832.[87] In 1838, he embarked on a journey to Asia Minor, establishing Izmir as his base of operations. During his travels, he made remarkable discoveries of ancient cities' ruins, including

[83] Thomas Allom was an English architect, artist, and topographical illustrator; Christopher Wordsworth (30 October 1807 – 20 March 1885) was an English intellectual and a bishop of the Anglican Church.

[84]Can Badem, "Amiral Adolphus Slade'in Osmanlı Donanmasındaki Hizmetleri ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Gözlemleri". *Journal of Turkology* 21 (2011): 115-140.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87]For detailed information, see "Sir Charles Fellows." Encyclopædia Britannica, accessed June 1, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Fellows.

the ruins of Xanthus, the former capital of Lycia.[88] Fellows returned to Lycia in 1839, accompanied by George Scharf, and revisited the region in 1841 and 1844.[89] In 1844, he generously presented his expedition accounts, portfolios, and natural history specimens from Lycia to the British Museum. Throughout his visits to places like Xanthos, Tlos, Telmissos, Myra, Olympos, and Patara, Fellows collected numerous archaeological artifacts, which he brought back for the benefit of the British state.

Fellows was an archaeologist, but also a passionate writer and painter. In his travelogues which describes people and environment published them under the title of *Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor* (1838). Fellows refers to his archaeological findings and drawings and allocated an essential part to social issues and people. The book also includes plenty of pictures and illustrations. Later, he published his second book, *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia: Being a Journal Kept During a Second Excursion in Asia Minor* in 1841 which concentrates on ancient ruins, ancient temples and remains of city-states in the Lycian region, as well as possible trade and travel routes in the region. Fellows continued publish his archaeological findings in Asia Minor in different books like *The Xanthian Marbles: Their Acquisition, and Transmission to England* (1843), *Account of the Ionic Trophy Monument Excavated at Xanthus* (1848), *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor: More Particularly in the Province of Lycia* (1852), and *Coins of Ancient Lycia Before the Reign of Alexander: With an Essay on the Relative Dates of the Lycian Monuments in the British Museum* (1855), until the end of the 1850s. Fellows was a milestone in the history of archaeological excavations in the Ottoman Empire. He received special permission from Sultan Abdülmecid, and transported his findings to England. On one occasion alone, in June 1842, he took seventy-two crates full of statues and archaeological fragments to England.[90]

[88] "Sir Charles Fellows." British Museum, accessed June 1, 2023, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG90680.

[89] Ibid.

[90] "Charles Fellows." Ioli Vingopoulou, accessed June 1, 2023, https://tr.travelogues.gr/travelogue.php?view=99&creator=985593&tag=1937.

Miss Julia Pardoe (1806-1862), a British woman poet, writer, and traveler, visited Istanbul with her father, Major Thomas Pardoe. She stayed in the capital of the Ottoman Empire in 1836-37.[91] After this stay, Pardoe published her book titled *The City of the Sultan* in 1837. The book was a great success--sold more than 30,000 copies--and was reprinted in 1838, 1845, and 1854.[92] Julia Pardoe was the first woman, after Lady Montague (1717-18), to penetrate further and write about everyday life in the Ottoman Empire, especially the life of women. Subsequently, she offered her readers a new book, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* in 1838, which consists of her own texts along with the illustrations of William Henry Bartlett.[93] This work was also reprinted and translated into French.[94]

Charles Greenstreet Addison was an English lawyer and writer who died in 1866, although his exact date of birth is unknown. He had a career in law and wrote about his journey to the East as well as two legal treatises and a history of the Knights Templar. Addison published the notes and drawings of his journey to the East under the title *Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East, with a Sketch of Syria, under Ibrahim Pasha* in 1838. He started his voyage from Malta in April 1835 and reached Istanbul in June. After spending the following summer in the Greek islands and Izmir, Addison left the city at the end of September and set sail for Syria. In his work, published in 1838, Addison was mainly interested in ancient artifacts, the people he encountered, the exotic atmosphere of the cities, and natural beauty. On the other hand, his comments and comparisons reveal Addison's mastery of the narratives of previous English travelers.[95]

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[91] "Julia Pardoe." Ioli Vingopoulou, accessed August 19, 2023, https://tr.travelogues.gr/collection.php?view=184.

[92] Ibid.

[93] William Henry Bartlett is a British illustrator and painter. He was born in Camden, Kentish Town, northwest of London. For detailed account of William Henry Barlett, see; Ufuk Çetin, "An Englishman William Henry Bartlett From 19th Century İstanbul Painters," *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 67 (2021): 67–92, https://doi.org/10.512901/dpusbe.781315.

[94] Ibid.

[95] "Charles Greenstreet Addison." Ioli Vingopoulou, accessed August 19, 2023,

John Galt was born in Ayrshire on 2 May 1779. He was, a Scottish novelist, entrepreneur, and political and social commentator, and he is often hailed as the pioneer of political fiction in the English language. He is considered as the first novelist to explore in depth the complex issues arising from the Industrial Revolution. Having received religious education in his early years, Galt settled in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century and began his law studies. During that time, he became interested in commerce, and was sent on a trip by a British trading firm to make commercial agreements and market research during which he met Lord Byron and John Hobhouse. All these travels were published in *Letters from the Levant: Containing Views of the State of Society, Manners, Opinions, and Commerce in Greece and Several of the Principal Islands of the Archipelago* in 1813. Starting his voyage from Malta, Galt visited the Aegean islands, the Greek coast, and West Aegean ports, aiming to establish commercial connections in the region while closely examining authority gaps, trade patterns, smuggling, incorporation, and industrialization.

In this study, the evaluations of British travelers regarding the Levantines will be based on these travelers and their travelogues but will not be limited with them. The sources to be used for this study are mostly written by travelers who had different socio-economic backgrounds, and it is important for the outcome of the study. First of all, the observations of travelers from different socio-economic backgrounds offer a broader and more comprehensive perspective on the Levantines. Relying solely on the observations of a single social class or occupational group could lead to a narrow and biased conclusion. However, when the observations of soldiers, bureaucrats, scientists, and professional travel writers are brought together, a more balanced and holistic assessment can be made. Second, travelers from different socio-economic and professional backgrounds offer a variety of perspectives and experiences of the Levantines. This diversity will reveal the common prejudices of the British travelers and the common perspective of the period. A soldier's point of view can differ greatly from that of a scientist; when these differences are brought together, they create a more accurate and objective picture. Moreover, the combination of observations of travelers

https://tr.travelogues.gr/collection.php?view=451.

from different backgrounds allows for a closer approximation to the general British public's judgment of the Levantines.

Albert Richard Smith was born in England in 1816. As the son of a surgeon, Smith initially pursued medical education in his youth but developed a keen interest in writing, eventually abandoning his medical career.[96] During his lifetime, Smith was considered one of the most prominent and famous English writers. He authored numerous novels, including *The Fortunes of the Scattergood Family* (1845), *The Struggles and Adventures of Christopher Tadpole* (1848), and *The Pottleton Legacy: A Story of Town and Country* (1849), as well as plays such as *Blanche Heriot, or The Chertsey Curfew*, *Blanche Heriot: A Legend of Old Chertsey Church*, and *Whittington and His Cat* (1845).[97]

In 1849, Smith embarked on an Eastern journey, during which he stayed in Istanbul for a month. Upon his return, he published a travelogue titled *A Month at Constantinople*.[98] Following this journey, Smith climbed Mont Blanc in 1851 and published *The Story of Mont Blanc*, significantly contributing to the popularization of mountaineering in England and across continental Europe. Additionally, he was among the founders of the Alpine Club, established in 1857. In the later years of his life, Smith traveled to Asia and published *To China and Back* in 1859.

Thomas Macgill was a Scottish merchant who published his work Travels in Turkey, Italy, and Russia in 1808. Between 1804 and 1806, Macgill visited Anatolia and documented his travels in 38 letters. He arrived in İzmir by sea from Italy and then

[96] John W. Cousin, *A Short Biographical Dictionary of English Literature* (La Vergne: Double 9 Books, 2023), 337.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Buğra İnal, *19. Yüzyılda İngilizce Yazılmış Seyahatnamelere Göre Anadolu'da Sosyal Kültürel ve Ekonomik Hayat* (Paradigma Akademi, 2023), 25.

traveled overland to reach Istanbul. After spending some time in Istanbul, he continued his journey by crossing the Black Sea to reach Odessa.[99]

[99] Ibid., 64.

CHAPTER 3

LEVANT, FRANKS, AND LEVANTINES

The Levant is a Western term for an Eastern region. "The Levant is a region, a dialogue, and a quest."[100] Just as the Orient derives from the Latin word *oriens,* meaning *rising*, the Levant derives from the French word "*levant*," meaning ascendant. For Western Europeans, *le Levanti*, *the Levant*, *il Levante* became synonymous with the land of the rising sun: The Levant, in this sense, is the name given to the lands on the Eastern Mediterranean coast between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries.[101] The Levant is the land where East and West, Christian and Muslim, civilized and barbarian intersect. For this reason, the essence of Levant cities is diversity, flexibility, and differences. Levant is a mentality. Levantines prioritized reconciliation over ideals and agreement over conflicts in an environment of differences.[102]

The commercial relations established between the Turkic principalities including the Ottoman principality ruling in the Western and Southern Anatolia and the Venetian and Genoese states by the twelfth centuryvia the capitulations called Ahidnames by the Ottomans can be considered as the beginning of the history of commercial privileges between Turks and Europeans.[103] Nevertheless, these initiatives would be too early to mark the beginning of the Levantine concept in the modern sense. Although there is no agreement about the emergence of the Levant in the modern

[100] Philip Mansel is a British historian specializing in Mediterranean history; Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 1.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid., 4.

[103] Kate Fleet, Suraiya Faroqhi, and Reşat Kasaba, *The Cambridge History of Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 116.

sense, the dominant historical notion points out the nineteenth century, Philip Mansel attributes the emergence of the concept of Levant in the modern sense to the alliance between France and the Ottoman Empire.[104] Acting with common ideals since the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the two empires signed a trade agreement in 1535 and a full-fledged alliance agreement in 1536. This agreement would initiate the era of "capitulations," which was the legal basis and prelude to the presence of European traders in the ports of the Eastern Mediterranean.[105] With this developing alliance, the ports of the Eastern Mediterranean became the ports where the French seafarers increased their commercial activities and would be enriched commercially and culturally in the following centuries since the capitulations included not only commercial privileges but also legal and cultural freedoms.[106] The substance of the concessions in the chief capitulations was as follows: The Franks were granted several privileges within the Ottoman Empire. They had the freedom to travel throughout the empire and engage in trade according to their own laws and customs. They were also allowed to practice their religion without restrictions.[107] While they were exempt from most duties, they still had to pay customs duties. Benefactors of the capitulations enjoyed the protection of their homes and could not be violated or disturbed. Their ambassadors and consuls had jurisdiction over them, even in matters of crime.[108] If a French subject committed a crime, an Ottoman official could only arrest them in the presence of a consular or diplomatic official from their own country. If requested, Ottoman officers were obligated to assist in the arrest of a French subject. French people had the right to create wills, and if they died intestate in Turkey, their own

[104] Ibid., 9.

[105] Aybars Pamir, "Kapitülasyon Kavramı ve Osmanlı Devleti'ne Etkileri," *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* I (2002): pp. 79-119.

[106] Abdurrahman Bozkurt, "Fransa'nın Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki Katolikleri Himaye Hakkı ve Bunun Sona Ermesi," *Tarih Dergisi* 52 (2010): pp. 123-150.

[107] Ibid.

[108] James B. Angell, "The Turkish Capitulations," *The American Historical Review* 6, no. 2 (1901): 254–59, https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/6.2.254, 256.

consul must take possession of their property and remit it to their heirs.[109] Essentially, French people, along with other nations, had a sense of sovereignty within the Ottoman Empire. In fact, the Franks, and other nations, at last, had *imperium in imperio*.[110] This agreement made in 1535 was followed by agreements with other states. England in 1583, the Netherlands in 1609, and Austria in 1615 began to benefit from the capitulations.[111] However, the new privileges that France obtained in 1673 led to a power shift for the Levant and the Mediterranean world. According to the 1673 treaty, France would take on the role of protector and representative of the Catholics against the Ottoman Empire.[112] Thus, the subjects of the Catholic countries that did not have capitulations benefited from privileges in the Ottoman lands as if they were French subjects under the auspices of France. Following this, England in 1675 and Austria in 1718 obtained similar privileges. Hence, the small states of Europe had the privilege of trading in Ottoman lands under the protection of the Great Powers.[113] While the volume of trade in the Mediterranean expanded with these agreements, the permanent residence of European merchants in the Ottoman port cities began to increase. Fernand Braudel observed that the trade centers in the Eastern Mediterranean underwent constant changes, adapting to varying political and economic priorities throughout different centuries. These shifts led to the relocation of trade hubs in response to evolving circumstances. Herein, Braudel, emphasizing that Bursa was the most important trade center of Anatolia in the fifteenth century, states that economic activities shifted to Aleppo and Alexandria in the sixteenth century, and Izmir rose as a commercial center from the seventeenth century onwards. According to Braudel,

[109] Ibid.

[110] *Imperium in imperio*, Latin phrase meaning a government, power, or sovereignty within a government, power, or sovereignty, "Imperium in Imperio Definition & Meaning," Merriam-Webster, accessed June 4, 2023, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/imperium%20in%20imperio.

[111] Angell, "The Turkish Capitulations," 256.

[112] Buğra Poyraz, "The Definition and the Development of the Religious Protectorate of France in the Ottoman Lands," *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8, no. 1 (March 15, 2021): 283–304, https://doi.org/10.51702/esoguifd.812250, 291-292.

[113] Angell, "The Turkish Capitulations," 256-257.

trade, which had been kept away from Istanbul since the eighteenth century, was recentered in Istanbul, and Istanbul and Izmir rose as the two most important commercial centers of the Ottoman Empire and East Mediterranean.[114] Thus, with the repositioning of the Ports of the Mediterranean trade centers, the borders of the Levant were reshaped, and Istanbul became an extension of this geographical definition. One of the important reasons for the shifts Braudel mentions in this argument must undoubtedly be the economic activity caused by the capitulations.[115]

The trade capacities of Izmir and Istanbul increased in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, respectively, and experienced a population increase accordingly. However, it is challenging to obtain precise population data for these cities. The most important reason for this problem is that the first census in the Ottoman Empire was made in 1831. In Izmir's case, although many travelers who visited the city during these periods made various predictions, the results were quite different and inconsistent. However, according to estimates, it is possible to say that the population of the city at the end of the seventeenth century was around 80.000, and at the end of the eighteenth century, it was around 100.000.[116]

Although the estimates made by travelers between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries differed, one issue with which they were mainly in agreement was the distribution of the total population by ethnicity. From the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, Turks made up almost 60-70% of the total population, with 30-40% mostly Greeks, Armenians, and Jews in Izmir.[117] However, commencing with the early nineteenth century, the Turkish population in the city decreased gradually,

[114] Fernand Braudel and Sian Reynolds, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century* (London: Phoenix, 2002)., 468.

[115] Daniel Goffman, "17. Yüzyıl Öncesinde İzmir" in *Üç İzmir*, ed. Şahin Beygu (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1992), 71.

[116] For a detailed account of the population estimates of Izmir in the eighteenth century, see, Tuncer Baykara, *İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi*, (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, İzmir, 1974), 57-60.

[117] Tuncer Baykara, İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi, (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, İzmir, 1974), 57.

the Greek and Armenian populations increased, and Europeans joined in this equation.[118] Although the number of Europeans residing in the city at the beginning of the eighteenth century was estimated to be between 200 and 500, this number was between 3.000 and 5.000 by the end of the century.[119] Finally, by the first half of the nineteenth century, it is estimated that the total population of Izmir was around 150.000, of which almost 10% were Europeans.[120]

It is very difficult to attribute the rapid and accelerated rise in this period to a specific explanation. However, the rapid population growth in Izmir, especially at the beginning of the nineteenth century, can be explained via a chain of reasons. In the early nineteenth century, the increasing raw material needs of industrializing European states increased the demand for new ports and regions where they could develop trade. In this period, Izmir came to prominence as an important port in the Mediterranean region, open to the resources of Anatolia, which affected the city's trade and production capacity.[121] This caused a labor shortage in the city, and created an attractive opportunity for the Turkish population in Central Anatolia that was inclined to migrate.[122] Moreover, the revitalized commercial life in the city attracted and concentrated the Greek population, who held the trade networks in the region. Although interrupted by the Greek uprisings and the independence of Greece, many

[118] Goffman, "17. Yüzyıl Öncesinde İzmir" in *Üç iİzmir*, ed. Şahin Beygu (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1992), 72.

[119] Bülent Şenocak, *Levant'ın Yıldızı İzmir: Levantenler, Rumlar, Ermeniler ve Yahudiler* (İzmir: Şenocak Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 159-162.

[120] For a detailed account of the population estimates of İzmir in the nineteenth century see, Olaf Yaranga, *XIX. Yüzyılın Ilk Yarısında Fransız Gezginlerin Anlatımlarında İzmir* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2000), 31; İlhan Pınar, *Gezginlerin Gözüyle izmir: XIX. Yüzyıl* (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994), 85-89; Bülent Şenocak, *Levant'ın Yıldızı iİzmir: Levantenler, Rumlar, Ermeniler ve Yahudiler* (İzmir: Şenocak Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 158-164.

[121] Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda Izmir'de Yaşam* (Istanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2000), 21-28.

[122] Ibid.

sources indicate that the Greek emigrants soon returned and resumed their presence.[123] In addition, Izmir's responsiveness to growing commercial needs made it an attractive port city for European entrepreneurs, merchants, and businesspeople. This led to the concentration of an European population in the city with a population of a few thousand. Although various estimates and interpretations in the historical record often contradict each other, the best explanation for the dramatic increase in Izmir's population is the growth in the city's commercial capacity.

On the other hand, the population records of Istanbul, and non-Muslim and especially European settlements compared to the total population, were better examined.[124] The main reason for this is that while Izmir was a town connected to the Aydın Province before the seventeenth century, Istanbul had been the capital city since the conquest.[125] However, the exact population of Istanbul at a particular time is an issue that historians and demographers have yet to agree on. Various predictions were made both in official records and by travelers over the centuries, but these predictions were in great contradiction with each other because they relied on different data and used different calculation methods. Yet, it is accepted by many historians that the number of European traders, especially Europeans who settled and lived in Istanbul to benefit from the capitulations, began to increase towards the end of the seventeenth century and reached its peak at the end of the eighteenth century. This assumption is also supported by the fact that there were intense building and housing activities in Galata and Beyoğlu in the eighteenth century.[126]

[123] Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti* (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2011), 34.

[124] Zafer Toprak, "Tarihsel Nüfusbilim Açısından İstanbul'un Nüfusu ve Toplumsal Topografyası," *Toplum ve Ekonomi*, April, 1992/3, 109-120.

[125] Detailed account of population of İstanbul from 1453 to nineteenth century, see; Yunus Koç, "Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbul Nüfus Kayıtları," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi,* 8, no. 16 (2010): pp. 171-199.

[126] Toprak, "Tarihsel Nüfusbilim Açısından İstanbul'un Nüfusu ve Toplumsal Topografyası," 109-120.

It is estimated that the total population of the city was around 60.000 to 70.000 right after the Ottoman Empire conquered Istanbul in the fifteenth century. By the end of the fifteenth century, it had reached around 100.000, as claimed by Zafer Toprak.[127] Herein, approximately 3500-4000 European people lived in Istanbul, which had a population of 100.000 at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[128] The total population of the city rose to around 250.000 at the end of the sixteenth century and to around 400.000 at the end of the seventeenth century.[129] The population of Istanbul, which rose to about 500.000 at the end of the eighteenth century, fluctuated throughout the nineteenth century and changed between 450.000 and 500.000.[130] However, Kemal Karpat uses a different number based on the 1893 census and emphasizes that the Ottoman population at the end of the nineteenth century was around 873.565, and 137.586 of them were "Catholic, Latin, or Protestant."[131] According to the calculations of Toprak, who emphasizes that the total population was around 500.000 in the same period, the Catholic, Latin, and Protestant population is estimated to be approximately 80.000.[132] Under these conditions, it can be claimed that the European population in Istanbul was between 80.000 and 137.000 by the end of the nineteenth century. In conclusion, by the first half of the nineteenth century, it is possible to say that the population of Europeans "permanently residing" within the borders of the Ottoman Empire was between 100.000 and 150.000.

[127]Ibid.

[128]Ibid.

[129] Koç, "Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbul Nüfus Kayıtları," 195.

[130] Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, c. 10, no. 2, Mayıs 1979., 265-277.

[131] Kemal Karpat, "The Social and Economic Transformation of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen*, 1974, XII/2., 267-308.

[132] Koç, "Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbul Nüfus Kayıtları," 196.

3.1. Difference Between Frank, Levantine, and *Tatlı Su Frenki*

The difficulty in defining the *Levant* word is similarly experienced in the word *Levantine.* First, when the usage of the word Levantine in the first half of the nineteenth is examined, it is revealed that the word directly means "one who is living in the East" or "associated with the East."[133] Likewise, in the French-Arabic-Persian-Turkish dictionary of Prince Alexandre Handjéri from 1841, the word was translated as "eastern nations" in all four languages.[134] Although the definition of Handjéri was a simple definition based on the root of the word, it is far from specifying an identity or having an inclusive or exclusionary meaning. The word clearly derives from the French verb *Lever*, meaning to rise, to wake up in the sun, to rise, and evolved to the side where the sun rises. However, as Edhem Eldem points out, it should be carefully distinguished from another French word, *Orient*.[135] "From these two words, which have the same etymological meaning, *Orient* describes the East in the most general sense, while the *Levant*, with a narrower meaning, refers to today's Middle East or Near East, in a sense, the Ottoman lands."[136] However, Levantine, as a term used for the people living in the Ottoman lands, does not have any of the features that the word Levantine in today's sense possesses. In this context, it is necessary to examine the narrowing of the meaning of the word in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is possible to perceive this change clearly in the first edition of Redhouse's dictionary.[137] While the "Ottoman country" (*Memâlik-i Osmaniyye*) was given as the equivalent of the word "Levant" in this dictionary, Levantine was described as

[133] Edhem Elhem, "Levanten Kelimesi Üzerine," in Avrupalı Mı Levanten Mı?, ed. Arus Yumul and Fahri Dikkaya (İstanbul: Bağlam, 2006), pp. 11-22, 13.

[134] Alexandre Handjéri, *Dictionnaire Français-Arabe-Persan et Turc*. (Moskova; Universitè Impèriale, 1841) vol.2, 393.

[135] Elhem, "Levanten Kelimesi Üzerine," 14.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid. Also see., J.W. *Redhouse, Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary, in Two Parts, English and Turkish, and Turkish and English*, Londra, 1880.

"Frankish who was born in the Ottoman country."[138] The word *Frankish*, on the other hand, was defined as "a person belonging to the European nation." As can be clearly seen from these definitions, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the word Levant retained its meaning, while the word Levantine had a much narrower meaning of a "European person living in the Ottoman country."[139]

The difference between the Franks and Levantines is quite substantial. Filomena Viviana Taliaferro highlights the difference between the Franks and Levantines in "In the Process of Being Levantines, the 'Levantinization' of the Catholic Community of Izmir (1683–1724)" as follows: "The Franks were defined by their European origins and still shared European identity, whereas the Levantines were a new cultural by-product that resulted from the mixture of the Franks with Ottoman groups. The Levantines retained features of both cultures, but they were not purely European or Ottoman."[140] At this critical juncture, since there is no definitive indication of whether someone is Levantine or Frankish (since both were legally European subjects), the distinction between Levantines and Franks is quite transitional because it is not possible to decide strictly at what point a European, namely a Frank, who settled in the Ottoman Empire, lost his cultural identity and became differentiated.

On the other hand, it is not possible to find the word Levantine in Turkish dictionaries until the first half of the twentieth century. Eldem explains the reason for this by emphasizing the fact that there is already a local idiom used for the word Levantine: *Tatlı Su Frenki* (Freshwater Frankish).[141] This idiom defined "the Eastern Christians who imitate Western customs."[142] In support of that, in his *Kamus-ul-Alam*, Şemseddin

[138] Ibid.

[139] Elhem, "Levanten Kelimesi Üzerine", 15.

[140] Tagliaferri, "In the Process of Being Levantines. The 'Levantinization' of the Catholic Community of İzmir (1683–1724)," 88.

[141] Edhem, "Levanten Kelimesi Üzerine," 15.

[142] Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki*, Dersaadet, 1900, 858.

Sami explains the word Frankish, corresponding to the word Levantine in its current meaning: "Frankish: It is the name given to the peoples of Europe in Eastern languages and is derived from the word Frank. In fact, Frankish includes Catholic and Protestant Europeans, but Orthodox nations such as Russians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, and so on were not called Frankish."[143] In this manner, by the end of the nineteenth century, even though the word Levantine was not used yet, its obscure definition manifested itself with the widespread use of *Tatlı Su Frenki* and the definition of the word Frank in Ottoman society. Thusly, the usage of Levantine, a Eurocentric definition, in the Turkish language was postponed until the middle of the twentieth century.[144] The communities known as Levantines, or *Tatlı Su Frenki,* could not avoid being one of the symbols of the "other" both by the Ottoman people and by Europe. As a result, the word Levantine was used by the Europeans, and the word *Tatlı Su Frenki* by the Ottomans to describe a cultural identity.

[143] Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ül-Alam*, İstanbul, 1896, vol. 5, 3397.

[144] Elhem, "Levanten Kelimesi Üzerine", 17. And, Türk Ansiklopedisi, c. XXIII, Ankara, 1976, p. 12-13. Levantine: A person of European descent who settled in the countries of the Near East and whose ancestry was mixed by marriage. Europeans, who came and settled in the Near East countries, which were under the rule of the Ottoman Empire for many years, for various reasons, especially after the acceptance of the capitulations, increased considerably by marrying among themselves or with people from other races. As a result of the conditions, they are in, their traditions, customs, accents, etc. have taken a different form. They got crowded at the centers where maritime trade was more intense in the late Ottoman Empire, such as Istanbul, İzmir, Antalya, Beirut, Alexandria, etc.

CHAPTER 4

BRITISH TRAVELERS AND LEVANTINES IN IZMIR AND ISTANBUL

In the first half of the nineteenth century, British travelers who visited the Ottoman Empire usually visited major cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Bursa. Istanbul was the most popular destination as it was the capital of the Ottoman Empire. It was an interesting city with its historical and cultural prosperity, diverse architectural monuments, and natural beauty. Izmir was one of the important port cities of the Ottoman Empire, and as one of the largest cities in Western Anatolia, it was also of interest to British travelers. In addition, the important ancient buildings in the region attracted the attention of British travelers, both for their importance in the history of Christianity and for their important traces of Greek civilization.

During this period, the Ottoman Empire' Mediterranean cities was often an intermediate station for travelers departing from European capitals, often London or Paris, to but there were also occasions when it was the last stop on a Balkan or Mediterranean tour. For example, John Hobhouse, in his two-volume *A Journey Through Albania: And Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, During the Years 1809 and 1810,* followed a route starting from Malta and reaching Istanbul via Albania and Greece, while Charles Colville Frankland, in his travelogue *Travels to and from Constantinople,* followed the route Vienna-Bucharest-Athens-Istanbul and Beirut. Many other travelers published their relatively long stays in cities like Istanbul and Izmir in volumes and created travelogues.[145] One of the most important examples of this is Charles MacFarlane's *Constantinople in 1828,* which describes in detail the sixteen months he spent in the Ottoman Empire.

[145] Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810, 5-6.*

Although travelers departing from the European continent followed many different routes on their journeys to the East, they generally set foot in Anatolia through the ports of Izmir and Istanbul. After reaching these cities at the end of a long sea voyage, the travelers would stay in these cities for a while. The travelers' accounts of Anatolia began on the day they approached the port and were often descriptions of a fascination mixed with admiration. Charles Colville Frankland described the first time he saw Constantinople as follows: "Pursuing our way wearily over the lofty downs, we suddenly, towards one o'clock, perceived the domes and minarets of Stambool. No pilgrim ever hailed the towers of the Holy City with greater delight than did I, sinner as I am, the minarets of Constantinople."[146]

Similarly, Julia Pardoe captured this moment in these words: "It was on the 30th of December 1835, that we anchored in the Golden Horn; my long-indulged hopes were at length realized, and the Queen of Cities was before me, throned on her peopled hills, with the silver Bosphorus, garlanded with palaces, flowing at her feet."[147] Izmir, on the other hand, though often not as fascinating as Constantinople, still excited travelers. Charles Fellows described the morning of his approach to Smyrna as follows: "As we drew near the coast of Asia Minor, the Bay of Smyrna came in sight, bounded by mountains and woods, all green, rich, and beautiful. The approach to the city is very imposing, and the multitude of little boats scud ding about, though not so picturesque as those of the Italian or Greek Isles, have a striking and characteristic."[148]

From the moment they entered a city, travelers would start observing their surroundings and aim to bring almost everything that caught their attention to their readers. In general, travelers would first focus on issues such as space, architecture,

[146] Charles Colville Frankland, *Travels to and from Constantinople*, vol. II, II vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 89.

[147] Julia Pardoe, *City of the Sultan: And Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836. 2nd Ed*, vol. I, III vols. (Colburn, 1838), 25.

[148] Charles Fellows, *A Journal Written during an Excursion in Asia Minor by Charles Fellows in 1838* (London: Murray, 1839), 1-2.

and urbanization and then go on to describe the dress, behavior, culture, and daily habits of the locals, as well as common occupations and lifestyles. In this part of the study, how and from which perspectives the English travelers who visited Izmir and Istanbul in the first half of the nineteenth century evaluated Levantines, Levantine living spaces, and Levantine culture will be examined under subheadings.

4.1. Levantine Districts and Architecture

4.1.1. Levantine Districts of Izmir

British travelers who visited Izmir always emphasized that there was a dense Levantine settlement in Izmir, and that people of all nationalities gathered in this city for trade and business. Levantines of Izmir were intense in four regions, as emphasized in many travelogues. These were Buca, Bornova, Seydiköy and Alsancak. While Buca's distance to the port of Izmir was about 10 km, Bornova's distance to the port was about 8 km. Seydiköy (today Gaziemir) is another Levantine settlement 15 kilometers from the port of Izmir. One of the most important reasons for the Levantines to settle in these areas was their proximity to the port, the heart of trade. On the other hand, these areas, which were outside the settlements of the Turks and Greeks living in the city center, made it easier for the Levantines to create and maintain a hybrid culture. In addition to these three residential areas, Frank Street, which welcomed travelers and was destroyed in the great fire of 1922, was the heart of the business, trade, and living area of the Levantines of Izmir. Frank Street (also known as Roses Street), located in today's Alsancak neighborhood, was frequented by travelers.

John Cam Hobhouse, when he came to Izmir in 1809, states that Frank Street was able to compete with the commercial centers of European capitals.[149] According to Hobhouse, the commercial activities in and around Izmir attracted many Europeans for nearly two hundred years. With such a high concentration of the Franks in the area, consular activity was inevitable, and many national states were forced to open a

[149] John Cam Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810,* vol II, II vols. (London: J. Cawthorne, 1813), 613-614.

consulate in Izmir.[150] Hobhouse emphasized that the section of Frank Street along the coast of the city up to its northern end was collected by the Franks, and that this area became known as Frank Street over time. In his travelogue, Hobhouse gives a detailed description of Frank Street and describes the buildings in the area as follows:

> The houses of the Consuls and the principal merchants are built altogether in a very commodious fashion, enclosing on three sides a court or small garden, but are only one story in height, and composed of unburnt brick in frames of plaistered laths. The warehouses, stables, and offices, are below, the family apartments above; open galleries or terraces on the top of the unraised part of the lower buildings, serve for communication, or as a place of promenade. The best houses are at the edge of the water, and as there is a stone pier for the whole length of the Frank town, are thus very conveniently situated for the loading and unloading of the boats from the ships. The mansion of the English Consul-General, as far as respects the interior of the building, is such as might do credit to any of the capital streets of London. There is in the Frank quarter a very good hotel, besides several taverns and lodging houses for the accommodation of travellers.[151]

According to Hobhouse, Frank Street was not only the heart of the Frankish and Levantine community in Izmir but also one of the most important points of maritime trade. In addition, the lodging-houses and taverns on Frank Street provided a comfortable retreat for Europeans who were new to the city, despite the cultural chaos they were experiencing. As Hobhouse points out, the fact that the Levantine mansions and the Levantine settlements are located right next to the harbor manifests the importance of maritime trade for Levantine life, while the fact that the intertwinement of houses and workplaces can be interpreted as Levantines were able to combine family and business life in a limited space. Moreover, the fact that the mansion of the British Embassy was as big, ostentatious, and luxurious as if it was located anywhere in London was one of the factors highlighting the power and authority of the embassies within the Levantine society. While Frank Street was compared to the commercial centers of the West by many travelers like Hobhouse, at the same time, Charles McFarlane, who visited Izmir in 1828, emphasized that the street looked very dirty, unhealthy, and badly run-down with the following words:

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid.

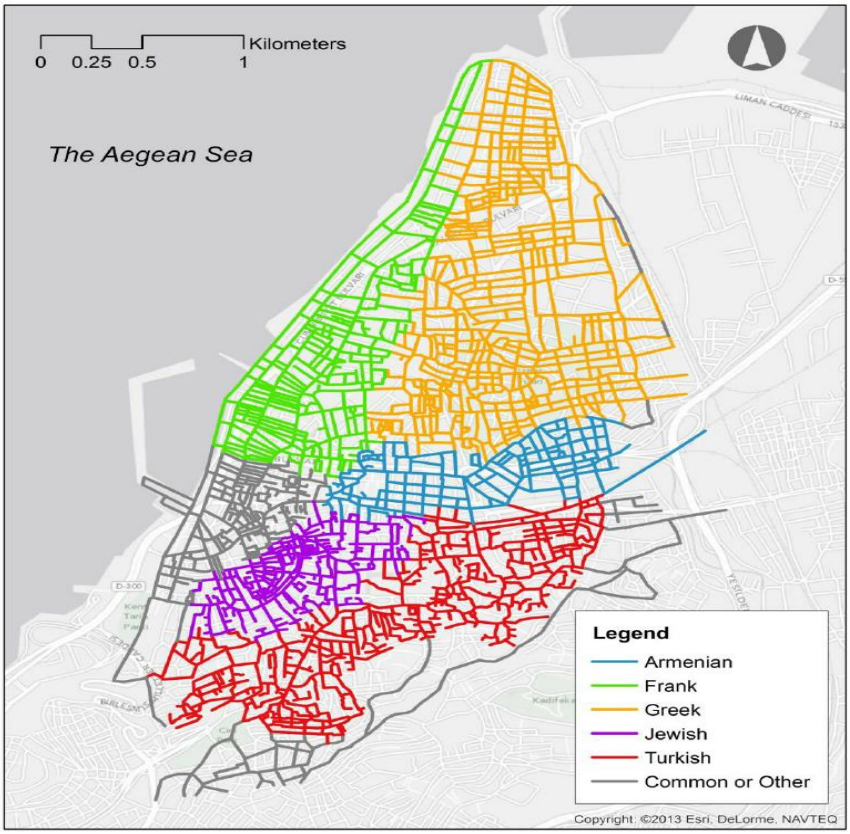

Figure 1 Urban Settlement in the first half of the nineteenth century, Izmir. Retrieved from *https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-street-data-adopted-from-the-City-Plan-of-Smyrna-published-in-Leipzig-by-Joseph_fig1_281783677*. Date of Access: 12th June 2024

> Besides these exterior enemies, there are other causes within the Frank town, fruitful in effects prejudicial to health. The sewers and drains run through the streets, and the court-yards of the best houses, only a few inches under the pavement, which is frequently loose and full of crannies that emit the most fetid vapors and myriads of insects generated by this filth and closeness, and the heat indicated by the thermometer's varying from ninety to a hundred, or even a hundred and five degrees, add torment to pestilence, and render Smyrna insupportable from May to the end of September.[152]

Macfarlane describes in detail the extremely poor sanitary conditions in the areas inhabited by the Levantines. He emphasizes that the sewage and drainage systems running through the streets and courtyards of the houses were too close to the surface, the loose and cracked floors caused bad odors and the breeding of insects, and the temperatures reaching 90-105 degrees in summer made these hygiene problems even more unbearable. Although there is no direct comparison in this section, the traveler's

[152] Charles Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, vol. I, II vols. (London: Saunders & Otley, 1829), 23.

descriptions indirectly imply that the health standards in Levantine areas were much worse than in Western Europe. This may position the places where Levantines lived as more backward and unhealthier in the eyes of the reader.

Nevertheless, the majority of travelers variously described the houses on Frank Street as being well-planned, having large courtyards and terraces, and offering their owners a beautiful view. Francis Hervé, in his 1837 travelogue, described the houses and views from Frank Street as "so arranged, that from their terraces, or little observatories on their roofs, called kiosks, they can have a very extensive look-out upon the sea, which I enjoyed from the windows of my sitting-room, and one was witness to a storm, which presented the most magnificent spectacle I ever beheld.[153]

These two images (Figure 2 and 3) from the last quarter of the nineteenth century are in conformity with the thoughts of the travelers. While the lower floors of the buildings seen on the street were used as shops, workshops and offices, the upper floors were presumably used as dwellings as the façades in the image yield that kind of view. On the other hand, the buildings were very close to each other, leaving a narrow space that possibly made it difficult to walk on the street. In addition, the use of both Greek and apparently French signboards reveals the presence of different people in the district. On the other hand, the travelers emphasize that there were basically three Levantine settlements (other than Frank Street), and that the people of Izmir, at least the wealthy ones, retreated away from the center to the towns and spent the summer months in orchards, casinos, and balls. Macfarlane emphasizes that even a rivalry of vanity developed between these two Levantine towns and that they struggled to attract travelers visiting Smyrna to their camp.[154] "Smyrna is absolutely divided into two parties, that of Bournabat [Bornova] and Boujat [Buca], as they frequent the one or the other of these villages. Nor are they content to confine the rivalry to themselves; each party tries to make a convert of the traveler and excite him to an exclusive admiration

[153] Francis Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey*, vol. II, II vols. (London: Whittaker & co., 1837), 31.

[154] Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, 120.

of their chosen village. If he declares himself for one party, he is immediately cut by the other (just as happens with parties of a more serious nature) as a man of no judgment or taste."[155]

Figure 2 Frank Street at the end of the nineteenth century, Izmir. Retrieved from *http://www.levantineheritage.com/frankst.htm*. Date of Access: 12th June 2024

In this account, Macfarlane reveals that Levantines residing in Ottoman lands developed a sense of local belonging and identity. Thomas MacGill, who visited Izmir

[155] Ibid.

Figure 3 Frank Street at the end of the nineteenth century, Izmir. Retrieved from *http://www.levantineheritage.com/frankst.htm*. Date of Access: 12th June 2024

at the beginning of the nineteenth century, provides a detailed description of Levantine life in Bornova, Buca and Seydiköy. Macgill, who stayed in Bornova for a while, describes it as follows;

> It [Bornova] is at the distance of about an hour's ride from Smyrna; it stands on the banks of the Melicè, now but a trifling rivulet, and at the foot of several mountains; it is one of the finest villages in Turkey: the houses are good and commodious, and each one has a garden amply stocked with fine orange, lemon, and citron trees, to which the soil is peculiarly con- genial; after quitting the narrow dirty streets of the city, the ride is uncommonly pleasant over a fine plain, well cultivated and planted in many parts with olive trees, which have stood several centuries, but which are still beautiful as well as venerable, and

> yield fruit abundantly. The walks on the edge of the mountains near the village are delightful, and screwed by the bounteous hand of nature, with thousands of aromatic plants and flowers. During spring and autumn, Bournabat becomes quite gay, the evening parties are very agreeable, and they frequently continue in the open air till a late hour.[157]

On the other hand, Francis Hervé, who spent a long period of time in Bornova and Buca in 1836, describes Bornova as a pleasant town of about 50-60 mansions, very well inhabited, with both Eastern and Western architectural and botanical styles, and offering pictorial views;

> Amongst this forest of various shrubs, entwining round or shrouding the more lofty timber, the villas of the merchants, both right and left, show their trellised balconies, and cheerful white walls. Most of them are extremely pretty, and some in very good taste. The gardens are beautiful, and all joining to each other, and possessing the choicest plants of the East, as well as those of Europe, combine to form one of the richest scenes I ever witnessed. Bournabat has perhaps not less than from fifty to sixty of these delightful residences. Some may be termed elegant mansions, others merely tasteful cottages, but all present to the view such cool shaded retreats, as charm the stranger in these oppressive climes.[158]

Not only merchants but also consuls and their families, wealthy businesspeople and high-ranking civil servants often preferred these summer resorts. Charles Frankland, who visited Izmir in 1827 and mostly resided in Buca, emphasized that the region had a high level of prosperity because it was inhabited by the Franks. Frankland highlighted that Buca is a place of greenery, that it has a very refined architecture, and that wealthy people spend a pleasant time here in the summer months.

> Boujât is a pretty spot, and contains some good- looking houses with many gardens; but most of these symptoms of prosperity arise from the circumstance of the Franks being the occupants of the houses,-they repair to this spot, to Bournebat and to Sediqué, to pass the hot months away beneath the shade of mulberry-trees, which here grow to an immense size, and to while away the day by the side of murmuring fountains, fanned by the gentle breezes, which, at mid- day, set in from the sea. The

[157] MacGill, *Travels in Turkey, Italy and Russia, during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 & 1806,* 77-78.

[158] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey,* vol.1., 312.

> Consul has a delightful villa here, with shady walks, blooming gardens, and fruitful vineyards.[159]

Hobhouse, on the other hand, described the mansion belonging to the British consulate in Buca and its surroundings as follows:

> The country-house of the English Consul-General is in a village between four and five miles to the south-coast of Smyrna, called Boudjah, which is less frequented than Bournabat, and is distinguished at a distance by a large grove of cypresses. The mansion, fitted up altogether in the English taste, has an excellent garden and vineyard attached to it, and is constantly inhabited by the family of the owner from June to the end of September. Houses belonging to Frank merchants may be found in Narlecui, Hadjelar, and other small villages, scattered up and down in the fine plain, of about four or five miles in breadth, extending from the feet of the mountain at the back (the east and south-east) of Smyrna to the suburbs of the city. During the hot season, and the visits of the plague, the town is deserted, and the richer part of the whole population passes into the villages.[160]

Based on the observations of travelers, there are two types of Levantine settlements in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first of these was the two-story, street-fronted, adjoining-order buildings, also referred to as the Chios type in some sources, which emerged in the area between today's Alsancak Station and the sea, in the areas formed by the streets developing in the same direction and the alleys that intersect them.[161] These buildings, which were preferred by the Levantines due to their proximity to the sea as well as to the consulates and commercial establishments on the coast, bring movement to the street façade with their bay windows on the second floor and have small gardens behind them.[162]

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[159] Frankland, *Travels to and from Constantinople,* 259.

[160] Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810,* 641-642.

[161] Kübranur Kesepara, "İzmir Levanten Köşkleri Koruma Uygulama Süreçleri ve Risk Analizi" (Unpublished diss., Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2015), 48.

[162] Ibid., 48-49.

Another type of building that emerged in Izmir and is among the residential forms of the Levantines is the mansions of wealthy Levantine families in large gardens in suburbs such as Buca and Bornova. Levantine mansions are a unique housing type from the last period of the Ottoman Empire, different from traditional houses, and developed by creating specific plans and designs within themselves. The seeds of various flowers and plants decorating the gardens were sometimes imported from Europe.[163] Various trees and ponds also reflected the importance given to garden landscaping, thus reflecting the efforts of European thought. Travelers, accordingly, emphasized that these architectures were quite similar to the European style, distinctly different from Turkish buildings and pleasing to the eye. As defined by Hümeyra Birol Akkurt, Levantine mansions, which are "large-scale residences located in a large area of land and displaying an expression far from local architecture with their spatial and mass construction, facade and interior arrangements" attracted the attention of travelers in terms of architecture, use and landscape.[164]

The architecture and landscape of Levantine mansions are significant indicators reflecting the lifestyle and identity of the Levantines in the Ottoman Empire. The Levantines' adoption of European style in these residences and their shaping of the architecture and landscape with European influences reveal their efforts to express themselves through their European identities. In this context, the Levantines' efforts to live like Europeans, behave like Europeans, and imitate European architecture in their private spaces can be considered a manifestation of their self-identification as Europeans. MacGill, who visited Buca at the turn of the century, emphasizes that the village was still developing, that it was not yet as big as Bornova, but that it had great potential;

> Bugiah, another pretty village, nearly the same distance from Smyrna to the south-east, is now become a place of great resort for the Franks; the British consul has a good house here, and so have many of that nation. This village was formerly more inhabited by Greeks than Turks, and on account of the great scarcity of water, was not

[163] Ibid.

[164] Hümeyra Birol Akkurt, "19. Yüzyıl Batılılaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca Levanten Köşkleri Mekânsal Kimliğinin İrdelenmesi" (PhD diss., Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2004), 267-268.

> much visited; the British consul has, however, done away that want, and, at a considerable expense, has brought water from behind the neighbouring mountains. In a few years Bugiah will probably become a very populous place; as it is rather nearer the town than the other villages, and has likewise this advantage, that a good carriage road to it might be made at a trifling cost. [165]

Indeed, Charles Addison, who visited Buca thirty years after MacGill, described how the area had turned into a large Levantine settlement under the protection of the British consulate, and that the Levantines in the area were quite wealthy and had built a culture that resembled Europe:

> From the village of Bournabat you cross over to the village of Boujah, and on the way you are pointed out a portly old English gentleman, who you are informed is worth at the very least £150,000 sterling, acquired by himself, his father, and grandfather, by successful exertion in this country under the security and protection of the British Government. On arriving at the village of Boujah, you are introduced into several handsome houses, which, although inferior to the principal mansions of Bournabat, yet are handsome and commodious, and quite palaces when compared with the habitations of native subjects. You meet in the evening, at some one or other of them, a reunion of the different families, and are entertained with a concert of instrumental and vocal music which would do honour to the saloons of London and Paris. You hear some of the finest of the Italian operas played off with great spirit and execution on pianos, harps, and violins; you have German songs sung in an admirable manner, and you look around you at the elegant assortment of ladies, and are tempted to ask yourself with astonishment, Is it possible that I am in the Turkish dominions?[166]

MacGill and Addison's observations point out that the Levantines flourished greatly under the patronage of the British consulate and grew economically, socially, and culturally partly due to that protection. Accordingly, Levantine settlement in Buca was initiated by the British consulate's settlement of the area, and the Levantine community began to build and live in the area under the shadow of the consulate's protection and amenities. This relationship of interest between the British consulate and the Levantines is an indication of the Levantine's strong connection with the representatives of foreign countries in the region.

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[165] MacGill, *Travels in Turkey, Italy and Russia, during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 & 1806,* 79.

[166] Charles G. Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East ; with a Sketch of the State and Prospects of Syria under Ibrahim Pasha ; in Two Volumes*, vol. I, II vols. (London: Bentley, 1838), 384.

Figure 4 Front view of the Baltazzi Mansion, Buca, Izmir. Retrieved from *https://www.levantineheritage.com/house6.htm*. Date of Access: 12th June 2024.

Figure 4 shows the Baltazzi mansion, one of the most famous and important edifices s of Buca. Although the exact year of construction is unknown, the mansion was built by an English architect named John Turtle Wood. Sultan Abdülaziz visited the mansion's owner, Demosthane Baltazzi, and stayed in this mansion for four days in 1863.[167] The Baltazzi mansion is in great harmony with both Addison and MacGill's depictions. The garden design and landscaping of the mansion are Western in style and decorated with European flowers. Positioned in the middle of a grove, the mansion also draws attention with important statues and figures. The statue of Aphrodite in the picture is a Neoclassical sculpture by H.C. Papasian, one of Izmir's famous marble masons of the nineteenth century.[168] Aphrodite is superimposed on a dolphin figure, holding her fallen garment with her left hand. The dolphin is depicted above the waves with its open mouth. The statue is depicted touching her chest with her right hand, and

[167] "Demosthene Baltazzi Köşkü," Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sanal Müzesi, accessed June 12, 2024, https://sanalmuze.deu.edu.tr/index.php/demosthene-baltazzi-kosku/.

[168] Ibid.

her gaze is directed towards the distance. Considering that the sculpture emulates Renaissance sculpture, it can be thought that the Baltazzi family had European tastes, or wanted to be seen as such. On the other hand, the statue *Eros Playing the Flute*, the statue of Hermes, and the figure of Fountain Bottom with Three Cupids visible in Figure 5 are some of the works thought to belong to the Baltazzi family.[169] All these artifacts are on display today at Dokuz Eylül University, and while they reveal the prosperity of the Baltazzi family, they also reveal that the family aspired to live a European life in Buca.

4.1.2. Levantine Districts and Architecture of Istanbul

In the first half of the Nineteenth century, there were basically two Levantine settlements in Istanbul. One was Pera (Beyoğlu) and the other was Büyükdere (Sarıyer). While Pera was the center of commerce and diplomacy, Büyükdere was used as a place for diligence, where wealthy Levantines had their summer mansions. In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were two prominent Levantine districts in Istanbul. One was Pera (Beyoğlu) and the other was Büyükdere (Sarıyer). While Pera was the center of commerce and diplomacy, just like Izmir' *Alsancak*, Büyükdere was used as a place for diligence, where wealthy Levantines had their summer mansions. Pera, or Beyoğlu as it is known today, was one of the most important Levantine settlements in Istanbul. The presence of European merchants in the area began in the fifteenth century when Istanbul came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. However, some of these merchants were natives of the region, residing in the Galata district, which was under Genoese control. It was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that the presence of Levantines in the Pera region, as discussed in this thesis, began to be observed

[169] Ibid.

Figure 5 Sculptures found in the Baltazzi mansion, Dokuz Eylül University, Faculty of Literature, Antiquities Collection Buca Hall, Buca, Izmir. Retrieved from *https://sanalmuze.deu.edu.tr/index.php/demosthene-baltazzi-kosku/*. Date of Access: 12th June 2024

Before then, travelers who visited the region often referred to it as the "Pera Vineyards," and in the first half of the seventeenth century, there were only three French neighborhoods in the area. However, as the Ottoman Empire's relations with the Western powers developed and changed, and as the capitulations evolved over the years into far-reaching treaties, Pera gradually evolved into what it was in the nineteenth century.

When British travelers arrived in Istanbul, they often emphasized that they encountered a chaotic atmosphere. The first thing that caught the attention of British travelers in Pera was often the pollution, chaos, and disorder. For instance, Hervé emphasizes that the main street of Pera was extremely ugly, cluttered, and neglected, while the most beautiful part of the area was the Christian Cemetery overlooking the Bosphorus.[170]

[170] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey*, 55-56.

The Pera postcard in Figure 6 includes many clues about life in Pera in the nineteenth century. European-style architecture of the buildings, their columns and window tracery reveal the influence of European architecture on Levantine society. Just like in Izmir, the fact that the buildings are lined up side by side and the lower floors are used as shops, workshops and offices while the upper floors are used as dwellings exposes the close relationship between the private and the business lives of the Levantines. Since the lives of many Levantines were divided between home and business, the fact that the houses were located above the workplaces was in line with the Levantine lifestyle.[171]

The common opinion of the travelers who visited Pera during this period was that, apart from the diplomatic offices, the dragomans, and the Consulates, Pera was quite ordinary, disorganized, and commonplace. Yet, even amidst this disorder, it is often emphasized that there was a European flavor to Istanbul and that it was the city's most popular center of fashion, art, and commerce. Julia Pardoe, in her 1837 travelogue, *The City of Sultan*, wrote about this situation as follows:

> Neither Frank nor Christian is allowed to inhabit the city of the Faithful, and the faubourg of Pera, situated on the opposite side of the port, is consequently the headquarters of the life of European society. Galata, which skirts the shore of the Bosphorus at the base of the hill on which Pera is built, has among its inhabitants many very respectable merchants, whose occupations demand their continual presence; but Pera is the dwelling place of the beau monde - the seat of fashion - the St. James's of the capital. Here, everything social is en magnifique: the residences attached to the different Legations boast imposing designations of palaces - the somber shops of the Parisian fashion designers are as expensive and as dirty as desired - all the employees of diplomacy crowd the narrow, steep, and poorly paved streets… Close the doors of the diplomatic residences, and little more can be said for the European society of Pera; it is about on a par with that of a third-rate provincial town in England. Ennui succeeds to curiosity, and indifference to ennui; and you gladly step into your caique, or your araba; or, better still, spring into your saddle, to recreate yourself among scenes of beauty and magnificence, and to escape from the everlasting arm of rounded sentences which tend to nothing.[172]

[171] Kesepara, "İzmir Levanten Köşkleri Koruma Uygulama Süreçleri ve Risk Analizi," 32-33.

[172] Pardoe, *City of the Sultan: And Domestic Manners of the Turks*, 53-60.

Figure 6 A postcard from the late nineteenth century with the inscription Grand Pera Street, Istanbul. Retrieved from *https://www.levantineheritage.com/beyoglu.htm*. Date of Access: 12th June 2024

According to Pardoe, the Levantines had no choice but to live in Pera, as social, diplomatic, and commercial networks, as well as the prohibition to reside in the "Golden Horn," which Pardoe referred to as the city of the faithful, forced the Levantines to live in Pera. Pardoe's narrative emphasizes that the Levantine society living in Pera was torn between being European and acting like Europeans. Pardoe's critical approach underlines that the Levantine community's feeling of being European was only about the grandiose store names, ostentation, and appearance, all of which were in contrast to the behavior and character of the Levantines themselves. According to her ,her, Pera was more like a provincial town in England than the center of Levantine life and she accuses the Levantines of being superficial rather than having an English mentality. This view is one of the most important examples of an arrogant and suspicious approach towards the Levantine society, which was also shared by other travelers. Nevertheless, according to Frankland, the Levantines living in Pera were proud of their city and, with a bit of arrogance, often expressed that this city would not be changed even for Paris. Upon the return of a French attaché to Paris, Frankland quotes a Pera lady as saying, "*Qu'est-ce qu'il deviendra ce pauvre jeune*

homme à Paris? -à Paris, ou il n'y a point d'eaux douces."[175] Frankland's observation clearly reveals the pride and loyalty of the Levantines living in Pera for their city. Levantines valued Pera too much to exchange it even for prestigious cities such as Paris and defended the quality of life offered by their city with great arrogance. This shows that they had developed an identity and status in Pera and their attachment to their city was a part of this identity. This assertion, contrasting Paris unfavorably with Istanbul—likely without firsthand experience—highlights the Levantines' profound local loyalty as integral to their identity. While their allegiance to Pera may imply a degree of affiliation with the Ottoman Empire, it does not necessarily denote exclusive identification as Ottomans. In that case, instead of framing their identity within a strict European-Ottoman or East-West dichotomy, the Levantines appeared to prioritize living in Istanbul as a superior sub-identity over living in Paris. This perspective underscores their nuanced cultural positioning within the Ottoman context, reflecting their complex negotiation of local and European influences.

The order established by the Levantines in Pera attracted the attention of many travelers. Pera and Levantine life, often referred to as *imperium in imperio* in travelogues, was often found more interesting than the other inhabitants of the region. Hobhouse explained this through the analogy of a tree and states: "The Franks have, as it were, engrafted themselves on that limb of the capital, and the shoot has many more characteristics of the exotic than of the parent plant."[176] The phrase "The Franks have, as it were, engrafted themselves on that limb of the capital" indicates that the Levantines have integrated into a part of the capital of the Ottoman Empire. They have, metaphorically, grafted themselves onto this society. The second part, "…and the shoot has many more characteristics of the exotic than of the parent plant." suggests that the Levantines possess many more exotic characteristics compared to the locals (the parent plant). In other words, the Levantines displayed a distinct identity from the local society by preserving their own cultural and social traits. This is evident in how

[175] Ibid.148-149. English translation: "What will happen to this poor young man in Paris?" "In Paris, where there is no fresh water."

[176] Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810,* 825.

they expressed themselves in a European style in various areas, from architecture to lifestyle.

Pera, this cosmopolitan place with its peculiar morals and etiquette, was a refuge for the Levantines and, more than that, a center from which they did not want to leave. Adolphus Slade's *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece*, the Levantines living in Pera spent their days drinking tobacco and talking superficially about politics and economics, and many of them had only been to Istanbul once or twice, despite having lived in Pera for many years, born and raised there.[177]

Another striking feature of Pera was undoubtedly its architecture. Pera's architecture had distinctive features from other parts of the Ottoman Empire and Istanbul. Despite frequent fires in the nineteenth century, the main construction material was wood. For this reason, many travelers emphasized that Pera was repeatedly burned down, while embassies were rebuilt countless times to preserve their presence in the area. During his visit in 1837, Slade emphasized that the British Embassy in the region had previously towered over Istanbul like a feudal castle, but after the recent fire, the embassy had to be moved to Büyükdere and that a new embassy would soon be built in Pera.[178] The drawing in Figure 7 is the palace belonging to the British consulate, which began to be built on January 18, 1802 and, as Slade mentions, was destroyed in the great fire of 1831. The land and building costs of the palace (£11,000) were personally paid for by Sultan Selim III and represent an important turning point in British-Ottoman relations.[179] It was a well-known fact that all the major European states had embassies in the area. These embassies were usually located close to each other, and their doors were often open to Pera's dignitaries. Travelers would visit the embassies and ambassadors, usually with a letter of recommendation from a politically

[177]Adolphus Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece &c. and of a Cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831,* 95.

[178] Adolphus Slade, *Turkey, Greece and Malta*, vol. I, II vols. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837). 411-412.

[179] Ibid.

influential person. As will be discussed, Levantines were a major human resource in the consulates of European states due to their multilingual nature, strong social relations, and local networks. On the other hand, as examined in the case of Izmir and discussed in the second chapter of the fourth section, consulates played a critical role in the security, legal, commercial, and social life of the Levantine community. For all these reasons, it was inevitable that the Levantine community clustered around the consulates and crowded in the areas inhabited by the consulates.

On the other hand, another Levantine settlement in Istanbul was Büyükdere, which was used as a summer resort. Büyükdere was much more admired by British travelers than Pera and was often described as a place that was pleasing to the senses. In particular, the architecture of the area, the extensive gardens, and the promenade along the coast attracted the attention of the travelers. Many travelers also emphasized that there were mansions belonging to the Russian, Danish, Swedish, Austrian, and British embassies in the region and that invitations were often given here. Hobhouse emphasized that most of the mansions in the area were built in European style, stretched along the promenade, and had a grove of trees of all kinds.[180]

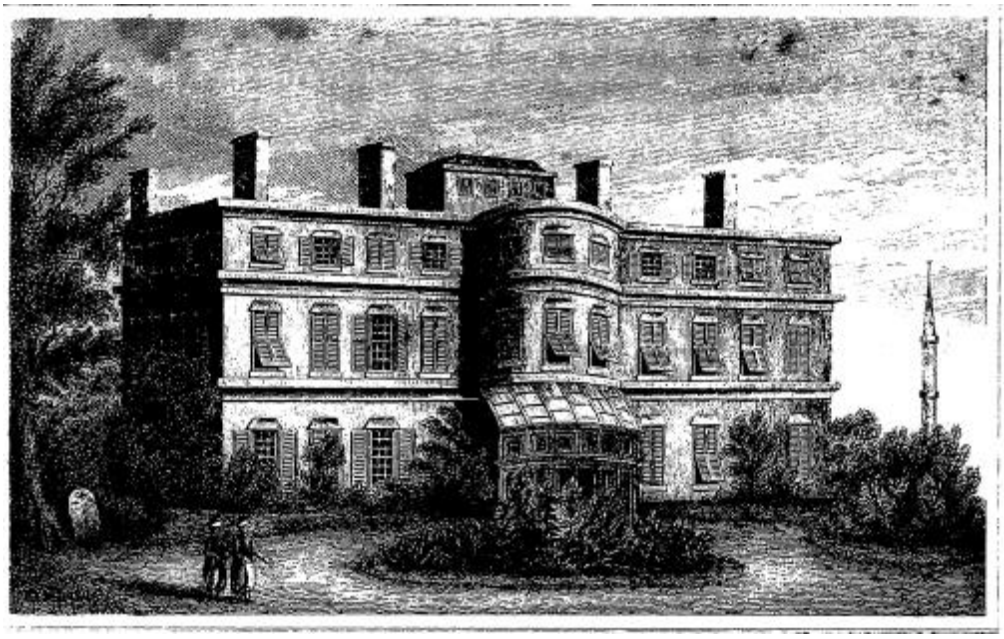

Figure 7 The British Embassy Palace at Pera, Istanbul, from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Retrieved from *https://roomfordiplomacy.com/istanbul*. Date of Access: 12th June 2024

[180] Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810,* 867.

In his travelogue, Slade emphasized that Büyükdere was a very beautiful town, that, unlike Pera, there was no strict moral code, that Levantines could move more freely here, and that there was much more interaction between groups. According to Slade, travelers in Büyükdere were welcomed with great interest and respect by everyone, regardless of their ethnic origin, and were included in all kinds of society.[181] The postcard in Figure 8 with the French inscription "Greetings from Constantinople, Bosphorus-Büyükdere, view from the quay" is consistent with Hobhouse and Slade's depictions. The postcard depicts a man walking his dog with a French-style hat and cane, while multi-story European-style mansions and palaces line the promenade.

Figure 8 Büyükdere postcard from the late nineteenth century, Istanbul. Retrieved from http://www.levantineheritage.com/buyukdere.htm. Date of Access: 12th June 2024

Furthermore, as Adolphus Slade reports, some of the Levantines enjoyed spending time in Kadıköy in addition to their summer residences in Büyükdere and Tarabya.

[181] Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece &c. and of a Cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831,* 342.

However, Levantines were banned from residing and settling on the Asian side due to the residents' complaints that they made too much noise until late hours and had a very active lifestyle. Slade emphasizes that the Turks expressed this situation as follows; “We give you Pera, Therapia, and Buyukdereh, say the Turks; 'Do what you please there; drink, dance, gamble, but come not into our quarters.” Thus, they argue; perhaps they are right.”[182] This situation can be seen as a manifestation of the Levantines' European lifestyle, characterized by their social activities and vibrant nightlife. Their distinct way of life, marked by celebration and leisure, set them apart from the more conservative local customs."

From these narratives, we can draw three main conclusions about both the Levantines and the views of British travelers about them. The first of these is that the Levantines' desire to maintain their commercial and cultural presence, the Ottoman Empire's restrictions on foreign settlement, and the close relations among the society pushed them to live together, to create Levantine living spaces, and to develop them. In the case of Izmir, Frenk Street, Buca, Bornova, and Seydiköy were the main Levantine residential areas, while in the case of Istanbul, Pera, Büyükdere and Tarabya were the main areas where the Levantine population clustered. At the center of these settlements were consulates due to their mutual interest relations with the Levantines. Since the consulates of European states constituted economic, social, and legal security for the Levantine community, the Levantine community was always clustered around the consulates. Secondly, an examination of the travelers' observations on these regions reveals that what they noticed most was that the settlements were different, more Europeanized, and prosperous than the settlements of other ethnic elements in the region. This is mainly due to the fact that, as mentioned above, the economic conditions of the Levantines were either already good or they were rapidly enriched due to their commercial privileges. On the other hand, the travelers often emphasized the European identity of the Levantines by underlining that the buildings and mansions resembled the European style, while on the other hand, they emphasized that the Levantines lived in isolation from the local population. Thirdly, another noteworthy aspect that the travelers considered was the fact that almost all Levantines had summer

[182] Slade, *Turkey, Greece, and Malta*, 444.

residences and spent the summer months in these houses (mostly mansions) outside the city. Accordingly, the fact that Levantines, like wealthy Ottomans, spent the summer months in their summer houses instead of in the city can be considered a step towards adaptation to the climate of the Mediterranean region and indirectly to Ottoman culture.

4.2. Legal Positions and State-Individual Relations of Levantines

Levantine society had a changing and increasingly powerful position in the Ottoman Empire over the centuries. Although the position of the Levantines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries generally developed within the framework of close relations between a few powerful families and diplomats and the Sublime Porte, from the first half of the nineteenth century onwards, due to the commercial, political, and legal privileges they enjoyed, even the lowest level Levantine merchant possessed a very advantageous position in the society. This situation also attracted the attention of British travelers who visited the Ottoman Empire during this period. British travelers who visited Istanbul and Izmir often emphasized that the Levantines lived in great prosperity within the Ottoman Empire, enjoyed great privileges, and were protected by the Ottoman Empire itself and the Consulates to which they were attached.[183] One of the most important factors that led to this situation was the capitulations and the Berat system.[184] All these privileges attracted the attention of travelers, who characterized the position of the Levantines in the Ottoman Empire as an *imperium in imperio*. In other words, the travelers, who drew attention to the legal, political, and commercial privileges of the Levantines and the consulates to which they were attached, claimed that this relationship was reciprocal and that the Ottoman Empire benefited from this relationship. Slade emphasizes this situation with the following words:

[183] Adolphus Slade, *Turkey, Greece and Malta*, 819.

[184] Berat was the name of the license which granted their non-Muslim Ottoman bearers, the beratlı, a variety of tax exemptions and access to European Law. This system allowed them to import and export goods with lower tax rates, which in turn bolstered their competitiveness and profitability in both domestic and international markets. For detailed account of Berat system, see; Ali İhsan Bağış, *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayrimüslimler* (Ankara: Turhan, 1983).

> An extra-judicial authority in any country may certainly appear injurious; that foreign merchants should pay lower duties than the native trader may seem unjust and may be supposed to lead to murmuring on the part of the latter; but so far from either one or the other usage having had the result which we might have anticipated, we can readily show that the imperium in imperio, in as far as relates to commerce, has greatly benefited Turkey, is actually retarding her decline, and has ever been considered by the nation as a valuable ally.[185]

On the other hand, Slade adds that this situation was often exploited by the Levantines and the consuls, and that it did not actually have a positive effect for Ottoman Empire, but rather caused great unrest in the society:

> But in other respects, I admit, our imperium in imperio has been exercised in a mode neither so honorable to Europe, nor so beneficial to Turkey. I allude particularly to the contempt we show for justice. One might suppose that European ambassadors have resided at Constantinople solely for the purpose of giving impunity to crime. Let Franks rob or murder each other, or rob Frank churches, there is no punishment for them. Screened by treaties from the operation of Turkish law, on account of its arbitrariness, there is no tribunal at which to try their offences.[186]

As the above quotations suggest, Slade emphasizes that the privileged position of the Levantines within the Ottoman Empire led to multiple outcomes. According to Slade, the Levantines' ability to trade freely with low taxes not only increased the Empire's trade volume, but also contributed significantly to the value of imports and exports. On the other hand, in return, the Levantine society, free from local legal rules and penalties, could cause social unrest. While this protected status was a result of the capitulations signed in previous centuries, the fact that these privileges of the Levantines in Ottoman territory were taken to extremes even by European travelers. It supported the travelers' perception of the Levantines as living a life of "too much freedom, independent of local authority in an environment without control or judgment." Slade also acknowledges that while this privileged status benefited Ottoman economic and commercial interests, the lack of justice and impunity for crimes created social unrest and injustice.

[185] Slade, *Turkey, Greece and Malta*, 417-418.

[186] Ibid, 427.

In the eyes of the travelers, there was hardly any difference between the Levantines of Istanbul and Izmir in terms of privileges. Nevertheless, The Levantines residing in Istanbul, besides their commercial privileges, were considered to have stronger political privileges, as many of them served as dragomans.. In addition, the fact that the embassies of the European powers were headquartered in Pera further strengthens this situation. Since a significant number of members of the Levantine community in Pera were always in contact with the embassies at some point, it was inevitable for them to create a privileged position for themselves and use their political connections. Slade, in his 1830 travel memoir Records of Travels in Turkey and Greece, emphasizes that the embassies in Pera were powerful as kingdoms and that the ambassadors were equal to kings:

> The principal among them, the ambassadors of France, England, Russia, and Austria, may be styled the kings of Pera. They have no equals out of their sphere, and they exercise absolute control, respectively, over all under their protection, without reference to Turkish laws or Turkish authority. The house of each is an asylum that would protect even a Turkish criminal. No monarchs are more considered by their subjects; for, in the eyes of a Levantine, there is no state comparable with that of an ambassador: —if he wishes to describe greater magnificence, or authority, or pride than usual, his highest type is an ambassador. I leave out of the question the dignity of a grand vizier, or even of a pasha—mention only of such personages makes a Levantine shiver.[187]

According to Slade, who describes the power of embassies within the Empire, the most important person a Levantine could see with the naked eye in Pera was an ambassador, and they commanded great respect and admiration within the Levantine community. As Slade's passages reveal, the deep respect and admiration that Levantines had for ambassadors was based on several factors. First, the embassies provided a safe harbor for the Levantines and were seen as a shelter independent of the local legal system. This was clearly stated in Article 42 of the 1675 capitulation treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Britain, Article 15 of the 1740 capitulations with France and Article 6 of the 1680 capitulations with the Netherlands. These articles explicitly authorized the consulates to protect the Levantines, subjects of their respective countries, against the law and to prevent their prosecution. On the other hand, Articles

[187] Adolphus Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece &c. and of a Cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831: In Two Volumes*, vol. II, II vols. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1833), 148.

25, 16 and 7 of the same treaties, respectively, stipulated the inviolability of consular property, the inviolability of consulates and the exemption of consulates from all laws and regulations, indirectly paving the way for the Levantine subjects under the protection of consulates to become practically inviolable.[188] Moreover, the embassies offered economic and commercial privileges to the Levantines, allowing them to trade with low taxes and facilitating their commercial life. Ambassadors were also a source of social and cultural prestige in Levantine society, bringing European culture to Ottoman lands and strengthening Levantine ties with Europe. These factors formed the basis of the Levantines' respect and admiration for the ambassadors and strengthened the ambassadors' influence over the Levantines. On the other hand, Slade emphasizes that these concessions allowed the Levantines to invest safely and without fear, and to make huge profits from their investments as well as being able to combine capital and know-how with the knowledge and experience of the local population in cooperation with the Greek and Armenian communities. Thus, Slade concludes that the Levantines were in a vital position for Ottoman trade and industry.[189]

Similarly, the Levantines of Izmir enjoyed similar rights to those of Pera. The European consulates in Izmir (though not as powerful as those in Istanbul) were expectedly quite powerful and patronized the Levantines residing in the region. The political and commercial privileges of the Levantines of Izmir were described by Charles Addison in *Damascus, and Palmyra: A Journey to the East*, which emphasized that the Frankish population in Izmir was very large, and enjoyed great privileges and immunities, and that European merchants of different nationalities, under the protection of their consuls, were all direct taxes and enjoyed rights that they could not enjoy anywhere else in Europe.[190] Similarly, Hobhouse, in his 1809 trip to Izmir, emphasizes that the Franks were quite powerful in the city and represented an

[188] For details see, Edward Hertslet, *Treaties, &c., Regulating the Trade Between Great Britain and Turkey* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1875).

[189] Ibid.

[190]Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East*,153; Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828,* 153.

important authority: "At Smyrna, the Franktown, no inconsiderable place of itself, may be said to be under the complete jurisdiction of the foreign powers. The Consuls display the standards of their respective nations; they have their prisons, and their soldiers, who wait at their gates and precede them when they walk or ride; and their houses are sanctuaries which not even the Turk attempts to penetrate."[191] There are some noteworthy points in Hobhouse's depiction. The fact that the consulates were able to create the standards of their own nations and had their own soldiers and prisons supports the idea of empire within the empire. While the consuls of European states acted almost as if they were untouchable, this situation provided a great advantage to the Levantines who were subject to European states. Since the consulate to which the Levantines were subject was so powerful and privileged, the Levantines also enjoyed their share of these privileges. On the other hand, the word "sanctuary," which was used to describe the palaces belonging to the ambassadors, not only depicts that the palaces were protected and almost exclusive but also that they were treated almost as sacred places by the Turks. This shows that embassies enjoyed a privileged position in Ottoman territory and were held in high respect and prestige by both the Levantine community and the Turks.

All these political and economic privileges granted by the Ottoman Empire to the European great powers and indirectly to the Levantines were harshly criticized by some travelers. Many travelers emphasized that these concessions created social disorder and that the European states exploited the Ottoman Empire and its resources, leading to gross income inequality on a societal scale. Addison mentions in his travelogue that the Europeans who came to the Levant became rich very quickly and unjustly, while the Turks and Greeks became poorer because the natives of the region did not have their commercial privileges. Addison describes the two English brothers he met in the Bornova region, and their possessions as follows:

> In the course of your perambulations amid the wooden houses and the poverty-stricken population in the neighbourhood, you will come to the village of Bournabat, where you will see two magnificent country villas, surrounded by fine gardens, conservatories, and plantations of trees. You will be ushered into a handsome

[191] Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810,* 619.

> mansion, elegantly furnished; you will see a grand piano, mahogany tables, chairs, candelabra, splendid dessert services, china, damask curtains, &c., &c., which have been all sent out from England at an immense expense; you will see rakes, spades, pick-axes, rollers, ploughs, carts, dogs, cats, birds, and beasts in the grounds and shrubberies, all likewise sent out from England; you are shewn another dwelling, almost equal in splendour and convenience. Well, you are tempted to exclaim, these must be rich Pashas, gorged with plunder but very enlightened men, and possessing singularly refined tastes. No: you are told they are two brothers, Englishmen, who came out to the country poor and without capital, and have acquired all their property, all their comforts, and all their luxuries in this land of general poverty, and are now two of the richest merchants of the place, employing, as individuals, a very large amount of productive industry in the interior of the country, and annually finding a market for a great variety of commodities, which they buy from the poor native cultivators.[192]

According to Addison's narrative, the two brothers, who arrived in Izmir penniless, became wealthy in a very short period of time, amassing riches that only a Pasha could possess. Although Addison does not explicitly mention their names in his narrative, it is quite possible that these two brothers were Charlton and James Whittall, two of the richest and most famous Levantines in Izmir in the nineteenth century. The Whittalls, the wealthiest Englishmen in the region at the time of Charles Addison's visit to Izmir, match the descriptions in terms of their background and economic activities. Charlton Whittall, one of the Whittall brothers, moved to Izmir from Liverpool in 1808, already a merchant, and within two years founded the firm of C. Whittall & Co. Within a year the firm became part of the Levant Company and benefited from the Company's privileged trade permits.[193] C. Whittall and Company built and equipped a factory for extracting the tanning properties of valonia which is used for tanning by a process discovered by a local Armenian chemist and patented by the company. They also traded in cotton on the Mediterranean coast and began producing dried grapes and figs in and around Izmir, later establishing cottonseed oil and olive oil factories.[194] In the following years, the Whittalls established ties with the Girauds, another important

[192] Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East,* 383-385.

[193] Simer, "Impacts of A Levantine Bourgeois Family; The Whittalls in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire," 27.

[194] Hugh Whittall, The Whittalls of Turkey, 1809-1973, accessed May 31, 2024, https://www.levantineheritage.com/book2.htm#.

Levantine family of Izmir through marriage, and built the residence that would later be known as the “the big house of Bornova” or Whittall Mansion.

In 1835, the year of Charles Addison's stay in Bornova, the Whittall family was living quite prosperously as described by the author. In his narrative, European-style decorations, pets, and flowers imported at high cost from England reveal that the Whittalls not only lived in great opulence but also maintained their ties to European culture even after three decades of their settlement in Izmir. According to Addison, this wealth was not only due to the fact that they were very clever investors or hardworking people, but also due to the commercial and political privileges they enjoyed.

> These individuals are not under the Turkish Government, they are governed by their own laws; they are under the protection of their own consul, and their property is secured to them by the national force of the British empire. They were animated to successful exertion by the hope of acquiring and enjoying property; they had nothing to fear from rapacious governors; they felt no danger of exciting the cupidity of individuals who had the power to despoil them of their acquired wealth.[195]

On the other hand, Charles Addison compares the situation of the English brothers he met in Bornova with that of the Turks and Greeks in the region and draws attention to the injustice these commercial and political privileges caused. Addison continues his travelogue as follows;

> We look at other houses, built with wood and encumbered with filth,—a festering ditch runs between them, a bit of ragged tarpaulin is stuck over the windows to keep the sun out; there are no glass casements; there is no furniture in the house except a mat and a jar of water; the windows are shut with a rotten sliding pannel, or a warped cracked lattice, and the whole establishment might be bought with the price of the grand piano in the neighbouring mansion. This, we are told, is the residence of a Turk or a Greek, who is a subject of the Ottoman Porte, and has no security, no consular protection, against the rapacity of local governors.[196]

It is clear from Addison's narrative that all the commercial privileges and political immunity granted to the Levantines caused a huge gap between the Levantines and the

[195] Ibid., 385.

[196] Ibid., 386.

local population. The travelers, like Addison, accused the Levantines of opportunism and self-interest in this environment of unfair competition and pointed out that in this environment of extreme enrichment and extreme impoverishment, the houses of Turks and Greeks were in such poor condition that they could be bought for the price of a grand piano.

However, it is emphasized in many travelogues that with the Greek Revolt that started in 1821, a hatred against the Christian population emerged in Izmir, the Levantines were also affected by this situation and their relations with the Turks became chaotic and this situation weakened the authority of the foreign consulates.[197]

In addition to commercial and political privileges, another noteworthy issue was the Janissaries, who were obliged to protect the Levantines. During his visit to Istanbul at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Hobhouse reported that there were Janissaries residing in Pera and that they were directly subordinate to the consuls but were obliged to protect the Levantines. According to Hobhouse, there were approximately 250 Janissaries under the command of the British consulate, and the captain of the company took orders directly from the consul general.[198] The Janissaries, on the other hand, were referred to as pig keepers by the Muslims because of the fact that Pera was known as the pig quarter.[199] The protection of ambassadors and consulates by these janissaries was indeed guaranteed by capitulations signed in previous centuries. For example, Article 50 of the Capitulations of 1740 signed between the Ottoman Empire and France stated that Janissaries would be freely chosen by the Consulate, while Article 28 of the Capitulations of 1675 signed between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire stated the protection of Consuls as follows: "That the Ambassadors and Consuls shall and may take into their service any janizary [*sic*] or interpreter they please, without any other

[197] Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East ,*153, Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828,* 91.

[198] Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810,* 619.

[199] Ibid.

janizary, or other of our slaves intruding themselves into their service against their will and consent."[200]

In conclusion, the legal rights of Levantines and their legal position within the Ottoman Empire had always been a matter of debate. These rights were constantly questioned by both Ottomans and Europeans, and were among the subjects of treaties, and were repeatedly reorganized throughout the nineteenth century. All these situations attracted the attention and interest of British travelers, who frequently mentioned them in their narratives. According to the travelers, the Levantines residing in the Ottoman Empire were legally in a very privileged position. While the travelers emphasized that this situation led to rapid enrichment for the Levantine population and a more privileged and independent lifestyle than the local population, they also underlined that it often led to unrest among the subjects of the Ottoman Empire. It was also frequently emphasized in the travelogues that the immense power and privileges that the consulates enjoyed within the Ottoman Empire contributed to the Levantines living more prosperous and comfortable lives than anywhere else in the world. The common opinion of the travelers was that these legal freedoms and privileges not only allowed the Levantines to invest freely but also created an economic and social gap between them and the local population.

4.3. Ethnicity, Nationality and Languages

Clustered in cosmopolitan cities such as Izmir and Istanbul, the Levantine society consisted of families from almost every corner of Europe and from different ethnic origins. The Levantines presented a dynamic society that developed and changed with the local people. This society melted various languages, behavioral patterns, lifestyles, and customs into one pot. Over time, the interactions and interweaving of this multi-ethnic society resulted in the emergence of a distinctive Levantine culture enriched by the fusion of European, Ottoman, and other ethnic elements. Levantine society, like any society, had its own unique cultural expressions, social orders, and lifestyles, and this was the result of generations of interaction between different ethnic groups. The diversity of the Levantine society was both intriguing and confusing to British

[200] Hertslet, *Treaties, &c., Regulating the Trade Between Great Britain and Turkey*, 129.

travelers. In their observations and writings, they attempted to analyze and classify this complex society and endeavored to understand and define this structure.

Slade, in his 1830 visit to Istanbul, emphasized that Pera was home to a society consisting of almost every nation in Europe. Slade emphasized that Ionians, Slavonians, Russians, French, Italians, and English were particularly dense in the region and that they formed a complex network of relations among them.[201] Although it was initially surprising for Slade that this multinational structure could live together seamlessly, he inferred that the embassies in the region acted as a kind of shepherd and emphasized that the economic and social relations between these people facilitated their smooth coexistence.[202]

Similarly, Charles MacFarlane, who visited Izmir in 1828, mentions this community in his travelogue, in which he questions how such an ethnically diverse society can continue to live together: "The non-rayah Christian population of Smyrna to five or six thousand, are composed of emigrants (voluntary or involuntary) from nearly all the countries on the Mediterranean - Spaniards, Provençals, Genoese, Livornese, Neapolitans, Sicilians, Maltese, and Ionians, form the motley group, and contrive to live among the indolent Turks, by exercising the calling of boatmen, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers. &c. How this numerous and contentious rabble is kept in order, used to surprise me; but it is kept in very decent order by the consuls."[203] According to Philip Mansel, it was the direct duty of the consuls to maintain order within their subjects and the regulation of Levantine' life was directly dependent on the consuls.[204] In particular, the commercial privileges held by the consulates, the judicial power and the power to decide and make decisions for their own subjects without the judgment of the *qadi*

[201] Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece &c. and of a Cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831*, 86.

[202] Ibid.

[203]Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828,* 91.

[204] Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean*, 19.

provided by the capitulations were other aspects that increased the administrative capacity of the consulates within the Levantine' society.[205]

The Levantine communities in Istanbul and Izmir, as they are delved into comprehensively later, emerged as captivating enclaves that seamlessly blend the cultural, social, and commercial influences of both the East and the West. This synthesis of diverse elements created a distinctive structure, a "neither Eastern nor Western" blend that embodies the nuanced interplay between these contrasting spheres. However, what stands out prominently in the historical narrative of these Levantine communities is their pronounced inclination toward embracing a Western identity. Julia Pardoe's perceptive observations, penned in her insightful 1836 travelogue, illuminate the intricate layers of identity formation within these communities. Despite residing at a geographical crossroads between East and West, the Levantines gravitated towards adopting Western values, aspirations, and lifestyle elements. Pardoe quotes this phenomenon as follows: "In my rapid definition of European society, I must not omit to mention that the Perotes, or natives of Pera, consider themselves as much Franks as though they had been born and nurtured on the banks of the Thames or the Seine; and your expression of amusement at this very original notion would inevitably give great offence."[206]

At this point, many factors are influential in the prominence of the Western identity. First of all, it should be taken into account that in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire lagged behind the West economically, technologically, and militarily, and modernization efforts were based on the axis of "emulating the West."[207] It is not surprising that the Levantines, even though they had lost their

[205] Alexander H. de Groot, "The Historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," *Oriente Moderno* 83, no. 3 (August 12, 2003): 575–604, https://doi.org/10.1163/22138617-08303002, 595.

[206] Pardoe, *City of the Sultan: And Domestic Manners of the Turks,* 54.

[207] Fatmanur Altun, "A Critical Review of 'Ottoman Modernization' Concept in the Context of Historical Sociology," *Adam Akademi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 12, no. 1 (June 25, 2022): 107–30, https://doi.org/10.31679/adamakademi.1069441, 113.

Western culture and ideals in the eyes of the travelers, nevertheless did not give up their claim to be part of the West. Julia Pardoe's observation that any insinuation that Levantine society was not Western was met with resentment reveals a conscious effort to distill and maintain the Western traits they had adopted. This hypersensitivity emphasizes the extent to which Levantines embraced their Western identity and considered it an integral part of their self-perception.

On the one hand, the Levantines rejected the assertion that they were socially, culturally, ethnically, and religiously less European than a Frenchman or an Englishman, claiming to be connected to Europe. On the other hand, their language, daily life, traditions, approach to business, and even family structures revealed apparent Oriental motifs. This ambivalence prevented the Levantines from being neither Eastern nor Western. The most comprehensive interpretation of the identity of the Levantines from these different sources was made by Charles McFarlane in his 1828 travelogue. MacFarlane described this complex nature of the Levantines somewhat critically:

> The people too (I mean the Franks, and the men only) seemed of a strange hybridous nature, something neither Christian nor Turk, Asiatic nor European; and I was struck with a general absence of information, spirit, and liberality, really astonishing, at the present day, in people, natives of England, France, Italy, &c., or descended, as they pretty generally are, from parents born in those countries. They appeared to have, in turns, the sympathies, the listlessness, and supineness of the Moslemins [*sic*], without being striking and picturesque like them: the lightness of character and vanity of the Greeks, without their vivacity and natural talent.[208]

According to MacFarlane, the Levantines had clearly absorbed and internalized the worst traits of the societies they interacted with. Macfarlane accuses the Levantines of adopting the worst characteristics of the various nations they come into contact with while excluding the positive qualities of these nations. Through this perspective, he emphasizes not only how un-European the Levantines were, but also how they failed to embody Eastern qualities. This dual deficiency placed the Levantines in a state of in-betweenness, where they belonged fully neither to the European nor to the Eastern

[208] Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828,* 12-13.

world. Their unique cultural identity was marked by this liminality, creating a distinct societal group that navigated and merged elements from both spheres. According to Macfarlane, Levantines exhibited the indolence and arrogance of Muslims and the weak character of Greeks, yet they lacked the vitality, talents, and unique positive attributes of these groups. This commentary highlights how the Levantine society was perceived as identityless and negatively categorized as the "other" in the eyes of British travelers. Many travelers held similar views to MacFarlane. Slade described a Levantine, whom he hosted in his home during his journey to Istanbul, as an exemplar of his society and spoke of them as follows:

> My host was a Sclavonian by birth, a physician by profession, a Levantine by adoption. By a Levantine, it is meant a Frank who has totally abandoned his native country and fixed himself in Turkey for good. He cannot be mistaken. He is a compound of the Turk, the Greek, and the Frank: disfigured by the mustache of the first, the long hair of the second, the whiskers and dress of the third; not the dress usually worn in Europe, but a mixture of fashions from the preceding half-century; no wonder that the easterners think it unbecoming. He talks many languages, none well: he is servile with Moslems, pert with Christians, your humble servant abroad, a tyrant at home.[209]

The Levantines, as Slade represented them, were a combination of Turkish, Greek, and Frankish attributes. This confluence involved an assemblage of their bodies, clothing, and speech. Levantines were thought to have borrowed the mustache of the Turks, the long hair of the Greeks, and the way of dressing of the Europeans. This hybridity reflects how Levantines navigated multiple cultural identities, blending them into a unique synthesis. Their mimicry of various cultural traits highlights their adaptive strategies to coexist and thrive in a diverse environment. In this sense, Levantines embodied a complex cultural mosaic that defied simple categorization. Yet this dress closely resembled the fashion of the last fifty years and was deemed by contemporary Easterners an affront. Such a portrayal leads the readers to believe that the identity of the Levantines was deficient and even self-contradictory. Slade's verdict reveals the hybrid identity of the Levantines in the negative sense. He forwards that they were not fully European or not entirely Eastern. For Slade, this hybridity means that Levantines

[209] Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece &c. and of a Cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831*, 89.

possessed an identity that was rootless, inconsistent, and negative in character. It is from such a perspective that one can see the Levantine society was perceived as one of the "others" by the European travelers, and such otherness is viewed in a negative sense. On the other hand, a parallel narrative, repeated by numerous travelers, is that from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, a linguistic transformation of profound significance occurred in the Levant. During this pivotal period, a primitive French intertwined with Greek elements was emerging as the language of commerce and politics in the region, replacing Italian that had been dominant in previous centuries. This linguistic shift was not just a change in syntax and vocabulary; it encompassed broader shifts in the political, economic, and cultural dynamics that reshaped the identity of the Levant.

Prior to this transformation, from the fifteenth century onwards, Italian and Greek dominated the Levant due to the intensive commercial activities of the Italian city-states, and Italian, with its rich vocabulary and nuances of expression, had become a *lingua franca* that fostered cross-cultural connections, nurtured trade relations, and embellished the cultural fabric of the Levant. However, from the nineteenth century onwards, the changing and evolving geopolitical position of the Levant made French trade dominant on the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. During this period, French merchants were freely trading and culturally expanding in the Mediterranean ports with the great commercial concessions they had obtained. This paved the way for their language to become dominant in the Levant. That form of French combined with Greek, which was at the heart of the local trade network in the region, to form a hybrid trade language. Even Levantines of different nationalities could not speak their mother tongues and communicated in this hybrid language. McFarlane summarized this situation in his travelogue as follows:

> French is the prevailing language of Frank society, but it is merely a language of society, used when strangers are present, for Greek is the idiom they learn from their cradles, and speak most fluently; it may be called their natural tongue. Strange, however, as it may appear, it is a fact, that hardly one of them knows how to write or even to read it. The French, which is in use, is far from being a model of purity; it sits on them with the constraint of a foreign language, and is superseded whenever politeness permits, (and frequently whether it permits or not,) by their every-day and familiar Romaic. My nationality was much hurt to find, that of the descendants of Englishmen, the male part spoke our language with a foreign accent and a polyglottish idiom; and that the ladies, with one or two exceptions, spoke it not at all, French being their medium of conversation with the countrymen of their fathers! Italian, which was for centuries the general idiom in the Levant, is now confined to brokers, and

> shopkeepers, &c. individuals not comprised in the circle of the beau-monde of Smyrna, who speak it most barbarously.[210]

As MacFarlane emphasizes, most of the Levantines (especially man) in the first half of the nineteenth century could understand and speak many languages, but they spoke to them all with a broken accent, incorrectly and imperfectly. This linguistic confusion was often observed and criticized by travelers, but it also further exemplified their position at the crossroads of various cultures and their tendency to adopt elements from both the European and Eastern worlds.[211] Macfarlane's evaluation highlights the blend of languages and the identity crisis within the Levantine society. The mixture of languages and the lack of consistency, suggested that Levantines did not fully align with any language or culture, resulting in a dilution of their essence and identity. Travelers noted that this state of being in between instilled a sense of doubt and inadequacy regarding their cultural identities. Furthermore, when Levantines of descent spoke their language with a foreign accent, Macfarlane perceived them not as authentic Englishmen but rather as individuals who have strayed from their true selves. This is one of the most important indicators of the fact that the Levantines created a hybrid culture and were a community with traces of many different societies.

In conclusion, the British travelers in general regarded the Levantines ethnically complex and intricate, and emphasized throughout their narratives that they were a community of Europeans who came to the Ottoman Empire from different parts of Europe with commercial concerns. The most frequent point made by the travelers in their travelogues is that the Levantines were neither Ottoman nor European, and they built a hybrid society and culture. As a result, while alienating from their roots, they developed a new identity through the coexistence of different cultures blending together.

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[210] Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828,* 85-86.

[211] Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece &c. and of a Cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831,* 87.

4.4. Social Structure

During the early nineteenth century, travelers who journeyed to places like Izmir and Istanbul were primarily captivated by the intricate social milieu and interpersonal intricacies fostered by the Levantines. Over the course of time, this group, which was diverse and unique, generated a culture that was entirely exclusive to them. This culture was characterized as a blend of familial connections and social customs that differentiated them from the prevailing norms of East. The Levantines assimilated, integrated, and embraced a variety of cultural heritages, both European and local, resulting in the formation of a distinct and hybrid new identity. This served as the foundation not only for Levantine familial connections, but also for their daily life, social structure, and interactions with other societies.

According to numerous travelers, the Levantines were connected by strong bonds that went beyond the conventional European family structure and formed a distinct social structure of their own. The Levantine notion of the family not only incorporated elements from local customs and European culture, but also embraced certain aspects of Eastern traditions. This intricate amalgamation established a familial framework that nurtured a sense of belonging at both the local and global levels, firmly grounded in Levantine identity, and heavily shaped by European values. Conversely, trade and commercial interactions significantly influenced the perception of the family within the Levantine society. Travelers to the region of Izmir and Istanbul in the early 1800s often discussed the strong bonds within Levantine families and the significant influence of the family as a fundamental part of the Levantine society. Those strong family ties highlighted the unique blend of heritage, harmony, and societal nuances that characterized the Levantine lifestyle. The family structure undeniably played a significant role in the polyphony of Levantine culture. Intermarriage among people of different ethnic backgrounds erased the distinctions between ethnic groups and had a role in shaping a society that was culturally and socially intricate yet unified. The intricate network of intermarriage among various Levantine origins and nations had a crucial role in establishing the Levantine identity. The mixing of ancestral lines resulted in a population that was both uniform and diverse, showcasing a multitude of cultural influences. The propensity of Levantines to engage in intermarriage in such a

multifarious manner serves as evidence of the cosmopolitan character of the region and its distinctive position as a meeting point where various cultures intersected.

In his travelogue, Slade underlined the family relations of the Levantines as "…these married and intermarried—cousins with cousins, uncles with nieces, nephews with aunts—and increased to what they are at present, in number to supply the wants of all the embassies and sufficiently bound in relationship to have the secrets of all the embassies in common, to be made use of as occasion prompts."[212] As Slade clarifies, this Levantine practice of in-group and out-group marriage made an entire community bound to each other by kinship ties.[213]

Hervé points out that the Levantines were very naïve and possessive in their family relations, and that the whole Levantine community was regarded as one big family, with the Levantines of Izmir in particular being very protective even of other Levantines who were not related to them by blood.[214] Ethnic differences and commercial rivalries did not prevent the Levantine community from living together, but at the same time, the Levantines had developed a higher form of coexistence. As Hervé explains, one of the cornerstones of family relations among Levantines was marriage. Levantine families, regardless of their ethnic origin, were connected to each other through marriage, and almost everyone had close or distant relationships with other Levantine families.[215] This helped the formation of a functional and efficient network. Thus, unless a disgraceful crime was committed, even in cases of bankruptcy or hardship, Levantines took care of each other and kept their people inside the

[212] Ibid., 189.

[213] Ibid.

[214] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey*, 40.

[215] Ibid.

community. In a sense, the family went beyond the boundaries of kinship, and encompassed a comprehensive network of relationships and associations.[216]

The Whittall family can be considered as one of the most important examples of this phenomenon, as the family established marital relations with many Levantine families over time, which led to the development of their commercial relations and the strengthening of their influence in the Ottoman Empire. For instance, in 1814, Charlton Whittall, who was the first Whitthall moved to Ottoman Empire, married Magdaleine Blanche Marie Giraud, the daughter of a French merchant, Jean-Baptiste Giraud and of his wife, Helene Tricon. Jean-Baptiste was born in Antibes in 1742, and settled in Smyrna in 1767, where he became a "merchant of eminence, occupying a leading position in the French Community, and also acting as Austrian Consul."[217]

Another example is more striking because it is an example of the combination of the three significant Levantine families of Izmir. James William Whittall, who was the eldest son of James Whittall, Jr. of "The Big House," Smyrna, married Edith Anna Barker, daughter of Samuel Barker of Budja in 1862.[218] Yet, Edith Anna Barker's (later Whittall) mother, Marianne Francoise La Fontaine, belonged to another large Levantine family, the La Fontaine family. Thus, three important families of the Levant were not only connected by family ties, but also facilitated the cooperation of Levantine companies operating in more than one field by improving their business relations.[219]

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[216] Ibid., 41.

[217] John Whittall, ed., *The Whittall Family in the 18th & 19th Centuries & Associated Families*, *Levantine Heritage*, n.d., https://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/The-Early-Whittalls-G.W.Whittall.pdf, 18.

[218] Ibid., 43.

[219] Edmund Giraud, *Family Records: A Record of the Origin and History of the Giraud and Whittall Families of Turkey* (Adams Bros. and Shardlow, 1934).

Last but not least, Sydney James La Fontaine and Edith Amelia Whittall married in 1882, bringing these two important families closer to each other socially and culturally. The marriages between the La Fontaine and Whittall families were not limited to the marriage between Sydney and Edith, but later Edward Augustus John and Blanche Whittall also married. Such marriages between Levantine families not only made Levantine society and culture more homogeneous, but also led to the natural development of commercial relations between these families. Living in a geography where the majority of the population was Muslim, the Levantines probably saw such marriages as a trigger for their socio-cultural and economic development in the context of minority psychology.[220]

One of the most important channels through which this complex connection emerged was the institution of trade. Levantine families, with their multifaceted network of family and marriage connections, created an environment conducive to cross-border commercial collaborations. The complex network of kinship enabled the exchange of ideas, resources, and expertise across a range of sectors, from maritime trade to finance, from craftsmanship to entrepreneurial endeavors.

In contrast, Addison, in his travelogue, emphasizes that in the Levantine society, regardless of religious and ethnic discrimination, the status of individuals in society rose in parallel with their economic power, and that often even economically powerful Greeks were included in society and welcomed warmly.[221] Unlike Addison, Hervé explicates that ethnic identity was important for the society, and that there were many incidences during which individuals were not accepted into the Levantine community simply because they were Greek or Armenian. Hervé conveys these observations with the following anecdote:

> Their line of demarcation for the separation of the classes is a subject that I never could understand; and, indeed, I have heard it remarked that it would require a

[220] Emrah Yılmaz, essay, in *Osmanlı'da Toplum, Şehir ve Ticaret -II-*, ed. Erkan Işıktaş and Muhammet Tunç (Ankara: Sonçağ, 2021), 77–103, 83-84.

[221] Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East,* 156.

> residence of seven years thoroughly to understand it. You will meet a man, well educated, of gentlemanly manners, having a handsome house and establishment, a good for- tune, and living generously and hospitably; then why, it will be asked, is he not in the first class? The answer is, because he is an Armenian, or he is a Greek, or a person of the country. Thus, at Smyrna, it is the nation that renders a man otherwise than a gentleman.[222]

In his notes, Hervé states that he found this situation illogical and incomprehensible, emphasizing that in Europe, people were divided into social classes according to their education, economic status and the occupations, and that their nationality and ethnicity did not matter. For this reason, the dynamics of Levantine society, where ethnic identity was seen as important, were foreign to him. From this point of view, it can be argued that for the Levantine community, being European did not only mean being a Christian; they also thought that one had to be a subject of a prosperous European country. Similarly, Hervé observed that while a Greek or Armenian who went to Paris or London could easily integrate into the upper class, when he returned to his own land, Izmir, he was once again regarded second class, a situation that astonished the Levantines.[223]

At this point, Hervé aims to make the Levantine society comprehensible for his readers by making a striking comparison between the social structure of the Levantines of Izmir and the social structure in London. Hervé first explains that there were five different social classes in London: "the lowest of the low, the decent working people, the shopkeepers, a commercial class, and the summit, people of fashion and nobility," and then aims to place the Levantines in this scheme.[224] Hervé considers the Levantines of Izmir as a society between shopkeepers and the summit, very similar to the commercial class.

[222] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey, vol. 1,* 340.

[223] Ibid., 341-42.

[224]Ibid., 351.

While mentioning the social structure, what most attracted the attention of British travelers who visited Pera was the embassies of European states and the subordinate-superior relationships that developed around them. As mentioned earlier, the ambassadors of France, Austria, England, and Russia acted as the four equal kings of Pera and created a sphere of power and influence around these embassies.[225] Slade likens the influence of these ambassadors in the region to the feudal system.

According to Slade, ambassadors, like feudal lords, refrained from mingling with the people and warned them in advance when they wanted to honor them with their presence.[226] On the other hand, the role of the dragomans--language intermediaries who facilitated communication between foreign consulates and local Ottoman authorities--played an integral role in the complex network of Levantines. Often fluent in more than one language and with insider knowledge of the Ottoman bureaucracy, these intermediaries served as channels of information, power, and influence. This strengthened the information network among the Levantines and ensured that everyone knew everything. Pardoe explained this situation with the following words: "Not a feather falls to the ground, but in half an hour every individual in the place knows by whom it was plucked, and the tale is told with a raciness and a zest that would make the fortune of a Sunday paper."[227] According to Pardoe, the most important reason for this situation was that the Levantine community was a society with close relations with each other. Slade describes these dragomans, and their power could be described as follows; "The dragomans may be considered, as in truth they consider themselves, the nobility of the kings. No aristocracy, not that of the Celestial Empire, equals them in self-importance."[228] However, as Slade reports, this attitude of

[225] Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece &c. and of a Cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831, vol.2,* 184.

[226] Ibid., 185.

[227] Pardoe, *City of the Sultan,* 55-56.

[228] Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece &c. and of a Cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831, vol.2,* 186.

the dragomans was also adopted by the people of Pera, and indeed, according to them, the dragomans were regarded as the prime ministers of the ambassadors, who were the rulers of Pera.[229] Contacting the dragoman was the easiest and perhaps the only way to make a request to the embassy.[230] Each embassy had five or six dragomans, and these were divided into various ranks. In Pera, being a dragoman was deemed as a family profession, and was passed down from generation to generation, willing or unwilling. This is actually an indication that the Levantines established a kind of monopoly in the embassies. In fact, some travelers were also disturbed by this situation. According to Slade, this was the major weakness of the British Embassy, because the recruitment of dragomans from Pera paved the way for them to serve not only the interests of Britain, but also the interests of their network within Pera.[231]

Taking all this into account, the majority of British travelers argued that the Levantines were a Machiavellian society.[232] For him, family ties, trade relations, friendships, and all other relationships constituted a chain of interests. Recognizing the strategic advantages of preserving family ties and marriages, the Levantines skillfully benefited from these connections to consolidate their influence, negotiate favorable terms, and expand their access to various sectors of society. The family thus emerged as a multifunctional tool for strengthening diplomatic ties, forging economic partnerships, and navigating the complexities of Ottoman society.[233]

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[229] Ibid.

[230] Ibid., 187.

[231] Ibid., 187-188.

[232] Machiavellianism, the political theory of the Italian statesman and writer Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), as presented in his best-known work, Il Principe (1532; The Prince). The term Machiavellianism is also used more generally to characterize the view that politics is amoral and that ordinarily unscrupulous actions involving deceit, treachery, and violence are thus permissible as effective means of acquiring and maintaining political power. In a related sense, Machiavellian signifies egregiously immoral behavior that serves one person or group's self-interest rather than the greater good of a community or country. "Machiavellianism." *Britannica* accessed 12th June 2024, https://www.britannica.com/science/Machiavellianism.

[233] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey*, 42.

In conclusion, in examining the social structure of the Levantine society, the travelers revealed a unique structure that was different from both Eastern and Western customs and traditions. What frequently attracted the attention of the travelers was the coexistence of different ethnicities in the Levantine society, and the marriage relations between families of different descent. According to the British travelers, Levantines viewed the institution of marriage as a relationship that strengthened their social relations. Therefore, marriage relations between different ethnic identities were supported. On the other hand, as frequently mentioned by the travelers, Levantines had strong family ties, thus the whole community could reflexively act as a single family bound together by marriage. In addition, the travelers also analyzed the Levantines from a social perspective, emphasizing that economic power was socially important and that those with wealth and power were respected in society rather than an aristocratic social structure as in Europe. Finally, the travelers emphasized that the ambassadors and embassy staff of European states represented the upper echelon of the Levantine society, they were highly respected by them, and behaved like feudal kings who were equal to each other.

4.5. Social Life

The Levantine society attracted the attention of British travelers not only for its social and ethnic structures, but also for its social life. These travelers often took part in Levantine social life, were invited to activities, and thus had the chance to observe this social and vibrant world closely. For the Levantine society, socializing did not only mean entertainment and cultural and artistic activities. The Levantines oversaw and managed a network of commercial, political, and diplomatic relations in every social interaction they established. Nevertheless, there were two interconnected social activities that attracted the most attention of the travelers: the balls and Casinos. Casinos and card games were also an important part of especially the life of Izmir Levantines, many travel accounts emphasize that there were no casinos for the Levantines in Pera. Casinos occupied a distinct and noteworthy position as important social centers in the vibrant world of Izmir's Levantine community. Addison's observations provide interesting insights into the role and character of these establishments in the nineteenth century. In 1838, Izmir had two important casinos, one catering to Franks and the other to Greeks. As Addison reports, these

establishments were not simply gambling houses; rather, they were multifunctional venues meticulously designed to encourage a range of activities, from daytime card games and chess matches to more exciting gambling pursuits. As dusk fell, casinos seamlessly transformed into opulent ballrooms, hosting elegant soirees that lit up the night with festivity.[234] On the other hand, Addison points out that the Greek casino was established only recently and after a long struggle, because the Levantine casinos did not usually admit Greeks.[235] In the first half of the nineteenth century, one of the first and most detailed descriptions of casinos was provided by Thomas MacGill, who visited Izmir. In the first volume of his *Travels in Turkey, Italy and Russia During the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, published in 1811, MacGill provides extensive descriptions of both the Levantines of Izmir and their casino culture. First of all, according to MacGill, the Izmir Levantine Casino at the very beginning of the nineteenth century was highly organized, orderly, and disciplined. Comparing it to European casinos, MacGill states that "The Casino, at Smyrna, is one of the best regulated places I ever knew; I dare say it is not excelled in Europe."[236] Emphasizing that the Casino served as a kind of gathering and problem-solving center of the Levantine community, MacGill points out that the members of the community were elected not by majority vote but by consensus, that they formed a council among themselves to enforce the rules of the community, and that this council had the task of warning and expelling members and resolving disputes between members.[237] MacGill had the opportunity to observe the casino closely because according to the rules of the casino, a newcomer could enter the casino free of charge for one year with the recommendation of one of the members. In his observations, he emphasizes that billiards, card games and chess were the most common games in the casino and that

[234] Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East; with a Sketch of the State and Prospects of Syria under Ibrahim Pasha,* 154-157.

[235] Ibid., 157.

[236] Thomas MacGill, *Travels in Turkey, Italy and Russia, during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 & 1806* (J. Murray, 1808), 96.

[237] Ibid, 96-97.

the casino offered the opportunity to relax and have fun in a decent environment.[238] Underlining that for the most part, ship captains who were in the city for a short period of time were banned from entering the casino, and in this way the Levantines were able to maintain the peace and decency of the casino. MacGill states that this law was quite strict and could only be relaxed for a highly respected British captain who came to the city very often.[239]

Hervé, who visited Izmir thirty years after Thomas MacGill, also observes that casinos were a significant part of the routine of Levantine society during his trip to the city. He emphasizes that men went to the casino every evening after eight o'clock, and stayed until midnight playing card games or discussing superficial matters, while women gathered at someone's house and spent time together.[240] Similarly, Hobhouse, on his journey to Izmir in 1810, described the casino as follows:

> This is a club, which supports a set of public rooms, fitted up in a very comfortable and splendid style, called, as in Italy, the Casino. Here there is a reading-room furnished with all the papers and gazettes of Europe, except the English, and there are two other apartments with billiard tables: refreshments of every kind can be procured in the house, for those who choose to form parties for supper. The rooms open at eight o'clock every evening; and during the Carnival, the subscribers give a ball once a week, to which all the respectable Greeks and the ladies of their families are invited.[241]

As Hobhouse's account reveals, casinos were not only places where cards were played but also where Levantines read newspapers, chatted with others, and managed their relationships. In a way, casinos constituted a predominantly male gateway to Europe for the Levantine intellectual world. Yet, as will be discussed in the following sections, this gateway was considered to be miniscule by many travelers. Another noteworthy detail in Hobhouse's account is that the casinos were also open to the Levantine

[238] Ibid., 97.

[239] Ibid., 98.

[240] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey*, 42.

[241] Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810,* 618-619.

community for social facilities. The Levantines organized parties, balls, and carnivals, entertained, dined, and drank.

Beyond social functions, it also attracted Addison's attention that casinos played a deeper role as platforms for intellectual and diplomatic endeavors. As Addison reports, these institutions were the centers of Levantine society for the exchange of ideas and perspectives and for debates of diplomatic and political significance that shaped the discourse of Levantine society.[242] Moreover, the casinos, as mentioned earlier, were also observed by Addison to be a reading center for Levantines, where European newspapers were available. Despite this temporal lag, these publications offered Levantines a window into the Western world, keeping them in touch with the currents of thought, culture and news that permeated Europe. Nevertheless, Addison, like Hervé, emphasized that the Levantine society was about twenty years behind Europe, unable to keep up with fashion, current news, and trends. An important reason why the Levantine society lagged behind Europe was geographical and transportation factors. In the nineteenth century, the transfer of knowledge and goods between Europe and the Levant was very difficult due to the limited availability of modern means of transportation and communication. This caused the Levant to catch up with European developments much later. On the other hand, the combination of various activities in the casinos reflected the cosmopolitan character of the Levantines. The blending of entertainment, social interaction, intellectual discourse, and diplomatic negotiations reflected the ability of the Levantine society to harmonize various aspects of life under one roof. The casinos embodied the fusion of European sensibilities with the Levantine ethos, which was based on the tolerance and interaction of different cultures, a lifestyle centered around trade, social and cultural integration, political and diplomatic skills, and an emphasis on enjoyment and entertainment in daily life, creating an environment where culture, commerce, politics, and pleasure coexisted seamlessly.

Apart from the casinos, the other most remarkable element of Levantine social life was the balls. Balls were one of the most important nightlife activities of Levantine society and took place after eight o'clock in casinos during the summer months, especially

[242] Ibid.

during carnival periods. In their accounts, British travelers effectively conveyed the important role that balls played in Levantine social life. These gatherings were not ordinary entertainments, but lively events where the Levantine community came together to celebrate, converse and bond. The balls transcended the boundaries of nationality and background, providing a space for individuals from all walks of life to mingle. Embellished with elegance and cultural flair, these social events provided an opportunity for Levantines to showcase their cosmopolitan identity and wealth, combining traditional values with contemporary sophistication. These balls both strengthened the cultural ties of the Levantine community and kept them socially connected. On the other hand, the balls were also seen as a means for the Levantines to show off their wealth and dazzle each other. Levantine women would save their most beautiful dresses for these balls and wear their most valuable jewelry to these balls.[243]

Western-style music and dance performances at the balls supported the Levantine society's claim to be a cultural extension of the West, while the Eastern motifs of the clothes revealed the cosmopolitan state of Levantine society. In support of this, Frankland describes the ball he attended during his visit to Istanbul as "the mixture of all the costumes of the East and West that was here exhibited, produced a most striking effect; for there were many Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Dragomans, (habillés à la langue, as it is called,) and the wives and daughters of these latter, in the dress of their country; and then there was all the lace and embroidery, the silks, muslins, and feathers, the cocked hats, epaulettes, and decorations of Europe. The costume, however, of the ladies of Pera, is more to be admired than their dancing."[244] As is clear from this description, Levantine balls were events with permeable and ambiguous boundaries, just like the Levantine society itself. A similar account is also present in Slade's travelogue in which he describes the carnivals and balls in Izmir in detail:

[243]Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey*, 47.

[244] Charles Colville Frankland, *Travels to and from Constantinople*, vol. II, II vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 97.

> Few places in Europe can display more brilliancy and vivacity than Smyrna during the carnival. The young ladies are, certainly, the most eternal dancers that I ever encountered. It has sometimes occurred, that a breakfast and ball has been given on board a frigate; dancing, perhaps, beginning at eleven, and continuing till seven or eight at night. The same young ladies who have figured away on the deck for eight or nine hours, after having made some different arrangement in their dress, proceed to the Casino, arrive there about ten at night, and dance till nine the next morning. Certainly, to see them then creeping to their homes, one would say it bad almost been the dance of death with them, as they look half dead as they crawl along the streets. But their fancy balls are extremely amusing: the immense variety of costumes has the most dazzling effect. They live in a sort of centre of all the fanciful styles of dressing that the world can furnish: the Turkish, Armenian, Persian, and Egyptian natives are in constant communication with them; as also those of the Greek islands, which alone present a sufficiently extensive choice to equip a masquerade. Even the streets have a most gay appearance; parties patrolling them in all directions, decked out in all the fantastic forms.[245]

As Slade's narrative portrays, the ball was especially important for Levantine women. Levantine women, who had been confined to the domestic sphere by the moral pressure of the East in daily life, would put on a show at the balls, displaying Western fashion and even taking more freedoms than women in Western societies like dancing until dawn. Slade emphasizes that the costumes, embodied both Eastern and Western motifs while at the same time dancing at the balls was also very important and enjoyable for Levantine women like Western women.

However, contrary to these positive approaches to balls and carnivals, Hervé brings forth a different perspective. According to Hervé, a significant number of Levantines did not enjoy these ostentatious parties.[246] Hervé observed that many did not attend the festivities out of a genuine desire for fun, but rather out of a sense of obligation or duty. Moreover, Hervé emphasizes that for many, the primary motivation for attending these gatherings stemmed from the necessity to maintain and nurture essential commercial and diplomatic connections.[247] According to Hervé, the balls were important gatherings to build, maintain, and sustain commercial connections. In this context, balls seemed to be a social necessity rather than a source of personal pleasure

[245] Slade, *Turkey, Greece and Malta,* 124.

[246] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey,* 364.

[247] Ibid.

for a significant portion of the Levantines. The idea that these events were obligatory pinpoints a complex interplay between social expectations, familial responsibilities, and the broader context of trade and diplomacy.[248]

Relatedly, balls were events that were seen as a sign of respectability and prestige for the Levantine society. Only the most respected and accepted members of the society were invited to the balls.[249] For the Levantine society, prestige was positively correlated not with lineage or family but with economic status. On a trip to Izmir in 1828, MacFarlane came across a ball organized in honor of Lord Prudhoe, who was then on an exploration mission in the Levant.[250] According to MacFarlane, the ball was organized for only upper-class Franks, Greeks, and Jews with commercial privileges that had been granted by the European consulates were admitted. "Indeed, the right of entry to the casino constituted a kind of *certificate of nobility* in Smyrna, and those who had it were proud of it, while those who were excluded were equally jealous," MacFarlane stated.[251]

MacFarlane found it strange that the Levantine women attending this ball, despite their limited wealth, were dressed in very expensive and dazzling clothes, their necks and arms adorned with precious jewels.[252] He emphasizes that these people had not arrived in Izmir with fortune. They were from various states of Europe as middle-class people and made their fortune in Izmir. He also underlined that this led to a kind of arrogance. On the other hand, according to MacFarlane, Levantines danced very badly compared

[248] Ibid.

[249] Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828,* 127.

[250] Lord Prudhoe or Algernon Percy, 4th Duke of Northumberland was a British naval commander, explorer and politician. Between 1826 and 1829 he led an expedition to Egypt, Nubia and the Levant, and was responsible for transporting many artifacts from Egypt to the British Museum. The lion sculptures named after him, which he helped to transport from Nubia to England, are now on display in the British Museum. For more information, see; Paul Starkey and Janet Starkey, *Travellers in Egypt* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2001).

[251] Ibid., 128.

[252] Ibid.

to their European contemporaries. Their dances were a mixture of Greek, Armenian, Italian, and French dances, and according to the author, "very few of them were tolerable dancers."[253] In addition, MacFarlane found the orchestra to be quite bad, overly noisy, and too unsuccessful for any person with a taste for music to endure.[254]

On the other hand, Albert Smith, who visited Istanbul at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, emphasizes that the Levantines of Pera did not yet have a casino, but they had a different understanding of entertainment. During his visit, Smith attended a circus show in Pera, and describes both the show and its audience in detail. According to Smith's descriptions, the show, named *Grand Circo Olimpico*, took place in a large tent set up in Pera and its audience was almost entirely composed of Levantine men.[255] While Smith emphasizes that the performance's bill was in three languages, Turkish, Armenian and Italian, he states that the hall was very quiet and the audience watched the performance with great respect: "There was no buzz of talk, nor distant hailings, nor whistling, nor sounds of impatience. They all sat as grave as judges, and would, I believe, have done so for any period of time, whether the performance had been given or not."[256] The show consisted of many different areas such as shooting, clowning, balance games and horseback riding, and according to Smith, the star of the show was Madalena Guillaume, who performed acrobatics on a bareback horse. Smith explains this as follows;

The attraction of the evening, however, was a very handsome girl - Madalena Guillaume- with a fine Gitana face and exquisite figure. Her performance consisted in clinging to a horse, dressé en liberté, with merely a strap hung to its side. In this she put one foot and flew round the ring in the most reckless manner, leaping with the horse over poles and gates, and hanging on

[253] Ibid., 129.

[254] Ibid.

[255] Albert Smith, *A Month at Constantinople* (London: David Bogue, 1850), 119; and Albert Smith, *Customs and Habits of Turks* (Higgins & Bradley 1856), 77-78.

[256] Ibid.

apparently by nothing, until the fezzes were in a quiver of delight, for her costume was not precisely that of the Stamboul ladies; in fact very little was left to the imagination. When it was over, she retired amidst a storm of applause…[257]

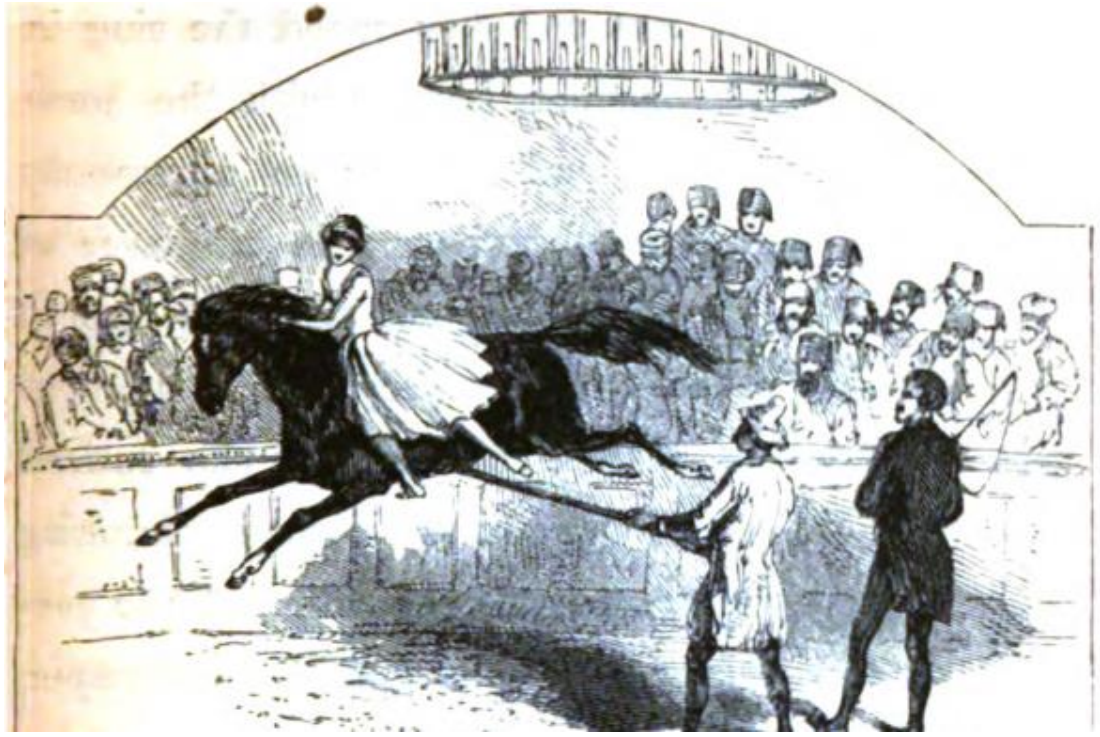

Figure 9 Drawing of Madalena Guillaume's riding performance, 1849, Pera, Istanbul. Albert Smith, A Month at Constantinople (London: David Bogue, 1850), 119.

Although not mentioned in the travelers' accounts, the Naum theater, whose construction and operation dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century, was also a notable Levantine entertainment concept. The Naum theater was built in 1838 and began performances in 1844 under the name Théatre de Péra.[261] The theater belonged to the Naum family, a Levantine family, and performed the works of famous opera composers such as Giuseppe Verdi, Gaetano Donizetti and Gioachino

[257] Ibid., 120.

[261] Emre Aracı, *Naum Tiyatrosu - 19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unun İtalyan Operası* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010), 24, 26.

Rossini.[262] Figure 10 shows the poster of the 1855 performance. Announcing the opera Don Pasquale by Gaetamo Donizetti, the poster was written in Ottoman, Armenian, Greek and Italian (from top to bottom), revealing both the cultural activities of the Levantine community and the diversity of the audience of the opera performance. From this, it can be inferred that the Levantines in Istanbul had a sufficient command of Italian to follow an opera performance, and that there was enough interest in opera to fill a theater. Moreover, these performances attracted not only the Levantines but also Turks, Greeks, and Armenians, indicating a diverse and culturally rich audience. This level of engagement highlights the multicultural fabric of the city and the shared appreciation for high culture among its inhabitants.

In conclusion, during their travels to Izmir and Istanbul, British travelers had the opportunity to closely observe the social life of the Levantines and were immersed in this world. Considering the social life of the Levantines, what attracted the most attention of the travelers was the Western habits they tried to maintain and adopt within the Eastern society. Clubs, casinos and balls were among the most important of these. The travelers describe all these social venues not only as places where people had a good time and entertained themselves, but also as socializing places where they interacted about their daily businesses, made business deals and discussed trade. On the other hand, balls and festivals were one of the main entertainments of Levantine society, and the travelers who observed that large balls were held in both Istanbul and Izmir with the participation of diplomats emphasized that these balls were organized as a kind of demonstration of wealth and ostentation.

4.6. Otherization of the Levantines by British Travelers

During the first half of the nineteenth century, it was unavoidable for British travelers to engage extensively with Levantine populations while visiting Izmir and Istanbul. By actively participating in and living inside this lifestyle and social framework, these visitors constructed a perspective via which they observed and analyzed the social characteristics, actions, and mindsets of the Levantines. The encounters with

[262] Ibid.

Levantine populations had a lasting impact on the travelers and influenced the formation of many stereotypes that characterized their views on Levantine behavior and attitudes. These biases were subsequently integrated into their written records, leading to a widespread abundance of narratives that frequently depict Levantines based on these constructed stereotypes.

اعلان

TEATRO NAUM

IN PERA DI COSTANTINOPOLI

Per la sera di Mercoledì 16 Maggio 1855

Serata Straordinaria Devoluta a totale Beneficio.

Del primo Buffo Comico Assoluto.

VINCENZO GALLI

PRIMA RAPPRESENTAZIONE DELL'OPERA BUFFA

IN TRE ATTI INTITOLATA

DON PASQUALE

Musica del Maestro Cav. Gaetano Donizetti

Questa recita è fuori d'abbonamento

Si principia alle ore 8 1/2 precise

N. B. Sono pregati i Signori abbonati di avvertire al Camerino del Teatro il giorno di Martedì se ritengono le loro rispettive loggie diversamente verranno disposte.

Figure 10 Poster for the Opera performance "Don Pasquale" at the Naum Theater, Pera, Istanbul, 1855. Retrieved from https://www.levantineheritage.com/naum.htm. Date of Access: 12th June 2024

In general, British travelers, who came from different cultural backgrounds, perceived Levantine societies as a blend of Eastern and Western civilizations. The previous chapters imply how the cultural mix of Levantine communities was apparent and perceivable in various dimensions, including language, religion, race, forms of entertainment, culinary culture, and social standards. The travelers also observed that

this cultural mix influenced the character and behavior patterns of these communities. The authors' cultural backgrounds and biases undoubtedly influenced their observations, resulting in the formation of stereotypes that reflected their cultural norms. These stereotypes were employed by travelers to convey their experiences and categorize the Levantine community in different ways, leading to the emergence of widely utilized generalizations and prototypical descriptions. Francis Hervé in his travelogue, provides a clear description of Levantines;

> Respecting the Frank inhabitants, it has been observed that it matters little what nation a man comes from, as a few years' residence in Smyrna will make anyone a regular Levanter, perhaps the term may not be perfectly comprehended by all my readers; I will, therefore, endeavour to give some idea of it, although it is tough to render it in all its meanings, as understood by those who have traveled or sojourned much in the Levant. A regular Levanter is supposed to speak several languages badly, and none well. The Greek spoken at Smyrna is execrable; and the little that a foreigner there acquires is a grade worse. The Levanten is ever considered so quickly alive to his interest, that, if he can take you in, he never will resist the opportunity, either in making a bargain, getting off from it, or taking advantage of the difference of the value of money, which often will vary several times in the course of the day. His answers are generally evasive: he fears to give you a direct one, lest he might in any shape compromise his interest; yet he is indolent, compared with European merchants, which arises from his adopting Eastern habits, which, after a time, he finds infectious; and as he becomes ostentatious, he spends much, and saves little. Hence so few large fortunes amongst the foreign commercial men in this part of the world; but it needs little what strangers say of the Smyrniots, when they are so severe upon themselves, that it would not be easy for travellers to exceed the condemnation they pronounce on their fellow townsmen.[265]

Hervé's definition of the Levantine is quite remarkable. The author explained how Westerners became the typical “Levantine” in a few years and what this meant by defining the negative traits of Levantines (or the negative traits attributed to them). Stating that the Levantine identity was defined by traits such as speaking more than one language poorly, avoiding direct answers, and putting their commercial interests above all else, Hervé emphasized that this situation “originated from the transformation of the individual into the place/society he/she lived in.” Underlining that the Levantines of Izmir were lazy, wasteful, uneducated and manipulative, Hervé stated that these habits were characteristic of the East. This critical approach reveals the transitional identity of the Levantines between the West and the East and the

[265] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey vol.2,* 389.

negative aspects of this identity. By showing the Levantines in a negative light, the author emphasized that they adapted to Eastern habits by moving away from their Western identity. This provides important clues about how Levantines were perceived both culturally and economically.

The passage is typical of an Orientalist stance, where the author points out the negative characteristics of the Eastern society that the Europeans supposedly imbibed through their stay in the city. He argues that European people in Izmir become "regular Levantines" who possessed foul language, commercial opportunism, and indolence. Such a transformation for him indicates the loss of the European/Western identity and assimilation into the supposed inferior Eastern culture. The author further buttresses the idea of Western superiority and the corruptness of the East by pointing to such deficiencies, which are very much in conformity with Orientalist thinking. Moreover, by including Levantines in the Orientalist perspective, he created a dichotomy between Europeans and Levantines in the context of self and other.

It can be seen that, in their prototypical depictions of the Levantine society, British travelers focused their attention predominantly on aspects they perceived as unfavorable. Their observations converge around a common sentiment: A widespread perception that Levantine society was predominantly preoccupied with monetary pursuits and commercial endeavors. Many travelers seemed to converge on the idea that Levantines lacked formal education and remained ignorant of the world beyond their immediate sphere of interest. This perceived ignorance seemed to be intertwined with an air of arrogance as if the Levantines were proud of their self-imposed isolation. Hervé, in his travelogue, emphasizes that the brains of the Levantines of Izmir were filled with cotton, wool, and figs and that they had no idea about anything other than business, nor did they aspire to be.[266] According to him, not only the Levantines born in Izmir, but also Europeans who had recently settled in Izmir for business reasons breathed this air and adopted the same feelings and thoughts.[267] Hervé argues that

[266] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey*, vol 1, 32.

[267] Ibid.

every activity of the Levantines (a ball, a card game, even neighborhood and family relations) was a tool of their business-centered minds, saying, "if you see two Smyrniotis meet together in the streets, you are sure, after the first salutation, what will be the question *Comment va le commerce?* (How goes business?)"[268]

Hervé did not encounter a different situation during his time in Istanbul. Emphasizing that the Levantines of Istanbul consider being well-educated as a negative trait, Hervé explains that the measure of respectability in Levantine society is wealth, citing the people of German descent he met as an example: "The family with whom I boarded was German; very worthy people, but with them were associated two mighty sins in the eyes of the inhabitants of Pera, they were poor, and well educated. The latter crime might be pardoned, but, united with the former, it was too enormous to be forgiven."[269] The society's lack of interest in education and the arts did not escape the attention of other travelers. In his travelogue, Charles MacFarlane emphasized that the Levantines lived a life far from art and literature, and that women were disconnected even from the musical sensibilities that were unique to the Ionian region and did not read.[270] "The ladies do not even possess the accomplishment of music, which one would think inherent to the clime of Ionia. I never heard a piece of music, or even a song, that was supportable, during my long stay at Smyrna. I never saw but one lady with a book in her hand, nor did the men seem much more given to reading."[271] Clearly, the travelers who examined the Levantine society from a Western perspective interpreted it with a sense of superiority and underlined that the backwardness of the East had infected them as well.

[268] Ibid., 33.

[269] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey,* vol. 2, 137.

[270] Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828,* 83-84.

[271] Ibid.

In another part of his travelogue, Hervé emphasizes that bankruptcy and sudden enrichment were widespread among the Levantines of Izmir, and underlines that in the Levantine society, it was not how people acquired their wealth but how rich they were. In this context, Hervé refers to a rich man he encounters as "one of the most important people in the Levantine community of Izmir, who is known to everyone to have gotten rich by usurping the properties of his deceased boss."[272]

> Thus the penniless clerk, who, a few years before, no one noticed, suddenly became possessed of an immense property, and no longer bothered himself with business; but, as one of the richest, became one of the most important, men in Smyrna: and several of the first merchants have I heard declare, that they had the worst opinion of the means by which he procured his wealth; yet would they pay him the highest respect; accept, with glee, his invitations; propose his health, and accompany it with a panegyric his virtues. Oh! reign of humbug! to what corner of the earth must one flee to get out of its dominions?[273]

According to Charles Fellows, who made similar observations, the biggest problem for the Europeans in Smyrna was "displaying the caution of the English merchant, without the varied acquirements which in England are united with mercantile habits."[274] Moreover, consistent with Hervé, Fellows accuses the Levantine community of being insensitive to their surroundings and the events unfolding around them, stating that the Levantines lacked a sense of belonging to the city and its possessions: "The Frank people here, having no interest in the country they inhabit, and no voice even in the local government of the town, devote their thoughts wholly to business; their goods are all the stake they have, and even this interest is limited by the climate and government: no one has a house of value, for the frequent earthquakes place them in jeopardy; and ships of every nation are constantly stationed here, that, on any outbreak of the Turks or the plague, they may at a moment's notice put all they

[272] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey*, vol I, 337-338.

[273] Ibid., 339.

[274] Fellows, *Journal Written in Asia Minor*, 4.

possess on board."[275] In Fellows' narrative, he emphasizes that the Levantines' local belonging was quite weak and that they had no influence on the environment in which they lived and that they had no such demands. Moreover, Fellows emphasized that the only issue of concern for the Levantines was their commercial relations and their ability to sustain them profitably.

Especially in the case of the Levantines, one of the common observations of British travelers is clearly the issue of social prestige. Since the Levantine society was a rather small and closed society, the prestige of individuals and families was of great importance. However, many travelers emphasize that this prestige is relative and spatial, and that in any European city, any Levantine would be considered ordinary or even below average. In this context, Hervé makes the following observation in his travelogue;

> …but I believe the truth is, that these gentlemen are conscious that at Pera they are somebody, are as the petty lords of a village, whereas in London, Dublin, or Edinburgh, they would be nobody. The French have a saying which implies, "a man who has one eye, is a prince amongst the blind," and is considered as a phenomenon; and so are many Europeans at Pera estimated as lights of the first brilliance, though they would be only remarkable for their dullness elsewhere.[276]

The Levantines' perception of themselves as important figures in Pera reflects an interesting situation, especially when compared to their potential influence in a smaller place like Pera. This perception may have been due to the limited circle of Europeans around the Levantines. Their qualities or accomplishments, which may not have been particularly evident in larger European cities, may have attracted more attention or gained greater importance in a setting like Pera. The metaphor "a one-eyed man is a prince among the blind" seems to explain why Europeans in Pera were considered more intellectual than Turks. This is an important point in understanding the perception of Levantines in Pera, as the common opinion of the travelers was that

[275] Ibid.

[276] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey,* vol I, 166.

Levantines were uneducated and less conspicuous than their European counterparts. Furthermore, many travelers portrayed the Levantines as a selfish and closed society. Although it was emphasized that this society was not shaped according to the concepts of race and religion, and that especially wealthy Greeks and Jews were accepted into the society, many travelers observed in the texts of many travelers that in-group loyalty was high and that they were quite indifferent towards outsiders. MacFarlane, who was in Izmir during the Greek Revolt, expressed the indifference of the Levantines towards the Greek revolt in the following words;

> In the course of the Greek massacres at Smyrna, the most thorough heartlessness, was generally testified by all classes, Franks and Rayahs, wearers of hats and calpacs. The Franks were not attacked; and when their alarm for themselves subsided they gave soirées and balls, while unfortunate Christians were murdered in the streets.[277]

In fact, the Levantine community had no reason to support the Greek revolt. The fact that they were mostly from the same professional group or social class as the Greeks was not enough to make them part of the revolt. This was an indication that the Greeks, no matter how rich and prosperous they were, were never seen as truly part of the Levantine community. On the other hand, it is also possible that the revolt was not seen as meaningful by the Levantines, given that their ethnic and national belonging was allegedly weak, and their focus was on trade and business. However, despite the anti-Ottoman stance of the European press during the Greek Revolt, it is known that some Levantines sided with the Ottoman Empire. In Smyrna, Alexandre Blacque, with his newspapers *Le Spectateur Oriental* and then *Courrier de Smyrne* in 1821, defended the righteousness of the Ottoman Empire against the French, British and Russian-backed Greek rebels and criticized the policies of these states. However, due to this oppositional stance, both newspapers were closed down under intense pressure. Blacque's publications during this period played an important role in the Ottoman efforts to form public opinion.[278] Nevertheless, there were also travelers who believed that the Levantines' insensitivity towards their surroundings and the events unfolding

[277] Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828,* 43.

[278] Halûk Harun Duman and Cem Pekman, *Türk Basın Tarihi* (Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2018), 38-39.

around them did not stem solely from selfishness but was a cultural attitude. According to Pardoe, the Levantines were a society closed to any subject that did not directly concern them, and they did not think deeply about the structure of the society they lived in, nor the political developments around them, nor the stability of the country they lived in.[279] Pardoe thought that this could be due to a lack of education, but she also emphasized that the superficiality of the East permeated the Europeans residing in the East.[280]

> I know not whether it may have been from want of inclination, but it is certain that Europeans are at this moment resident in Turkey, as ignorant of all that relates to her political economy, her system of government, and her moral ethics, as though they had never left their own country: and who have, nevertheless, been resident there for fifteen or twenty years. If you succeed in prevailing on them to speak on the subject, they never progress beyond exanimate and crude details of mere external effects. They have not exerted themselves to look deeper; and it may be supererogatory to add, that at the Embassies the great question of Oriental policy is never discussed, save en petit comité.[281]

As Pardoe reports, the Levantine community was not only indifferent to the socio-political situation of the place where they lived, but also to the policies of the states to which they were subject. Another stereotype noted and emphasized by the travelers was the difference in temperament between the Levantines of Pera and the Levantines of Istanbul. According to many travelers, the Levantines of Pera were rather sullen, harsh, and rude to people they did not know, especially foreigners, while the Levantines of Izmir were much more good-natured, open-minded, and polite. This was probably due to the fact that the bureaucratized life of the Istanbul Levantines was more stressful and threatening than that of the Izmir Levantines, who were only interested in trade. Charles MacFarlane, who found the Levantines of Smyrna to be very friendly and welcoming, noted this in his travelogue with the following words:

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[279] Pardoe, *City of the Sultan: And Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836*, 65.

[280] Ibid.

[281] Ibid.

> Smyrna boasts the title of " Le Petit Paris du Levant;" and... the free, familiar intercourse among all classes, never fails to strike the stranger, who, if he choose, may become an immediate partaker in it. At Smyrna, you are presented at a house-you meet there a certain number of Levantines, and make their acquaintance in a brief time - they talk at once with you, particularly the ladies, who are of course the most interesting, as if they had known you for years; they tell you stories about Greeks and Turks, and the splendid balls at their casino, and ask questions about London and Paris, of which places their eastern imaginations have formed the most extravagant ideas. There is little instruction or wit to be met with, but naïveté and natural liveliness are general, and do very well for an idle hour.[282]

Finally, the most important characteristic that attracted the travelers' attention was the Levantines' great tolerance towards many concepts such as religion, nationality, and race, all of which were important and dangerous in nineteenth-century Europe. This tolerance was observed and narrated numerous times. MacFarlane emphasizes that there could be three main reasons for this tolerance. According to him, trade relations had a civilizing effect.[283] In fact, the civilizing effect can be read as a civilization born out of the Levantine society's interest in what the other did, earned and could earn, rather than who the other was, as in the hybrid societies that developed around other port cities and unlike central-northern Europe. The Levantine society, where ethnic, religious and national belonging was relegated to the background, developed a tolerance around other norms such as commerciality, profitability and investability. The Levantines' commercial relations, both among themselves and with non-Christians, led them to ignore elements such as religion and nationality that had no material significance. The second reason MacFarlane emphasizes was intermarriage in which denominations were often ignored, a common set of values was adopted, and many Catholic and Protestant families became related.[284] Lastly, MacFarlane believes that the reason why the Levantines of Izmir, living in a multiethnic city, were more tolerant than those of Istanbul was because they lived together with other ethnic elements. This is because, while the Levantines of Istanbul were confined to Pera and its environs, many of them did not even visit Istanbul since they did not allowed and

[282] Ibid., 82-83.

[283] Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828,* 136.

[284] Ibid., 86-87.

they had to have permission to go to the sites where the Muslims were living. On the other hand, the Levantines residing in Izmir had close relations with Muslims, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks. They developed neighborly relations and endeavored to communicate in a common language. In fact, many wealthy Levantine families hired young Greek women as domestic helpers to take care of their children, bought fruit grown by Muslims through Armenians, and sold it through Jews. All this led the Levantines of Izmir to develop ethnic and religious tolerance. According to MacFarlane, "unsusceptible of strong feelings or passions, the Levantines are incapable of great virtues and exempt from great voices." The absence of great voices and great passions also allowed for a tolerant society.[285]

In conclusion, when the travelers' thoughts on the Levantines are analyzed, it can be concluded that negative views and observations are clearly more dominant. This is because the travelers did not regard the Levantines as typical Westerners or Easterners anywhere in their narratives. However, while the British travelers accused the Levantines of being Easterners while mentioning their negative characteristics, they emphasized their Western roots when talking about their positive characteristics. Looking at the narratives, it is noteworthy that the travelers describe the Levantines through stereotypes and clichés, just as they describe Eastern societies. While these stereotypes are mostly created through concepts such as trade, prosperity, wealth and prestige, which were valuable values in the Levantine world, the travelers often emphasized that education, culture and manners were valueless qualities in the Levantine world, thus feeding the perception of a society that "did not possess Western values." Nevertheless, the attitudes and behaviors of this community, living in a coastal city of the Mediterranean, life and whose main source of livelihood was mostly trade, were in many respects compatible with the conditions of the period. However, It can be accepted as a historical fact that the Levantine community, which was an introverted community in many respects, especially in a multicultural city, underwent a transformation in this multicultural environment, gaining a new character and essence with the aim of coexistence.

[285] Ibid.

4.7. Business and Occupations

4.7.1. Capitulations, *Berat* and The Levant Company

Levantines were important actors of trade in the Levant namely the Ottoman territories and between the empire and Europe, which later included the other geographies. Although the predominant occupations of the Levantine community varied in terms of proximity and distance from different centers, it reflected their role in the broader socio-economic landscape of the region. International trade was a central pillar of their livelihood, with many Levantines engaged in import-export businesses, brokerage, and wholesale trade. Their involvement in these activities often meant maintaining strong ties with local and international markets, facilitating the exchange of goods and ideas. Furthermore, the Levantines played a significant role in the industrial and maritime sectors. Their businesses encompassed a wide array of industries, from manufacturing and processing to transportation. This diversity of occupations allowed the Levantine community to have a multifaceted impact on the economic development of the Levant. On the other hand, the political aspect of their presence cannot be overlooked either. Levantines often engaged in diplomacy and acted as intermediaries between local authorities and their home countries. This diplomatic role was closely tied to their proficiency in dragomanry, a skill that was invaluable in facilitating communication and negotiations in a multilingual and multicultural environment.[286]

As the nineteenth century began, the Levantines were a commercially heterogeneous and entrepreneurial group living in the Ottoman Empire. They occupied a unique and highly favorable position relative to the economic world of their time. Explained already, their success and great influence came due to a multidimensional system of protection that opened doors for them. One of the most striking characteristics of this protective regime was that Levantines were not under any legal framework or regulation by the Ottomans; instead, they operated under the laws and privileges given to them by their consuls. This system, usually referred to as capitulations, gave Levantines an incredible commercial privilege at a time when international trade was

[286] Frank Castiglione, "Family of Empires: The Pisanis in the Ottoman and British Empires," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2016), 1-2.

full of great risks and uncertainties. The capitulations provided the Levantines with a legal-commercial base that was independent from that of the Ottoman subjects. Legal separation was crucial for protecting their economic interests and creating an atmosphere in which they could thrive. The greatest benefit of such legal separation lay in that it enabled Levantine traders and businessmen to function under an entirely different set of laws. They did not have to pay many of the taxes that other Ottoman subjects had to pay, and they enjoyed significant tax concessions under the Berat system.

British travelers who visited the Ottoman Empire also observed and frequently mentioned in their narratives how the *Berat* right and capitulations protected Frankish merchants, especially the Levantines. It gave them economic and political advantages over Ottoman subjects and allowed them to enrich themselves rapidly. According to Slade's 1837 travelogue, capitulations and the *berat* system not only protected European merchants from the arbitrary behavior of Ottoman pashas, but also allowed them to pay very low taxes and trade freely within the country:

> Bearing in mind the exposure of the native trader, unless a beratlee of a city, to the arbitrary deeds of pashas, and the value of Frank exemptions to Turkey is apparent at a glance: bearing in mind that a pasha might by means of a monopoly, an avania, and a transit duty, with the hope of a harvest and sap the profit of cargo, we may form an idea of the importance of the right. According to the "capitulations," Frank commerce is liable to an ad valorem duty of three percent, adapted to general convenience by a tariff; on payment of which the merchant might land his goods at any port, dispose of them on the spot, or transmit them to any part of the empire, without any further tax being imposed. A piece of cotton paid no more duty at Angora than at Smyrna. Inversely be might buy the productions of the country anywhere, transport them to the coast, and there ship them, on payment in all of three per cent.[287]

Francis Hervé, who observed all these commercial and political advantages firsthand, describes how a former diamond merchant he encountered acquired wealth without any knowledge, only commercial advantages and tax breaks. The person Hervé encountered, named Simmons, rented a piece of land belonging to the empire, located about half a mile from Pera, and turned it into a farm.[288] As Hervé indicates, Simmons,

[287] Slade, *Turkey, Greece and Malta*, vol. I, 424-425.

[288] Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey*, 156.

who had no idea about farming or animal husbandry, despite his mistakes and wrong methods, earned a huge income from his farm because he was paying a small rent, the labor was very cheap compared to Europe, and the products he grew brought a huge profit in the Ottoman market.[289] At the end of his narrative, Hervé states, "On the whole, I know no part of the world where a man can settle with such advantage, if he be a good agriculturist, as he is not subject to the laws of the country nor liable to the imposts."[290]

As mentioned in the previous chapters, all these commercial advantages were secured by one-to-one agreements that had been concluded by Western powers such as England, France, and the Netherlands since the sixteenth century. For centuries, Western powers chose to maintain their commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire through "companies," which not only managed European trade in the Levant and taxed it on behalf of their respective states, but also held the rights to organize and represent diplomatic relations between these states and the Ottoman Empire, and to protect their subjects for nearly three centuries. The English Levant Company (also known as the Turkey Company) was one of the best known of these companies. It was established as a chartered company in London in 1580 to allow each of its members to trade independently under the auspices of the company, subject to its rules.[291] Over the centuries, the company also became the official diplomatic liaison of Britain in the Ottoman territories, and was dissolved in 1825 due to its tax policies and its perception as an obstacle to free global trade.[292] Throughout its two-hundred-and-fifty-year history, the company underwent various transformations until 1753, it was open only

[289] Ibid.

[290] Ibid.

[291] Van den Boogert, Maurits H., The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System:Qadis, Consuls and Beratlis in the 18th Century, 2005, quoted in Despina Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 13.

[292] Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, 17.

to British subjects residing in London, after which it removed such legal restrictions and began to market British privileges in the Levant to other nationalities.[293]

Until its dissolution, the Company retained the right to tax British trade in the Levant, imposing consular duties, rates, fees, and fines on its operators. The Freemen paid in London a rate of 2% on the value of their transactions in the Levant (both imports and exports).[294] Their agents and factors paid another 2% on the value of imported and exported commodities in the various factories where these commodities arrived for trading.[295] Charles MacFarlane, who visited Izmir during the last period of the company, describes the company's powers in detail in his travelogue published in 1828:

> According to the ancient system, which directed all our early commercial intercourses of any note with distant countries, the merchants trading with the Levant formed themselves into a factory or company, which was acknowledged and protected by the government. The rights accorded to them in the perpetual charter granted by James the First appear of an extraordinary nature. These rights were confirmed to them by Charles the Second at the Restoration and formally recognized by both houses of parliament by an act passed in 1753. "The Levant Company" had the free choice and the power of removing any ambassador, minister, governor, deputy, or consul in Turkey, all of whose salaries they paid; they could levy money on the members of their corporation for the necessary charge and support of their ministers, officers, and government; they could prevent all persons, who were not members or not licensed by them, from sending ships to the Levant; they could fine, distrain, and imprison the refractory; and their ambassadors and consuls had even authority to send offenders out of the country, and to England in custody.[296]

Following this narrative, MacFarlane argues that after the dissolution of the company that had been tasked with protecting British rights in the Levant, these rights had to be

[293] Ibid., 19.

[294] J. Theodore Bent, "The English in the Levant.," *The English Historical Review* 5, no. 20 (1890): 654–64, 663.

[295] Ibid.

[296] Macfarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, 120, 71.

continued to be protected by the British government itself. Otherwise, the British would be in danger of losing their concessions in the region.

On 19 May 1825, the Levant Company was dissolved with a government decree ratified by the British Parliament. Its final act was preceded by decades of intense criticism of its role and efficiency coming from advocates of the principles of free trade. Its authority had already been undermined by direct interventions of the Crown since the eighteenth century.[297] On the other hand, in the early nineteenth century, conditions were suited for the state to undertake the design and the implementation of a national trade policy; this was an idea supported by many governmental officials who used their influence to succeed in disbanding the Company.[298]

4.7.2. Business, Occupations and Professions of Levantines

Trade and business life were an integral part of the Levantine world and the fundamental pillar of the Levantine society. Trade, one of the only factors that held Levantine society together, was practiced by Levantines both directly through the Levant Company and indirectly through the privileges of the company. While the Levantines in the Levant region imported the goods produced in this region to various ports in Europe through the company, they also imported the products from Europe into the Ottoman territory with low tax rates and sold them with high profit margins. As mentioned previously, the Levantines were not interested in retail sales; rather, they engaged in wholesale trade and earned their livelihood through this trade. The commercial life of the Levantines was closely observed and recorded by numerous British travelers who visited the region in the first half of the nineteenth century. Some of these travelers visited the region with commercial concerns and thus provided more detailed accounts of the region's commercial records, while others were there for purely touristic purposes, and thus, their accounts of the commercial records were more superficial. Nevertheless, it should be noted that "when travelers contented themselves with observing the busy scenes in the streets and bazaars, their accounts

[297] Alfred Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Routledge, 2015), 202.

[298] Ibid., 202-203.

are likely to be impressionist, with only an occasional attempt at economic analysis. Their layman's understanding was gained firsthand but also at first glance."[299]

In the first half of the nineteenth century, John Galt was one of the most extensive and detailed travelers who described the commercial life in Izmir and Istanbul. In his travelogue *Voyages and ravels in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, containing observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Scrigo and Turkey,* published in 1812, Galt not only described the economic life of Izmir in detail, but also provided a thorough coverage about the economic endeavors and commercial data of the Levantine community.[300] Similarly, John Fuller, in his travelogue *Narrative of a Tour Through Some Parts of the Turkish Empire,* published in 1830, provided extensive coverage regarding the products exported and imported by the Levantines.[301] Fuller frequently emphasized that Izmir and the Levant trade was very lively during this period and that ten times as many ships came to the port of Izmir as they came to Istanbul for trade.[302] Galt emphasizes that at the very beginning of the nineteenth century, in important Levantine settlements such as Izmir, Istanbul, and Aleppo, English fabrics began to lose value over the years, and were replaced by German fabrics. Nevertheless, Galt also mentions that both the Levantine company and Levantine merchants began to take a new initiative in the Levant and the British aim to dominate the cotton trade. According to Galt, Levantine merchants imported cotton from the region through the company, and exported processed cotton fabrics to the Levant through the company.[303] Indeed, Fuller, who visited Izmir nearly twenty years

[299] Reinhold Schiffer, "Le Petit Paris Du Levant: 19th Century İzmir," *Oriental Panorama*, January 1, 1999, 111–34, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004651173_008, 42.

[300] John Galt, *Voyages and Travels in the Years 1809, 1810 and 1811, Containing Observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Scrigo and Turkey* (London: Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1812).

[301] John Fuller, *Narrative of a Tour through Some Parts of the Turkish Empire* (London: John Murray, 1830).

[302] Wood, *A History of the Levant Company,* 207.

[303]Galt, *Voyages and Travels in the Years 1809, 1810 and 1811,* 374.

after Galt, emphasizes that cotton was one of the leading products imported from England and sold wholesale and retail by the British Levantines in the region.[304] Fuller, on the other hand, emphasized that while the British side of the Levantine trade consisted of cotton, iron, lead, tin and colonial products, many Levantine wool weavings were imported through Germany and France, glass, paper and a few other materials were imported through Italian ports, and were sold through Levantines.[305]

On the other hand, Fuller emphasizes that between twenty to thirty cargo ships full of fruit were exported from Izmir to England and to European ports in the early 1830s, and that figs constituted the region's main fruit trade.[306] He emphasizes that these fruits arrived at the port of Izmir as unripe, and were packaged and exported by Levantine merchants. In addition to figs, Fuller underlines that the port of Izmir was an important export center for raisins, which were also stored and exported by Levantine merchants. According to Fuller, other products that Levantine merchants played a role in exporting from Izmir to Europe were raw silk, mohair wool and opium. All these products were brought to Izmir from Afyon, Ankara, Bursa and Uşak, mostly under the control of Levantine merchants, who were free to trade within the Ottoman Empire as they were exempt from taxes.[307] In addition to these products, gum, acorns, root dye, etc. were also exported. Fuller elucidated that this trade conferred considerable benefits upon Britain, as Britain imported raw materials from the region and exported same goods processed forms, thereby generating profit through the reciprocal exchange of raw materials.[308]

[304] Fuller, *Narrative of a Tour through Some Parts of the Turkish Empire,* 42-43.

[305] Ibid.

[306] Ibid., 43-44.

[307] Ibid., 44.

[308] Ibid., 44-45.

While the Levantines residing in Izmir and its environs were generally engaged in agriculture, importing and exporting the products of agricultural production, as well as wholesaling and brokerage, the economic activities of the Levantine population residing in Istanbul varied due to factors such as their residence in the capital, their proximity to the Ottoman court, and their various connections there. Although the Levantines residing in Istanbul also engaged in economic activities such as trade, brokerage, and agricultural production, the most common and respected professions within the community were banking, moneylending, and diplomacy.

The economic activities of the Levantines residing in Istanbul often attracted the attention of British travelers. During his visit to Istanbul in the first half of the nineteenth century, Hobhouse attended an invitation at the British consulate, where he closely observed the people working there. According to Hobhouse, in 1810, there were at least four dragomans and twice that number of linguists working at the British consulate, and the head of the dragomans was a member of the Pisani family, a family of Italian origin.[309] According to Castiglione, the branch of the Pisani family in the Ottoman Empire was a family that, unlike other Levantines, was not engaged in trade but focused on strengthening their political connections in Pera.[310] Castiglione argues that they did this in two ways: "From the very beginning, the Pisanis focused on creating marriage alliances with prominent families involved in business or merchant activities, or who were members of the foreign diplomatic community. Marriage alliances offered social mobility, and attachment to the embassy, provided employment security and a connection to a powerful foreign empire."[311] Indeed, many members of the Pisani family served in the consulates of England, Russia, Venice,

[309] Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810,* 828.

[310] Castiglione, "Family of Empires: The Pisanis in the Ottoman and British Empires," 42-44.

[311] Ibid, 54-55.

Genoa, Tuscany, Prussia, Austria, Poland, and the Netherlands and deeply influenced politics in Pera.[312]

In his travelogue published in 1837, Slade states that Levantines residing in Pera worked in consulates as dragomans, especially because they could speak multiple languages fluently or only partially, and emphasizes that there were twice as many translators (*jeunes de langues*) who were only interested in translation work.[313] According to Slade, by the end of the 1830s, nearly thirty dragomans and more than fifty translators were working in the consulates of Western states in Pera.[314]

In addition to all these, although it is known that there were many large and small Levantine businesses within the borders of the Ottoman Empire and that Levantines of different nationalities operated small workshops and large factories, became partners and contributed to production, a significant number of travelers who visited Ottoman lands, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, did not mention this production. The main reason for this is likely to be the acceleration of production activities in the Ottoman Empire from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards and the impact of the Industrial Revolution. On the other hand, there was limited Levantine manufacturing activity within the Empire, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, as the commercial privileges of the Levantines allowed them to make profits without the need to engage in risky and investment-intensive activities such as manufacturing.

In conclusion, since it is a historical fact that the most important building block of the Levantine community was the world of trade and business, travelers who visited the region and closely observed the Levantines often mentioned that detail in their narratives. The first thing that the pilgrims often emphasized is that the Levantine community traded in an isolated, safe, and protected world surrounded by

[312] Ibid., 55.

[313] Slade, *Turkey, Greece and Malta,* 412-413.

[314] Ibid.

capitulations, which led to their rapid enrichment, and widened the economic and social gap between them and the local population. On the other hand, the travelers who closely observed the conditions and functions of the Levant Company--the arm of European trade extending to the Mediterranean--underlined that most of the Levantines worked directly or indirectly for the company. According to the travelers, the Levantines who engaged in trade were at the center of a large trade network. While the local population provided most of the production, the products reached the Levantines through Greeks or Jews, and from there, they were exported to Europe through the company.

On the other hand, with the wealth they created, the Levantines also engaged in other ventures in the Ottoman Empire. While some Levantines owned large farms and lands with special permits and directly participated in production, others made use of their wealth in banking, brokerage, jewelry, and even in large and small production workshops. Due to their multilingual background and their extensive network of knowledge and contacts, Levantines often acted as translators and advisors in the consulates, directly or indirectly participating in the Middle Eastern politics of European states.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Europeans residing in the Ottoman Empire, otherwise known as Latins, Franks, Freshwater Franks, or Levantines—as they are often referred to in this study—were an integral part of the Empire. Undoubtedly, the relationship between the Levantines and the Ottoman Empire was a product of mutual compromise, tolerance, necessity, multiculturalism, and constant reshaping.

Although Europeans residing in the Ottoman Empire can be traced back to the fifteenth century, their historical community formation dates to the late eighteenth century. The nineteenth century, however, is recognized as a period when the Levantine presence in the Ottoman Empire peaked and attracted significant attention. The network of relations that the Levantines established with the Ottoman Empire during this period made them one of the most important elements of the empire.

The concept of Levantine is deemed worthy of study and research because it defines a living identity rather than a mere historical concept. Since the concept is essentially Eurocentric, uncovering a Eurocentric perspective and understanding (or misunderstanding) the cultural identity and belonging that the Levantines developed in the nineteenth century—often referred to as the longest century—without any ethnic, religious, or national basis, and reinterpreting this belonging from a European perspective, is critically important for understanding the spirit of the nineteenth century. Although there has been increased academic interest in the Levantine community in recent years, and studies have been conducted on their presence, activities, and cultural and socio-spatial heritage in the Ottoman Empire, it is clear that much work still needs to be done to fully understand the history, culture, and presence of the Levantines. In this context, the Levantines, as an integral part of urban histories, can be centralized in studies on urban histories. Simultaneously, as they constituted

one of the lifelines of Ottoman economic life, they can be included in academic studies focusing on Ottoman economic history. Moreover, the Levantine community, which played a major role in Ottoman-European relations and acted as a bridge, can form the core of studies on the diplomatic, economic, cultural, and political relations between the Ottoman Empire and Western states. It is believed that studies on the Levantine community will not only reveal different aspects of a cultural identity but will also contribute greatly to the redefinition of both the Ottoman Empire and Western states, as well as the transitivity, ambiguous borders, and cultural interaction between East and West.

First and foremost, the Levantines had great influence and clout in Ottoman trade. Thanks to their privileges, commercial acumen, and political connections, they played a vital role in the Empire's import and export relations with Europe. Additionally, Levantines held a very important place in Ottoman urban history, culture, and development. They contributed to the development and progress of the cities they lived in through the wealth they created and blended their own living spaces, cultures, and lifestyles with the urban culture, fostering its metamorphosis. The heritage of the Levantine community, which constituted a major presence in Ottoman urban architecture and created, preserved, and developed their own living spaces, especially in Izmir and Istanbul, can still be seen today.

As a representation of polyphony, multiculturalism and the search for identity within the nineteenth-century Imperial conditions, the Levantine presence had an important place in Ottoman commercial and urban life, as well as in Ottoman political and diplomatic relations. The Levantine community, which was simultaneously a part of the East and the West and belonged to neither at the same time, was shaped according to changing conditions and played a decisive role in Ottoman-European relations. Thanks to their multilingual culture, Levantines, who worked in consulates and embassies, sometimes acted as representatives and sometimes had to act as mediators. The Levantine presence in the Ottoman Empire, their sphere of influence within the Empire's borders, their identity, the factors constituting the essence of this community, and its sociocultural dynamics have been discussed for many years. The main purpose of these discussions has been to fit the Levantines into a particular mold, to assign

them an identity, and to create a definition of a community closely tied to that identity. However, just like the word “Levant,” which is a geographical term with unclear borders, framing the term "Levantine" with specific boundaries and assigning a fixed identity to their existence would be an oversimplification of the Levantine community. As frequently mentioned in this study, the Levantine community is a formation that has differentiated over the centuries, depending on changing socio-economic, socio-cultural, and socio-political conditions. It has created a cultural belonging outside traditional identity norms and transcended the East-West dichotomy. Although drawing the boundaries of Levantine identity is not one of the main aims of this study, the nature of this identity constitutes one of its two pillars.

On the other hand, the other pillar of this study, the English travelers, is of vital importance in understanding and making sense of how the Levantine identity was evaluated by Westerners. The English travelers who visited the Ottoman Empire were considered a representative of Western values and were used as the main source for questioning the nature of the Levantine image in the eyes of the West. These travelers visited the Empire in different periods and for different purposes in the first half of the nineteenth century. They inevitably came into contact with the Levantine community and had the opportunity to observe it closely. At this point, it should be emphasized that the image of the Levantine formed in Europe was two-edged; while the travelers observed the Levantines with certain prejudices and dominant narratives, they were also the perpetrators of these dominant narratives. Undoubtedly, these travelers were neither intentionally exposed to these narratives, nor did they intentionally perpetuate them. However, it is clear that their narratives could not escape the dominant paradigm of the nineteenth-century world where identity crisis was at its height. This raises and discusses the central question of this study; why, how and in what ways did British travelers define the Levantine community?

In this study, a three-stage answer to this three-stage question is developed. The question of why the Levantines were defined by British travelers’ points to a Eurocentric definition of nationalism. In the nineteenth century, when cultural and religious identities gave way to ethnic and national identities, these travelers saw the Levantine community as "an identityless, nationless, and complex ethnicity," and

found it strange that they were excluded from the processes of national identity construction in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. British travelers described the Levantines as "identity-less" or "nationless" in a way that did not fit the classical paradigm of nationalism. This definition treated the Levantines as a complex group not only in terms of geographical location but also in terms of cultural and ethnic identities. Therefore, the fact that the Levantines remained outside the processes of national identity construction in the European and Ottoman Empires emphasizes the ambiguity and complexity of their place within the understanding of nationalism at the time.

Secondly, the question of how the Levantines were defined points to being trapped between the East-West binary. The images of the Easterner and the Westerner that already existed in the minds of British travelers were the references they frequently used in their observations on the Levantines. However, as mentioned before, the fact that the Levantines, while carrying parts of both of these images, did not encompass both of them in their entirety created fractures in the travelers' definitions of the Levantines and led them to make fragmented and ambivalent definitions. In this context, the travelers who developed stereotypical views used the existing Levantine stereotype and did not refrain from making comments that supported and reinforced these stereotypes. This shows that they were far from fully grasping the complexity and diversity of the Levantines and instead tended to generalize.

Finally, the question of in what ways the British travelers defined the Levantines is a challenging one, but it is one of the most concrete findings of this study. As a result of their interactions with the Levantine community, the travelers who visited the Empire realized that the Levantines were neither Westerners like themselves (civilized, developed) nor Easterners like the other elements of the Empire (barbaric, undeveloped). This situation led the travelers to adopt a consistently ambivalent attitude in their descriptions. They often expressed pride and exaltation when discussing the Western characteristics of the Levantine community, while simultaneously adopting a disparaging, contemptuous, and demeaning attitude when addressing its Eastern characteristics.

While the British travelers mostly maintained a distant and patronizing stance towards the Levantine community, they described the Levantines' lack of education, wealth and prosperity-centered lifestyles, corrupt understanding of trade, and crooked living spaces by emphasizing their Eastern traits. Conversely, they highlighted the Levantines' socio-cultural behavior patterns, clothing styles, and multilingualism—traits that could be considered extensions of European identity and culture—by stressing their Western aspects. Nevertheless, even in these positive narratives, the English travelers' harsh criticism and arrogant attitude reveal that the Levantine community was ultimately defined as "other" in their eyes.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

İNGİLİZ SEYYAHLARIN GÖZÜNDEN ON DOKUZUNCU YÜZYILIN İLK YARISINDA OSMANLI LEVANTENLERİ

Levant ya da diğer ismiyle Doğu Akdeniz, bugünkü Küçük Asya, Kenan bölgesi, Mısır, Libya ve Yunanistan kıyılarının ve bu bölgelerin hinterlantlarını tanımlayan coğrafi ve sosyo-ekonomik bir kavramdır. İngilizceye on beşinci yüzyılın sonlarında Fransızcadan girmiş ve güneşin doğudan doğduğunu işaret eden, *yükselen* anlamına gelen İtalyanca *Levante*' kelimesinden türetilmiştir. Sonuç olarak Levanten, Levant'ın yerlisi veya sakini anlamına gelmektedir. Ancak on dokuzuncu yüzyılda Avrupalılar bu terimi, on yedinci yüzyıldan beri Levant bölgesine (özellikle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na ve Kuzeydoğu Afrika'ya) yerleşmiş olan diğer Avrupalıları ifade etmek için kullanmaya başlamışlardır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İzmir, Istanbul, Mersin ve İskenderiye Levanten yerleşiminin yoğun olduğu yerlerken, on dokuzuncu yüzyıldan itibaren Levantenler bu şehirlerin ekonomik, ticari, sosyal ve kültürel hayatında önemli bir paya sahip olmuşlardır.

Başlangıçta ticari kaygılarla bu şehirlere gelen Levantenler, nesillerinin devamıyla kalabalıklaşmış ve zamanla farklı kültürlerle karışarak melez bir kimlik oluşturmuşlardır. Doğu ve Batı bileşenlerini içeren bu kimlik, zaman içinde yaşayan kültürel bir aidiyete dönüşmüştür. Levanten kavramı farklı zamanlara ve farklı otoritelere bağlı olarak birden çok tanıma sahip olsa da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yasal olarak daimî sakinleridir.

Levantenler için kimliklerini tanımlamak çoğu zaman oldukça karmaşık olmuştur. Maria Rita Epik yüzlerce farklı tanımlamadan birini yapmış ve "Levanten olmak

Noel'de Türk usulü pilav ikram etmektir" diyerek, kimliğin kültürel geçişkenliğe dikkat çekmekte ve Levanten kültürünün Doğu ile Batı arasındaki kültürel diyalog sayesinde ortaya çıktığını vurgulamaktadır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Levanten nüfusun tepe noktasına ulaştığı on dokuzuncu yüzyıl, aynı zamanda Levanten kimliğinin Avrupalılar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Levantenlerin kendileri tarafından resmedilen modern tanımlara ulaştığı dönemdir.

Öte yandan, Avrupalı seyyahların Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na seyahatleri, gelişen seyahat olanakları ve teknolojik ilerlemeler sayesinde on dokuzuncu yüzyılda önemli ölçüde artmıştır. Bu dönemde birçok Fransız, İngiliz ve Alman seyyah siyasi, arkeolojik ve antropolojik gözlemler yapmak ya da ticari, dini ve turistik amaçlarla Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu ziyaret etmiştir. Bu seyyahlar aynı zamanda toplumu kültürel açıdan da gözlemlemiş ve gözlemlerini on sekizinci ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıllarda Batı'da yaygın bir tür olan seyahat edebiyatı türünde kaleme almışlardır. Bu çalışmada da görüleceği üzere, bu seyyahların çoğu yazılarında Levantenlerden birçok şekilde bahsetmiş ve sıklıkla Levantenlere ve Levanten kültürüne atıflarda bulunmuşlardır.

Bu çalışmada, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ilk yarısında İzmir ve Istanbul şehirlerini ziyaret eden İngiliz seyyahların Levantenler hakkındaki görüşleri tartışılmıştır. İngiliz seyyahların Doğu deneyimleri ve bu deneyimleri şekillendiren faktörler (önyargılar, Oryantalist bakış açısı ve karşı argümanlar) üzerine bugüne kadar pek çok çalışma yapılmıştır. Aynı şekilde, İngiliz seyyahların Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na seyahatleri sırasında özellikle dikkatlerini çeken konular da birçok kez incelenmiştir. Ancak, on dokuzuncu yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na giden tüm İngiliz seyyahların gözlemlediği her şeyi incelemek bu çalışmanın kapsamını aşmaktadır. Bu nedenle bu çalışma, İngiliz seyyahların temas ettiği tüm nesneler ve insanlar evreninden Levantenlere odaklanmıştır. Ağırlıklı olarak on dokuzuncu yüzyılın en güçlü imparatorluklarından birinin bileşenleri olan İngiliz seyyahlara dayanan bu çalışma, Levantenlerle doğrudan temas halinde olan birincil gözlemcilerin anlatılarını tarihsel malzeme olarak kullanmış ve Levantenlere nasıl baktıklarını ortaya koymuştur. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde yaşayan bir topluluk olarak Levantenler, ne Osmanlı milletlerinin çoğunluğu gibi tamamen Doğulu ne de Avrupalı ataları gibi tamamen

Avrupalı olduklarından, bu tezin temel sorusu İngiliz seyyahların Levantenleri ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki yaşamlarını nasıl gördükleri olmuştur. Bu kritik soru, Levantenlerin kim oldukları, etnik kökenlerinin ne olduğu, nasıl bir sosyokültürel ve sosyoekonomik yapı içinde bulundukları, hangi açılardan Batılı, hangi açılardan Doğulu oldukları sorularını gündeme getirmiştir. Tüm bu sorulara cevap verebilmek için İngiliz seyahatnamelerinin incelenmesi elzem olmuştur. Zira, İngiliz toplumunun bir parçası olarak dönemin yaygın paradigmasının içinden gelen bu seyyahlar, İngiliz toplumundaki Levanten algısının hem yaratıcısı hem de yeniden yorumlayıcısı olmuşlardır. Ancak bu çalışmada Levantenlerin yalnızca kim olduğu sorusuna değil, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki İngiliz seyyahlara göre Levantenlerin kim olduğu sorusunu merkezine almıştır. Bu çalışmada ele alınan seyyahların çeşitli Levanten yorumları tek tek incelenmiş olsa da kümülatif bir sonuca ulaşmak ve çağdaş İngiliz seyyahların Levantenler hakkındaki genel görüş ve eğilimlerini ortaya koymak bu çalışmanın amaçlarından bir diğeri olmuştur. Böylece, İngilizlerin zaten Avrupa-merkezci olan Levanten kimliğini nasıl şekillendirdikleri ve yeniden yorumladıkları gösterilmiştir. Dolayısıyla İngiliz seyyahların Levantenlere ilişkin yorumları "ben ve öteki" kavramı çerçevesinde incelenmiş, Levantenlerin on dokuzuncu yüzyıl İngiliz seyyahlarına göre nasıl ve ne şekilde "öteki" oldukları da açıklığa kavuşturulmuştur.

Bu çalışmanın ikinci bölümü, seyahat, seyahatname ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıl İngiliz seyyahlara ayrılmıştır. Bu bölümde seyahatname kavramı detaylı olarak incelenmiş ve edebi bir tür olarak seyahatnamenin tanımı yapılmaya çalışılmıştır. Seyahatname kavramının sınırları kesin olmamakla birlikte çizildikten sonra ise seyahatnamenin tarihsel gelişimi ve ilk seyyahlardan on dokuzuncu yüzyıla kadar olan süreçteki değişim ve dönüşümü incelenmiştir. Bölümün devamında on dokuzuncu yüzyıl seyyahlarının ortak özellikleri, seyahat amaçları, seyahat yolları ve içinde bulundukları zihin dünyası üzerine bir tartışma yürütülmüş ve özellikle Doğu'ya seyahat eden İngiliz seyyahların motivasyonlarına, dönemin seyahatname kültürüne, beslendiği ve beslediği kanallara odaklanılmıştır. Bu bölümde ayrıca, seyyah ve seyahat ettiği bölge arasındaki bilen ve bilinen ilişkisi irdelenmiş ve Doğu ve Batı arasındaki özne ve nesne ilişkisiyle bağlantısı üzerinde durulmuştur. Bölümün son kısmında ise bu çalışmada eserleri incelenmiş olan seyyahların başlıcalarına değinilmiş ve bu seyyahların nasıl

bir kültürel geçmişe sahip olduklarından ve hangi amaçlarla seyahat ettiklerinden bahsedilmiştir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümü, Levant, Frenk ve Levanten kavramlarının ve Levanten toplumunun tarihsel sürecini incelemeye adanmıştır. Bu bölümde, Levanten kelimesinin kökeni incelenmiş ve hem geçmişte hem de modern dönemde hangi anlamları kapsayıp hangi anlamları dışarıda bıraktığına odaklanılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, gerek coğrafi bir tanım olarak Levant gerekse bu kelimeden türetilmiş Levanten kelimesinin yüzyıllar içinde nasıl değiştiği ve dönüştüğü tartışılırken, bizzat Levanten toplumunun da on dokuzuncu yüzyıla uzanan süreçte nasıl ortaya çıktığı, geliştiği ve farklılaştığı incelenmiştir. Bu noktada, Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ikamet eden Levanten nüfusunun yüzyıllar içindeki yükselişi sayısal veriler ile ifade edilirken, bu verilerde dikkat çeken kademeli nüfus artış ve azalışlarının nedenlerine ve sonuçlarına değinilmiştir. Bu bölümde dikkat çeken bir diğer husus ise, Levanten kelimesinin gerek batı dillerindeki gerekse Osmanlı Türkçesindeki karmaşık etimolojik yolculuğu olmuştur. Pek çok farklı çalışmayla desteklendiği üzere Batı dillerinde Levanten kelimesi bir ötekini ifade etmek için kullanıma sunulduğu gibi, Osmanlı Türkçesinde de Levanten kavramına ikame eden Tatlı Su Frenk'i kelimesi de benzer şekilde diğer Frenklerden yani Avrupalılardan farklı olma durumlarının altını çizmek maksadıyla kullanıldığı yine bu çalışmada ortaya konmuştur. Bu çalışmanın dördüncü bölümümde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu ziyaret eden İngiliz seyyahların Levantenler hakkındaki düşünceleri, yargıları ve görüşleri yedi farklı alt başlık altında incelenmiş ve bu anlatıların dönemin hâkim görüşleriyle uyum içerisinde olup olmadıklarını analiz ederken aynı zamanda anlatıların tamamına sirayet etmiş benzerlikleri ve aykırılıkları ortaya koymayı amaçlamıştır. Tüm bu seyahat yazılarından on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ilk yarısında üretmiş olan İngiliz seyyahlara ve hâkim olan İngiliz düşüncesine dair genel bir yargı çıkarmayı amaçlamıştır.

Dördüncü bölümün birinci alt başlığı, İngiliz seyyahların Levanten yaşam alanlarına dair görüşlerini içermektedir. Bu dönemde başat olan Levanten yerleşimleri İzmir ve İstanbul'da bulunduğundan ve seyyahların ekseriyetinin çeşitli nedenlerle bu kentleri ziyaret ettiğinden dolayı bu iki kent araştırma alanı olarak seçilmiş ve incelenmiştir. Seyyahların anlatılarında da vurgulandığı üzere, İzmir'deki önemli Levanten

yerleşimleri Buca, Bornova, Seydiköy ve Alsancak olarak saptanırken, İstanbul'daki dikkat çeken Levanten yerleşimleri Pera ve Büyükdere olarak belirtilmiştir. Bu bölümde İngiliz seyyahların dikkatini çeken hususlar üç madde ile özetlenebilir.

Bunlardan ilki, Levantenlerin ticari ve kültürel varlıklarını sürdürme istekleri, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yabancı yerleşimine getirdiği kısıtlamalar ve toplum arasındaki yakın ilişkilerin onları bir arada yaşamaya, Levanten yaşam alanları oluşturmaya ve bunları geliştirmeye itmesidir. İzmir örneğinde Frenk Sokağı, Buca, Bornova ve Seydiköy başlıca Levanten yerleşim alanları iken, İstanbul örneğinde Pera, Büyükdere ve Tarabya Levanten nüfusun kümelendiği başlıca alanlardır. İkinci olarak, seyyahların bu bölgelere ilişkin gözlemleri incelendiğinde, en çok dikkat ettikleri hususun yerleşim yerlerinin bölgedeki diğer etnik unsurların yerleşim yerlerinden farklı, daha Avrupalılaşmış ve müreffeh olması olduğu görülmektedir. Bunun başlıca nedeni, yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi, Levantenlerin ekonomik koşullarının ya zaten iyi olması ya da ticari ayrıcalıkları nedeniyle hızla zenginleşmeleridir. Öte yandan, seyyahlar sıklıkla Levantenlerin Avrupalı kimliğine vurgu yaparak binaların ve konakların Avrupa tarzını andırdığının altını çizerken, diğer yandan Levantenlerin yerel halktan izole bir şekilde yaşadıklarını vurgulamışlardır. Üçüncü olarak, seyyahların dikkat çektiği bir diğer husus ise Levantenlerin neredeyse tamamının yazlıklarının olması ve yaz aylarını şehir dışındaki bu evlerde (çoğunlukla konaklarda) geçirmeleridir. Buna göre, varlıklı Osmanlılar gibi Levantenlerin de yaz aylarını şehir yerine yazlıklarında geçirmeleri, Akdeniz bölgesinin iklimine ve dolaylı olarak Osmanlı kültürüne uyum sağlamaya yönelik bir adım olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Dördüncü bölümün ikinci alt başlığı, İngiliz seyyahların Levantenlerin hukuki konumları ve sahip oldukları geniş imtiyazlar üzerine yaptıkları anlatıları incelemiştir. Levantenlerin yasal hakları ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içindeki hukuki konumları her zaman tartışma konusu olmuştur. Bu haklar hem Osmanlı vatandaşları hem de Avrupalı devletler tarafından daima sorgulanmış, antlaşmalara konu olmuş ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıl boyunca defalarca yeniden düzenlenmiştir. Tüm bu durumlar, anlatılarında sık sık bahseden İngiliz seyyahların dikkatini ve ilgisini çekmiştir. Bu çalışmanın da ortaya koyduğu üzere, İngiliz seyyahlar Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ikamet eden Levantenleri hukuken oldukça fazla ayrıcalıklı bir konumda bulmuş ve

bu durumdan yer yer rahatsızlıkla bahsetmişlerdir. Seyyahlar bu durumun Levanten nüfusun hızla zenginleşmesine ve yerel nüfusa göre daha ayrıcalıklı ve bağımsız bir yaşam tarzına sahip olmasına yol açtığını vurgularken, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu vatandaşları arasında sık sık huzursuzluğa yol açtığının da altını çizmişlerdir. Seyyahların ortak görüşü, bu yasal özgürlüklerin ve ayrıcalıkların Levantenlerin özgürce yatırım yapmalarına olanak sağlamasının yanı sıra, yerel halkla aralarında ekonomik ve sosyal bir uçurum yarattığı yönündedir. Öte yandan seyyahlar sıklıkla bu konuyu bir hukuki sorun olarak görmüştür.

Dördüncü bölümün üçüncü alt başlığında, İngiliz seyyahların Levanten toplumunu hakkındaki etnik, milli ve dini değerlendirmelerine yer verilmiştir. Bu anlatılara göre, İngiliz seyyahlar Levantenleri her zaman etnik açıdan karmaşık ve girift bulmuşlar ve anlatıları boyunca onların Avrupa'nın farklı yerlerinden ticari kaygılarla Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na gelen Avrupalılardan oluşan bir topluluk olduğunu vurgulamışlardır. Seyyahların seyahatnamelerinde sıklıkla vurguladıkları nokta, Levantenlerin ne Osmanlı ne de Avrupalı oldukları; melez bir toplum ve kültür inşa ettikleri ve bunun sonucunda köklerine yabancılaşırken, farklı kültürlerin bir potada eritildiği bir arada yaşamın sonucu olarak yeni bir kimlik geliştirdikleridir. Bu çalışmanın ortaya koyduğu üzere Levantenler, İngiliz seyyahların ortak görüşüne göre ne Doğulu ne de Batılıdır; arada kalmış, biri ya da diğeri olamayan, aynı anda her ikisi de olabilen bir toplumdur. Bununla birlikte, bu çalışmada açık bir şekilde belirtildiği üzere İngiliz gezginler bu eşsiz topluluğu sıklıkla kibir, çıkarcılık ve kimliksizlikle itham etmişlerdir.

Dördüncü bölümün dördüncü alt başlığında, İngiliz seyyahların Levanten toplumunu sosyal yapısına dair anlatılarına yer verilmiş ve bu anlatılardan seyyahların Levanten toplumu hakkında ulaştıkları çıkarımlar ortaya konmuştur. Buna göre, İngiliz seyyahlar Levanten toplumunun sosyal yapısını incelerken hem Doğu hem de Batı gelenek ve göreneklerinden farklı, özgün bir yapıda olduklarını vurgulamışlardır. Seyyahların sıklıkla dikkatini çeken noktalardan biri Levanten toplumunda farklı etnik kökenlerin bir arada yaşaması ve farklı soylardan gelen aileler arasındaki evlilik ilişkileri olmuştur. Seyyahlara göre Levantenler evlilik kurumunu toplumsal ilişkilerini güçlendiren bir ilişki olarak görmüş ve bu nedenle farklı etnik kimlikler arasındaki evlilik ilişkileri desteklenmiştir. Öte yandan, seyyahların anlatılarında sıklıkla yer verdiği gibi Levanten toplumu güçlü aile bağlarına sahip olan bir topluluk

inşa etmiş ve bu nedenle tüm toplum evlilikle birbirine bağlanmış tek bir aile gibi hareket edebilmiştir.

Öte yandan seyyahlar Levantenleri toplumsal açıdan da analiz etmiş, Avrupa'daki gibi aristokratik bir toplumsal yapıdan ziyade ekonomik gücün toplumsal açıdan önemli olduğunu, servet ve güç sahibi olanların toplumda saygı gördüğünü vurgulamışlardır. Son olarak, Avrupalı devletlerin elçilerinin ve elçilik çalışanlarının toplumun üst kademesini temsil ettiklerini, Levanten toplumu tarafından büyük saygı gördüklerini ve birbirlerine denk krallar gibi davrandıklarını vurgulayan seyyahlar, elçileri feodal krallara benzetmişlerdir.

Dördüncü bölümün beşinci alt başlığında, İngiliz seyyahların Levanten toplumunu sosyal yaşamlarına dair gözlemlerine, yorumlarına ve analizlerine yer verilmiştir. Bu çalışmada da detaylıca belirtildiği gibi, İngiliz seyyahlar, İzmir ve İstanbul'a yaptıkları seyahatler sırasında Levantenlerin sosyal hayatını yakından gözlemleme fırsatı bulmuş ve bu renkli dünyanın içine dalmışlardır. Levantenlerin sosyal yaşamına dair seyyahların en çok dikkatini çeken husus Doğu toplumu içinde sürdürmeye çalıştıkları batılı alışkanlıklar olmuştur. Kulüpleri, gazinoları ve baloları batıya ait gelenek ve kurumlar olarak tasvir eden İngiliz seyyahlar, bu yapıların Levantenler tarafından benimsenmiş olmasını, Batılı kurumların bir kısmının Levanten toplumu içinde yaşamaya devam ettiği yönünde yorumlamışlardır. Seyyahlar tüm bu sosyal mekânları sadece insanların iyi vakit geçirdiği ve eğlendiği yerler olarak değil, aynı zamanda günlük işlerini çözdükleri, iş anlaşmaları yaptıkları ve ticareti tartıştıkları sosyalleşme mekânları olarak tanımlarlar. Öte yandan balolar ve festivaller Levanten toplumunun başlıca eğlencelerinden olduğu vurgulayan anlatılar hem İstanbul'da hem de İzmir'de diplomatların katılımıyla büyük balolar düzenlendiğini ve bu baloların bir tür zenginlik ve statü gösterisi olarak toplum içinde kabul gördüğünün altını çizmişlerdir.

Dördüncü bölümün altıncı alt başlığında, İngiliz seyyahların Levanten toplumunun karakteristik özelliklerine dair yaptıkları çıkarımlara ve yorumlara; bu çıkarımlara dayanarak oluşturdukları varsayımlara ve genel yargılara odaklanılmıştır. Seyyahların Levantenler hakkındaki düşüncelerinin irdelendiği bu bölümde, olumsuz görüş ve düşüncelerin açık bir şekilde daha baskın olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. İngiliz

seyyahların Levantenlerin olumsuz özelliklerinden bahsederken onları Doğulu olmakla itham ederlerken, olumlu özelliklerinden bahsederken Batılı kökenlerine değindiklerinin vurgulandığı bu bölümde, seyyahların Levantenleri tıpkı Doğu toplumlarını tanımladıkları gibi stereotipler ve klişeler üzerinden tanımladıkları sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bu stereotipler çoğunlukla Levanten toplumunda yüksek değerler olan refah, zenginlik ve prestij gibi kavramlar üzerinden oluşturulurken, seyyahlar sıklıkla eğitim, kültür ve görgünün Levanten dünyasında değersiz nitelikler olduğunu vurguladıkları ve böylece "Batılı değerlere sahip olmayan" bir toplum algısını beslediklerini görülmüştür.

Dördüncü bölümün yedinci ve son alt başlığında, Levanten toplumunun en önemli yapı taşlarından biri olan ticaret ve iş hayatının İngiliz seyyahlar tarafından nasıl yorumlandığı üzerinde durulmuştur. Levanten toplumunun kapitülasyonlarla çevrili, izole, güvenli ve korunaklı bir dünyada ticaret yaptığı, bu durumun bir yandan hızla zenginleşmelerine yol açarken diğer yandan yerel halkla aralarındaki ekonomik ve sosyal uçurumu derinleştirdiği gerçeğinin seyyahların altılarında sıklıkla yer altığı görülmüştür. Öte yandan Avrupa ticaretinin Akdeniz'e uzanan kolu olan Levant Kampanyası'nın koşullarını ve işleyişini yakından gözlemleyen seyyahlar, Levantenlerin çoğunun doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak şirket için çalıştığının altını çizmişlerdir. Levantenlerin geniş bir ticaret ağının merkezinde yer aldığını vurgulayan İngiliz seyyahlar, üretimin büyük kısmını yerel halkın sağladığını, ürünlerin Rumlar ya da Yahudiler aracılığıyla Levantenlere ulaştığını, oradan da şirket aracılığıyla Avrupa'ya ihraç edildiğini anlatılarında detaylı olarak tasvir etmişlerdir.

Diğer taraftan, Levantenlerin meslekleriyle yakından ilgilenen seyyahlar, bazı Levantenler özel izinlerle büyük çiftliklere ve arazilere sahip olup doğrudan üretime katıldığını, bazılarının da bankacılık, komisyonculuk, kuyumculuk yaptığını ve hatta bir kısmının küçük ölçekli üretim atölyeler üzerinden gelir elde ettiğini vurgulamışlardır. Öte yandan, ekseriyetle çok dilli olmaları ve geniş haber ağları ve sosyal nitelikleri sayesinde Levantenlerin genellikle konsolosluklarda tercümanlık ve danışmanlık yaparak Avrupa devletlerinin Ortadoğu siyasetine doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak katıldığı yine İngiliz seyyahlar tarafından dile getirilmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma, İngiliz seyyahlar Levanten toplumunu neden, nasıl ve ne şekilde tanımlamış oldukları sorularına cevap aramış ve bu üç aşamalı soruya üç aşamalı bir cevap geliştirmiştir. İngiliz seyyahların Levantenleri tanımlama gayesi, milliyetçiliğin Avrupa-merkezci bir tanımına işaret etmektedir. Buna göre, kültürel ve dini kimliklerin yerini etnik ve ulusal kimliklere bıraktığı on dokuzuncu yüzyılda, İngiliz seyyahlar Levanten toplumunu "kimliksiz ve karmaşık bir topluluk" olarak görmüş ve Avrupa ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki ulus kimliklerin inşa süreçlerinin dışında olmalarını yadırgamışlardır. İngiliz seyyahlar Levantenleri klasik milliyetçilik paradigmasına uymayan bir şekilde kimliksiz ya da milliyetsiz olarak tanımlamışlardır. İkinci olarak, Levantenlerin nasıl tanımlandıkları sorusu, Doğu-Batı ikilemi arasında sıkışıp kalmışlıklarına işaret etmektedir. Buna göre, İngiliz seyyahların zihinlerinde zaten var olan Doğulu ve Batılı imgeleri, Levantenlere ilişkin gözlemlerinde sıklıkla kullandıkları referanslar olmuştur. Ancak daha önce de belirtildiği gibi Levantenlerin bu imgelerin her ikisinden de parçalar taşımakla birlikte her ikisini de bütünüyle karşılamaması, seyyahların Levantenlere ilişkin tanımlamalarında kırılmalar yaratmış, parçalı ve ikircikli tanımlamalar yapmalarına yol açmıştır. Bu bağlamda basmakalıp görüşler geliştiren seyyahlar, mevcut Levanten stereotipini kullanmış ve bu stereotipleri destekleyen ve pekiştiren yorumlar yapmaktan geri durmamıştır. Bu durum, Levantenlerin karmaşıklığını ve çeşitliliğini tam olarak kavramaktan uzak olduklarını ve bunun yerine genelleme yapma eğiliminde olduklarını göstermektedir.

Son olarak, Levantenlerin İngiliz seyyahlar tarafından ne şekilde tanımlandığı sorusu bu çalışmanın ortaya çıkardığı en somut gerçeklerden birine işaret etmektedir. İmparatorluğu ziyaret eden seyyahlar, Levanten toplumla etkileşimleri sonucunda Levantenlerin ne kendileri gibi Batılı (medeni, gelişmiş, uygar) ne de İmparatorluğun diğer unsurları gibi Doğulu (barbar, gelişmemiş) olduklarını fark etmişlerdir. Bu durum seyyahların tasvirlerinde sürekli ikircikli bir tutum benimsemelerine yol açmış, Levanten toplumunun Batılı özelliklerinden bahsederken gururlu ve yüceltici bir tavır takınmalarına, buna karşılık Levanten toplumunun Doğulu özelliklerinden bahsederken aşağılayıcı, küçümseyici ve küçük düşürücü bir tavır takınmalarına neden olmuştur. İngiliz seyyahlar Levanten toplumuna karşı çoğunlukla mesafeli ve himayeci bir tutum takınarak eğitimsizliklerini, zenginlik ve refah merkezli yaşam

tarzlarını, yozlaşmış ticaret anlayışlarını ve çarpık yaşam alanlarını Doğu'nun bir parçası olduklarının altını çizerek anlatırken, Avrupa kimliğinin ve kültürünün uzantısı olarak değerlendirilebilecek sosyo-kültürel davranış kalıplarından, giyim tarzlarından ve çok dilliliklerinden bahsederken Batı'nın bir parçası olduklarını vurgulamışlardır. Ancak bu olumlu anlatılarda bile İngiliz seyyahların Levantenleri sert bir dille eleştirmeleri ve kibirli denilebilecek bir tutum sergilemeleri, Levanten toplumunun İngiliz seyyahların gözünde "öteki" kimliğiyle tanımlandığını ortaya koymaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Levanten varlığı yıllar içinde azalsa da varlığını Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne miras bırakmış, resmi olarak azınlık olmadıkları için bir kısmı özel anlaşma ya da izne gerek duymadan Türk vatandaşı olarak varlıklarını sürdürmüş, bir kısmı Birinci Dünya savaşı sürecinde imparatorluk sınırlarını terketmiş ve bir kısmı ise Cumhuriyet döneminin millileştirme politikalarından olumsuz etkilenerek Avrupa'daki köklerine geri göç etmeyi uygun bulmuştur. Levanten kavramı, tarihsel bir kavramdan ziyade yaşayan bir kimliği tanımladığı için incelenmeye ve araştırılmaya değer görülmüştür. Kavram esasen Avrupa-merkezci bir tanımlama olduğundan, Avrupa-merkezci bakış açısının ortaya çıkarılması ve Levantenlerin en uzun yüzyılı olan on dokuzuncu yüzyılda herhangi bir etnik, dini ya da milli temele dayanmaksızın geliştirdikleri kültürel kimlik ve aidiyetin anlaşılması ve bu aidiyetin Avrupa perspektifinden yeniden yorumlanıp değerlendirilmesi, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ruhunun aydınlatılması açısından kritik önem taşımaktadır.

B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

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