



Gwendolyn Collaço (Ed.)

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

With historical comments by Evangelia Balta & Richard Wittmann

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Edited by Richard Wittmann

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Volume 4

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Series Editor's Preface

This album, conceived in Smyrna, modern-day Izmir, blends the Ottoman world of the mid-19th century with that of the new national state of Greece. This combination constitutes the subject of the 25 illustrations which portray the human form and landscape on both sides of the Aegean during those fateful years that were marked by the reforms carried out by Sultan Mahmud II (reign 1808–39) and the creation of the newly established Greek state.

Alongside its distinct character and nature as a work of art, the printed image is also known to act as a historical source, which can be read and analysed as it reveals historical events of the era. In current autobiography studies, visual media have begun to be considered as »tools« of self-representation that go beyond literary practices to include visual materials, in this case an album of engravings and lithographs, as a life narrative.¹ In this sense, the personalized compilation – not unlike a modern-day photo album – assumes an autobiographical dimension offering a self-representation of the artist or, perhaps, also the individual consumer of the album.

From a historian's point of view, the album in question has two reference points, the Ottoman Empire on the eve of the Tanzimat reform era (1839–76) and the newly established Greek state, which was created and internationally recognized by the London Protocol (3 February 1830) and the arrival of the Wittelsbach Prince Otto of Bavaria (2 February 1833). The pictures illustrate these two more or less modern realities. Linking the two was the Rum *millet*, with its strong presence both in Smyrna as well as elsewhere in the empire. Besides, the newly established Greek state included only a very small part of the Greek population that lived in the Ottoman Empire. The ideological framework shaped by the 25 pictures in the album is moreover defined by the emblematic figures of Sultan Mahmud II who appears on the opening page of the album, and the portrait of Otto, King of Greece, which follows on subsequent pages.

The space portrayed is also divided, the territory of the Ottoman Empire and the Hellenic lands, without these always being

1 Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson: *Reading Autobiography. A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. 168.

explicitly identified or defined. The epithet in the caption describing the person illustrated provides the geographical position each time, but expects the reader to be aware of the political sovereignty of the place. The presence though of two other personages of the era, Mehmed Ali (Muḥammad 'Alī, 1769–1849) of Egypt and Emir Abd al-Qadir ('Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥyiddīn, 1808–83) not only expands the geography of the illustrations in the album to the Eastern Mediterranean region, but at the same time indirectly implies sympathies for resistance struggles against oppressors and for liberating, revolutionary movements seeking self-administration for the peoples of North Africa, Egypt and Algeria from Ottoman and later French rule. We feel that this role is served by the portraits of the two protagonists who lead these struggles at the dawn of an emerging nationalism that was to bring about far-reaching political and state developments.

The trilingual captions, which explain the illustrations, to the left in French, to the right in Greek and underneath in the center, in Turkish, are worth commenting on as their text provides a mine of information equally valuable to that of the pictures. The text of the captions, beyond their factual content, which describes the picture above them, with their misspelling and use of words for the same object but with differences in meaning in each language, provide fascinating facts about the identity and educational level of their creators. In addition, they inform us of the way in which in the mid-19th century the various *millets* that parade before us in the pictures are portrayed and defined in each language. Specifically the ethno-religious communities of the Ottoman Empire, differing culturally and ideologically between themselves, also reflected those distinctions in their language. So as the captions of the 25 pictures in the album cover a variety of topics that must be discussed from a philological-historical as well as an art historian's viewpoint, we decided to create a separate section containing the captions and their accompanying comments.

But first though we should mention that the use of the three languages suggests that the pictures of the album were produced with an extensive readership in mind who could read one or all of these languages. This audience was primarily composed of the public of multinational, multilingual, multicultural mid-19th century Smyrna, as well as of the correspondingly

similar Ottoman Empire. The three languages into which the text of the captions has been translated indicate the scope of the readership for which the album produced by Izmir's Fulgenzi & Fils Graveurs was intended. In other words, in addition to the specific people of Smyrna, the album could be read independently by the reading public of Western European Greeks and Ottomans who knew French, as well as by foreign visitors or residents in the Empire. This is because, as is widely known, popular works of art on paper were produced and circulated in large numbers. They met to a significant extent the needs that are today served by photography, as they were copied by special artists in copper engravings and lithographic prints, collected together in albums for the benefit of the masses who sought to learn, to hear stories they were unable to read, to get to know different places. Albums of this kind fully and uniquely satisfied a general public's desire for knowledge and enjoyment.

This volume aims to widen the scope of neglected narrative sources on the Ottoman Empire published in the Memoria series beyond the textual sources that were presented in the previous volumes. The treatment of a print-work album as a visual

form of a life narrative offers yet another means of presenting an individual perspective on history, in this case, the world of the Greek Orthodox in Smyrna and beyond.

It is hoped that the presentation of the engravings and lithographs published herein will be commended by the academic community as it is an unpublished set that describes the Ottoman Empire on the verge of the Tanzimat period. For art lovers, the 25 plates in the album form a visual set of charming works that recreate the natural environment, architecture, present details of everyday life in Smyrna, and the Capital of the Empire, while conveying the viewer through time and space. Depictions of everyday life, pictures of place and society are an important indicator of the individual and collective perspective. The image becomes valuable historical material in the interdisciplinary and cultural approach to space and the people who inhabited it in the past and those who still do today. Thus, the reason for publishing this album was dictated by our belief that it is an invaluable archival tool providing an alternative engagement with history.

Richard Wittmann, Istanbul, June 2019

Between Brush, Stone, and Copper: The Harvard Fulgenzi Album Mediating Print Techniques and Crosscurrents of the Press¹

Gwendolyn Collaço

A small album at the Fine Arts Library of Harvard University captures a moment of flux for both illustrated works on paper and the wider political atmosphere of the Ottoman Empire during the mid-nineteenth century. Dubbed by later owners as the »Collection de costumes civils et militaires, scènes populaires, et vues de l'Asie-Mineure,«² the album is a product of the bustling print scene of 1830s Smyrna (now Izmir). Within it, 25 hand-colored engravings and lithographs feature urban figures, political portraits, and cityscapes.³ Each plate includes

- 1 My deep gratitude goes to Andrés Riedlmayer for introducing me to this album and generously offering his advice on references regarding it. I also extend my thanks to Amanda Hannoosh Steinberg and William Connor for their ever swift assistance in acquiring the images for this publication. Finally, this publication would not be possible without Richard Wittmann, who saw the immense potential of this source and offered me this opportunity to write on the present album while I was conducting research on a doctoral fellowship at the Orient-Institut Istanbul. I thank him for all the thoughtful comments, conversations, and enthusiasm throughout the process of creating this publication.
- 2 For the sake of discoverability, it is important to note that the album currently is documented in Harvard Libraries' catalogue under this French name, with the call number (FAL-LC XCAGE) GT1400. C65 1838. This French title was applied to the Harvard Fulgenzi Album during its documentation, but the name itself comes from a reference by René Colas for another similar Fulgenzi album, which in turn draws from a dealer's description. A few early twentieth-century publications referring to compilations of Fulgenzi prints also use the same French title, although it is impossible to discern for certain from these citations whether these are indeed the same codex as the Harvard album or another compilation with works by the same printers. See: René Colas, *Bibliographie Générale du Costume et de la Mode*, Paris: Colas, 1933, 398; For works referencing an album by this title, see: Ferencz Nopcsa, *Albanien: Bauten, Trachten und Geräte Nordalbanien*, Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1925, 245; Alfred Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume*, London: Valentine, Mitchell, 1967, 39.
- 3 Engraving is a process that creates a design on a hard surface, often copper, by incising it with a tool called a burin. It is not uncommon for an engraver to combine this process with others like etching in order to achieve the desired effect. After inking, the plate is then impressed upon paper resulting in the final transferred design. Lithographs, on the other hand, are made by drawing on a fine-grained porous limestone with greasy material (ie. lithographic crayon), then wetting the stone or plate and applying ink, which will adhere only to the drawn lines. Paper is then applied to the stone and rubbed with a special press to make the final print. While copper engravings were common by the 1500s, lithographs were a far more recent method of printing, invented by the German actor and playwright Alois Senefelder in 1796. This album features two lithographs and twenty-three engravings. For an introduction to distinguishing the visual characteristics between these two processes, see Richard Benson, *The Printed Picture*, New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008,



the signatures of the designer and printer, the brothers Eugenio and Raffaele Fulgenzi, respectively.⁴ According to inscriptions on the plates, the Fulgenzis printed all folios in the album between the years 1836–38.⁵ During this time, print media of numerous sorts relentlessly documented the social transformations brought by Tanzimat reforms and upheavals in multiple regions of the Ottoman Empire. Stories and images flooded the burgeoning presses of the capital and urban centers like Smyrna. Small presses that specialized in pamphlets and single-leaf prints – like the ones seen here – contributed to that lush print market in a unique way. Whether consciously or not, their images responded to these events, even if only to express nostalgia in some cases, just as their designs contributed to the constant circulations of art and media throughout the Mediterranean.

28–53; Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996; William Mills Ivins, *How Prints Look: Photographs with Commentary*, rev. and ed. Marjorie B. Cohn, Boston: Beacon Press, 1987, 44–48 and 103–105.

4 I am aware of one other album with thirty plates by the Fulgenzi Brothers documented in the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, which was donated to the John Hay Library of Brown University in 1982. It does not have a call number or shelf mark according to the library catalogue. Like the Harvard album, it lacks a title page and applies the same French title from the aforementioned Colas reference. Several other single-folio prints by the Fulgenzis still survive today in various collections as well as auctions and sales over the past decades. One concentration resides at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, SP.275–277. Eugenio Fulgenzi is briefly mentioned in Caroline Juler, *Les Orientalistes de l'école italienne*, Paris: ACR, 1987, 16.

5 The folios were printed individually and the reverse of each folio is blank. The whole compilation is bound into a thin codex measuring 24.7×19 cm.



Figure 1.
 Left: »Caftan-agassy [kaftan ağası], ou valet de chambre du G. S.,« *Album of Turkish Costume Paintings, early 19th c. Ottoman, watercolor on paper. G. Arents Collection, NYPL, fol. 26.*
 Right: Engraving of »A Page of the Grand Signor,« *Costumes of Turkey: Illustrated by a Series of Engravings with Descriptions in English and French (London: T. Bensley, 1802), Plate 10.*

Although a small compilation, the album speaks volumes regarding the role of print media and visual culture in the socio-political discourse of the period. This introductory essay to the source first investigates the diverse designs adapted by the Fulgenzi printers, which tell a story of the transcultural mobility and wide appeal of these subjects across intersections of visual media, both old and new. The sale of such works as relatively inexpensive, single-sheet plates allowed both locals and foreigners to participate in the practice of collection and dissemination of these works. Accordingly, the next part of this study situates the subjects within the cultural landscape of Smyrna and its current affairs during the 1830s. Finally, the essay turns to the album as a unique compilation owned by an American merchant, reflecting on his political interests and commercial ties to this diverse Levantine port.

The Fulgenzi Printers and their Mixed-Media Referents

To begin with the work itself, the diverse media sources for many illustrations within this album attest to the circulation of artwork across the wider Mediterranean. A brief look at the mal-



Figure 2.
Pastedown of Fulgenzi Album, 1836–38. Cambridge, Harvard Fine Arts Library.

leability of these images reveals the ways in which the Fulgenzi printers consumed and re-invented materials carried on various trade routes that converged in Smyrna. It is important to note that the mid-nineteenth century was an experimental era for art and technology, where painted portraits could take on an increasingly printed aesthetic, and prints could often incorporate hand-painted elements, or simulate brushwork to varying degrees (Fig. 1).⁶ Therefore, the discussion of one medium can hardly occur without others and reference to wider issues of image transfer. As a product of the period, this album mediated this intervisual mode, drawing inspiration across the spectrum from painting to printed sources. To contextualize these techniques, the printer's label preserved on the inner cover of the album gives some initial clues to the product and consumer profile for print shop known as Fulgenzi & Fils Graveurs (Fig. 2). As the name suggests, the Fulgenzi shop specialized in both lithography and intaglio printing techniques. In smaller surrounding text, the label discloses further details of the store's wares including seals, stamps, writing implements related to commerce and administration, and surprisingly, labels for per-

6 For the close relationship between printed and painted albums during the early nineteenth century, see the study of »Caftan-agassy [kaftan ağası], ou valet de chambre du G. S.,« in an *Album of Turkish Costume Paintings*, NYPL, Arents 96–355, fol. 26. Compare to the earlier engraving of »A Page of the Grand Signor,« *Costumes of Turkey: Illustrated by a Series of Engravings with Descriptions in English and French*, London: T. Bensley, 1802, 10.

fumeries.⁷ From this single label, a reader can surmise the range of patronage the Fulgenzis cultivated, spanning business class patrons, which included merchant families, as well as the popular consumer. In many ways, the mix of subject matter that its designers employed allowed the store to attract this broad clientele.

In one sense, the characters within this album mark a printed reincarnation of a long tradition of loose-leaf painting in the Ottoman Empire, which began during the early modern period. Previously, single-figure paintings sold in urban bazaars were products of Muslim artists from the portraitist or figural-painters' workshop who catered their works to both Ottomans and foreigners.⁸ Although stylistic approaches to the commercial paintings transformed by the early nineteenth century, the courtly figures and urban stock characters that dominated these works remained popular even into the era of printing. Designers of engravings and lithographs, including the Fulgenzis, capitalized on the established popularity of these images by transforming them into print renditions. Several of the subjects and models have close analogues amongst the later »costume albums« created during the late eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. These cases include the »Tatar,« which draws from a model seen in the Diez Albums now at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (Fig. 3). Another strong parallel appears in the plate of a group of porters from »Islambol,« also seen in the costume album now at the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul (Fig. 4).⁹ The adaptations in the Fulgenzi album attest to the appeal and transmission of these designs to urban centers well beyond the capital.

7 »Grave les Cachets, Griffes, Timbres, en tous genres & Ecritures relatives au Commerce et aux Administrations« and »Assortiment d'etiquettes pour la Parfumerie.«

8 Metin And, »17. Yüzyıl Türk Çarşı Ressamları ve resimlerin belgesel önemi,« *Tarih ve Toplum* 3 (1985), 40–45. Metin And primarily described bazaar painters as artists who catered only towards foreigners. However, the forthcoming dissertation of this essay's author argues for a wider clientele than previously thought. For a brief introduction to the history of this costume album genre often bought by Europeans, see: Nurhan Atasoy, »The Birth of Costume Books and the Fenerci Mehmed Album,« in *Osmanlı Kıyafetleri: Fenerci Mehmed Albümü*, Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 1986, 22–30.

9 For a facsimile and introduction to this painted album see Rudolf Naumann, et al, *Türkische Gewänder und osmanische Gesellschaft im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: Facsimile-Ausgabe des Codex »Les portraits des differens habillemens qui sont en usage à Constantinople et dans tout la Turquie« aus dem Besitz des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Istanbul*. Vorwort von Rudolf Naumann. Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1966.



Figure 3.
Left: »Tatar-ı İslam,« 1836. Fulgenzi Album, Plate 22.
Right: »Bursalı Sipahi,« Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Diez S 19 Nr 2.

Moreover, the plates in this album embody the highly transformative period of print production. The album contains both lithographic and intaglio prints, the latter of which combine processes of engraving and etching accented with stipple. Post-printing, a careful hand applied watercolor to each plate with bright pastel shades. Given the consistency of palette from this album and separate surviving prints by the Fulgenzi brothers, the same print shop likely applied these hues. Therefore, while employing newer technologies of print reproduction, the creator did not neglect older techniques of painting to achieve his intended polychrome effect. Possibly Eugenio Fulgenzi augmented these engravings with the watercolor, as he is the attributed painter of an oil-on-canvas portrait depicting a Cypriot archbishop, now at the Cyprus Institute.¹⁰ Moreover, it was not unusual for artists to work across media as polymaths of sorts. Other lithographers of Smyrna followed this dual professional path, like Boğos Tatikyan, the celebrated Ottoman-Armenian printer who started his career as a painter before and during

10 However, without further documentation on the identity of Eugenio Fulgenzi in Smyrna or Loreto it is difficult to ascertain whether this work is indeed by our same printer.

Eugenio Fulgenzi di Loreto, Portrait of Cyril Archbishop of Cyprus, 1850, oil on canvas, 89 x 69,5 cm. Nicosia, Art Gallery of Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, The Cyprus Institute and Byzantine Museum, PM789.



Figure 4.
 Top: «İslambol Hammalı,» 1837. Fulgenzi Album, Plate 5.
 Bottom: «Faquins qui portent de grand baril de vin (Porters who carry great barrels of wine),» Les Portraits des Differens Habilemens qui sont en usage a Constantinople et dans tout la Turquie, late 18th c. Ottoman, watercolor on paper. Istanbul, German Archaeological Institute, fol. 154.

his career creating lithographic works.¹¹ Distinctions between the mediums of paint and print were far more blurred in the early to mid nineteenth century, as was the case in other areas of the Islamicate world during the same time, like Qajar Iran.¹²

11 Semra Daşçı, «İzmirli Ressam Boğos Tatikyan ve ABD Ulusal Kütüphanesi'ne Hediye Olarak Hazırlanan Gravür Albümü,» *Journal of Academic Social Science Studies* 6, no. 1, (January 2013), 531–568.

12 Farshid Emami, «The Lithographic Image and its Audiences,» in *Technologies of*



Figure 5.
 Left: Richard Alfred Davenport, *The Life of Ali Pacha, of Jannina, Late Vizier of Epirus, Surnamed Aslan or the Lion* (London: Lupton Refle, 1822), frontispiece.
 Right: *Misir Valisi, Muhammad Ali Pasha*, 1836, Fulgenzi Album, Plate 18.

Many early prints consciously drew inspiration from painted forms in design and execution, forging continuities with previous traditions of illustration. In the Fulgenzi album, this link is most clearly seen in the royal portraiture reincarnated on plates 1 and 14, which have numerous analogues in sultanic oil paintings of the period. However, the production of these illustrations occurred in new degrees of bulk. Powered by mechanized presses, lithographic stones and engraved copper plates yielded far larger quantities to sell than their painted counterparts. Thus a potential customer encountered arrays of single plates to choose and bind as they saw fit.

On the other hand, the Fulgenzis contributed to a related conversation of adaptation occurring in the world of print. The portraits of the regional leaders like Ali Pasha of Janina and Muhammad Ali of Egypt – whose political significance to this album is discussed in greater detail in the following sections – were likely adapted designs of older circulating prints. Among these works is the frontispiece to Richard Alfred Davenport's *Life of Ali Pacha of Jannina*, which was used to create a portrait of a different regional leader altogether: Muhammad Ali Pasha

the Image: Art in 19th-Century Iran, ed. David J. Roxburgh and Mary McWilliams, Cambridge: Harvard Art Museums distributed by Yale University Press, 2017, 51–79; at 56.

of Egypt (Fig. 5).¹³ It remains unclear if the image's new identity occurred by mistake, since Muhammad Ali was also Albanian born, or as a convenient choice on the part of the designer. In practice, older prints such as this often acted as a guide for engravers like the Fulgenzis to extract the facial features, down to placement of brow ridges and wrinkles, angles of eyes, and even the curve of the mustache into an entirely new bust portrait. Meanwhile, the Fulgenzi plate of Ali Pasha Ioannina draws from a sketch of the same individual by Louis Dupré, taken from life at Butrint Lake in 1819. This portrait also went through at least two intermediary stages before appearing in the Fulgenzi album. It first appeared as an English etching with aquatint, published in London during May 1823 by Messrs Colnaghi & Co. Cockspur Street, and quickly spread through subsequent hand-painted lithographs from the artist's own French print shop, Imprimerie de Dundey-Dupré (Fig. 6 and 7).¹⁴ Therefore, this album gives a sense of the intermediary nature of art making during this time, which depended on active adaptation and alteration of model forms arriving through international trade routes.¹⁵ The fact that the Fulgenzis were able to get their hands on these sources gives a sense of some of the media that made its way to Smyrna and the artistic possibilities such foreign imports could realize.

13 Richard Alfred Davenport, *The Life of Ali Pacha, of Jannina, Late Vizier of Epirus, Surnamed Aslan or the Lion*, London: Lupton Refle, 1822, frontispiece. For another comparable portrait in composition, see also a lithograph of Muhammad Ali originally drawn by Dupré in 1830, which appears as the frontispiece in: Édouard-Pierre-Marie de Cadalvène & Jules-Xavier Saguez de Breuvery *L'Égypte et la Nubie*, Paris, Arthus Bertrand, 1841, frontispiece.

14 In addition to the featured figures, see also: London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. SP.239, etching, aquatint and stipple, colored by hand. Ali Pasha sails along in a small boat in a print lettered with title and »Engraved by Rob.t Havell & Son. From a picture in the possession of G. Vivian, Esqr. after a sketch by L. Dupré, taken from life at Bucintro, March 9th 1819. London, Published May 1823, by Messrs Colnaghi & Co. Cockspur Street.« For further background on Dupré's artwork and publications depicting Ottoman Greece, see: Elisabeth A. Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters: Artists Between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, 1774–1839*, University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017, 165–206.

15 This type of adaptation was found elsewhere in the Islamic world as well. For an example of an album of designs that adapted European sources into the Qajar mode, see the case of the Harvard Qajar Album of Artists' Drawings. This nineteenth-century album features drawings that show methods of pouncing, counter-proofing, and sketching that allowed artists to adapt European prints for transfer onto other surfaces (including walls, painting, lacquer, etc.). For facsimile and essays, see: *An Album of Artists' Drawings from Qajar Iran*, ed. David J. Roxburgh, New Haven: Harvard Art Museums distributed by Yale University Press, 2017.



Figure 6.
Top: »Ali Tebelen, Pasha of Janina, drawn from nature on March 14 on Lake Butrint,« Louis Dupré, drawn in 1819. Hand-colored lithograph in *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople, ou Collection de Portraits, de Vues et de Costumes Grecs et Ottomans ...* (Paris: H. Gache, Imprimerie de Dundey-Dupré, 1835), Pl. VII. London, S. P. Lohia Collection, Handcoloured, Rare Book Collection, ref. no. 5708.
Bottom: Detail of »Yaniye Valisi Ali Pasha,« 1837, Fulgenzi Album, Plate 8.



Figure 7.

Left: »Ali Pasha of Janina hunting on the Lake Butrint in March, 1819,« Louis Dupre, drawn in 1819. Handcolored lithograph printed in *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople, ou Collection de Portraits, de Vues et de Costumes Grecs et Ottomans ...* (Paris: H. Gache, Imprimerie de Dondey-Dupré, 1835), Pl. VIII. London, S. P. Lohia Collection, Handcoloured, Rare Book Collection, ref. no. 5708.

Right: »Yaniye Valisi Ali Pasha,« 1837, Fulgenzi Album, Plate 8.

Printing a Cosmopolitan Product

Aside from the image transfers discussed above, during this period new technological methods of print spread by means of global networks of exchange that converged in regional ports like Smyrna. For example, lithography had only arrived in Ottoman realms in the year 1831 via French printers, and lithographic printing did not truly gain ground in the capital of Istanbul until the 1850s.¹⁶ Thus in order to fully understand the development of lithographic production in the Ottoman Empire, we must look beyond the capital. For this purpose, the Fulgenzi album is a significant case study for early Ottoman forays into lithographic printing. In this album, the equestrian portrait of Mahmud II (plate 1) and that of Abd-el-Kader (plate 25) both preserve the use of lithographic processes paired with hand-painted watercolor. The early appearance of lithography

in this album challenges center-periphery dynamics of technological trends while highlighting the role played by the empire's liminal figures in this movement. In particular, the success of lithography and the greater print market in Smyrna, before these trends swept through the capital, built upon international exchanges that the port city's environment facilitated.¹⁷

One reason for Smyrna's prominence in the development of press and print stemmed from the very fact that it was not Istanbul. The regional location offered its own benefits from the increasingly monitored world of print in the capital. Missionary reports of the 1830s and 40s tell of limitations on freedom of press and printing of various forms in Istanbul. Time after time these reports relate that Smyrna became the premier port through which censored literature could pass as imports, and they noted how its presses enjoyed a greater liberty to determine the subject matters they addressed.¹⁸ Home to the empire's first established newspapers in 1820s, Smyrna sustained a

16 Ian Proudfoot, »Mass Producing Houris Moles, or Aesthetics and Choice of Technology in Early Muslim Book Printing,« in *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought, and Society: A Festschrift in Honour of Anthony H. Johns*, eds. Peter G. Riddell and Tony Street, Leiden ; New York : Brill, 1997, 161–186; at 165. See also: Grégoire Zellich, *Notice historique sur la lithographie et sur les origines de son introduction en Turquie*, Constantinople: A. Zellich Fils, 1895.

Or around 1830, the first lithographed editions of the Quran were printed in many Middle Eastern and Indian centers. Frances Robertson, *Print Culture: From Steam Press to Ebook*, New York: Routledge, 2013, 75.

17 Although focusing on how international circuits converged to aid Iran in this technology, the most comprehensive discussion of the development of lithography on a global scale in the Islamicate context is: Nile Green, »Stones from Bavaria: Iranian Lithography in its Global Contexts,« *Iranian Studies* 43, no.3 (2010), 305–331.

18 »September 1841,« *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1841, 246–50.

dynamic press presence.¹⁹ The Fulgenzi album and its contemporaries offer a chance to view a market that grew with relatively little intervention from the Ottoman government.

In fact, the location of the Fulgenzi shop put their operation in the heart of this vibrant print society. According to printer's plate, the shop was located on Rue Franque (Frank Street), which measured fifteen feet wide and ran across one quarter of the entire city. On this street resided foreign consuls in grand mansions, janissaries, and merchants from Europe; English, Scotch, Dutch, Russian, Austrian, Spanish and Portuguese.²⁰ Called »Le Petit Paris du Levant,« this area of Smyrna had a strong foreign identity. Some visiting Ottomans would even dub the city »Infidel (Kâfir) Smyrna,« or »Gâvur Smyrna.«²¹ In this largely Christian neighborhood, one could find the fashionable center of social life in Smyrna »not excelled in Europe.« The club-cum-coffeehouse known as the Casino acted as the hub of it all, where most balls and masquerades took place »supported by subscriptions from the most respectable merchants in the city.«²² Additionally, this establishment acted as a library of periodicals and regularly offered its members a table of newspapers available from numerous different countries.²³

- 19 That newspaper, *Le Courier de Smyrne*, established by Alexandre Blacque, and its successor, *Echo de l'Orient*, would eventually be moved to the capital of Constantinople where they were coalesced and published under the title *Journal de Constantinople, Echo de l'Orient*. William Turner Coggeshall, *The Newspaper Record: Containing a Complete List of Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain, Together with a Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Printing, with Some Facts about Newspapers in Europe and America*, Philadelphia: Lay & Brother, 1856, 111–112. See also: Çağlar and Groc, *La presse française de Turquie de 1795 à nos jours: Histoire et Catalogue*, Istanbul: Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 1985, 6–7. Louis Lagarde, *Note sur les journaux français de Smyrne à l'époque de Mahmoud II*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950, 103–144; Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın*, Istanbul: İletişim, 1992, 25–26.
- 20 R. Louise Langdon van Agt, *The Humbler Bostonians: Genealogy of John and Philip Langdon of Boston*, New England Historical Genealogical Society, Boston, MS 166, 401 and 423.
- 21 Baykara argues that this term goes back in use to the historians of Timur in 1402, and was picked up by later Ottoman travelers and pilgrims, like Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa in the eighteenth century, who used the word »kâfir« to describe the city. Tuncer Baykara, *İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi*, İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1974, 21–22, especially nos. 1 on both pages. See also: Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999, 112–116.
- 22 T. Macgill, *Travels in Turkey, Italy and Russia during the Years 1803 to 1806*, London: John Murray, 1808, 96–97.
- 23 Langdon van Agt, *The Humbler Bostonians*, 406–7. See also, Macgill, *Travels in Turkey*, 98.

The works of Fulgenzi & Fils fit snugly into the world of international print and social life. A snapshot of the cosmopolitan print market in Smyrna reveals the innovative angle the Fulgenzi shop brought to these consumers. Protestant missionary groups painstakingly documented press abroad in order to aid in disseminating publications and spreading the gospel. By 1840, they recorded that Smyrna had three news presses, a type foundry, four Greek founts, four Armenian, two Hebrew, four English; about 400 cuts, and a bindery.²⁴ Therefore, Smyrna abounded with printers at this early stage of both the press and lithographic production. Among them, small and relatively humble printers contributed not only to the increasing number of newspapers and books, but also pamphlets, posters, handbills, cards, and tickets, which flavored the visual culture of the nineteenth century. The relatively low cost of both production and purchase fueled the popularity of these works.²⁵ Similar trends can be traced elsewhere in Europe, but also as far as the United States.²⁶

While the print practice that emerged was widely transcultural, the subject matter remained decidedly more specific to this Mediterranean arena. In one sense this album preserves character studies of members from various communities that contributed to Smyrna's vibrant societal tapestry. Foreign travelers often remarked on the diversity of the social fabric and frequently also bought these types of prints as they passed through the port city, which is how a number of Fulgenzi works made their way into collections and galleries in England and across continental Europe. One American pilgrim by the name of John Durbin traveled to Smyrna within a few years of the album's compilation. As he described the city, he almost mirrors the selection of the urban types portrayed in the Fulgenzi album, writing »[T]he people of different nations dwell in different quarters. The Franks live on the Marina, or quay, where the flags of many nations may be seen flying; the Greeks occupy the

- 24 »A General Survey of Protestant Missions,« *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle* 8, no.1 (Feb. 1840), 68.
- 25 Using data concerning print equipment shipped from London lithographic supplier Charles Hullmandel to Edward Barnard in the year 1830, Twyman compares the cost of equipment with that required for a typographic print shop. He concluded that lithography was a much cheaper entry into printing than other forms. Michael Twyman, *Breaking the Mould: The First Hundred Years of Lithography*, London: British Library, 2001, 40–42.
- 26 Elizabeth M. Harris, *Personal Impressions: The Small Printing Press in Nineteenth-century America*, London: The Merrion Press, 2004, 9.



Figure 8.
»View of Smyrna from the Harbor,« 1836, Fulgenzi Album, Plate 2.

centre of the city, adjoining the Franks; the Turks dwell on the declivity of the mountain, adjacent to their cemeteries; while the despised Jews burrow near the foot of the hill. The Quarter of the Armenians lies on the north side of the city, adjacent to the gardens which extend to the Caravan Bridge.«²⁷

Much like this description, directly following its opening portrait of Sultan Mahmud II, the Fulgenzi album includes a snapshot of this multinational port on plate 2 (Fig. 8).²⁸ In this panorama, the merchant flags of Austria, France, and Sweden fly from several boats, including some of the earliest depicted steamships in the Ottoman Empire.²⁹ As if also displaying the dominant

27 John P. Durbin, *Observations in the East, Chiefly in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor*, vol. 2, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845, 110. While the social groups named appear in the Harvard Fulgenzi album, a lithograph of the Caravan Bridge appears in the aforementioned Fulgenzi album at Brown University.

28 A significant number of Ottoman costume albums begins with a sultanic portrait, before delving into its own unique selection of characters.

29 For examples of these flags to identify those found in the Fulgenzi album, see: A. J. Johnson, *Johnson's New Illustrated (Steel Plate) Family Atlas of The World with Physical Geography, and with Descriptions Geographical, Statistical, and Historic including The Latest Federal Census, A Geographical Index, and a Chronological History of the Civil War in America*, New York: A. J. Johnson and Ward, 1864, plates 4–5. Steamship travel in the Eastern Mediterranean was not introduced until the second part of the 1830s. For more info, see: Andrew Oliver, *American Travelers On the Nile: Early U.S. Visitors to Egypt, 1774–1839*, Cairo: American University in Cairo, 2014, 197.

communities of the city, the album goes on to include a number of stock portraits featuring a Greek family and soldier, as well as several Ottoman Turks from Istanbul and Albanian regions, with single representatives of the Armenian and Jewish faiths. In this regard, the selection of characters here form part of a wider visual dialogue between artistic technique and local identity building unfolding by the 1830s, which transcended mediums. The stock of character studies at any given time was likely driven by the demands of the market. In this regard, the Smyrna print market resonated most closely with its contemporaries abroad. One printer in London during this time astutely noted, »Giving them subjects which are suited to their tastes; that is the main thing [...] you may do many fine things, and they will not buy them, if you do not give them a subject which they value.«³⁰ Responding to their own clientele, printers like the Fulgenzi offered enticing prints of the local inhabitants (an established favorite among travelers), as well as scenes and portraits related to current events (a draw for both locals and foreigners).

Single-leaf prints like the ones in this album also contributed to the vibrant journalistic profile of the city. Small pamphlets and leaflets became a way to spread news quickly, and such evocative images had the potential to speak to both literate and illiterate audiences. While the printers took care to provide captions in the three dominant languages of Smyrna, the image was the only factor that transcended all of these linguistic boundaries. Particularly in Smyrna, print media and ephemera of this sort would go on to propel social change by uniting various interest groups, and likewise it offered a space for legitimating burgeoning civic discourses.³¹ A closer look below at the specific political portraits chosen for the Fulgenzi album by its American owner demonstrates just how closely these loose-leaf portraits resonated with concerns of the contemporary press. While costume albums and portraits sold in the capital during this time tend towards memorializing historical costumes of the eighteenth century and earlier, outside of the capital illustrators like the Fulgenzis focused far more on the tumultuous present.³²

30 Henry Graves, *House of Commons, Minutes of Evidence, Select Committee on Art Unions, 1845*, London: Irish University Press reprint, 1968, 105.

31 Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840–1880*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011, 35.

32 One example of an early nineteenth-century costume album painted in Istanbul.

Album owner Th. W. Langdon and the American interest in Smyrna

The owner's signature appears on the top of the pastedown, revealing his identity as Th[omas] W[alley] Langdon, whose family was among the earliest American merchants to establish a trade post in Smyrna.³³ The family quickly stationed themselves in the city, drawn by the allure of a new frontier offering a fresh market to import Indian cotton, Turkish carpets, dyes, and spices among other exotic goods; and to export American indigo, sugar, fur, and coffee.³⁴ Thomas Walley Langdon traveled frequently between the family's trade posts in New York and Boston, in addition to the long voyages to the family business in Smyrna. Before his death in 1854, he eventually married late in life and settled in New York.³⁵ Given the 1830s dates on these prints, it is likely that the album plates were purchased shortly before Langdon's retirement from trade. Perhaps a souvenir for his new wife, or a gift from relatives still manning the trade circuit in Smyrna, the album allowed Thomas Walley Langdon to maintain a connection to his former home abroad. At the same time, his collection contributed to the wider genres of exchange media and album making, which had grown in popularity amongst middle-class consumers in United States and elsewhere in the world since the 1820s.³⁶

but that features this memorializing focus is the Fenerci Mehmed Album, reproduced in: Nurhan Atasoy, et al., *Osmanlı Kıyafetleri: Fenerci Mehmed Albümü*, Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 1986.

- 33 Eventually the family intermarried with Levantine Franks local to Smyrna. For more information, see: Tom Rees, *Merchant Adventures in the Levant: Two Families of Privateers, Consuls, and Traders, 1700–1956*, Somerset: Talbot, 2003, 115. See also: Langdon van Agt, *The Humbler Bostonian*, 393, who cites, S. E. Morison, »Forcing the Dardanelles in 1810,« *New England Quarterly* 1, no.2 (1928), 208–225; at 209.
- 34 Among Ottoman sources, records of Frankish imports survive in the defters of the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Defteri, Haremeyn Mukataası, Cevdet Malıye, and Kamil Kepeci. Küçükkalay has done a useful analysis of selections from these fonds, dating from years significant to Thomas Walley Langdon's career: 1818–1839. He tracks the major goods imported, taxes collected, ports from which merchant ships came to Smyrna, and the breakdown of foreign merchant ships entering Smyrna. See: A. Mesud Küçükkalay, *Osmanlı İzmir'inde İthalat, İzmir Efrenc Gümrüğü (1818–1838)*, Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2013, 125–19 for data. The royal charter enjoyed by the British Levant Company extended to the newly formed United States in 1810. The process of securing that arrangement began in 1809.
- The National Archives of UK, State Papers 105/132, Letter from Isaac Morier (Constantinople) to Robert Adair (Constantinople), dated 6 December, 1809, f. 33r–34r. See also: Despina Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East*, London: I. B. Taurus, 2015, 148–152.
- 35 Langdon van Agt, *The Humbler Bostonians*, 419.
- 36 Jennifer M. Black, »Exchange Cards: Advertising, Album Making, and the Com-



Figure 9.
»Arrival of a Slave Merchant to Constantinople,« 1837, Fulgenzi Album, Plate 15.

Curated to the interests of Langdon, the album functions as a quasi-autobiographical work, revealing influences in his life and his concerns as an individual.³⁷ Many of the stock character studies portray the individuals he likely encountered with regularity in the social landscape of Smyrna, while others likely had a far more personal connection. For example, the scene of a slave merchant and his captives on the shores of Constantinople (plate 15) had particular significance for the Langdon family in recent years (Fig. 9). In 1827, Thomas Langdon's nephew, Joseph Langdon, rescued a Greek slave girl named Garafilia Mohalebi, who, only nine years old at the time, became the property of a Muslim household after her family died by the hands of Ottoman soldiers. As soon as Joseph Langdon met Garafilia in the Smyrna bazaar, he was moved to buy and emancipate her, before eventually bringing her back to Boston with him.³⁸ Al-

modification of Sentiment in the Gilded Age,« *Winterthur Portfolio* 51, no. 1 (2017): 1–53; at 2.

For more information on the middle and artisan class interest in engraved prints and the news they contained concerning art, see Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print: The Nineteenth-Century Engraving Trade*, London: Farrand Press, 1984, 3–8.

- 37 For the first use of a nineteenth-century album for this kind of academic investigation, see: Patricia P Buckler, and C. Kay Leeper, »An Antebellum Woman's Scrapbook as Autobiographical Composition,« *Journal of American Culture* 14, no. 1 (1991): 1–8. More recently, see also: David Freund, »Personal Visual Albums,« *Ephemera Journal* 14, no. 2 (January 2012): 1, 4–10.
- 38 Langdon van Agt, *The Humbler Bostonians*, 459–63.

though loved dearly by the Langdon family, she died at the early age of 13 shortly after she was sent to an Ursuline convent for schooling.³⁹ This girl's innocent tragedy went on to inspire a number of written and artistic works, which fueled the American abolitionist movement leading up to the Civil War.⁴⁰ The plate in the Fulgenzi album captures the plight experienced by Garafilia with its doleful slave girls bearing downcast eyes. Its inclusion not only allows the family to memorialize a recently departed loved one, but also gives viewers a sense of the family's stance in a brewing debate on slavery that escalated tensions in the United States and the Ottoman Empire.

In a broader context, the album reflects Langdon's keen interest in political issues that extended far beyond the United States, touching on major foreign affairs that dominated the journalistic press and pamphlets of the day. His album offers portraits of figures from current events with particular attention towards political upstarts throughout the Mediterranean. Not only were these the major news stories of the time, such uprisings had further appeal to an American trader. We must remember that by this point, the United States was a young nation, whose revolutionary past still played a formative role for its citizens. On the one hand, the new commercialism that brought the Langdon family to the shores of Smyrna, arguably grew out of a patriotic fervor amongst American merchants to establish commerce relations independently from the British.⁴¹ On the other hand, the shared cause of independence may have prompted some Americans to feel a certain affinity with patriots abroad, or at the very least take notice in their struggles in foreign affairs. Particularly in the case of Greece, whose appeal was also bolstered in part by Philhellenism, a significant number of Americans threw monetary and political support to revolutionaries seeking liberty abroad.⁴²

39 F.W.P.G. »Obituary of Garafilia Mohalebi,« *The Youth's Keepsake: A Christmas and New Year's Gift for Young People*, Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1831, 9–11.

40 Among the inspired works, Garafilia's story is referenced by Harriet Beecher Stowe in: *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, Presenting the Original Facts and Documents upon which the Story is Founded*, Boston: J. P. Jewett and Co., 1853, 154. See also her entry in: Sarah Josepha Hale, *Woman's Record, Sketches of all Distinguished Women*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1853, 431.

41 James A. Field, *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776–1882*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969, 18–19.

42 Support included fundraising parties or »Greek balls,« state legislatures passing resolutions to recognize Greece's right to liberty, and the formation of citizens' committees to find homes for Greek orphans and collect donations for

Some of these revolutionary hopefuls and recent victors came from within the Ottoman realm and its former territories. These included King Otto of the newly formed Kingdom of Greece (plate 10), Ali Pasha of Janina (plate 8), and Muhammad Ali of Egypt (plate 18), all of whom make an appearance in the Fulgenzi album. The movements led by the local leaders pictured here disturbed the imperial order of the Mediterranean world, and likely peaked the personal commercial interest of the Langdons. With regional powers asserting control over trade routes, merchants like the Langdons had to keep abreast of developments that would have impacted the passage of their own cargo across the Mediterranean ports their family maintained.⁴³ Although viewed as upstarts by imperial powers of the Mediterranean, these rebels also gained popular acclaim abroad. For example, in 1838, when Fulgenzi & Fils printed their lithographic portrait of Sheikh Abd al-Qadir, and offered it for sale in their Smyrna shop, the sheikh was still actively resisting the French conquest of Algeria. Numerous articles from American newspapers around this time praised his struggles and admired him as a freedom fighter.⁴⁴

Moreover, images like these Fulgenzi portraits went on to have a role in further international discourse about these events. In fact, both the image of Abd al-Qadir and that of the young King

rebels' relief. Michael Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East, 1776 to the Present*, New York: W. W. Norton, 2007, 109.

While commerce with the Ottoman Empire expanded, concurrent support for the Greek War of Independence occasionally sparked debate in the U.S. Congress with several representatives against the pro-Turkish attitude of commercial circles. For more information, see: Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810–1927*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971, 35–38.

43 The family maintained their trade connections to the area throughout the 19th century, later intermarrying with another trade family based in Alexandria, Langdon van Agt, *The Humbler Bostonians*, 476.

44 For a small selection of these newspapers describing Abd el-Kader in this light, see: »Abd-el-Kader,« *ParLOUR Review, and Journal of Music, Literature, and the Fine Arts* 1, no. 2 (1838), 1.

»The presence of the French at Algiers, instead of impeding his projects, rather assisted them by enabling him to unite under his banner all the tribes of the Atlas and the interior country, and to impose his authority upon them in the name of African independence.«

A. de France, »The Prisoners of Abd-el-Kader; or Five Months' Captivity Among the Arabs,« *The New-Yorker* 3, no. 21 (1837), 323.

Regarding Abd el-Kader, he writes, »Fierceness, restless ambition, decision, address, cunning, and religious enthusiasm, are alternately deployed against his enemies; and he does not fail to elevate the courage of his adherents by appealing to their religious antipathies against the infidels.«

Otto of Greece enjoyed an afterlife as illustrations in print serials over the next decade (Fig. 10 and 11).⁴⁵ Again entering the circulation of mobile media, the recycling and re-adaptation of Fulgenzi plates (or portraits they inspired) color our contemporary perspective of immediacy in the press. The story of these images illuminates the journalistic process wherein each issue also acts as a compilation in itself. That statement refers to both conception and physical editorial practice of the period, wherein the layout designer brings together older prints alongside fresh texts to fashion a popular reaction to political events.

Finally, the Fulgenzi album captured major social transformations unfolding in the Ottoman Empire that caught the attention not only of local merchants, but other international news outlets. Most notably, it documents the military and sartorial reforms undertaken by Mahmud II during the 1820s–30s.⁴⁶ In fact, the portrait of the sultan on plate 14 showcases his newest attire, complete with crimson woolen fez and European-style uniform (Fig. 12). Behind him in the distance, the viewer can discern his newly updated army on the left and the palace on the right, linked by the city behind the sultan's towering figure. The stark transition over the last years of Mahmud II's reign is further punctuated by a duo portrait on plate 11 of two *kavas*, who worked as guards and messengers to diplomats (Fig. 13). Placed in direct conversation with each other, the two figures stretch the compositional conventions of the costume album genre to make a poignant narrative statement on a historic development. The two *kavas* in new and old uniforms visually enact the changing of the guard's costume on the page. The seated figure in the older garb raises an indicative pointed hand, giving way to the looming grey uniform of his successor who looks down upon him. Soldiers in these new uniforms could often be found by the newly created city barracks (the U-shaped structure on the lower right of Plate Two), established in 1829 as the

- 45 »Otto Koning van Griekenland,« *De Aardbol. Europisch-Turkije Magazijn van hedendaagsche land en volkenkunde. Oost-en Noord Europa. Met platen en kaarten* 6 (1845), 142.
 »Abd-el-Kader,« *Teatro universal raccolta enciclopedica* 540 (Nov. 16, 1844), 565.
- 46 For more on this sartorial reform, see: Madeline C. Zilfi, »Whose Laws? Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Regime,« in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann, Istanbul: Eren, 2004, 125–41; at 129 and throughout. For further information, see Donald Quataert, »Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829,« *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 3 (Aug. 1997), 403–425.



Figure 10.
 Left: »Abd-el-Kader,« 1838, Fulgenzi Album, Plate 25.
 Right: »Abd-el-Kader,« Teatro universal raccolta enciclopedica 540 (Nov. 16, 1844): 565.



Figure 11.
 Left: »Otto King of the Greeks,« 1837, Fulgenzi Album, Plate 10.
 Right: Van Groningen, »Otto Koning van Griekenland,« *De Aardbol. Europisch-Turkije Magazijn van hedendaagsche land en volkenkunde. Oost-en Noord Europa. Met platen en kaarten* 6 (1845): 142.



Figure 12.
Sultan Mahmud, Emperor of the Ottomans, 1836, Fulgenzi Album, Plate 14.



Figure 13.
Havass-ı yeni ve eski, 1836, Fulgenzi Album, Plate 11.

permanent presence of the *Nizâm-ı Cedid* (New Order) troops in Smyrna.⁴⁷

To conclude, the Harvard Fulgenzi album embodies crosscurrents of media both in the artistic and journalistic sense. It demonstrates how these modes of representation fed into one another to create commentary on significant social changes within the Mediterranean. From a small family print shop on the Frank Street of Smyrna, the plates of this album also tell the story of commercial dynamism on a local and international level as it intersected in this port city. Moreover, the album gives us a sense of the individuals who contributed to this vibrant Mediterranean landscape, whether named or anonymous. The plates bearing their images, occupations, and names preserve a remembered population and the traces of their creators' skilled hands.

47 Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 35.

The Harvard Fulgenzi Album:
*Collection de costumes civils et militaires,
scènes populaires, et vues de l'Asie-Mineure*¹

1 Fine Arts Library of Harvard University, catalogue call number (FAL-LC XCAGE) GT1400. C65 1838





Vue de Smyrne, prise de la Rade. Ομορμία Εμπόρου Σχορριθείσα παρά τῷ λιμένος
دم از میر یا ایسی

en couleurs de Smyrne de Buffault, Turquie 1838



Le Berceau Grec | *Η προσωαίχη Κοίμη*
en Morée | *Μαρμαίος*
 بستاندوم

Illustration en Souverain de Raffaele Falgout 1837.



Soldat Grec Albanais | Στρατιώτης Ἑλλήν. Ἀλβανίτης
ارنالبود دوم سولطان دکی

J. Stamps in France de Raffaele Soliman



Portefais de Constantinople. Βασίλειος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.
اشالامبول احمباي

si stampato in Londra da Raffaele Fulgoni, 1837.





Regencia Polignac inv.

*Ci devant Baladin, ser. Πρώτορον χωρευτής υπηρε.
 vant aux Tavernes de Galata τῶν εἰς τὰ παπηδία τὸν Σάλατᾶ*

Πρώτορον χωρευτής υπηρε
 εἰς τὰ παπηδία τὸν Σάλατᾶ

Stamps in Smyrna de Raffaele Felici 1806.



Engraving by Raffaele Fulgoni.

Ali Pacha de Janina | Ἄλι Πασσῆς Γεωργίου
 یانیه و ایسی علی پاشا

Stampato in Smyrna da Raffaele Fulgoni. 1837.



Femme Grecque | Turci Egnris
d'Athènes | Aduraia
اتینه کی | روم قریسی

Stampano in Suvoni de Buffalo Solomno 1836



Benjamin Dupont del.

Othon, Roi des Grecs. | Οὐραν Βασιλεὺς Ἑλλήνων.

اوٹون پھوای گراہی

et stampée in Saxe de Hoffstadt Fulgeni 1837.



Eugenie Delgrande inv.

*Kavass, vieux et nouv. Kabas' nala' mi nazarai
 au costume. nai ro'ar' Sidzpaora'*

قواص بيلى ولىكى

Le dessin est de M. de Raffaele Delgrande 1862.



Teqîo de Derviches à Galata - les - Constantinopli. — *Supra Religionei Semaçisi.* — *Festiva de Dervişler gi Sema - Konyaklılarca yapılar.*
 خیمه استانبولده تکیه، درویشان غلطه موبه *1856*



Femme Juive de Tyr n̄ Supraia
Smirne. ازبیرکی مولویه
L'Espais.

De l'Imprimerie de l'Université de Paris, chez la Citoyenne Lesclapart, Palais National, ci-devant des Arts, le 10 Mars 1793.





Plate 15



Negresse Marchande de paste. | Αρράβισα παζολοπώλα, με
 laktia, & le Turc de Halvat. | Τούρκος χάλβαροπώλος.
 حلواجی حلام سوا / حلواجی عرب

— engraved in England by G. Scriver del. 1836



Dessinée à Paris par M. de La Harpe

285

Engraver par M. de La Harpe

Femme Turque d'Ourlac. — Φράσκα Τούρκισσα Βαλκάνισσα
 اورلاک لی سلاو قاریسی

De l'Empire en Suisse de Raffaele Falgout



Mohamed Ali vice | *per spirit* *Alm* *Daouā*
Roi d'Egypte ————— *prois* *bozrōn*
مصر واليهي محمد علي پاشا

Si. Delacroix in. *Delacroix* *Paris* 1835



Femmes Grecques
Albanaises

Capitaine Foligno 1838
Turénais Et Ingridais
Αλβανιτισσας

ایکی قاری روم ارنا بود

De Strasbourg la Source de Hoffsch Foligno 1838



Ingenieur Belgoni inv.

Femme Arménienne Chez elle Turri Ἀρμένίος'α εἰς τοῖ οἰκόν.

ارمنی خانسی اوت

in Europa in Europa de Paffade Fulgure 1836



Funéraille des Turcs. | Deisaror Tıpıncor.

اشلام اولومي

et stampé en France, de l'Imprimerie de Polgarci 1837.



Fartare Turque تاتار اسلام Tataros Tourxos

et stampata in Serris de Hoffstadt Belgica 1836



Arabi ou Voiture Turque. Ἀραβικὰ ἢ Ἀμαξία Τούρκικη
 عرابا جو والو
St. Martinus in Turco de Raffaele Falgout





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

Evangelia Balta and Richard Wittmann



1r. Printed ca. 1836–38

Sultan Mahmud¹

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

- 1 A single caption in French showing the tughra of Sultan Mahmud depicted at the center of the caption.
- 2 Donald Quataert, »Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829«, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29/3 (Aug. 1997), 403–425.



2r. Printed in 1836

Vue de Smyrne, prise de la Rade

Θεωρία (= Θεωρία) Σμύρνης ιστοριθείσα (= ιστοριθείσα)
παρὰ τοῦ λιμένος

Resm-i İzmir yalısı

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

- 3 Steamship travel in the Eastern Mediterranean only began during the second part of the 1830s. See: Andrew Oliver, *American Travelers On the Nile: Early U.S. Visitors to Egypt, 1774–1839*, Cairo: American University in Cairo, 2014, 197.
- 4 Halil İnalçık, Suraiya Faroqhi, Donald Quataert: *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 800.



3r. Printed in 1837

Le berceau grec en Moree (= Morée)

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

Beşik-i Rum (beşik written as بشق)

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

5 The Greek cradle of Morea.

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

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

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



4r. Printed ca. 1836

Soldat Grec Albanais

Στρατιώτης Έλλην Αλβανίτης (= Άρβανίτης)

Arnabud (= Arnavud) Rum Soltadi⁸ (سولطادی)

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

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

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



5r. Printed in 1837

Portefais de Constantinople

(= Portefaix de Constantinople)

Βαστάζος Κωνσταντινούπολιτης

İslambol Hambalı (= Hammalı)

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



6r. Printed in 1836

Turque Albanaise

Τούρκισα Αρβανίτησα (= Τούρκισσα Αρβανίτισσα)

Arvanitisa Turkisa¹⁰

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

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



7r. Printed in 1833

Ci devant Baladin servant aux Taverne[s] de Galata

Πρότερον χωρευτής ύπηρετῶν εἰς τὰ καπηλία τοῦ Γαλατᾶ
(= Πρότερον χορευτής ύπηρετῶν εἰς τὰ καπηλεῖα τοῦ Γαλατᾶ)

İslambolda Galata küçük¹¹ meyhane oğlanları

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

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

12 Nicholas G. Pappas, »Concepts of Greekness: The Recorded Music of Anatolian Greeks after 1922«, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 17/2, October 1999, 353–373; Stathis Gauntlett, »Between Orientalism and Occidentalism. The Contribution of Asia Minor Refugees to Greek Popular Songs and its Reception«, in: Renée Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean. An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*, London: Berghahn Books, 2003, 247–260; Risto Pekka Pennanen, »The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece«, *Ethnomusicology* 48/1 (Winter 2004), 1–25.



8r. Printed in 1837

Ali Pacha de Janina

Αλή Πασσιᾶς Ἰωαννῆνων

Yanya Valisi Ali Paşa

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

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



9r. Printed in 1836

Femme Grécque d'Athènes

Γυνή Ἑλληνικῆς Αθηναῖα

Atinalı Rum karısı (written as قریسی)

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

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

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



10r. Printed in 1837

Othon, Roi des Grecs.

Όθων Βασιλευς Ελλήνων.

Oton Yunan kralı

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

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

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

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



11r. Printed in 1836

Kavass, vieux et nouveau costume

Καβάς κατὰ τὴν παλαιάν καὶ νέαν ἐνδυμασίᾳ

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

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



12r. Printed in 1836

Téqïï des Derviches à Galata – lès – Constantinople

Τεκίη δε Δερβίχες γ's Γαλατὰ – Κωνσταντινουπόλεως¹⁷

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

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

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



13r. Printed in 1836

Femme Juive de Smyrne

Γυνή Σμυρναία Ἑβραία

İzmirli Museviyye

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

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



14r. Printed in 1836

Sultan Mahmud Empereur des Ottomans

Σουλτάν Μαχμούτης, Αυτοκράτωρ τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν

Sultan Mahmud Han Padişah-ı Âl-i Osman

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

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



15r. Printed in 1837

Arrivée d'un Marchand d'Esclaves à Constantinople

Ερχομός εις Κωνσταντινούπολιν τινός εμπόρου σκλάβων

İslambol'da köle ve cariye esircisi resmi

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

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

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

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

22 Ehud Toledano, »Late Ottoman Concepts of Slavery (1830s–1880s)«, *Poetics Today* 14/3: *Cultural Processes in Muslim and Arab Societies: Modern Period I* (Autumn 1883) (1993), 478–479.

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



16r. Printed in 1836



17r. Printed in 1836

Negresse Marchande de pastelakia²³ & le Turc de Halvat

Αράβισσα παστελοπώλα, κι' Τοῦρκος χαλβαδοπώλος
(= Ἀράβισσα παστελοπώλα, κι' Τοῦρκος χαλβαδοπώλης)²⁴

Helvacı İslam, susam helvacı Arab (written as ٻٻار)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Femme Turc d'Ourlac

Γυναίκα Τούρκισσα Βουρλιώτισσα

Urlalı İslam karısı

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

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



18r. Printed in 1836

Mohammed Ali vice Roi d'Egypte

Μεχμέτ Άλη πασᾶς μισιρ βαλσι

Mısır valisi Mehmed Ali Paşa

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

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

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



19r. Printed in 1836

Femmes Grecques Albanaises

Γυνέκαις Ἑλληνίδαις Ἀλβανίτισσαις

(= Γυναικες Ἑλληνίδες Ἀρβανίτισσαι)

İki karı Rum Arnabud

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



20r. Printed in 1836

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

Γυνή Αρμένισσα εἰς τὸν οἶκον

Ermeni karısı evde

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

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

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



21r. Printed in 1836

Funéraille des Turcs

Λείψανον Τούρκικόν

İslam Ölümü

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

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

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



22r. Printed in 1836

Tartare Turque (= Tartare Turc)

Τάρταρος Τουρκός (= Τάρταρος Τοῦρκος)³⁴

Tatar-ı İslam

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



23r. Printed in 1836

Arabà ou Voiture turque

Αραμπάς ή Αμάξιον Τουρκικόν

Arabacı-yi İslam³⁸

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



24r. Printed in 1836

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

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

Galata Rum karısı; İslambol karısı, [İ]slam

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

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



25r. Printed in 1838

Abd-El-Kader

Şeyh Kadri

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Previously published



Klara Volarić (ed.)

The Istanbul Letters of Alka Nestoroff

The *Istanbul Letters of Alka Nestoroff*, published here for the first time, afford the reader with a rare glimpse into the cosmopolitan world of Istanbul's high society and foreign diplomats during the last years of peace in the Ottoman Empire leading up to the Balkans Wars and World War I. Alka Nestoroff, née Mažuranić, the granddaughter of the Habsburg governor of Croatia and the wife of a Bulgarian diplomat to the Sublime Porte, regularly sent letters from Istanbul to her family in Zagreb. They contain an invaluable trove of information on everyday life and the conviviality among the capital's multiethnic residents, Istanbul's scenery and architecture, its street dogs, and the latent danger posed by the numerous fires in the city. Her letters provide a fascinating eye-witness account of the temporary breakdown of civic order in Istanbul surrounding the Young Turk Revolution in July 1908.

Bonn. Max Weber Stiftung, 2015.
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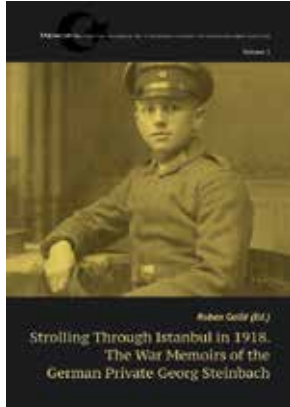
Paulina D. Dominik (ed.)

The Istanbul Memories in Salomea Pilsztynowa's Diary »Echo of the Journey and Adventures of My Life« (1760)

With an introduction by Stanisław Roszak

The selective English translation of the Polish diary of Salomea Pilsztynowa (1718–after 1763) written in 1760, covers the author's residence in Istanbul and her travels through the Ottoman Balkans. It reads like a picaresque novel full of drama, romance, danger, and intrigue, narrating the ups and downs of the heroine's encounters with various characters populating a cosmopolitan yet tumultuous Ottoman empire. Salomea Pilsztynowa was indeed an exceptional woman. Although not formally educated, Salomea learned the craft of medicine from her husband and others, and soon set up her own medical practice, specializing in ophthalmology and treating both men and women. At the height of her medical career, Salomea served as physician to the harem of Ottoman sultan Mustafa III in 1759. Her diary attests to the extraordinary resourcefulness of an independent woman successfully navigating a man's world in a foreign land.

Bonn. Max Weber Stiftung, 2017.
(Memoria. Fontes minores ad Historiam Imperii Ottomanici pertinentes, 2)
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Ruben Gallé (Ed.)

Strolling Through Istanbul in 1918.

The War Memoirs of the German Private Georg Steinbach

Georg Steinbach's *War Memoirs* recounts the experiences of a German soldier deployed to Constantinople during the First World War. In the spring of 1918, as a 19-year old conscript, Steinbach volunteered for the German Asia Forces, unofficially known as the »Pasha Army,« thus beginning his adventure in the East. Rather than fighting in the trenches on the eastern front, however, Steinbach, was to spend the final months of the war exploring the Ottoman capital. At the end of the war, in November 1918, Steinbach was evacuated on a ship to Odessa. He returned home to Germany after a long and difficult train journey, witnessing the devastation left behind by the war and the political uproar in his own land.

Steinbach's memoirs provide a unique glimpse of life in Istanbul during the First World War, and is all the more important for the dearth of other such personal accounts.

Bonn. Max Weber Stiftung, 2017.

(Memoria. Fontes minores ad Historiam Imperii Ottomanici pertinentes, 3)

148 x 210 mm · 104 pages ·

16 pictures and memoir facsimile
in black & white

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This volume offers a full-color facsimile of a richly illustrated album at Harvard Fine Arts Library that preserves twenty-five hand-painted engravings and lithographs from Ottoman Smyrna dating to the 1830s. The collection captures a multifaceted view of Smyrna's cultural landscape and the wider Eastern Mediterranean with views depicting the city's famous port, local setting, and socio-religious groups. At the same time, the album touches on heavily debated issues of the day, including Ottoman sartorial reform, as well as social upheavals in Egypt, Greece, and Algeria, whose leaders enjoyed considerable coverage in the press across languages. Originally purchased by Thomas Walley Langdon, a member of a prominent American merchant family in Smyrna, the album also offers a distinctive window into the personal and political leanings of its owner.

The selection in this album mixes established modes of stock imagery from earlier costume books and paintings, with captivating scenes Langdon encountered during his residence. With this in mind, the album's featured portraits of revolutionary leaders open the question of whether their inclusion stemmed from Langdon's patriotic sympathies or his considerable trade stakes in the region. In either case, the album and its assortment of prints allowed the owner to fuse contemporary journalistic concerns with the continued tradition of travel literature in the Ottoman Empire.

The Levantine printers behind this album, Eugenio and Raffaele Fulgenzi, once sold these plates among other print works from their family shop on the renowned Frank Street in Smyrna. The Fulgenzi print shop became funnel through which numerous forms of media were adapted and transformed for popular consumption. Resulting works like this album make a vivid case through which scholars can consider the process of image transmission throughout the Mediterranean and how the technologies of print facilitated the circulation of artwork. Together, the captions and illustrations reflect Smyrna's active engagement in wider cross-currents across the Mediterranean, documenting its swiftly changing political climate and the characters that inhabited this diverse terrain.

Max Weber
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