

**Ottoman *Spectators*:Morality and Conservatism in 19th Century Ottoman  
Humor Magazines, a Case Study of *Latife* and *Tiyatro***

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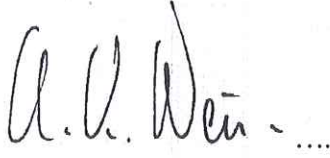
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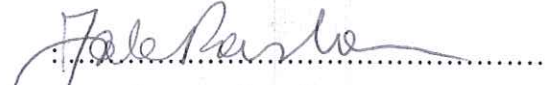
Osmanlı "Spectator"ları: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mizah Dergilerinde Ahlakçılık ve  
Muhafazakârlık, *Latife* ve *Tiyatro* Örnekleri

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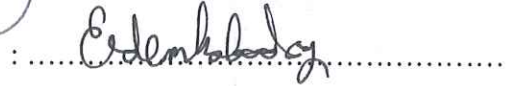
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Title: Ottoman *Spectators*: Morality and Conservatism in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Humor Magazines, a Case Study of Latife and Tiyatro

This study focuses on a specific period of humor press between 1870- 1877, that is the period from the emergence to the banning of humor magazines. Studies on the content of Ottoman humor periodicals, usually takes them as a discourse of a subversive or radical voice and more generally as a reaction to westernization. Secondly, through the history of Ottoman humor press, there is not a clear differentiation made in terms of literary categorization of humor magazines between the periods. However, this specific period has peculiarities which distinguish Ottoman humor magazines of the first period from the ones belonging to subsequent periods in many points.

Conservatism and communitarianism as dominant ideologies of the period, and continuing patronage relationships, government policies and censorship, heritage of verbal humor traditions, current humor understanding, and intellectual movement in relationship with modernization process, all played their parts in shaping of Ottoman humor magazines in this period. This thesis argues that nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines of the first period, which had been generally defined as “humor magazines,” were actually moral weeklies similar to British moral weeklies of eighteenth century, represented by *The Spectator Magazine* (1711-14).

Moral weeklies are also known as comic weeklies or as the publications of wit. Typical characteristics are that they employ wit rather than satire to instruct the audience; therefore they mean to be corrective rather than subversive. The discourse of Ottoman humor magazines in this period was not generally that of westernization, but it was actually a discourse of morality. Humorists intervened in the modernization process, in order to establish morality over economic, social and cultural spheres and to close the widening gap between upper and lower classes by censuring vices of both. In this point, extending forms of humor requiring more intellectual activity such as wit, to the folk humor through humor press, was not incidental.

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Başlık: Osmanlı “Spectator”ları: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mizah Dergilerinde Ahlakçılık ve Muhafazakârlık, Latife ve Tiyatro Örnekleri

Bu çalışma Osmanlı mizah basınının 1870 – 1877 yıllarını kapsayan belirli bir dönemini, başka bir deyişle, mizah dergilerinin ortaya çıkış ve yasaklanış tarihiarasındaki dönemi üzerinde durmaktadır. Osmanlı mizah dergileri üzerine yapılan çalışmalar, içeriği genellikle yıkıcı veya radikal bir söylem ve de batılılaşma tepkisi olarak yorumlarlar. Ayrıca, mizah basını tarihi boyunca mizah dergilerinin edebi olarak sınıflandırılması amacıyla dönemler arası belirgin bir ayırım yapılmaz. Fakat mizah dergilerinin bu döneminin, onları sonraki dönemlere ait dergilerden ayıran belli özellikleri vardır.

Dönemin hâkim ideolojileri olarak muhafazakârlık ve cemaatçilik, süreklilik gösteren patronaj ilişkileri, devlet politikaları ve sansür, sözlü mizah geleneğinin mirası, mevcut mizah anlayışı ve de modernleşme sürecine ilişkin düşünsel yönelim gibi faktörler bu döneme ait mizah dergilerinin şekillenmesinde etkili oldu. Bu çalışmada on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ilk dönemine ait olan ve genel olarak “mizah dergileri” olarak tanımlanan yayınlarında on sekizinci yüzyıl İngiliz ahlak dergilerine benzer biçimde ahlak dergileri olduğu öne sürülmektedir. Bunların en tipik örneği *Spectator* ( 1711-14 ) dergisidir.

Ahlak dergileri aynı zamanda güldürü ve nüktedergileri olarak da bilinirler. En tipik özellikleri okuyucuyu eğitmek amacıyla mizah türü olarak hicivden çok nükteye başvurmalarıdır. Bu nedenle yıkıcı olmayı değil, ıslah etmeyi amaçlarlar. Bu döneme ait mizah dergilerinin söylemi aslında genel olarak bir batılılaşma söylemi değil, ahlak söylemidir. Mizah yazarları ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel alanların ahlaki yönünü düzenlemek amacıyla ve de üst sınıflar ile alt sınıflar arasında büyümekte olan farklılığı azaltmak amacıyla her iki sınıfa ait kusurlarını eleştirerek modernleşme sürecine müdahale ettiler. Bu noktada, nükte gibi daha fazla zihinsel faaliyet gerektiren mizah formlarının sözlü halk mizahıyla karıştırılarak ve mizah basını aracılığıyla halka sunulması rastlantısal değildi.

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## CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	viii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
I. EMERGENCE OF OTTOMAN HUMOR MAGAZINES.....	4
I.I.From Witticism to Bergson .....	4
Ottoman Humor Understanding.....	18
I.II.“Ottoman Spectators” or “Istanbul Charivari”?.....	32
Eighteenth Century British Humor Press.....	33
Ottoman Humor Press.....	34
II. HUMOR MAGAZINES AS LITERARY FORMS.....	53
II.I. Interrelations between Literature and Press.....	53
II.II. <i>Muhavere</i> : Pragmatic Analysis.....	60
III.DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: A CASE STUDY OF LATIFE and TIYATRO.....	63
III.I.Historical Background.....	63
Modernity and its Satire.....	68
III.II.Content: Stumbling Runners, Social Deviators and Self-Ignorant Fops.....	72
Economic Westernization: Moral Economy.....	76
Urban Modernization Failed?.....	84
Public or “Private” Transportation?.....	85
Order of City and Municipal Services.....	92
Cultural Westernization .....	97
Flamboyance and Fashion: <i>Şilliks</i> and <i>Şıks</i> .....	100
Etiquette, Leisure, Entertainment.....	105
Journalism.....	114
IV.CONCLUSION: WHOSE VOICE ADDRESSED TO WHOM?.....	116
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	129
APPENDICES.....	139

Appendix I: Selected Romanized Texts from <i>Latife</i> and <i>Tiyatro</i> .....	139
Appendix II: <i>Tiyatro</i> :.....	150
Appendix III: <i>Latife</i> .....	151
Appendix IV: <i>The Spectator</i> .....	152

## PREFACE

History of Ottoman humor press can be divided into three main periods: 1870-77 as the first period, 1877-1908 second, and from 1908 to the Republican Era as the third period. In this study, first period of Ottoman Humor Magazines falling between 1870 –77 and among which, the ones edited by members of non-Muslim Communities, and published in Ottoman Turkish and addressed to Turkish speaking Ottoman Community in general, are considered. As two examples of those, *Tiyatro* (1874-76) and *Latife* (1874-76) magazines, which are respectively published by Hagop Baronian and Zakarya Beykozluyan, are taken for a case study. There are reasonable excuses for such exclusion and periodization. First, is the language inability in this research to cover humor magazines published in languages spoken in Ottoman Empire other than Turkish. Secondly, Ottoman humor press is held to have been started by 1870 in the sense that publications which are in both Ottoman Turkish and Ottoman Alphabet, and first to acquire government permission to be released for the whole Ottoman public, appeared by 1870. Therefore, such exclusion is a methodological need to cover magazines published for Ottoman Community in general to attain a general picture. Besides, it is neither humor magazines published by Turkish Muslim editors appealing to Turkish Muslim community in particular, nor the ones published by members of non-Muslim communities and addressing exclusively to their own community, could be a reasonable choice. Last, is an attempt for establishing links between Ottoman government ideology and humor press as the former is rather reflected in Humor Magazines which are deemed to be appealing to the whole Ottoman Community.

It is aimed to be a discourse study based on the cases of *Tiyatro* and *Latife*. To that end, I have romanized most content of *Tiyatro* and *Latife* and some of the romanized text have been included in *Appendix I*. I studied on the contents together with the cartoons published for each issue. Additionally, other magazines published in all three periods are reviewed; as well as some issues of *Spectator* magazine, which were published between 1711- 14 in Britain are investigated for comparison. Here it is not aimed to present all the contents of related magazines. Instead, main lines of content are attempted to be mapped to establish their links



to the discourse and to integrate them into the general context. Besides, only humor magazines which are published in Istanbul are considered. Accordingly, content is in particular related with Istanbul and inhabitants of Istanbul, thus, this study focuses on which.

Within the limits of research, content of *Latife* magazine is not studied before. As for *Tiyatro*, major contribution is Kevork Bardakjian's Doctoral Dissertation on "Baronian's political and social satire" which among all literary works of Baronian treats *Tiyatro* magazine as well. However, his focus is not exclusively on *Tiyatro* and his approach and chosen topic differs from this study. Another contribution is Metin And's work on Ottoman Theatre, which makes some small references to the contents of *Tiyatro* as well, but limited to the content which is related with Ottoman Theatre and *Güllü Agop*.

*“ Bundan böyle Latife’ mizde  
ıslah-ı efkâr ve tenvir –i ahlak mucibince  
lazım olan bazı fikralar  
ve eğlenceli tefrika ve  
sair mevadd -ı mütenevvia neşr  
olunacaktır”<sup>1</sup>*

## INTRODUCTION

Humor or Laughter is a cultural, political, and as emphasized by Bergson for the first time, a social phenomenon. Historical investigation of humor also reveals that depending on the periods and geography, humor changes literarily, philosophically and in terms of its reception and aimed functions. For that reason, an in-depth treatment of humor requires a multifaceted approach involving various areas ranging from literature, linguistics to philosophy, sociology and politics. Accordingly, this work, limitedly attempts at a an interdisciplinary consideration of the nineteenth century Ottoman Humor Magazines in the framework of philosophy, literature and politics in comparison with eighteenth century British press.

Ottoman Humor Magazines emerged around mid- nineteenth century along with the press, relatively late when compared to Europe, but still certain parallelisms and interactions with European humor press can be established. The period from the release of first Ottoman Turkish humor magazines by 1870 under government sanctioning, to the banning of humor press in 1877, would be accepted as the first period of humor press. Following the ban between the years 1877 and 1908, that is during the strict censorship and autocratic rule of Abdülhamid II, Ottoman humor press continued abroad as the second period, in characteristic of political satire. The period when humor press is freed again with the abolishing of ban in 1908, was the third period which continued under a much more liberal atmosphere, looser

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<sup>1</sup>*Latife*, issue 1, March 22, 1875. Opening words for the first issue of *Latife* Magazine when it started to be republished. That reminds of introductory words by comic weekly *Spectator* describing its aim as “to enliven morality with wit “*The Spectator*, no. 10, 1711, p.1.

ensorship, and with changed patronage relationships when compared to the first period.

Humor magazines considered in this study, are the ones belonging to the first period, thus they differ from the publications of the subsequent periods in many points. In the first place, first period was a transition period, that is, it was when the humor press emerged and was being formed. Therefore, this study is also aimed to question under what conditions first Ottoman humor magazines emerged and which elements were decisive in their formation. Such an analysis might enable outlining the general characteristics, aimed functions and ideology of first humor magazines distinguishing them from Ottoman humor magazines of later periods. The case study of *Latife* and *Tiyatro*, seeks to answer the question what are ideology, aimed functions and characteristics of the nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines of first period, within the framework of philosophy, history of press and literature, in comparison to eighteenth century British press. Aim of this study is, thereof, to define the ideology of nineteenth Ottoman century humor magazines of first period with a discourse analysis of *Latife* and *Tiyatro*. Given the fact that contemporary humor publications in Ottomans included the similar content with similar voice,<sup>2</sup> *Latife* and *Tiyatro* could be considered as reflecting the common discourse.

As a result, first two chapters treat the emergence and formation of Ottoman humor magazines in the context of philosophy of humor, history of press, and literature, in comparison with the eighteenth century British humor press, in particular with comic weekly *The Spectator Magazine* (1711-14). Comparative history requires an extensive research, and which has not been attempted to the full in this study. Nevertheless, when the emergence of Ottoman Humor Periodicals is considered, it is indispensable to take similar cases in European counterpart for comparison, such as Britain as one of the forerunners of humor press and humor philosophy in Europe. The reason why such a comparative approach in terms of humor philosophy and press would prove reasonable is also attempted to be clarified in the first chapter.

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<sup>2</sup> This point is derived from secondary literature. For *Diyojen* and *Çaylak*, see: Hamdi Özdiş, *Osmanlı mizah basınında batılılaşma ve siyaset, 1870-1877: Diyojen ve Çaylak üzerinde bir araştırma* (İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2010).

Logic behind investigating humor papers in the context of theories and philosophy of humor is twofold. Firstly, it is to define the parallelism between humor philosophy and humor press that is the parallelism between theory and praxis if there is any. Second is a further attempt to explain the case of Ottoman humor magazines of the nineteenth century, in terms of philosophy and humor understanding so as to outline the evolution of Ottoman humor and to find out which theory of humor is useful in analysis of Ottoman case. Philosophical approaches to humor are in parallelism with the nature, style and ideologies of humor publications. In other words, what functions for humor magazines are aimed by the editors and the tone of discourse are in relation with humor philosophy to some degree.

Such a parallelism between philosophy and humor press could be more apparent in the following part on press. Apart from the interaction with humor philosophy, what and how other factors shaped humor press shall be explained in the second part. Accordingly, it will be investigated within the framework of historical circumstances, government ideology, patronage relationships, and some other factors which defined nature, tone and aimed functions of first humor magazines. Besides, the fact that Ottoman humor press was introduced after western humor press might have an impact on the formation of Ottoman humor magazines. In support of such an assumption there are some evidences. For instance, a short lived Ottoman humor magazine, *Şarivari-i Medeniyet*, published by Mehmet Arif Efendi in 1874<sup>3</sup>, seems to have been named after satirical magazines *London Charivari* 1841, or *Le Charivari* 1832, as the name implies. Such an assumption is not the claim of this study, instead it is an attempt to show that both British and Ottoman philosophical speculations on the effects of humor within the context of morality was a reflection of zeitgeist, which would again be reflected on humor press, in the form of aimed functions and the nature of humor publications. Therefore, comparison with British press might provide a better understanding of Ottoman case.

In the second chapter, interrelations between literature and humor press, will be treated as a part of the larger attempt to outline the discourse and ideology, in the light of previous chapter. In this way, main argument of this thesis is sought to be supported within the context of philosophy, press and literature. Eventually, in the

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<sup>3</sup>Turgut Çeviker, *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü: Tanzimat ve İstibdat Dönemi, 1867-1878 / 1878-1908* ( İstanbul: Adam Yayınları, 1986 ),p. 127.

third chapter, arguments of first two chapters are integrated into discourse of nineteenth century humor magazines with a case study of *Latife* and *Tiyatro* magazines (1874-76).

## **I. Emergence of Ottoman Humor Magazines**

### **I.I. From Witticism to Bergson**

Pertaining to the concern for explaining Ottoman case in terms of humor philosophy, there are two approaches which more fit into and explain the case of the nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines, as will be detailed throughout this part. First is eighteenth century English incongruity theorists, with their emphasis on wit, believed that ridicule had a disciplinary, morality effect. Another is Henri Bergson's theory that laughter emerges from ludicrous of inelasticity which is turning out to be unsociable. Accordingly, he proposed that humor had a social function as it serves to get rid of unsociability in society. Such philosophical approaches would also be found in Ottoman understanding of humor. Additionally, it will be explained that wit and satire, having been shaped by Roman rhetoric tradition, have a corrective structure. In the same vain, moral weeklies of the eighteenth century England, and the nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines, which were constituted by wit and gentle satire, also had a didactic tone. Accordingly, it is an attempt to support main argument of this study in philosophical terms through historical investigation of humor philosophy. The argument is that in terms of form, style and aimed functions, first Ottoman humor magazines, similar to some eighteenth century British comic weeklies, were moral weeklies aimed at serving as didactic or disciplinary tools with a conservative tendency and morality concern for correcting incongruity, unsociability, vices and imperfections observed in society. That is, Ottoman humor magazines of the first period were moral weeklies. Further, it is an attempt to show that at nineteenth century Ottoman humor understanding evolved from rather an entertainment oriented humor to a more intellectual humor involving the audience in social and limitedly political criticism; as a result that intellectual humor had gained public though introduction of humor press and by intermingling of folk and court literature.

Before starting with an historical account of humor philosophy in the west and touching roughly on major theories, it is worth noting that it was the eighteenth century Britain when and where philosophical speculations on humor and laughter were most densely held.<sup>4</sup> It is also seen that there is a parallelism between the aspects of these speculations and the content and style of humor press in Britain. While the moral issues were the concern in this period, philosophy also evolved around moral, aesthetic and functional aspects of humor. Reaching to its peak in eighteenth century, humor philosophy dates back to the Antiquity. Accordingly, before Bergson's social theory of humor emerges in the beginning of twentieth century in France; there have been chronologically, three *écoles* represented: Superiority, Incongruity and Relief. Western philosophy of humor is considered to have started with Plato who was also to lay the foundations of the *superiority theory* which is chronologically deemed to be the first theory of humor. As it is the case for all periods, again there is a parallelism between humor philosophy and humor culture of antiquity. In city of Athens, humor culture was reflected by Aristophanes' comedies which were performed in festivals of Dionysia and Lenea. Accordingly, humor was based on buffoonery and mockery, that is, comic was originating from inferiority of character. Further, humor was regarded as a need for amusement and relaxation, besides, it should be performed as refined and with propriety.<sup>5</sup> All these components of inferiority and propriety constituting Athenian humor culture also found in superiority theory of Antiquity as will be underlined.

### **Western Philosophy of Humor**

In his Socratic dialogs, *Philebus*, Plato defined laughter as amusement at ridiculous which emerged from self –ignorance of those who are relatively weaker. Accordingly, man imagines himself wealthier or more handsome or wiser than he actually is, so becomes ridiculous in the eyes of those who laugh at that self-ignorant subject because they perceive it to be inferior to what it claims itself to be.<sup>6</sup> As evident throughout many dialogs, Plato depicted laughter as something negative and

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<sup>4</sup> Michael Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule: Towards a Social Critique of Humor* (California: Sage Publications, 2005), p.57.

<sup>5</sup> Jan Bremmer, "Jokes, Jokers and Jokebooks in Ancient Greek Culture," in *A Cultural History of Humor*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1997), pp.11-28.

<sup>6</sup> Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato*. Translated by B. Jowet M.A. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), vol.II, Chapter: *PHILEBUS*, pp.383-384.

as a means of refutation.<sup>7</sup> Aristotle, as the second representative of superiority theory, supported Plato that laughter originates from inferiority of others. In *Poetics*, he explains that "...Comedy is...an imitation of relatively worthless characters..." and that "... laughable is some mistake or piece of ugliness..."<sup>8</sup> Significant is Aristotle's moral consideration of humor. He objected to the excess of humor, in that vein, he makes a difference between the witty and buffoon. Witty was tactful in their jokes, whereas buffoons carried humor to excess by lacking propriety and causing pain in the subject of their humor.<sup>9</sup> Further, Cicero was on the same line with Aristotle in many points and supported that disappointed expectation led to laughter. His contribution is also in relation with humor production because he makes a distinction between two kinds of jokes, one emerging from language used, another resulting from the idea used.<sup>10</sup> It was a distinction to be made also by the eighteenth century writers with regard to higher and lower forms of wit as will be mentioned.

It was with Thomas Hobbes that superiority theory was elaborated. In *Leviathan*, he defines laughter as a passion, as a sudden glory in response to finding out defects in others, and as applause of our superiority to others. He links this idea to the moral side of laughter stating that those who are aware of their own defects cannot help watching out for the defects of others to make themselves feel better, whereas great minds help the weaker to get freed from being subject to ridicule, and they compared themselves only with powerful.<sup>11</sup> According to Descartes, two reasons of laughter are hatred and wonder.<sup>12</sup> He also explained laughter as the joy of finding defects in a person, who is the subject of derision, on the condition that we consider that person to deserve that defect, and when we perceive it unexpectedly. Therefore, he is grouped among superiority theorists, but gets closer to incongruity with his emphasis

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<sup>7</sup> Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato*. Translated into English with Analyses and Introductions by B. Jowett, M.A. in *Five Volumes*. 3rd edition revised and corrected (Oxford University Press, 1892).Chapter: Gorgias.p.473-4. Accessed from <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/766/93703> on 2012-04-07.

<sup>8</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, c.h5, 49a32-b9, in *Aristotle's Poetics: The Argument*. Edited by Gerald F.Else, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), 49a32 p.183.

<sup>9</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*. Translated by Christopher Rowe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002),Book IV, Ch.8. pp. 156-157.

<sup>10</sup> Cicero, *On the Orator: Book II*, Ch.63 in, John Morreal, ed., *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), pp.17-8.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Hobbes, *Hobbes's Leviathan reprinted from the edition of 1651 with an Essay by the Late W.G. Pogson Smith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909),Chapter: CHAP. VI.: *Of the Interiour Beg* Accessed from <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/869/208751> on 2012-04-07.

<sup>12</sup> René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul*. Translated by Stephen H. Voss (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 1989) ,articles 126-127, pp.85-86.

on surprise aspect. He also emphasized the function of ridicule that as a way of showing disapproval of the vices, it was useful to make them seem ridiculous through jokes.<sup>13</sup> Laughter as serving to indicate disapproval of a vice is in parallelism with Ottoman humor understanding. Further superiority theory in general also applies to Ottoman context. Laughter at westernized fops was rather of this kind and similarly the function was to show disapproval. Superiority theory, thereby, attempted to explain humor and laughter in terms of its emotional and personal motives and this was going to be challenged mainly by eighteenth century British philosophers through Incongruity theory which is being the second major movement in philosophy of humor. Unlike superiority theorists, Incongruity theorists treated humor not merely as a psychological phenomenon but rather as a cognitive process and so as a social matter, even if not to the same extent with Bergson's theory. Social consideration of humor was again in parallelism with economic and political circumstances of the time.

As will be detailed below, what is significant about incongruity theory for the present study is Francis Hutcheson's emphasis on humor in the form of ridicule and wit, and which could be used as a teaching strategy or as a disciplinary method for correction of imperfections. Secondly, incongruity theorists like classical thinkers, investigated moral side of laughter and they distinguished between higher and lower quality wit. It was as in origin a theory of wit which was also a common genre applied in British comic weeklies at the time. Actually, such centrality of wit dates back to Aristotle, as above mentioned, he emphasized word play and tactfulness of witty as crucial for humor production. Present day, the term humor is used in a wider sense. However, eighteenth century writers, like in classical thought, did not use the term in today's meaning. Accordingly, wit was originating from playing with ideas or words whereas humor lied in a character subject to laughter. Also, the word ridiculous referred to the various things leading to laughter.<sup>14</sup>

Incongruity theory emerged as a reaction to Hobbes' account in particular and was based on Locke's approach. Locke discussed wit in terms of its relation to judgment and he proposed that if scientific judgment is based on distinguishing between two different things, then wit was based on the reverse process that is,

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<sup>13</sup> Morreal, *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*, 1987:pp.21-5.

<sup>14</sup> Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule*, 2005: pp.61-62.



bringing incongruities together.<sup>15</sup> Besides, similar to Cicero's distinction between two kinds of joke stated above, a distinction is underlined by some supporters of incongruity. For instance, English essayist Joseph Addison who was the editor of *Spectator*, basing his view on Locke's emphasis on ideas, remarked that, wit emerging from the resemblance of ideas was a true wit and it was superior and of a higher quality than the wit produced by the resemblance of word sounds such as pun.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, this theory approached humor as grasping or organizing of incongruities, which entailed a cognitive process. Therefore, main question this theory sought to answer is what mental process is required by the witty or for the perception of incongruities so thus, for the perception of wit by the audience. Yet, given the approach by Hutcheson and some men of letters, British philosophers treated laughter from rather a sociological perspective, as a matter of morality and here the function of ridicule is implied.<sup>17</sup> In this point, incongruity has a share with Hobbes and Descartes who respectively implied and underlined the effect of ridicule for the correction of what is ridiculous, as already mentioned. In the same vein, Hutcheson and some writers of the same period underlined that ridicule of incongruities provided social congruity and served as device for correcting imperfections. That is why the theory of incongruity is covered in the scope of *aesthetics*. Congruities are seen as beautiful or proper things while the incongruities are deformed and so were subject to ridicule.<sup>18</sup> This aesthetic sense as a required element for laughter was also pointed to by Aristotle in *Poetics* as already mentioned. Further, this theory also explains Ottoman *Şarivari* context of laughter at the nineteenth century, as *Şarivari* also originated from incorporation of new elements into default order, which formed an incongruity and looked deformed, as will be further clarified.

Francis Hutcheson outlined the moral effect of ridicule as a correction device, when he scrutinized laughter in detail in his work *Reflections upon Laughter*. He is placed at the beginning of incongruity theory because, first of all, he criticized Hobbes by supposing that laughter does not necessarily involve a feeling of superiority, which was also not sufficient for laughter to emerge. Instead, like the

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.,pp. 62- 63.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, 1965, edn: 17, cited in Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule*, 2005:p.69.

<sup>17</sup> Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule*, 2005: p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 65-78.

other incongruity theorists, he made an emphasis on wit and ability to create comic. He states that in some cases, we just laugh at the allusions made by the witty and not necessarily because we feel superior to something, on the contrary we admire the witty person's ability. His explanation bringing him closer to Incongruity theory is that laughter was generally caused by the bringing of contrary ideas together. Laughter also possibly emerges when we bring the resemblances together to which wit pushes us. It could either be resemblance of ideas, or in the case of pun, it would be resemblance of the word sounds.<sup>19</sup> Like Aristotle, Hobbes and Descartes, also Hutcheson had sayings regarding use and abuse of ridicule. He states that ridicule by wise men would serve to good ends while ridicule by fools would be harmful. Regarding the effects of ridicule, Hutcheson believed that for the correction of vices, ridicule can be used as long as good intention behind ridicule is showed to the ridiculed.<sup>20</sup> This was also an element found in Ottoman understanding of humor at nineteenth century, to make the ridicule to serve good ends, Ottomans also urged for propriety of humor as will be detailed. Such an understanding of humor, so, forms the essence of ethical humor aiming at instruction or correction.

Similar to Hutcheson, as already stated, eighteenth century British writers and some other philosophers also signified the social use of laughter towards morality. As an instance of parallelism between theory and praxis, Joseph Addison, of whom speculations on humor mentioned above, also applied wit as a device for morality concerns, and which was going to be reflected in *The Spectator* (1711-14) he published with the aim of sustaining morality, as it is quoted from the magazine "I shall endeavor to enliven morality with *wit* and temper wit with morality."<sup>21</sup> Thus, wit's centrality to Addison's magazine, was in line with incongruity theory which was in particular a theory of wit, as an intellectual form of humor, or as incongruity involved a mental or intellectual process. Wit will be central to first Ottoman humor magazines of the nineteenth century as well. To continue with incongruity theorists, Hutcheson's speculations about humor as close to incongruity were to be followed by later philosophers, Kant, Schopenhauer, and Kierkegaard who are considered as the main representatives of Incongruity, but with some difference among their

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<sup>19</sup> Francis Hutcheson, *Reflections upon Laughter* (Glasgow, 1750) in Morreal, *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*, 1987:pp.26-32.

<sup>20</sup> Morreal, *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*, 1987:p. 40.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, no 10, Monday, March 12 1711. Edited with an Introduction by Donald F. Bond, vol I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p.44.

formulations of theory. Further unlike Hutcheson, they did not touch on the social or moral effects of humor.

Immanuel Kant, in *the Critique of Judgment*, asserts that laughter is an effect involving something absurd, which through playing of ideas emerges as incongruous to the expectation which had been set. Also, that he defines humor requiring involvement in a process of unusual way of judgment, reminds of Locke's reverse process of judgment for bringing incongruities together. He defines the person who has the talent of this judgment as the one who has a sense of humor, or "to have humours" in Kant's words. Whereas, the person, who assume this process voluntarily, or in other words, the person who intentionally provokes laughter through forming contrasts, is defined as humorous. Further, Kant supposes that enjoyment here is not something caused by "the representation" (or let's say joke or wit), as our expectation is disappointed, but the resulting laughter is the influence of representation on our body which produces laughter as a reflex of "gratification" for health.<sup>22</sup> In Kant's approach, it is again seen that like the other incongruity theorists, wit, or playing with the ideas, is taken as central in explanation of humor

As another major representative of the theory, Arthur Schopenhauer's explanations are also significant in that he makes a theoretical differentiation between the terms such as joke, irony, humor and buffoon. Hence, he sheds light on the usage of and what was understood by the word humor in eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Germany. Schopenhauer explains that laughter is caused by a sudden perception of incongruity between a concept in our mind, and the real object as corresponding to that concept presented us through our senses. In the explanation of laughter he develops a theory of ludicrous originating from incongruity. Then, he divides ludicrous into two as wit and folly. In the case of wit, different objects are brought under one concept which embraces them all. In the case of folly, a given concept is attempted to match to reality, or match to different objects so treating them as if they correspond to that concept. Therefore, folly is of a lower quality than wit.<sup>23</sup> Then, he makes a definition of *pun* or *calembourg* as a kind of wit. Pun is the play of words in which different concepts are brought together under one word,

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<sup>22</sup> Immanuel W. Kant, *Critique of Judgment*. Translated by Nicholas Meredith and James Creed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 161-164.

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Schopenhauer, "Supplements to the First Book: On the Theory of Ludicrous" *The World As Will and Idea*, vol II (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1948), pp. 270-273.

whereas in witticism, different objects are brought together under one concept. In other words, in wit, objects are different but the same concept referring to both applies, whereas in pun, concepts used are different but the referred objects are identical. Just as folly is unintentional incongruity and witticism is an intentional one, so the misunderstanding was unintentional whereas pun is intentional involving playing with words. Therefore, just as he ascribes a highness and quality to witticism when compared to folly, the same highness is attributed to pun when compared to inferior comedy using misunderstandings or *quid pro quo* to provoke laughter.<sup>24</sup> It was in other words, a distinction between witty and buffoon. In the cases of folly and buffoon, there is a total incongruity between the object perceived and the concept, therefore it is a lower form and only uneducated people or children could laugh at such a thing. As for the joke, it is the intentional ludicrous that is, an attempt of creating incongruity between the conceptions and reality by reorganizing one of them. If the joke is concealed behind seriousness, then it was called irony. If seriousness is concealed behind the joke, then it was humor. Humor, Schopenhauer states, is incongruities between concepts and realities thought through those concepts, as a result of the apprehension of external world through the same conceptions by a subjective and a sublime mood. Humor referred to such peculiar form of ludicrous.<sup>25</sup>

He adds that, the word humor passed from English into German language, to correspond to such sublime kind of humor and first coined by sublime to stand it for such species of ludicrous. The word humor was not intended to be used for all kinds of jokes and buffoonery. Here, he means that word humor, before his time (before the nineteenth century), denoted higher forms of humor which was peculiar to sublime. Nevertheless, in his time, the word humor came to mean lower forms of humor as well because the form of ludicrous that the term humor originally or previously referred to would be too complex for the public. So now the person, who is called humorist, would be called buffoon previously.<sup>26</sup> From his words, the idea might be drawn that there is a shift from “humor for high culture” to “humor for

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<sup>24</sup> Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*. Translated by R.B. Haldane and John Kemp, 6th edition (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1907-1909), Book I, ch.13, in Morreal, *Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*, 1987:pp.51-54..

<sup>25</sup> Arthur Schopenhauer, *Supplements to the First Book: On the Theory of Ludicrous* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul: 1948), pp.281-282.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, pp.283-284.

popular culture.” As it has already been stated above, also in the eighteenth century Great Britain the word humor was not used in today’s meaning, in eighteenth century higher form of humor is defined as wit. This can be linked to change in the patronage relationships in literature, or in literary comic. This was the case also valid for Britain and Ottomans, which will be scrutinized in the second chapter on humor press in the context of literature. Besides, as it has already been underlined previously, such higher and serious or, as Schopenhauer puts it, sublime forms of humor including witticism, more suited to the ideological concerns of English humor writers of eighteenth century and of Ottoman writers of nineteenth century as well.

As the third and the last major representative of theory to be mentioned in this study, is Søren Aabye Kierkegaard, who formulates a different version of incongruity theory stating that comic emerges from contradiction.<sup>27</sup> Following examples by him, further explains his idea of how contradiction becomes comical: “When a woman seeks permission to establish herself as a public prostitute, this is comical. We properly feel that it is difficult to become something respectable...but to be refused permission to become something despicable is a contradiction...” Also contradiction could arise from something which is not ridiculous itself: “When a man goes dressed in a strange manner for everyday use, but then once in a while appears elegantly dressed, we laugh at this, because we remember the other.”<sup>28</sup> He takes irony and humor as the sub-categories of comic. Difference between the two was that, humor was sympathetic and gentler whereas irony was more proud and self – assertive.<sup>29</sup>

Up to this point, it was to show that incongruity theory attaches significance and centrality to wit as a form of humor; and one of the representatives of theory, Hutcheson considered wit as a disciplinary device; and that as it has already been detailed, such approach to humor is found in comic periodicals of eighteenth century Britain and of nineteenth century Ottomans as well, as will be detailed. Yet, disciplinary or social function of humor was not much central to incongruity theory or this theory did not propose such an aspect of humor in complete terms. Such a social theory of humor would only be developed to the full and proposed for the first

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<sup>27</sup> Morreall, *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*,1987:p.83.

<sup>28</sup> Søren Aabye Kierkegaard, *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*. Translated by David F. Swanson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941),pp. 459-468, in Morreall *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*,1987: pp.86-87.

<sup>29</sup> John Lippitt, *Humour and Irony in Kierkegaard's Thought* ( London: MAC Millan Press, 2000 ),p. 63

time by Henri Bergson. Beforehand, the next theory to be covered is relief theory which could be deemed to be noteworthy in that it was contemporary of humor magazines which are under consideration. Relief theory explained laughter in physiological terms as the “release of nervous energy.”

To begin with the first of relief theorists, Francis Bain opposed to incongruity theorists that, incongruity did not necessarily provoke laughter. He also criticized superiority theory that laughing at someone did not necessarily involve a feeling of superiority to that person, but it entailed a feeling of degrading. According to Billig, this view of laughter by Bain was in parallelism with Victorian England which was based on constraint. Therefore, ridicule or degrading of realities of the time such as vanity and coxcombry attributed to upper classes, which are also associated by the bodies imposing constraint, provided a feeling of release or freedom. Laughter served as a rebellion against strain.<sup>30</sup> Some parallelism might also be established with the case of the nineteenth century Ottomans, as the vanity, coxcombry and luxury spending were usually ridiculed as the most common theme of humor periodicals, as well as the literature. In the nineteenth century humor magazines, ridiculed class with their coxcomb lifestyle was upper class of civilian bureaucracy and commercial bourgeoisie; both had a superior position in Ottoman society. This also gives some clues on whose voice might be Ottoman humor magazines, as it would be the voice of a different segment of society which laughs out of the degrading of privileged segments. In the context of Ottomans, strain might be interpreted as the economic and political dominance of upper class and commercial bourgeoisie over society. This point will be detailed in last chapter.

Spencer sided with Bain that theory of incongruity was not in itself explaining laughter. He also opposed superiority theories as he thought that feeling of elevations did not necessarily result in laughter. His theory differed from that of Bain in two points. First, according to Spencer, humiliations on others or feeling of elevation did not result in laughter whereas Bain supported the feeling of degrading. Secondly, Unlike Bain, he supposed that release from constraint could not be cause of laughter. Instead, he saw the “descending incongruity”, which is transference of consciousness from great things to small things, as the provocateur behind the release of nervous

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<sup>30</sup> Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule*, 2005: pp. 92-7.

energy which finally caused laughter.<sup>31</sup> Bain's perception of laughter as a relief from constrain, can also be found in *Punch*, English humor periodical which is published contemporary to Bain's theory. First issues of *Punch* were reserved to be the voice of the oppressed<sup>32</sup> that is, the voice of dominated classes. Nonetheless, relief theory does not totally fit into or explain the laughter in the case of first Ottoman humor magazines and eighteenth century moral weeklies of Britain which were rather of a conservative, instructive voice and try to establish morality and control over society to sustain traditional society, instead of revolutionary voice. Further, they employed wit rather than political satire and therefore relief theory applied more to the case of *Punch*, as a satirical magazine.

As outlined, relief theorists treated laughter in physiological terms, so paying little attention to the social aspects except for a feeling of relief from oppression or serving as a social protest. However, when it comes to twentieth century, the picture would change together with Bergson's social theory of humor. Henri Bergson's theory is also of much significance for this study, as incongruity theory is. It is not because as the first social theory of humor but also as it proves useful in the analysis of function of humor which has been argued for the nineteenth century Ottoman Humor Periodicals in this study as a whole. For the first time term "function" used by Bergson, to signify "social function of humor" and by that it locates disciplinary and accordingly social functions of humor in the center of his theory. Therefore, Bergson's theory is considered as the first social theory of humor in full sense.<sup>33</sup>

Bergson argues that some members of society, proves unsociable in that they are not adaptable to the changing circumstances of society owing to their rigidity, automatism or inelasticity. This unsociability originating from inelasticity looks ludicrous and so becomes subject to ridicule. In this point, laughter emerges as "a social gesture" and here "rigidity is the comic, and the laughter or ridicule is its corrective."<sup>34</sup> He further argues that:

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<sup>31</sup> Herbert Spencer, "The Physiology of Laughter," *Macmillan's Magazine*, ISSN 1751-9047, Vol. 1, (11/1859) pp. 395-402.

<sup>32</sup> Richard Geoffrey George Price, *A History of Punch* (London: Collins, 1957), p. 46.

<sup>33</sup> Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule*, 2005:p.111.

<sup>34</sup> Henri Bergson, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*. Translated by Cloudesly Brereton and Fred Rorthwell (n.p.: Temple of Earth Publishing, n.d.), p.9a.

“Every small society that forms within the larger is thus impelled, by a vague kind of instinct, to devise some method of discipline or "breaking in," so as to deal with the rigidity of habits that have been formed elsewhere and have now to undergo a partial modification.”<sup>35</sup> Thus, laughter is a “...social gesture...”, “... pursues a utilitarian aim of general improvement.”<sup>36</sup>

By means of laughter, society tries to get rid of that inelasticity and rigidity to sustain sociability or adaptability to society. Therefore, it serves as a disciplinary tool to ensure that one gets rid of habits they are not in accord with the social situation, and one behaves in compliance with society. In nineteenth century, Ottoman Empire, which was going through increased westernization, was introduced with many new elements from the west and the coexistence of western or the new with the conventional or the local was in the form of a clashing. This clashing created unsociability and this is where the ludicrous, so the comic emerged through the ridicule of unsociable westernizers by conservatives.

Further, Bergson illustrates his theory with the case of a runner which can also be assumed for the case of the nineteenth century Ottomans. Accordingly, a man while running does not notice the obstacle on the road, and so does not change his speed; as a result he stumbles and falls. Here the comic is not that he falls, but his inelasticity and automatism which finally leads to his falling. That is, out of rigidity, his muscles continued to perform the same way, not adapting to the changing circumstances and resulted in fall.<sup>37</sup> This example Bergson gives, also explains Ottoman case. Accordingly, throughout all the humor periodicals of the nineteenth century, Ottoman Istanbul and residents are depicted as the runner who stumbles and most of the time falls, as they are unsuccessful in adapting to changing circumstances which were brought about by westernization and modernization. The same applied not only to individuals but also to the city itself including municipal services which all represented stumbling runners. “A mechanical element introduced into nature and an automatic regulation of society, such, then, are the two types of laughable effects”<sup>38</sup> This is observable such as in unsuccessful adaption of western way of transportation, and as a result was evident in deficient working or disfunctioning of public transportation services. Further, it was manifest in passenger’s rigidity and

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.42a.

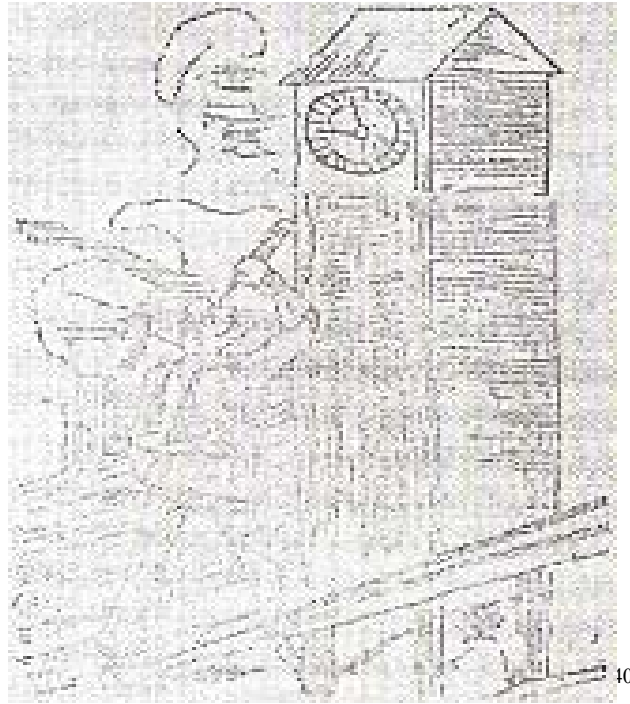
<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p.9a.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.,p.5b.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 6a, 16b.



inelasticity in getting used to benefit from new transportation services appropriately. Such automatism of people can be illustrated by the situation depicted in humor magazine *Latife*, where comic emerges when passengers miss the train, as they are still acting in accordance with the old time system not being able to adapt to newly introduced *á la franga* saat or western time system.<sup>39</sup>In another instance, Ottomans find the westernized clock towers ridiculous as shown below cartoon published in *Latife* and depicting a man with a field glass trying to check the time on the clock tower:



Similar arguments were also made by Georgeon, stating that Ottoman humor in magazines of the nineteenth century was based on three elements: clashing of traditional with the new, malfunctioning or disfunctioning of new adaptations, and the mechanical behaviors.<sup>41</sup> Though Bergson's theory proves useful in analysis of Ottoman case, it bears some questions in mind. First of all, in Ottoman's case, humor periodicals were the voice rather of a conservative tendency, which was for the most of the time directed against the unsociable novelties. Nonetheless, Bergson formulated his theory to show that ridicule's target was rigidity, inability in adapting to new, and against maintaining old habits which are not consistent with

<sup>39</sup> *Latife*, issue 10, September 21, 1874, pp.3-4.

<sup>40</sup> *Latife*, issue 36, June 23, 1291/ 1875, p. 140.

<sup>41</sup> François Georgeon, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Gülmek Mi? : Doğu'da Mizah* ( İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007 ),p.92.

requirements of society. On the other hand, according to this theory, laughter functions as a disciplinary tool which corrects the behaviors which are socially inappropriate and constitute an incongruity to social circumstances. Therefore, as Billig puts it, Bergson's theory has a tension in itself, the tension between conservatism and radicalism.<sup>42</sup> Besides, Bergson in his theory does not support obedience to all the social circumstances. For instance, he thinks that vanity, even if it was a natural product of social life was an obstacle in society, and which could be resolved through laughter.<sup>43</sup> Further, even if Bergson never used the term conservatism and his theory did not seem to propose a kind of laughter which promotes conservatism, his theory can still be interpreted as involving conservatism as well. First of all, he implies that unsociable is regarded as "unsociable" with reference to established norms of society, for example, when stating that comic has to "...bring itself into accord with society."<sup>44</sup> Therefore, overcoming unsociability might also mean not acting in violation of established rules of society. Rigidity of individuals to conform to the values and norms of society turns unsociable and provokes laughter in conservative interpretation of Bergson's theory.

To conclude, his theory cannot be taken, as treating laughter in a position completely serving as the voice of social innovation defenders or of radicals only, neither of conservatism. Yet it could be interpreted as conservative theory in Ottoman context. As Billig well describes that Bergson's theory in general involves conservatism in that society needs to impose its codes and rules on the individuals in order to provide social coherence, and so adults transfer those codes and rules to next generations. Hence, laughter conservatively functions in the point that it prevents violations of codes and rules in society which may result in unsociability.<sup>45</sup> Besides, as it will be discussed during the content analysis of Ottoman humor magazines, some novelties were under criticism in that they were deficiently implemented and novelty was sometimes supported if only implemented correctly. On the other hand, some implementations of novelties were opposed in that; they were not in accord with the society, thus constituting incongruity to the society. In such cases, ridicule promoted maintenance of old ways at the expense of new implementations. Ridicule

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<sup>42</sup> Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule*, 2005: p. 131.

<sup>43</sup> Bergson, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*, n.d.: p. 53b.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.a.

<sup>45</sup> Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule*, 2005: p. 132.

which is found in humor magazines under question, and which is with such corrective or instructive objectives, also involved satire or *hiciv* blended with wit. Above mentioned theories of humor have some parallelism and relation with those of *satire* in the same periods, besides satire involves wit. Therefore, it needs to be treated separately which would also support disciplinary or didactic functions humor periodicals.

Even if polemical it is supposed that the word satire derives from both Greek Satyr and Roman phrase *lanx satura* which means “full platter of mixed fruits and nuts” and which refers to the satire as miscellany without a specific form. *Satura* referred to Roman verse satire of such a kind. On the other hand, there was Greek tradition of Satyr, which was referred by Elizabeth theorists to a wilder kind of satire. Yet, as Dustin Griffin puts it, there was a misunderstanding on the nature of Greek Satyr and Satyr Plays. It was not Greek but the Romans depicted satyr as half human and half goat. Besides, Greek Satyr Play was not that wild or bitter but it was based on comic and parody.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, as Graf quotes, Cicero perceived Roman satire as wittier than Athenian wit and in support of which Roman philosopher Quintilian contends that it was Romans who invented satire.<sup>47</sup>

If the etymology is set aside, significant aspect of classical theories of satire for the present study is Roman heritage of emphasis on satire’s moral function. To begin with, Classical theory on Satire represented by Lucilius, Horace, Quintilian, Persius, and Juvenal who were the most noticeable Roman satirists and theorists of classical world and they perceived satire as a tool of morality. Horace defined satire as laughing at follies of man and focused on moral satire or censure of abuses.<sup>48</sup> Roman Grammarian Diomedes also defined satire as a “carp at human vices.”<sup>49</sup> Accordingly, both Quintilian and Cicero urged for the limits of wit to make it socially acceptable. It is linked with Cicero’s idea that function of wit is to correct deformity originating from social deviation which can be corrected via a socially acceptable wit.<sup>50</sup> Again there is the same urge for humor with propriety as to make it efficient as a correction

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<sup>46</sup> Dustin Griffin, “Theories of Satire in Polemical Context,” *Satire: A Critical Reintroduction* (Kentucky: Western University Press of Kentucky, 1994), pp.7-11.

<sup>47</sup> Fritz Graf, “Cicero, Plautus and Roman Laughter,” in *A Cultural History of Humour*, ed., Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburgh (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), p.29.

<sup>48</sup> Griffin, *Theories of Satire*: 1994: p.7.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p.9.

<sup>50</sup> Graf, *Cicero, Plautus and Roman Laughter*, 1997:p.31.

device and which is in parallelism with Ottoman humor understanding of the nineteenth century as already repeated before. Also there is the emphasis on wit as constituting satire, which shows gentle character of Roman satire as rather in the form of wit and does with propriety and aimed at instruction. Further, influence of Roman satire tradition in *Spectator* is also manifest in that Addison and Steele included verses by Horace and Juvenal in magazine's first pages. This further supports that moral concern of wit and satire was central to Addison's *Spectator*, similar to first Ottoman humor magazines.

The next theory which is also significant is Dryden's theory of satire. Dryden's novelty is that he questioned how satire should be and accordingly he set the rules for "true satire." Asserting that satire as an art only can be found in Romans whereas Greek satire was in its nature or rude form, so the satire followed a progressive line. One of the rules he set for true satire is that he added a didactic function to satire. Accordingly, he argued for a satire through which satirist should teach the readers moral virtue and urged them against vices. As shown in eighteenth century Britain reflections on satire also included moral and didactic concerns. When it comes to twentieth century, significant contribution was the model developed by Mary Claire Randolph that satire consisted of two parts; Part A included satirist's rebuke of vice, whereas Part B presented an urge for opposite virtue. This idea dated back to Dryden and the model suited to verse satire, and not to all the other types. In addition it shows that the didactic aspect was confirmed by this theory.<sup>51</sup>

Hence, didactic function was intrinsic to satire through classical times, even if with the advance of modernity satire changes its nature as will be explained in the following chapter. Not extending the account into more current theories of humor and satire, it is worth summarizing the major points so far treated. Through the historical investigation of humor philosophy some parallelisms between theory and praxis are established. First, roughly speaking, superiority theorists take ugliness or inferiority as the subject of humor and explain laughter as a pleasure arising from the feeling of superiority, which might in some way apply to laughter at westernized fops, or imitators of west in Ottoman context. However, superiority did not touch on the moral functions or social uses of humor, except for a way of showing

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<sup>51</sup> Griffin, *Theories of Satire*, 1994: pp.6-34.

disapproval. In the case of incongruity theory, the fact that laughter emerged from incongruity and that some theorists in particular Hutcheson, touched on moral effects of humor, specifically those of wit and ridicule in correcting incongruities, reflect the spirit of the time and in parallelism with the eighteenth century English comic papers, in terms of their style, form and functions. By similar grounds, incongruity theory also fits into the context of Ottoman humor magazines of the first period. As well as incongruity, Bergson's theory is the most relevant one for consideration as it proposed a social use of humor as a disciplinary tool from a conservative point of view. Therefore, both theories are helpful in explaining the laughter in nineteenth century humor magazines.

When Ottoman humor understanding is also incorporated into analysis, its parallelisms with the western philosophy of humor might be apparent. Besides, parallelisms between British humor magazines and Ottoman ones could be established in terms of their aimed functions in support of the contention that first Ottoman humor magazines of nineteenth century were moral weeklies which were aimed to be didactic tools, shaped by morality and conservatism. With respect to Ottoman understanding of humor in detail, it is worth starting with terminology. "What did the nineteenth century Ottomans understand from the terms humor and satire?" and "how and through what sub-terms did they categorize humor?" Besides, it will be shown that definition of category, into which to locate Ottoman periodicals under question is a problematic one, which leads to further problems when if translation into English is the case.

### **Ottoman Humor Understanding**

In contemporary Turkish, *mizah* is the term corresponding to humor, and thus similar to humor, *mizah* is also used in a wider sense today. Though, in line with that humor had a different meaning at the eighteenth century English, *mizah* was also corresponded by different terms in nineteenth century Ottoman Turkish. As stated before, the fact that at eighteenth century English writers used humor to refer only to comic originating from the character, and whereas wit originated from playing with the words, is also evident in Redhouse's Ottoman Turkish to English/ English to Ottoman Turkish dictionary dated 1882. For the definition of humor Redhouse lists following words: *khuy*, *khulk*, *tabi'at*, all of which refers to character in meaning.

Same applies to an additional entry for humor which is *hilt* or *halt* in modern Turkish.<sup>52</sup> *Hilt* means mess, and refers to a specific kind of humor in which comic situation emerges from the person or the character itself who is the creator of comic at the same time, as the creator of mess, as different from other types of *mizah*.<sup>53</sup> Yet, as for the English definition of the word *mizah* (or *müzah* originally) listed terms are fun, a joke, a jest.<sup>54</sup> For the definition of wit in Ottoman Turkish, entry given is *letāfet*, or clever saying<sup>55</sup> and witty is defined as *nükteli*.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Şemsettin Sami, leading Ottoman Turkish lexicographer also recorded the entries for *mizah* as *şaka*, *latife*, *eğlence*,<sup>57</sup> all of which respectively correspond to the terms joke, wit, amusement, which are consistent with Redhouse's lexical entry. All shows that, today's corresponding terms of *mizah* and humor were not overlapping in meaning when translated at the nineteenth century. Further, it is shown that at the nineteenth century Ottoman lexical definitions, wit corresponded to *mizah*. In parallelism with British definitions in eighteenth century, Ottomans also distinguished between wit and humor. Similarly, in Ottoman definition humor originated from the comic character, whereas in wit, or *nükte* comic emerged from clever sayings through playing of ideas and words. This also supports the argument that Ottoman humor magazines of nineteenth century were not the publications of *satire* or humor but of wit like *The Spectator* magazine. Lexical definitions are supported by the fact that today's term *mizah* in Ottomans corresponded by the terms "*Hezliyat, Şathiyat, mizah*." These three words in modern Turkish corresponded to joke; jest; raillery; unserious saying; a type of literary writing fancied with wit, banter, and antithesis; and comic anecdotes.<sup>58</sup> In Ottoman Turkish dictionary by Şemseddin Sami, the terms *Hezliyat* and *Şathiyat* (pl.) are given as synonyms, and defined as "poems, stories or sayings involving joke and *mizah*."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>J. W. Redhouse, *Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary: In Two Parts, English and Turkish, Turkish and English*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Edited by Charles Wells (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1882), p.153.

<sup>53</sup> Ferit Öngören, *Cumhuriyet'in 75. Yılında Türk Mizahı ve Hicvi*, 5. Baskı ( Ankara, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1998 ), p.31.

<sup>54</sup> Redhouse, 1882: p. 783.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p. 376.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, p.377.

<sup>57</sup> Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-i Türki*, (Dersaadet/ İstanbul: İkdam Matbaası, 1318/1902),p. 1330.

<sup>58</sup> Cemal Kutay, *Nelere Gülerlerdi* ( İstanbul: Aksoy Yayıncılık, 1998 ), p.9.

<sup>59</sup> Şemseddin Sami, 1902:p.1508.

The term satire corresponds to *hiciv* (*hijv*) in today's Turkish. *Hiciv* derives from Arabic term *Hidjā* which means invective or insult or satire in prose or verse.<sup>60</sup> As for Redhouse's definition at nineteenth century; English term satire again corresponded to *hijv* (*hiciv*) in Turkish.<sup>61</sup> Regarding the definition of *hijv* in English, Redhouse again provided the same entry, satire and additionally "to satirize" as the act of satirizing. Also, for *hijviyyat* (plural form of *hijv*), listed corresponding terms are satires, lampoons, and satirical pieces of poetry.<sup>62</sup> Further, in the same dictionary, definition given for the word lampoon is *hijv*.<sup>63</sup> That yields two results: first, satire and lampoon were distinguished in their English meaning, whereas both terms corresponded to a single word, *hijv* in Ottoman Turkish.

In conclusion, in nineteenth century Ottomans, as well as today, satire and *hijv* had the same meaning and they can be taken as referring to a single genre both in English and Turkish. Definition of the word wit was also overlapping with Ottoman definition as *nükte* or *latife*. However, the same does not apply today's corresponding words *mizah* and humor. Accordingly, as complexness of vocabulary implies, categorizing of periodicals under consideration is problematic. Another question is whether the categorization should be based on today's terminology or on historical one that is, the terminology contemporary to nineteenth century? The problem gets more complicated, if translation of the terms into English to refer to genre is the case. Resulting polemical point is pertaining to whether to label them as satirical gazettes, or as humor magazines.

In Ottoman humor magazines under question, satire or *hiciv* was also applied as blended with wit, and with a gentle tone, and was aimed at social or limitedly political criticism. Besides, as already mentioned, nineteenth century lexical definitions of the term *mizah* or humor did not cover satire or *hijv* but joke and wit. The same applies to today's dictionary definitions that is *mizah* and *hijv* are given as separate genres. So as to overcome difficulty in categorizing magazines, also literary definitions should be considered. Contrary to dictionary entries, in today's literary definition, *hijv* or satire, even if taken as a separate form, is covered under *mizah* as it

<sup>60</sup> "Hidjā" *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Brill Online, 2012. [Reference](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hidja-COM_0284). Bogazici University. 06 May 2012 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hidja-COM\\_0284](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hidja-COM_0284)>

<sup>61</sup> Redhouse, 1882: p.278.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*,p.859.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*,p.172.

is employed as blended with other forms of humor. The same applies to Ottoman genre definition as well. In support of this, according to Hilmi Yücebaşı, Ottoman *mizah* meant various forms such as *hicv*, *şathiyat*, *zevkiyat*, *mutayebat*, *mudhike*, *fıkra*, *nükte*, *latife*, *espri*<sup>64</sup> which included both satire and wit. Therefore, whether a certain literary piece can be considered as satire or humor is not distinguishable, and in many cases such an attempt to distinguish makes no sense. In Ottoman humor periodicals which had emerged by 1850s, anything of which, it is possible to make a ridicule of, is covered in subject scope of *mizah*. Further, in modern Turkish literary definition also, *mizah* again covers all forms of humor and satire. Therefore, based on both today's and Ottoman's literary definition, it is appropriate to refer also to satirical pieces generally as forms of *mizah*. Within the limits of this research, it is not known when *mizah* acquired such embracing literary meaning also to include *hicv* or satire. Still, an assumption based Schopenhauer's contention could be made that, upon the emergence of press in nineteenth century, with the intermingling of court and folk literature in humor magazines also as parallel to Ottoman intellectual's attempt to meet little and elite culture, *mizah* might have come to mean *hicv* or satire as well.

Accordingly, in many researches, nineteenth century Ottoman Periodicals under question were usually labeled as humor magazines or as *Mizah Mecmuaları* in general. Such a labeling is also in compliance with historical categorization of magazines. First of all, in the case of *Tiyatro* (1874 – 57) and *Latife* (1875- 76), on the top of both gazettes, there appears the statement *haftada iki defa neşr olunur eğlence gazetesidir* which means “twice weekly published amusement gazette”. This statement is found in many periodicals of the identical genre of nineteenth century. That in lexical definition *mizah* meant wit and amusement and that *mizah* as a literary form, also covered satire and all sorts of humor which can be categorized under amusement might explain why publishers chose to describe the publication as amusement.

Another explanation might be the censorship and strict control of the government over the press. Both Ottoman government and traditions approved such magazines provided that they are published with just amusement and didactic aims

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<sup>64</sup> Hilmi Yücebaşı, *Türk Mizahçıları, Nüktedanlar ve Şairler* (İstanbul: Ahmet Halit Kitabevi: 1958 ), p.3.; Öngören, *Türk Mizahı ve Hicvi*, 1998: p.31.



and with propriety. Thus, satire, in particular the political satire, was not allowed and to include political satire usually ended up with jail or the banning of magazine. Accordingly, for the publishers, labeling their content “as amusement gazettes” could be a way of escaping censorship, or a way of legitimizing the content so that they could also include satirical elements under mask of amusement. In addition, “amusement” label provides another hint for defining the sort of satire employed in these periodicals that is, a type of satire which does not involve much insult or injury and is blended with other forms of humor. First Ottoman humor magazines employed rather Roman rhetorical satire. As already explained Roman satirists regarded satire as a moral tool. Eventually, Quintilian as well Cicero urged for the limits of satire in order to make it socially acceptable. Besides, *Spectator* as a moral weekly was also influenced by Roman satire as stated before. Another significant conclusion, that these gazettes were labeled as *mizah* gazettes, supports the main argument of this study that first humor magazines were moral weeklies like publications of wit such as *The Spectator*. First of all, as already shown Ottoman dictionary definition of *mizah* corresponded to wit, amusement and joke, not to satire. Given that publishers coined them as “amusement gazette” and *mizah* meant amusement as well as wit in its historical lexical definition; and that these gazettes did not include a harsh satire but limitedly Roman rhetorical satire, and rather based on wit; besides *mizah* also covered satire as a literary form at present as well as at the nineteenth century; it is appropriate to coin first Ottoman humor magazines as “*mizah* periodicals”, or “*mizah* magazines” in general.

As for the translation of *Mizah* Magazine into English, it is again more appropriate to label them as humor magazines. In contemporary English, humor and satire are definitely two separate literary forms. Satire at present is defined as a dramatic form, which censured follies, vices and other shortcomings through ridicule, derision and irony.<sup>65</sup> As for humor, it is generally defined as any stimulation which causes laughter.<sup>66</sup> Further, because satire is also applied in Ottoman *mizah* magazines, in some studies, these periodicals were translated as “Satirical Gazettes.” As one of them, Palmira Brummet translates *mizah* magazines as satirical periodicals in her study; along with her acknowledgement that *mizah* as a literary form is

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<sup>65</sup> “Satire”, *Encyclopedia Britannica Online Academic Edition*, Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 2012, Web

<sup>66</sup> “Humour” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online Academic Edition*, Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 2012, Web.

sometimes identified by wit or amusement. She explains why she chooses the term *satire* and calls related periodicals as *satirical gazettes*, in three points. First, periodicals she focused on belonged to Revolutionary Press. That is published in the climate of 1908 Revolution, content was political, so should be translated as satirical. Secondly, wit and amusement were lighter forms which did not involve political criticism. Lastly, as she focused on the images, narratives and cartoons which are satirical, she deliberately used the term satirical.<sup>67</sup>

Nevertheless, first period of humor press, differ from Revolutionary Press in many points. First humor magazines were under strict censorship, and rather abstained from politics and focused on social vices instead with a didactic tone. Besides they are not published in the atmosphere of revolution. Therefore, as already been mentioned, the form of satire found in first humor magazines of nineteenth century were rather gentle, as it is blended with *wit* and joke, and with propriety as moral and didactic concern of first Ottoman humor magazines requires it to rather to be based on *wit*. Even if satire is applied, it was tempered with *wit*. All contributes to the idea that first Ottoman humor magazines were moral weeklies, that is, publications of *wit*, as in the same line with *Spectator*. Further, as stated before, in today's definition humor and satire are separate and former has an embracing meaning. Thereof, it is better to call them humor magazines, not as satirical pieces. Accordingly, this study is based on the term humor and here any form causing laughter is generally referred as humor.

Up to this point, lexical and genre definitions were investigated. Similar to English philosophical speculations on humor, Ottoman writers also investigated humor or *mizah* in philosophical terms. Though, compared to western philosophy, in Ottomans or in Turkish literature, humor is little speculated in philosophical terms. Based on limits and the findings of this research, it could be contended that, a limited number of Ottoman writers treated humor without developing any certain theories. Besides, it should be noted that this observation is made only based on the available literature in Ottoman Turkish. Considering the fact that, humor magazines were initiated in Ottoman lands by Armenians, and there is a considerable body of literature in other languages by non-muslim *millets* of Ottomans, there should be

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<sup>67</sup> Palmira Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: 1908-1911* (New York: 2000), pp.17-8.

works about humor understanding in those languages which also needs investigation. Nonetheless, owing to the language inabilities, those sources could not be covered under this research.

Leading Ottoman satirists and humor writers who contributed to the content of nineteenth century Humor periodicals are Hagop Baronian, Teodor Kasap, Namık Kemal, Mehmet Tevfik, Ebuzziya Tevfik, and Ali Bey. Hagop Baronian was both the publisher and the writer of articles published in *Tiyatro* which is one of the periodicals this study focused on. Baronian was at the same time the editor of *Meghu*, which is the first Humor Periodical published in Ottomans. Hagop Baronian was also a leading satirist of both Armenian community and Ottomans in general. Thus, his approaches to humor shed light on Ottoman understanding of humor governing both Armenian communities in particular, and Ottomans in general.

Regarding humor understanding, considered issues were what humor was; what should be true humor; what are the functions, effects or objective of humor in the context of humor press. As it is underlined when discussing western humor philosophy before, there is a parallelism between approaches in humor philosophy and the circumstances of the period. Second parallelism was the one between theory and praxis. As quoted before eighteenth century British philosophers' and writers' reflections on moral effects of humor, and their perception of humor as a disciplinary tool was parallel to the morality concerns in humor press, as in the case of *Spectator*. In the case of Ottomans, circumstances shaping ideology and so humor understanding can be defined as the state of *şarivari* or *le charivari* which is defined in French to Turkish dictionaries as 1. Showing discontent through playing tin cans or by booing in front of someone's house. 2. Rumpus. 3. Discord of sounds.<sup>68</sup> In the context of Ottoman humor periodicals, it was also defined as *yuhalama*,<sup>69</sup> that is booing. However, the third definition as discordance also applies to Ottoman context, as the discord originating from coexistence of traditional and the new which were brought together in modernization process. Also an Ottoman humor magazine was named *Şarivari-i Medeniyet*,<sup>70</sup> which could be translated as the state of *Şarivari* as a

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<sup>68</sup> Mehmet Ali Ağakay, *Fransızca -Türkçe Sözlük* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi,1962),p.116.

<sup>69</sup> Kutay, *Nelere Gülerlerdi*, 1998: p. 67.

<sup>70</sup> Mehmet Ârif Efendi, ed., *Şarivar-i Medeniyet*, 1874, published issues 1-5. See :Hasan Duman, *Başlangıcından harf devrimine kadar Osmanlı-Türk süreli yayınlar ve gazeteler bibliyografyası ve toplu kataloğu, 1828-1928* (Ankara : Enformasyon ve Dökümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, 2000 ).

bringing of social and cultural westernization in nineteenth century Ottomans. Circumstances of the period also shape humor understanding and contribute to considering moral or disciplinary function of humor.

First of all, in line with Aristotle, Hobbes, Descartes, Hutcheson, and Schopenhauer, Ottoman writers also signified propriety of humor and thereof they distinguished between buffoon and witty in terms of tactfulness. From among writers of later period, Refi Cevad Ulunay (1890- 1968), defined humor as wit and tactfulness which annoys but at the same time amuses the butt of humor. Similarly, Refik Halit Karay (1888 – 1965) pointed to the moral side of humor production stating that mizah should have propriety not to cause too much pain in the butt of *mizah*.<sup>71</sup> Cenap Şahabettin (1870- 1934) in his article titled *Mizah Felsefesi* “Philosophy of Humor” underlined that humor writer should not overdo humor. That is, humor writers should produce humor with morality, propriety, tactfulness and they should avoid extreme buffoon, or boor. As well as urging for appropriate humor writing, he also urged for appropriate caricatures. Caricatures should correctly depict what it tries to depict in order not to exceed the limits of morality.<sup>72</sup> Such emphasis of writers on propriety of humor production is interrelated with their ideological viewpoints. As quoted before, Hutcheson believed that for the correction of vices, ridicule can be used as long as good intention behind ridicule is showed to the ridiculed.

This emphasis on true humor carries the discussion to the other point of consideration within Ottoman philosophy of humor, which is what should be the functions of humor. Ottoman writers did not use the “term” function, but they meant it when discussing the effects or objectives of humor and laughter. In parallelism with eighteenth century British humorists, Ottoman humor writers perceived humor and caricature as an instructive or corrective tool. Accordingly, it is stated that humor writers should always watch out for the vices in society and show them to the audience by censuring for their correction. Therefore, they urged for the elements required for humor as to make it an effective device. For a humor writing or

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<sup>71</sup> Yücebaş, *Türk Mizahçıları*, 1958: p.6.

<sup>72</sup> Cenap Şahabettin “Mizah Felsefesi,” in Yücebaş, *Türk Mizahçıları*, 1958: p. 122.

caricature to be effective, it should be articulated with propriety and tactfulness, so not causing hatred but a kind encouragement towards the good.<sup>73</sup>

The fact that, Ottoman Humor philosophy as such which is emphasizing propriety elements and moral aspects of humor and tasking it with a duty of instruction, was also shaped by Islamic tradition and the Ottoman rules of etiquette or *Adab-ı Muaşeret*. In Islam, jokes, laughing are welcomed provided that they serve to good ends such as amusement and mirth. On the other hand, the kind of laughing originating from humiliating and mocking and the mockery itself were banned. Similarly, Ottoman Etiquette rules are against excess of humor, and distinguish between *mizah* and *istihza*,<sup>74</sup> that is between humor and mockery because former creates friendship while the latter leads to hatred and hostility. The fact that Islam welcomed humor with good ends, paved the way for the formation and popularity of a humor tradition in Islamic culture. This tradition included various forms, all aimed at both relaxation and “instruction towards morality” as Georgeon also underlines.<sup>75</sup> Such a humor understanding of Ottomans putting humorists in an observer’s position, and tasking humor with the duty of moral instruction, is also evident in the minutes of Ottoman Assembly, when the censorship over Ottoman humor press is discussed. In this session, humor press was described as a tool for instruction for morals, and criticizing of vices through wit.<sup>76</sup> It shows that Ottoman humor understanding as such, with emphasis on wit and moral instruction, has a share with incongruity theory and with eighteenth century British humor understanding found in *The Spectator Magazine*.

In Ottoman case, one of the Ottoman humorists in spectator position was *Tiyatro*’s editor, Hagop Baronian. Kevork B. Bardakjian, in his work titled “Baronian’s political and social satire” studied on Baronian’s satirical works to outline the social and political ideas of Baronian. It is evident from Baronian’s literary works that he was rather considered with social and political issues. His perception that Armenian community in particular and Ottoman community in general was in decline as a

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 88-92.

<sup>74</sup> M. Said. ( 1297/1882 ),*Ahlak-ı Hamide*, İstanbul.” Adab-ı Zarafat-i Şarkiye or Muaşeret-i Fazıla-ı Osmaniye”. Malumat, no:1-14,1895. in François Georgeon, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Gülmek Mi?. Doğu’da Mizah* ( İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), 2007.pp.89-90.

<sup>75</sup> Georgeon, *Doğuda Mizah*,2007:p.90.

<sup>76</sup> Hakkı Tarık Us,ed., *Meclis-i Mebusan 1293:1877 Zabıt Ceridesi* v:1, i:25 ( İstanbul: Gazete Matbaa Kütüphanesi, 1939 ), p.212.

result of westernization<sup>77</sup> shaped his philosophy of humor. This was reflected in *Tiyatro* magazine through which he made a social criticism about over westernization and conveyed his idea that Ottoman public needed reform.<sup>78</sup> Similar content and ideology is found in *Latife* and all other humor periodicals of the nineteenth century Ottomans. This also supports the idea that with the introduction of humor press, Ottoman humor tradition evolved towards a more criticism oriented humor.<sup>79</sup>

With the increased influence of westernization, Ottoman society was experiencing the new in many spheres of life, such as newly introduced urban habits, public transportation, fashion, theatre, and press. New and the conventional ways constituted incongruity to one another. Therefore, as it has been detailed before, theory of incongruity well explains humorous context of Ottomans. In such a context, humorists as spectators sought to correct incongruities to manage social congruity. Ottoman context of humor understanding as such again reminds of Bergson's theory that:

“Every small society that forms within the larger is thus impelled, by a vague kind of instinct, to devise some method of discipline or "breaking in," so as to deal with the rigidity of habits that have been formed elsewhere and have now to undergo a partial modification. Society, properly so-called, proceeds in exactly the same way. Each member must be ever attentive to his social surroundings; he must model himself on his environment...”<sup>80</sup>

Bergson explains humor as unsociability, which the society was laughing at, and here the ridicule served as a way of interruption to correct the imperfection. On the other hand, Bergson's theory is generally interpreted as of an innovational or radical voice. That is, for many times he emphasizes the rigidity, automatism, and mechanical inelasticity in adapting to new required ways as the cause of unsociability and so the laughter. However, as explained before, his theory can also be interpreted as involving conservatism too, as it is evident in above given quotation that it was rather the failure of individuals in modeling themselves on their social

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<sup>77</sup> Kevork B. Bardakjian; “Hagop Baronian's Political and Social Satire”(Ph.D .diss., Oxford University, 1978 ),pp.236 -238.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, pp.300-6.

<sup>79</sup> Georgeon, *Doğuda Mizah*, 2007: p. 92.

<sup>80</sup> Bergson, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*, n.d: p.42.a

environment. Further, his statement that “man must live in society, and consequently submit to the rules” in support of his theory, is a further clue for a conservative interpretation. Additionally, Bergson’s theory can be applied to Ottoman context both as a conservative and innovational theory, depending on the topics. For instance, in the case of public transportation, sticking to conventional habits was ludicrous. For instance, passengers’ failure in adapting to ticket system and, their suggesting conventional payment methods were ridiculed. However, with respect to the topic of fashion, there was a conservative implication behind the comic. Still, Bergson’s theory proves useful in explaining Ottoman case by supporting the idea that Ottoman humor periodicals served as a control mechanism, trying to correct and discipline the imperfections. As a matter of fact, an adaptation of Bergson’s theory into Ottoman case was also previously actualized by Mustafa Şekib in 1921. In work titled *Gülmek nedir ve kime gülüyoruz?*, he discussed the power and the role of laughter in social control.<sup>81</sup>

All in all, Ottoman humor philosophy similar to European counterparts had been evolving and this evolution appeared as rather like a shift from carnival laughter of Rabelais, to intellectual humor of incongruity theory. To make it clear, in the case of previous humor traditions, such as *Orta Oyunu*, Shadow Theatre of *Karagöz* and *Hacivat*, comic were rather originating from parodies, word plays and rather from the character. Humor as such was rather aimed at amusement even if not limited to which. Thus, previously Ottomans, through theatrical traditions of humor, were rather laughing as a result of what superiority theorists explained as originating from the feeling of superiority, or the inferiority of the comic character. Though, such elements which can be explained through superiority theory still can be found in nineteenth century humor periodicals, such as in the common theme of westernized fop. Though, with the coming of humor press literature gained public and owing to the growing social problems in modernization process, comic originating from playing of ideas and wit gained significance. Elements of criticism, and consciousness were incorporated into the humor. It was in parallelism with eighteenth century Britain where wit had priority. Also as shown, the wit originating from the playing of ideas was considered more significant when compared to one

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<sup>81</sup> Mustafa ( Tunç ) Şekib, [ 1337/1921 ] , *Gülmek Nedir ve Kime Gülüyoruz?* ( İstanbul: n.p. n.d.), cited in Georgeon, *Doğuda Mizah*: 2007, p. 98.

formed by playing with the words. Hence, it was in connection with morality and instructive concerns of humor in British counterpart as well. The fact that Ottoman public humor was evolved from such less elaborate forms of humor into a higher form of humor in literary terms, also reminds of Schopenhauer's description of the case in Germany. Whereas previously satire or *hijv* and wit as the higher literary forms of humor were rather associated with *divan* literature or the court, now such elaborate humor was extended into public through being incorporated into the public forms of humor. As a result, satire or *hijv*, in its form combined with folk humor, had lost its complexity, in order to be received by general audience. It was like a shift from "humor for high culture" to "humor for popular culture." This shift was linked with the ideological concerns of English humor writers of eighteenth century and Ottoman writers of nineteenth century as well.

To summarize, in line with the ideological concerns, nineteenth century Ottoman humor understanding was shaped by conservatism and morality concern, especially in the face of a clash between the conventional and the new. Therefore, first Ottoman humor magazines' laughter can be explained rather by the theories of incongruity and Bergson's theory of unsociability. Accordingly, wit was employed, rather than satire to make magazines serve to good ends, to manage their instructive and didactic aims. Ideology of traditional society brought ethical humor to the fore. That was, in some way as explained by Adorno, a result of dominant class' or old strata's reaction against pre-modern conditions, through the theme of moral decay. As Adorno further signifies that "up to Voltaire, satire was always on the side of stronger party,"<sup>82</sup> so did the first generation of Ottoman humor magazines by channelizing dominant class's ideology of conservatism with a discourse of moral decay. Therefore, similar to humor understanding in British moral or comic weeklies of the eighteenth century, Ottoman humor philosophy up to the nineteenth century favored witticism and didactic humor which was reflected in humor press similarly appearing with instructive tone. Such parallelism with Europe, together with the influence of humor philosophy on humor press might be more apparent in the next part dealing with the humor magazines within the larger frame of press.

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<sup>82</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections on a Damaged Life* (London, Verso: 2005), pp. 209-10.



### I.II. “Ottoman Spectators” or “Istanbul Charivari”?

Emergence of Ottoman humor periodicals in the context of press is worth an investigation in politics, public sphere, economic and social dimensions. Such an approach would reveal that ideology, censorship, westernization, and emergence of press as a part of a new public sphere all contributed to the role of press in channeling didactic conservative ideologies of nineteenth century through humor magazines. Thus, humor press was shaped by a new humor understanding which was in evolution towards social criticism, accordingly addressing and necessitating a more conscious and critical audience.

In the analysis of humor press, starting question could be what conditions prepared the emergence of press? When compared to European counterpart, as the forerunners of press and humor press in particular, there is some parallelism with, so such a comparison would be reasonable in better understanding of Ottoman case. In this chapter it is sought to reveal that Ottoman humor periodicals of the nineteenth century, were rather moral weeklies in parallelism with eighteenth century British ones, and the most typical and a prominent of which was *Spectator* (1711), edited by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. Not long after the first moral weekly, a tri-weekly *Tatler* in 1709 and flowingly daily *Spectator* in 1711 published in London, other moral weeklies which are modeled on *Spectator*, released in France and Germany, respectively, *Spectateur français* (1722), and *Vernunftler* (1713).<sup>83</sup> In Ottomans, it would wait until the nineteenth century when the first humor magazine or Ottoman Spectators would be published. The first one, *Meghu* published in 1856 was at the same time a morality magazine, but its successor *Tiyatro*, and other humor magazines of the first period were much typical of *Spectator*. In that vein, *Meghu* can be compared to the first years of *Tatler*, which similarly included topics related with commerce, politics as well as literature and amusement.<sup>84</sup>

*Tanzimat* novels were instructive because writers took the role of public mentor when public was in need of such a guide during sublime port's involving in

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<sup>83</sup>James Van Horn Melton, *Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (New Approaches to European History: 22), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001),p. 96.

<sup>84</sup>For more information about *Tatler's* topics, see: Richmond P. Bond, *Tatler: The Making of a Literary Journal* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971).

westernizing reforms.<sup>85</sup> Ottoman humor magazines emerged under the same conditions. Similarly, moral weeklies in Britain rose at a time when the cultural influence of the court had been diminished.<sup>86</sup> Again in Germany, moral weeklies had appeared in cities free from princely residence. In France, moral weeklies emerged when court's decisive role in cultural sphere had decreased. In the aftermath of restoration, Addison sought to “upheld religion and morality against unbelief and libertinism, attacked drunkenness and infidelity, and Puritan condemnation of Restoration morals” and intended to instruct its readers over the matters involving private realm.<sup>87</sup> Ottoman humor magazines or better to be called moral weeklies of *Tanzimat* period, included similar topics about private realm, sought at instruction through criticism, as which will be shown with cases of *Tiyatro* and *Latife* magazines. Thus, ideology was the first factor, and secondly public sphere and patronage relationships need to be considered regarding the emergence of moral weeklies. Even if a new public sphere had emerged as a part of press, traditional patronage relations continued. First Ottoman humor magazines, similar to eighteenth century British comic weeklies, abstained from political satire and rather included topics relating to literature and arts, as well as social issues, as they were still under the patronage of traditional ideology. Ottoman humor magazines which would be satirical in full sense, more emancipated from state control and so relatively free floating as a public commodity could only be emerged after 1908 with second constitution. So the argument of this study is that first Ottoman humor magazines of the nineteenth century were rather moral and amusement oriented publications similar to British comic weeklies of eighteenth century.

### **Eighteenth Century British Humor Press**

To start with European case, emergence of press in Britain and France dates back to seventeenth century. In the case of Britain, market economy providing physical links between London and provinces; higher literacy, growing prosperity among lower level of elites in society, print culture, all prepared the conditions for the emergence of press. First publications were newspapers which could rise after 1695

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<sup>85</sup> Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), pp.13-15.

<sup>86</sup> Melton, *Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 2001:p. 97.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, p. 96.

when the censorship was abolished.<sup>88</sup> Bob Harris mentions that the rise of news press in England is linked to the politics. It was during the intense political crisis in England at seventeenth century, in other words, it was when the political control is weak to prevent the appearance of newspapers. Postal service provided the distribution of newspapers in provinces. Similar to the case of the Ottomans, high cost was a restriction on the development of newspaper market. Purchaser would probably be middle class including merchants, shopkeepers, tradesman, manufacturers, and professionals and so majority of the populations probably could not afford to buy.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, as it was in Ottoman state, partly owing to affordability, in eighteenth century England newspapers were read out aloud in coffee houses which hosted a mixed society from various social ranks.<sup>90</sup> Similar to English history of press in France also starts as a news press, in 1631 when *Gazette de France* is founded. As for the readership, subscribers were nobility, bureaucrats and middle rank. Like in Britain growth and circulation of press and newspapers in France was enabled by the growth of middle class population and populations in towns. Interests and concerns of middle class shaped the content of newspapers.<sup>91</sup> This argument is usually linked with Habermas' theory on the formation of bourgeois public sphere which is subject to a separate discussion.

Habermas articulated the idea that public changed its meaning with the introduction of mass media. Previously, meaning of public was limited to usages such as “public” which means “open to all people”; or “public building” which means a building embodying state institutions.<sup>92</sup> Accordingly, the first public was constituted by town and court. Around the middle of seventeenth century, first coffee house was opened in England which increased the dominance of town to constitute public sphere. Coffee houses were at the beginning, critics of art and literature. With the introduction of mass media which enabled a public communication, publicity emerged together with a new kind of public functioning as critics of politics. That is, to the discussions about arts and literature, later added were discussions about

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<sup>88</sup>Bob Harris, *Historical Connections: Politics and the rise of the press, Britain and France, 1620-1800* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.6-9.

<sup>89</sup>Black, 1987a, pp.106-7, cited in Harris, *Historical Connections*, 1996.

<sup>90</sup> Harris, *Historical Connections*, 1996: p. 17.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, pp. 60-108.

<sup>92</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of bourgeoisie society, trans.*, Thomas Burger, with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1991), p.2.

economy and politics.<sup>93</sup> He links this development to bourgeois interests. It was the institutionalization of a “bourgeois public sphere” through press, thus the owners of commodities and involvers of commodity exchange sought for their political rights through publicity. The aim was to debate in “public” over the rules governing “private” world of commodity exchange.<sup>94</sup> Habermas saw the emergence of press in seventeenth century Britain and France as a pre-condition for the formation of public space so for the formation of public opinion. However, what is significant for the present study is the relation of humor press to the new public sphere. It should also be noted that, here it is not intended to discuss when or to what extent a public sphere as independent from the state in meaning is actualized in the eighteenth century Britain or in the nineteenth century Ottomans when the press rose. There have been discussions pointing to “the normative idealness” of “public sphere” as a concept and arguing that appropriation of concept in historiography is a phantasy.<sup>95</sup> Yet, corrective character of papers and the continuing patronage relations supports the argument that this public sphere was under the domination of conservative ideology both in eighteenth century Britain and nineteenth century Ottomans. Further, for the Ottoman case, it has been showed that Ottoman public sphere was not independent from government control.<sup>96</sup> Habermas’s conception here is taken as a public sphere in the sense that a new sphere formed by the press for public intellectual involvement. Here it is also argued that this public sphere was governed by conservative ideology.

To start with, following the news press, humor press in Britain appeared in the form of comic papers, or moral weeklies, an early example of which is tri-weekly *Tatler* and daily *Spectator*, first issue of which was published by Joseph Addison in 1711.<sup>97</sup> *Spectator*, as stated before, was rather a work of wit. The fact that they were didactic publications addressing to public, was interrelated with the formation of a new public sphere. In the realm of reading, patronage of the court aristocracy in

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid, p. 32-3.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, pp.1-56.

<sup>95</sup> Cengiz Kırılı, "Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empire," in *Publics, Politics and Participation: Locating the Public Sphere in the Middle East and North Africa*. Edited by Seteney Shami (New York: SSR, 2009), pp. 177-180.

<sup>96</sup> Cengiz Kırılı, "Struggle Over Space: Coffee Houses of Ottoman: Istanbul, 1780-1845" (Ph.D .diss, Binghamton University, 2001).

<sup>97</sup> "The Spectator," *Encyclopedia Britannica Online Academic Edition*, Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 2012, Web.

literary production was taken over by the publisher in eighteenth century which made possible emergence of a serious reading by an interested public.<sup>98</sup> Writers were not anymore much depended on the aristocracy to finance their works nor did they have to write for the taste of aristocracy because with the introduction of the press, subscription formed the new basis of finance for the writers, so the new patrons become the publishers and the writers. Further through the press, literature was gaining public.<sup>99</sup> Public was emerging as a critical authority in the realm of literature as literature was emancipated from court or church control, which Habermas calls lay judgment. It was only with critical absorption of philosophy; literature and art that public could be enlightened through moral or comic weeklies, which were an important part of coffee house discussions. That the articles published in these weekly journals was written in conversational form aimed at being proximate to real conversation.<sup>100</sup> Habermas defined this situation as public holding up mirror to itself and coming to a self-understanding through entering into the literature as an object. Editor of *Spectator*, Addison considered himself as censure of manners and morals. Addison's essays, for instance, discussed charities and schools for the poor, improvement of education, and civilized forms of conduct, polemics against vices of gambling, fanaticism, emancipation of civic morality from moral theology, and emancipation of practical wisdom from the philosophy of scholars.<sup>101</sup> Didactic tone was common to many weeklies of eighteenth century England. According to Jeremy Black, one important feature of eighteenth century English periodicals was that, they were instructive. He further supports that comic weeklies such as *Spectator*, had a didactic tone which aimed at instruction of morals and social manners through literature.<sup>102</sup> Such ideological stances of comic weeklies are in parallelism with eighteenth century British humor philosophers, writers and incongruity theorists such as Francis Hutcheson as stated before. Joseph Addison was also a humor thinker and published philosophical discussions on humor in *Spectator* as well. Further the fact that wit constituted the major form of humor writing in comic weeklies was also

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<sup>98</sup> A. Hauser, *the Social History of Art*, 2:548 in Habermas, Jürgen, trans. Thomas Burger, with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of bourgeoisie society* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1991), p. 38.

<sup>99</sup> Dustin, Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.10-11.

<sup>100</sup> Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 1991: p. 42.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p.43.

<sup>102</sup> Jeremy Black, "English Enlightenment or Fillers? Improvement, Morality and Religion," *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 245-276.

interrelated with the views of incongruity theorists, who considered *wit* as a higher form of humor writing which could serve to didactic ends.

So the comic weeklies in the form of moral weeklies constituted the first phases of new public sphere which was still under traditional patronage. Even if Habermas underlines the change in the patronage relationships at the eighteenth century, it was a relative change and patronage system was still similar to the one at the seventeenth century as Griffin signifies.<sup>103</sup> Yet, when it comes to nineteenth century, with the political liberation of press, and when publishers could finance themselves through subscriptions to a greater extent and when advertisement funds were added by bourgeoisie, traditional patronage could be replaced as both financially and politically. Such a change in patronage relationships would make possible the formation of satirical periodicals in full sense, raising their voice freer than before, making critics which are not limited to literature and art as it was previously. That is, comic or moral weeklies like *Tatler* or daily *Spectator* were not prototype of humor magazines or satirical papers and neither did they include caricature which is considered to be a visual satire. Emergence of such a paper would be possible by the emergence of *Punch Magazine* on July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1841.<sup>104</sup> Creation of *Punch* grew out of an idea that a new work of wit including caricatures shall be published and be called *Punch or the London Charivari*.<sup>105</sup> As the name also implies that the idea of the publication was inspired by and named after French comic paper *Le Charivari* which had been published in 1832 and included caricatures. Accordingly, *Punch* would include satire on politics which was evident from the opening article of Mark Lemon, the publisher of *Punch*. It says that magazine aimed at laughter and attacking butts of radicals. Hence, first issues until 1857, was defined as the voice of oppressed against monarchy.<sup>106</sup>

To conclude, in eighteenth century Britain, with the emergence of press; formation of a new public sphere and of a critical public; and with a slight change in the patronage relationships, humorists could gain a new public. It was rather like an attempt to engage public with sublime humor in Schopenhauer's terms. Further, in philosophical terms, it was also a beginning of a transition from incongruity theory to

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<sup>103</sup> Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England*, 1996: p.10.

<sup>104</sup> Price, *A History of Punch*, 1957: p.19.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 354.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19 -46.

Bergson's social humor. In terms of press, it was a beginning of a shift from Addison's *Spectator* to *Punch* magazine. All made possible the evolution of humor towards a social and political criticism as embodied in newly emerged humor magazines addressing to a conscious and critical public. As for the first Ottoman humor magazines at nineteenth century, they were rather somewhere in between *Spectator* and *Punch*, but still typical of *Spectator*.

### **Ottoman Humor Press**

To the analysis of Ottoman Humor Periodicals, it is worth starting with the emergence of Ottoman press in general and then later narrowing down the topic to include humor press in particular. Similar to English case, in Ottomans pre-conditions which prepared the emergence of press, were politics, growth of wealth and populations in Istanbul, improved communications, increased level of literacy etc. Still, Habermas's theory of bourgeoisie public does not completely fit into the case of Ottomans. Definitely, press involved a new public sphere which involved a more consciousness and critical public towards social, cultural and political issues. Nonetheless, to what extent it was a bourgeoisie public sphere and if through which press served as a device for the bourgeoisie interests is questionable and which is not attempted to be treated here. Nevertheless, other observations included under Habermas's theory prove much useful in the explanation of Ottoman case which will be treated later in this part.

Before the emergence of Ottoman press, there were already some newspapers published in Istanbul such as *Gazette Française de Constantinople* (1798) and *Bulletin de Nouvelles* (1795), both published by French Embassy.<sup>107</sup> Additionally, Protestant missionaries and foreigners were also among the initiators of press in Ottoman Empire. In 1824, in İzmir, first French paper *Le Symrnéen* was published.<sup>108</sup> However, earlier again a French gazette named *La Spectateur Oriental* was published by Charles Tricon in 1821<sup>109</sup> which is probably the earliest gazette published in the Empire unless there is new finding. Those foreign gazettes, were

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<sup>107</sup> Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın* ( İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 1992), p.11.

<sup>108</sup> Johann Strauss "Who read what in Ottomans (19th and 20th centuries)?" *Arabic Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no.1 (2003),p. 43.

<sup>109</sup> Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi* ( İstanbul: Pozitif Yayınları, 2006), p.22.

bound to Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so they need to get permission from the ministry for publication.<sup>110</sup>

To begin with political analysis of Ottoman humor press, state ideology is the first element. Emergence of Ottoman press at nineteenth century also coincided with a period when Ottomans were carrying out reforms for modernization and adapting some ways from the west. Introduction of Ottoman press, as a government initiative can be considered as a part of this process. It was also evident that first Ottoman Turkish gazette was an official gazette published by the government. As *Terakki* or Progress was a decisive ideology of nineteenth century, within the scope of which, Europe's progress had been taken as a model in particular with respect to technical issues. Accordingly, press was one of progress oriented elements introduced into the empire in this period. The same applies to the humor press as well, which was evident in the discussion held in Assembly on May 8, 1877, regarding humor press. During the session, some of the deputies who were the proponents of the continuation of humor press based their arguments on the fact that humor periodicals existed in Europe, so they should in Ottomans too. Further, some of them suggested that Ottomans could get closer to the progress level of Europe, partly thanks to the press, so humor periodicals was a part of that progress.<sup>111</sup> Not surprisingly, the first Turkish Ottoman humor gazette supplement published in 1868 was titled *Terakki*.<sup>112</sup> Thus, the emergence of humor magazines might be considered to be a part of modernization.

Accordingly, as a part of government ideology, Ottoman Muslim Turkish press was introduced as a government initiative when Ottoman official gazette *Takvim-i Vakayi* published in 1831. Before *Takvim-i Vakayi*, single domestic gazette publication in Ottoman Empire to include Turkish language as half in Turkish, half in Arabic was *Vekayi-i Mısriye* which was published in Cairo on November, 1828.<sup>113</sup> As for the non-Muslim's communities' press, Greek press started with publication of *Filos Ton Neon* in İzmir in 1831. First gazette of Armenians is *İştemeran Bidani Kidelyas* which was published in Izmir in 1839. First Jewish

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<sup>110</sup> Server İskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları* ( Başvekâlet Basın ve Yayın Umum Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1943 ),p.4.

<sup>111</sup> Us, *Meclis-i Mebusan*, 1939:p.212.

<sup>112</sup> Çeviker, *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü*, 1986 :p.21.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.,p. 24.



gazette was published in İzmir in 1842. First Bulgarian gazette *Ljuboslowije* was also published in İzmir in 1842 which started the history of Bulgarian Press. Armenian press was centered in Istanbul, accordingly, % 80 of the publications was made in Istanbul, and remaining per cent was published in provinces.<sup>114</sup>In 1850s press gained more activity in Istanbul thanks to the private publishing houses. Press which had been started as a government initiative, could only be turned into a property of public sphere through a private press, in that and in the development of humor press, *Tanzimat* Decree had a decisive role.

So, *Tanzimat* Decree constitutes another milestone in political analysis of humor press. Declared in 1839, this *Firman* of reforms provided the opportunity for the formation of a private press and humor press in particular by securing the life and property of individuals. As Şerif Mardin, well defines the situation “to have one’s head securely fixed on one’s shoulders with no fears that an imperial order would make it roll, to have one’s property protected by the laws of the land”<sup>115</sup> was a new bringing into the life of Ottomans. Thereby, to run a humor press or satirical press to involve in social and political criticism was now definitely more secure when compared to the period pre-*Tanzimat* Decree. Though, a restriction had already been brought on humor press with 1838 Penal Code banishing publication of satirical content which would be against the common rules of society, or “insolent illustrations shall be fined up to five *mecidiyes* in gold or confinement from twenty-four hours to one week.”<sup>116</sup>

Accordingly, legislation relates the discussion to another element of political analysis in explaining the case of humor periodicals, which is censorship. First period of Ottoman humor press coincides to a period when magazines were published under strict censorship. It is here argued that censorship was decisive both in the emergence and the formation of humor magazines. With respect to former, censorship does not only have a restrictive role but also has a triggering effect in the

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 39- 43.

<sup>115</sup> Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last quarter of the nineteenth Century", in *Turkey: Geographical and Social Perspectives*, éd. P. Benedict, E. Tümertekin, F. Mansur, (Leiden: Brill, 1974), p. 407.

<sup>116</sup> *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel 1, İstanbul, 1289/1872, p.568 in Strauss, Johann, “Notes on the First Satirical Journals in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Amtsblatt, vilayet gazetesi und unabhängiges Journal: die Anfänge der Presse im Nahen Osten*, ed. Anja Pistor-Hatam, Lang, Frankfurt a.M. (etc.) (Heidelberger Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Modernen Vorderen Orients; 27), pp. 123.

rise of humor press. Humor is favorable as a form of writing, as it allows implied or indirect expression when there is a restriction on freedom of expression and a religious or a political autocracy which is also valid for the rise of picaresque novel in Europe, as well as for the case of Don Quixote or Rabelais' work. Just as Parla, describes the situation for the case of Rabelais, with reference to Bakhtin's work that it is like covering oneself with the armour of humor.<sup>117</sup> It is also not surprising that *Akabi Hikayesi*, the first modern novel in Turkish to be published in Ottomans in 1851, was a comic novel and based on the ridicule of realities of society.<sup>118</sup> This links the discussion again to ideology which additionally explains why comic genre featured the literature as well as the press in this period, as will be clarified below.

The nineteenth century when humor magazines emerged, was a period of change or change towards westernization. Every period can be counted as a period of change; however *Tanzimat* Period or the nineteenth century had a peculiarity. By contemporaries, it was defined as *Şarivari*, connotation of which, translates itself in Ottoman context as the incongruities in society through increased westernization, as stated before. Thus, similar to other moral weeklies such as *Spectator*, Ottoman humor press emerged to manage incongruities. Therefore and secondly, it was a period witnessing "changing of change"<sup>119</sup> that is, intellectuals and writers intervened in that change, and attempted to give a direction to it in various spheres from literature to theatre. Such an attitude among intellectuals, added an ideological dimension to the literature of this period, problematic of which was westernization.<sup>120</sup> This also applies to humor magazines of the period. Such a parallelism between literature and humor press is also present in the eighteenth century Britain.

Further, emergence of a commercial society with the westernization of economy and incorporation of western elements next to the local ones, and their resulting coexistence as an incongruity made plenty of material available to be ridiculed which

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<sup>117</sup> Jale Parla, *Don Kişot'tan Bugüne Roman* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000), p.61.

<sup>118</sup> See: Hovsep Vartanian, *Akabi Hikâyesi: İlk Türkçe Roman*. Edited by Andreas Tietze (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1991).

<sup>119</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999), p. 14 in Jale Parla, "Tanzimat Edebiyatı'nda Siyasi Fikirler", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, vol 1. Edited by Murat Gültekingil, Tanıl Bora, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), p. 223.

<sup>120</sup> Parla, "Tanzimat Edebiyatı'nda Siyasi Fikirler," 2004:p.223.

made humor a favorable form of writing. Accordingly, following general or news gazettes, humor periodicals outweighed the number of periodicals of other types. That also explains the domination of comic genre in literature as well. Incorporating the comic elements of folk literature, represented by Ottoman traditions of scenes, *Meddah* and *Orta Oyunu*, literature reaches to the public to convey ideologies. It was what Şinasi and Ahmed Midhat did,<sup>121</sup> and which also applies to Beykozluyan's and Baronian's cases. It was made possible by the fact that literature had gained public with the introduction of press, as it was in the case of eighteenth century Britain.

Censorship, together with government ideology had also a decisive role in defining the nature of humor magazines, through an interrelation with state ideology. Such a role of censorship supports the main argument of this study that humor periodicals of nineteenth century were didactic publications with a conservative tendency in parallelism with British moral weeklies of the eighteenth century. Major evidence is the discussion held in the Assembly on May 8, 1877 on the question of banning humor periodicals as quoted before. It is evident throughout the discussion that wing of opposition to the banning of humor periodicals based their arguments mainly on its educatory role. Further, as an evidence for the priority of humor periodicals among other gazettes, it is stated that many people prefer reading humor gazettes to serious ones.<sup>122</sup> Satire should be avoided and caricatures and humor writings should have propriety. Even the inclusion of caricature in humor magazines was not much favored as caricature is satirical in character.<sup>123</sup> Government policy had a play in that first Ottoman Turkish humor magazine *Diyojen* (1870-73) did not include caricature except for three issues of magazine.<sup>124</sup> As for other magazines including *Tiyatro* and *Latife*, they published one cartoon per issue but it was close to picture rather than caricature. Further, humor magazines were defined as publications instructing people through "wit."<sup>125</sup> Government tasked humorists with moral instruction, and formed Ottoman humor magazines into moral weeklies, or publications of *wit* like *Spectator*, instead of satirical papers.

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<sup>121</sup> Parla, 2004: pp. 225-226.

<sup>122</sup> Us, *Meclis-i Mebusan*, 1939: pp.214-215.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pp.212-214.

<sup>124</sup> Hamdi Özdiş, *Osmanlı mizah basınında batılılaşma ve siyaset, 1870-1877: Diyojen ve Çaylak üzerinde bir araştırma* (Istanbul: Libra Kitap, 2010),p85.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, p.212.

Thus, it shows that state ideology supported and allowed the publication of humor magazines provided that they serve as didactic tools to discipline society. In accordance with, humor periodicals, which were published during this period, were formed as didactic or instructive publications to get the consent of the government and so they emphasized such aims in the first pages of periodicals. Additionally, majority of humor magazines at nineteenth century, as stated before, put the statement of *eğlence gazetesidir/amusement gazette* on the first page, usually sometimes beneath the title,<sup>126</sup> probably to escape the censorship, and to imply that their publications do not carry any harmful aims to the benefit of both state and society. To illustrate, on the introduction page of *Meddah*, duty of the gazette is defined as amusement and it is stated that they will use a language which will not lead to censorship by government.<sup>127</sup> So as to exemplify the emphasis on disciplinary aims by publishers, in the introduction of *Dijoyen*, aim of the gazette is explained as sustaining morality and in that to serve to the high aims of government.<sup>128</sup> Another example is, on the first issue of *Latife* dated 1292/1876 when it started to published for the third time, there appears the statement as the description of publication: *ibretamiz*<sup>129</sup> which means “exemplary instructive.”

It was to show that censorship and state ideology had shaped not only the Ottoman understanding of humor but also the literary form, and aimed functions of first humor magazines of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, ideology was channelized through humor periodicals in the form of morality and conservatism. That was evident in Teodor Kasap’s introductory note on *Dijoyen* stating that the aim of periodical was, “...as the voice of the government, to ridicule elements which are foreign to our country...”<sup>130</sup> This argument has been already made for Ottoman Turkish literature by Jale Parla. Accordingly, she revealed a significant feature of the nineteenth century Ottoman Turkish novels that they were intended by authors to serve for sustaining and protecting Ottoman traditions and values. In that, authors had taken over the role of the state.<sup>131</sup> In this study, it is argued that the same applies

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<sup>126</sup> See: *Latife* ( 1874-5 ), *Tiyatro* ( 1874- 75 ), *Meddah* ( 1876 ).

<sup>127</sup> *Meddah*, 10 Muharrem 1292 / 1875, issue 1.

<sup>128</sup> Çapanoğlu: 1970, p.10.

<sup>129</sup> *Latife*, issue 1, September 1, 1292/1876.

<sup>130</sup> Çapanoğlu.,p.10.

<sup>131</sup> Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanı'nın Epistemolojik Temelleri* ( İstanbul: İletişim: 1990 ).

to humor periodicals of the nineteenth century. This also relates the discussion to another topic that “humor periodicals were whose voice and to whom they were addressed” which will be detailed in the last chapter.

Yet, for consideration of this part, matter of ideology incorporates another frame of analysis into the topic, which is literary patronage in relation to the public sphere. In the case of Europe, and in particular the Great Britain, Habermas linked the change in patronage relationships to the rise of the press and the formation of a new public sphere as already mentioned. Yet, till the end of the eighteenth century it was a slight change as Griffin states, and as quoted before. Therefore, literature had gained public, but press was still under the previous patronage to a considerable degree. As a result, magazines published in this period, in particular the comic weeklies as *The Spectator* focused on instruction through literature for morality with a conservative stance as a reflection of government ideology. In other words, periodicals of the eighteenth century still continued to be the voice of conservatives and moralists. That full change in patronage relationships would be possible through further rise of press at the nineteenth century along with the rise of bourgeoisie as a governing class next to the aristocracy, and with the formation of bourgeoisie public sphere. That would be reflected in the publication of satirical magazine *Punch*, as radical’s voice against the conservatives.

The same applies to nineteenth century Ottomans. İnalçık showed that before the introduction of printing, artists and literary men were ideologically under the domination of court and governing class in their works.<sup>132</sup> Still, as it was in the case of Britain, patronage relationships in Ottomans also did not completely change as soon as the press launches at the nineteenth century, when humor periodicals also emerged. Literary patronage changed in that literature gained public through the press. Writers and publishers took over the role of the government to channelize state ideology, which was the maintenance of Ottomans traditions, conventions, and values against the foreign elements which now had invaded the empire. Habermas’ new public sphere was also valid in the case of Ottomans only to some extent. First of all, introduction of press meant the formation of a new public sphere next to the

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<sup>132</sup> Halil İnalçık, *Şair ve Patron: Patrimonyal Devlet ve Sanat Üzerinde Sosyolojik Bir İnceleme*, (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2003 ).

coffee houses which existed since sixteenth century.<sup>133</sup> Though, as it is quoted before, public sphere as embodied by coffee houses did not mean a public sphere independent from state control. The same applies to new public sphere which is constituted by the press. Further, at nineteenth century Ottomans it was not yet a bourgeoisie public sphere in Habermas's terms, and so press did not serve to the interests of newly forming bourgeoisie but to the interests of government. Therefore, in this period, previous governing class continued to dominate the public sphere. Besides, similar to British case, press meant a new public sphere, which is critical, conscious and now being channelized through the press. Thus, with a particular change in literary patronage, sublime forms of humor literature could be extended to the public as Schopenhauer describes. In that way, as stated before, humor could evolve from being a rather amusement oriented humor to a more intellectual humor requiring social criticism and more involvement on the part of the audience.

In consequence, censorship, government ideology, unchanged patronage relationships, and availability of material for ridicule such as the elements of modernization shaped the character of humor magazines. Traditional governing class dominating the public sphere directed the humor press to channelize their ideology in the form of conservatism as it is supported before with regard to censorship. As a result, in parallelism with eighteenth century British comic weeklies, nineteenth century Ottoman humor periodicals emerged as moral weeklies, intended to instruct the public with morality concerns. As Habermas states, inclusion of more political criticism and subversive approach instead of corrective in humor press would only be possible at a later stage after 1908 which is considered to be the second phase of Ottoman humor press, when satirical papers similar to *Punch* could emerge. The last, but not the least factor in the popularity of humor press, could be considered as the demand on the part of public as stated before. It could also be argued that it was also in line with the level of literacy, which makes humor periodicals much more preferable addressing to general audience and including cartoons which illiterate can also make a sense of.

Profit motive is another factor contributed to the expansion of humor press especially after 1980. With the opening of private publishing houses, some

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<sup>133</sup> Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: the Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East*, (Seattle: Distributed by University of Washington Press, c1985).

publishers also took advantage of popularity of humor periodicals with a profit motive which has been linked by Shick to print capitalism.<sup>134</sup> Until humor magazines are banned in 1877,<sup>135</sup> periodicals and gazettes outweighed the number of book publication. Among other periodicals, number of humor magazines was considerable for the first phase of humor press. Accordingly, apart from the ones published in other languages, and supplements, between 1870 and 1877, 19 magazines in Ottoman Turkish were published, which with their starting date of publication, are *Terakki* ( 1870 ), *Diyojen* ( 1870 ), *Asır'ın Eğlence Nüshası* ( 1870 ), *Letaif-i Âsar* (1871 ), *Kamer* (1873), *Şarivari* ( 1872 ), *Çingiraklı Tatar* ( 1873 ), *Hayal* ( 1873 ), *İbretnüma-yu Âlem* (1873 ), *Latife* (1874), *Şarivari-i Medeniyet* ( 1874 ), *Şafak* (1874), *Tiyatro* ( 1874 ) *Letâif-i Asar*, ( 1875 ), *Kahkaha* ( 1875 ), *Kara Sinan* (1875), *Geveze* ( 1875 ), *Çaylak* ( 1876 ), *Meddah* ( 1876 ).<sup>136</sup> Publishing gazettes and periodicals had become so popular that sometimes, the idea grew out of profit motives. As such they lacked necessary qualifications required for a gazette. Partly because of that, critic of contemporary gazettes was a common theme in humor periodicals. For instance, in *Latife*, for many times, those who published gazettes to make money were attacked.<sup>137</sup> In an article published in *Latife*, other gazettes, in particular *Hayal* and *Ceride-i Havadis* were attacked in that, everyone without carrying necessary qualifications to become a writer, had turned out to be a writer,<sup>138</sup> taking the opportunity out of privatization of press. Accordingly, in another issue, publishers with profit motive were satirized in a caricature, depicting a man frequenting households to form a market for their gazette:

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<sup>134</sup>Irvin C. Schick,"Print Capitalism and Women's Sexual Agency in the Late Ottoman Empire," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 31,no. 1 (2011), 196–216.

<sup>135</sup> Us, *Meclis-i Mebusan*,1939: pp. 216-217.

<sup>136</sup> Çeviker, *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü*,1986:pp.21-24. For the catalog of publications, see: Hasan Duman,2000.

<sup>137</sup> *Latife*, 10 August 1874, Thursday, issue 2, p. 4. B.D.K.Hakkı Tarık Us Periodicals Collection.

<sup>138</sup> "Muharrirlik", *Latife*, 22 August 1874.Thursday, issue 4, p.1.



“- Who is that? What do you want?

- Sir, because I am going to publish a gazette, I am looking for subscribers.”<sup>139</sup>

Privatization of press was a significant element in the formation of a new public sphere, so that literary forms of humor could gain public and reach a wider audience. Now public could involve in criticism through essays and stories. Similar to eighteenth century British comic weeklies, Ottoman humor periodicals in this period until 1877, would serve to that as Habermas puts it “public holding mirror to itself” as quoted before.

Ottoman humor press was started by Armenians. Accordingly, first humor magazine in Ottomans *Meghu* which means Bee, published on September 15, 1856, under the editorship of Harutyun Sivacıyan.<sup>140</sup> As a matter of fact, *Boşboğaz Bir Adem* which was written by Armenian author Vartan Paşa and published in 1852, is

<sup>139</sup> Latife, 21 September 1874, issue 10, p.3.

<sup>140</sup> Harutyun Sivacıyan (1856-1862, 1865, 1870-1872), Hovhannes Hovvıyan (1863), Apraham Muratyan(1863), Hagop Baronyan (1872-1874), eds., *Meghu* ( 1856 – 1874 ), in Zakarya Mildanoğlu-writer at Agos Gazette, *Armenian History of Printing and Press and Periodicals*, unpublished research. ; Մեղու>> *հանդեսի* (1856-1865) *մատենագիտություն*, Ե. 2003: (*Bibliography of Meghu Magazine*) (1856-18659) Yeravan, 2003; Haygagan, Hanrakidaran, “Meghu”, *Armenian Encyclopedia*.



also regarded by Çeviker as the first humor magazine attempt as it included caricatures.<sup>141</sup> Nevertheless, it is rather a kind of booklet, a story about what bad results come out of gossip. In other words, it is a didactic paper which tries to instruct the readers to avoid gossip.<sup>142</sup> Thus, similar to humor magazines, this supplement was also written with morality concern and didactic aims. Further, the first novel in Turkish by the same author, *Story of Akabi* was a satirical story and which also included a character named *Rupenig*, a kind of *westernized job* or western imitator, which would be the common theme of Turkish novels published in this period.<sup>143</sup> That first modern novel published by an Armenian author in Ottomans, provides a hint for answering the question of why was it Ottoman Armenians, who initiated humor press in Ottomans?

First of all, long before Ottoman government's sanctioning the establishment of Ottoman Turkish printing house and printing of the first Turkish book in Ottoman lands in 1727, establishment of printing houses and publications by foreigners and non-Muslim communities had already been allowed. Accordingly, it was Jews who opened the first printing house in Istanbul in 1483 by the initiative of Raffi Gerson. Second printing house in Istanbul was opened by Armenian Apkar Tıbir in 1567, which is also the first printing house of Ottoman Armenians. That was followed by the opening of other Armenian printing houses in both Istanbul and provinces. Accordingly, between 1567-1923 Armenian printing houses, 131 of which are founded in Istanbul and 63 founded in provinces, published totally 598 gazette and periodicals including Turkish ones written in Armenian alphabet.<sup>144</sup> That Ottoman Armenians, had become the forerunners of press and made a great contribution to flourishing of the printing and press in Ottoman lands, can be considered one significant factor paving the way to the initiation of humor press again by Ottoman Armenians. However, this does not in itself answer the question why Ottoman Armenians were also the first to write and publish the first modern novel in Turkish in Ottomans, and again to publish first humor periodical. One major answer is

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<sup>141</sup> Çeviker, *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü*, 1998: p.131.

<sup>142</sup> Hosvep Vartanian, *Boşboğaz Bir Adem*. Edited by Turgut Kut ( unpublished work ). Summary of the book was included in Selin Tunçboyacı, "19th Century Ottoman Modernization in Respect to the Novels: Akab-i Hikayesi, Boşboğaz bir Adem and Temaşa-i Dünya" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2001), pp. 57-59.

<sup>143</sup> Mardin, 1974: pp.406-412.

<sup>144</sup> Pars Tuğlacı, "Osmanlı Türkiye'sinde Ermeni Matbaacılığı ve Ermenilerin Türk Matbaasına Katkısı", *Tarih ve Toplum* XV, no. 16 (1991 ), pp.48-57.

*Mekhitarists* of Vienna, the Catholic Armenians and in general Armenian's close connections with European literature and press through religious ties. Thus, the first Armenian press had been brought to Istanbul from Venice, by Apkar. Beforehand, he had published the first book in Armenian in Venice and presented it to Pope.<sup>145</sup> *Mekhitarists* had been the protagonists of revival in Armenian literary activities which is referred as Armenian Renaissance. Accordingly, between 1825- 1850, they made translations from European literature numbering 130 volumes. These translations included works from antiquity as well as Italian and French classics and romances.<sup>146</sup> So, to a great extent thanks to the contribution of *Mekhitarists*, Armenians could import elements from Europe including literature as well as press. Hovsep Vartanian, who was the writer of *Akabi Hikayesi* or Story of Akabi as quoted before, was also trained by *Mekhitatists* of Vienna.<sup>147</sup> Between 1816 and 1850s, novels from European pre-romanticism such as those of Saint Pierre de Bernardin, had already been translated.<sup>148</sup> When it comes to 1874, Baronian would include a conversational story, as a similar version of Bernardin's *Paul et Virgine* in *Tiyatro*, to satirize western influence on Ottoman conservative family structures.<sup>149</sup> Theme of conservative fathers and families causing to the breakup of lovers suited to Ottoman context of the time, governed by the clashing of conservatives and western elements. Didactic tone of humor magazines of nineteenth century was in parallelism with novels of the period. In the same vein, novels were the continuation of the same ideology, that is, a conservative morality concern to protect society from degeneration.

Notwithstanding *Boşboğaz Bir Adem*, first Ottoman humor magazine *Meghu* started to be published on September 15, 1852. It is defined as gazette of "morality, philology, literature, economy, commerce and amusement" in its first issue.<sup>150</sup> It shows that, morality was the concern of *Meghu* as well. In the first period, under

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid, p.49.

<sup>146</sup> Richard G. Hovanissian, ed., *Armenian People From Ancient to Modern Times*, volume II Foreign Dominion to Statehood: The Fifteenth Century to Twentieth Century, (New York: Macmillan, 2004), pp.156-157.

<sup>147</sup> Strauss, Johann, "Notes on the First Satirical Journals in the Ottoman Empire." In: *Amtsblatt, vilayet gazetesi und unabhängiges Journal: die Anfänge der Presse im Nahen Osten*, ed. Anja Pistor-Hatam, Lang, Frankfurt a.M. (etc.) Heidelberger Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Modernen Vorderen Orients 27 ( 2001), p.122.

<sup>148</sup> Hovanissian, *Armenian People From Ancient to Modern Times*, 2004:p.156.

<sup>149</sup> *Tiyatro*, April 8, 1874. Issue 3, pp.1-2.

<sup>150</sup> Çeviker, *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü*, 1986 :p.33.

editorship of Haroutioun K. Svajian, humor writings of K. Odyan were published. During Baronian's editorship, more humor and satirical content is included. In 1874, Baronian changes the name of the gazette into *Tadron*,<sup>151</sup> Ottoman Turkish version of which *Tiyatro*, again published by Baronian has been taken as a case in this study. Baronian published *Tiyatro* for Turkish speaking Ottoman community in general<sup>152</sup> as it is evident from the content written both in Ottoman Turkish, and in Ottoman letters. Another case in this study, *Latife* was also published by another Armenian publisher Zakarya Beykozluyan. Likewise, *Latife* was published for Turkish speaking Ottoman public. Content and style are similar to other humor periodicals in Ottoman Turkish such as *Diyojen* and *Çaylak*. Additionally, they are the characteristic of Ottoman Turkish humor magazines of the nineteenth century with their didactic tone and conservative stance. The same applies to the Armenian humor magazines *Meghu* and *Tadron* as well, only with little exception of covered topics which involve Armenian Community in particular.<sup>153</sup>

As for the first Ottoman humor magazine in Turkish, *Diyojen* which was published by Teodor Kasap on November 12, 1870<sup>154</sup> had been generally considered as the first humor gazette in Turkish; however *Terakki* preceded *Dijoyen*. *Terakki* first, was published on May 1870 as an amusement supplement to main *Terakki* Gazette and then it started to be published independently on November 5, 1870, under the name *Terakki* and with a subtitle "devoted to amusement and jest."<sup>155</sup> Thus, the emphasis on amusement instead of satire dates back to *Terakki*.

Hereby, within the context of history of press, it was an attempt to reveal that first generation of Ottoman humor magazines which are the ones published until their abolishment in 1877, were moral weeklies aimed at instruction with a conservative tendency, in parallelism with British moral weeklies of the eighteenth century, rather than a typical satirical magazine like *London Charivari* or *Punch*. First of all, a public sphere in Habermas' terms cannot be formed in this period.

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<sup>151</sup> *Meghu* (1856 – 1874), in Zakarya Mildanoğlu-columnist at Agos, *Armenian History of Printing and Press and Periodicals*, unpublished research.

<sup>152</sup> Bardakjian, "Baronian's Political and Social Satire," 1978: p.300.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, p.304.

<sup>154</sup> Strauss, "Notes on the First Satirical Papers," 2001: p.131 ; Çeviker, *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü*,1986:p.21.

<sup>155</sup> Ziya Ebuzyiya, "Letâif-i Asar", *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi* 6, (İstanbul,n.p.,1986),p.81,cited in Strauss, "Notes on the First Satirical Papers," 2001:p.128.

There was a strict censorship, and government only allowed and encouraged humor magazines which are instructors of morality and does not include satire, as it is evident in the minutes of the assembly. Patronage relationships had not been changed fully. Patronage could only be changed in that now the literature had gained a critical public, and publishers and writers had replaced the government as the patrons but they still represented the dominant ideology to a great degree. As Mardin states; intelligentsia was a part of government body up to the nineteenth century.<sup>156</sup> Therefore, state channelized its ideology through censorship and its domination over intelligentsia. Secondly, humor writers were the continuation of the previous conservative generation and they appeared as the patrons of Ottoman traditions and values. All in all, first Ottoman humor periodicals appeared as didactic tools with morality concerns in compliance with the government ideology. Similar to the novels of the period, humor writers satirized vices, some of which were originating from deficient or over modernization. Yet, the discourse was actually a morality discourse, not generally a discourse of westernization.

Additionally, Ottoman humor magazines of the first period, as different from moral weeklies, included cartoons and also included political satire to a limited degree such as *Çaylak* (1876).<sup>157</sup> However, first humor magazine *Diyojen* did not include cartoon apart from three issues as stated before. Besides, cartoons were closer to picture or illustration, that is at this time have not acquired a fully satirical character yet. Content was rather based on witty conversational stories and essays, as well as the telegrams and letters sent by readers similar to the case in *Spectator*. They were papers of wit and morals, given that they employed with rather than satire, and they were didactic in tone. They also included discussions on literature and art and they aimed at sustaining morality through involving reader in intellectual process through humor writings such as essays, fictional stories similar to fictional club of *Spectator*. All contributes to the idea that nineteenth century humor magazines of the first period were rather moral weeklies. Humor magazines published after 1908 better suited to be defined as satirical magafzines similar to *Punch Magazine* or *London Charivari*.

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<sup>156</sup> Mardin, *Superwesternization*, 1974:p.426.

<sup>157</sup> Hamdi Özdiş, *Osmanlı mizah basınında batılılaşma ve siyaset*, 2010:p.100.

The last but not the least, introduction of press also enabled transfer of Ottoman verbal and theatrical humor traditions to the humor press, in that Ottoman humor magazines were the continuation of folk humor literature which was also didactic. It was accompanied by extension of elaborate forms of humor such as *hiciv* and wit, which were previously rather associated with divan literature or court, into folk literature through press, similar to the situation which Schopenhauer had defined for Germany. That was closely connected with evolution of humor philosophy from rather an amusement oriented public humor to an intellectual humor requiring reader involvement in an intellectual process, a critical and a conscious public in line with the ideological concerns of humor writers. Such an effort is also found in literature of the period as emphasized by Parla and Mardin, as which will be explained. That was a part of the effort to meet elite culture with popular culture. Such melding of humor traditions would constitute literary formation of humor magazines as embodied in humor magazines which will be detailed in the next chapter.

## II. Humor Magazines as Literary Forms

### II. I. Interrelations between Literature and Press

In the formation of humor magazines as literary forms, two elements were decisive. First, it emerged as a continuation of Ottoman traditional verbal humor. Secondly, it was interrelated with other literary forms. Except for humor philosophy and press, these two factors also defined nature, form and aimed functions of humor magazines, which all also reveals moral and didactic nature of Ottoman humor magazines under consideration of this study. That would be explained below, specifically based on the cases of *Latife* and *Tiyatro*.

To begin with, before printing and press launches, Ottoman popular humor culture was dominated by verbal traditions. This verbal or oral tradition in the first place, included comic anecdotes and storytelling such as *Nasreddin Hoca* and *Bektaşî* Stories. Comic anecdotes of *Nasreddin Hoca* were didactic, and they were regarded as instructive especially for children.<sup>158</sup> Ottoman traditions of Scene and Shadow Theatre were the other significant forms which could be included in verbal tradition. Shows of *Meddah* and *Orta Oyunu* represented Ottoman traditions of scene. As for the Shadow Theatre, it was represented by *Karagöz* and *Hacivat*, two main characters of plays.<sup>159</sup> The aim of the shows was not just to entertain audience but at the same time to educate them so they were didactic in character. In the prelude to the Shadow Theatre, *Hacivat* notes that the following is not just a play but it is also a reflection of their world and which teaches.<sup>160</sup> Didactic function of shows were also evident in the duality of characters, *Kavuklu* and *Pişekar* two main characters of *Orta Oyunu*, and *Hacivat* and *Karagöz* as the two main characters of shadow theatre. Such a duality was to represent two different segments of society. In the case of *Karagöz* and *Hacivat*, *Karagöz* represented the folk or common people and their culture whereas *Hacivat* represented the intelligentsia who were endowed with high culture. Here, the function of shadow theatre as a teaching method

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<sup>158</sup> Fuat Köprülü, *Nasreddin Hoca* ( İstanbul: Akçağ,2004), p. 24.

<sup>159</sup> For further detail on Shadow Theatre: Metin And, *Karagöz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, (İstanbul Dost Yayınları, 1973 ); Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Temaşası* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi: 1942).

<sup>160</sup> Metin And, *Karagöz: Turkish Shadow Theatre* (İstanbul: Dost Yayınları 1979 ), p.44.

becomes clearer. Accordingly, *Hacivat* as an Ottoman intellect always tries to teach and educate *Karagöz* who was depicted as uneducated and illiterate. Further, it has been contended by Ferit Öngören that whereas *Orta Oyunu* served as a public entertainment, *Hacivat* and *Karagöz* was the entertainment rather for educated or the intellect.<sup>161</sup> However, it is evident from primary sources that both Shadow Theatre and Traditions of Scene had been entertainment for all segments. Court theatre also imitated folk theatre.<sup>162</sup> Though, there was a humor literature prevailed as a part of court literature, as there was a separation in Ottoman literature as folk literature and *divan* or court literature, latter is deemed to be the highest and the more elaborate one.

With the introduction of printed press and modern theatre, Ottoman theatrical and verbal traditions of humor were replaced with humor publications and modern theatre in their popularity. Though, the same utilitarian understanding of literature prevailed in humor press, that is, to provide public benefits in moral terms. Such a utilitarian understanding would define the nature of press, modern literature, as well as the theatre. As a result, Ottoman humor press inherited the didactic character of Ottoman traditional verbal humor. Inheritance was not limited to aimed functions but also defined the literary form. Until humor magazines evolve into be peculiar literary publications in later periods, it emerged and prevailed, somehow as a written form of verbal humor traditions, in such inheritance; didactic concerns must have been effective as the literary style of verbal traditions suited to be instructive. Thus, the content and style of Ottoman humor magazines was a continuation of Ottoman humor traditions of scene and verbal humor. Such continuity is also reflected in that some of the humor magazines were named after the verbal traditions. Such as *Meddah* in 1876, *Karagöz* in 1909 and *Nasreddin Hoca* published in years 1908, 1914 and 1928.<sup>163</sup> This might become clearer with the following stylistic analysis.

First of all, there were three styles of humor writing published in humor magazines which can be considered to be the heritage of verbal humor tradition: *muhavere*, comic anecdotes or *fikra* and short narratives. To begin with, a common feature of *Orta Oyunu* and Shadow Play is that they are divided into sections named

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<sup>161</sup> Öngören, *Türk Mizahı ve Hicvi*, 1998: pp.52-55.

<sup>162</sup> And, *Karagöz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, 1979: pp.14-15.

<sup>163</sup> See : Hakkı Tarık Us Periodicals Collection, B.D.K.

*Mukaddime*, *Muhavere* and *Fasıl* which mean respectively, prologue, dialogue, and conclusion. Nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines were structured similarly. Occasionally, content starts with a prologue titled *Mukaddime*, and which is followed by a section named *Muhavere* involving dialogues. Even if for the most time *Mukaddime* section is missing and the titles are not included, *muhavere* or dialogue is the most common type of writing. In Turkish, *muhavere* means conversation between two people. *Muhavere* in humor publications is sometimes in the form of narrations through conversational storytelling. Other forms of *muhavere* include small talk or short conversations without a certain story. It was a rare situation that a third or even a fourth person becomes a part of the dialogue. Nevertheless, whatever the small differences are, one significant feature common to all sorts of *muhavere* was that it was formed through question and answer method, somehow similar to Socratic Dialogs. *Muhavere* as a humor writing style, so was a continuation of Ottoman shadow theatre. Shadow play of *Hacivat* and *Karagöz* was performed through a verbal *muhavere* or a conversation between *Hacivat* and *Karagöz*. As it was in the case of shadow theatre, written *muhavere* published in humor magazines was also didactic. Just like it was in the case of *Hacivat* and *Karagöz*, one of the persons in dialogue was usually in the position of an ignorant or a less educated person which is usually depicted as the friend of the main character of *muhavere*. Just like *Hacivat* tried to educate *Karagöz* so that the audience or the common people, humorists tried to educate the audience through conveying messages and stimulating some attitudes and ideas among readers. This form of *muhavere* and its didactic concern was also the feature of novels contemporary to nineteenth century humor press. Such as novels by Ahmed Midhat, who considered didactic and instructive element as indispensable to the art of novel.<sup>164</sup> Tanzimat novels also constituted a phase of transition to modern novel, like the first generation of humor magazines which were in transition towards humor magazines in modern form. Further, writing style of Ahmed Midhat also devised question and answer method almost similar to Socratic Method, but it might again be taken as a continuation of Ottoman verbal humor.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Parla, *Don Kişot'tan Bugüne Roman*, 2000: p.81.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid*, p. 77.



For a literary form emerging under the shadow of conservative traditionalist ideology, in a communitarian society, with little changed patronage relationships, aimed at didactic functions, it becomes clear why such a writing style dominated literature. Given the didactic effect of conversational form, dating back to Socratic dialogs which encourage critical thinking and the enlightenment of the reader, it was instructive in character. In parallelism with Ottoman case, eighteenth century British moral weeklies also used dialogs and aimed at enlightenment of the reader through literature as already were underlined in previous chapters. Articles published in these weekly journals were written in conversational form aimed at being proximate to real conversation<sup>166</sup> so that it might have an instructive effect on the audience.

Second style of writing found in the nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines of the first period, was *fikra* or jokes and funny short stories. It was the legacy of Ottoman verbal tradition of story-telling such as *Nasreddin Hoca* and *Bektaşî* Stories. However, in the magazines' content, these stories were not necessarily didactical or they did not always attempt to convey a message, sometimes they served just as a means of amusement. Sometimes, it was in the form of *fikra*, or a pretty short funny story. Another style of writing was short narratives. Short narratives usually narrated experience or the state of people to make the ridicule of them so that to criticize and convey a message.

Other than these three forms of humor writings, as a continuation of verbal humor, there were also some essays including humorous comments about various affairs. *Spectator*, also devised this form of writing to enlighten the readers. It could be contended that essay was a typical form of writing employed by moral weeklies, which attempts at conveying comments to readers through witty essays. There are also some styles of humor writings specific to each magazine. For example, in *Latife*, fictional telegrams are published to criticize state of affairs.<sup>167</sup> Also there is an actual activity of accepting letters from the readers to be published as it is also evident in the related notes and instructions given on the cover pages. Besides, some published letters seem to be fictional.<sup>168</sup> Accordingly, letters are published together with the replies of the editors to complaints or the questions raised by the readers in related

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<sup>166</sup> Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 1991: p. 42.

<sup>167</sup> "Latife'ye Mahsus Telgraf", *Latife*, issue 11, September 16, 1290, p.4.

<sup>168</sup> "İzmir'den Mektup", *Latife*, issue 9, September 9, 1290, p. 3.

letters. This is similar to *Spectator*, which also included letters by readers and posted their comments to which. Another similarity with *Spectator* is employment of a fictional reporter. Similar to *Mr. Spectator*, *Latife* has the *Karakoncolos*. They both report their observations from everyday life of people. As a concluding remark, it could be asserted that nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines of first period were typical of moral weeklies also in their style in parallelism with *Spectator* magazine (for a comparison of style and form, see Appendices I -IV).

Apart from humor writings, there were also cartoons included in a few number, usually one cartoon per issue. Similar to content, formation of Ottoman caricature was also under the influence and continuation of Ottoman Shadow Theatre. Traditional pictures depicting *Hacivat* and *Karagöz* constituted the base for the emergence of Ottoman Caricature. Use of *Karagöz* depictions in humor magazines, enabled the transformation of picture into caricature as Turgut Çeviker also states.<sup>169</sup> First we see the appearance of pictures and through the time we see the appearance of caricatures which much owes to Nişan Berberyan. Berberyan, was one of the first and the leading illustrators of nineteenth century Ottomans together with his contemporaries, Tıngır, Ali Fuat Bey, K. Opaçnadassis, Santr and other unnamed ones with signature such as N.P. /F.Z.. Berberyan was the illustrator for many of first Ottoman humor magazines ranging from *Mamul* (1869), *Hayal* (1873), *Tiyatro* (1874), *Geveze* (1875), and *Meddah* (1876). In *Hayal*, as the name implies, which meant shade or imagination and reminds of Ottoman Shadow Theatre Curtain, Berberyan also used illustration of puppets *Karagöz and Hacivat*.<sup>170</sup> It seems that as publication evolved, *Karagöz* and *Hacivat* characters were replaced by caricatures as typical of modern humor magazines. It was similar to the development that *Punch* followed. First issues of *Punch* included pictures as illustrations, which later evolved into the typical caricatures or cartoons.<sup>171</sup> That through the time, *Karagöz* and *Hacivat* characters disappears and illustrations close to picture are replaced by more typical caricatures, is also evident in the case of *Latife* and *Tiyatro*, both published between 1874-57. In both Magazines, some caricatures are without signature, other signed by Berberyan, Delemak and Tıngır. It is seen that caricatures also share the

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<sup>169</sup> Nişan G. Berberyan, *Terakki edelim beyler*. Edited by Turgut Çeviker (İstanbul: Adam Yayınları, 1986), pp. 9-10.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., pp.9-10.

<sup>171</sup> Price, *A History of Punch*, 1957: pp. 356-369. Illustrations given from the first issues.

same topics and ideology with the humor writings. That the caricatures, Tinghir draws for both *Latife* and *Tiyatro*, are with the same topic and ideology also another evidence of a shared characteristic of humor magazines of the first generation.

As for the interrelations with literature, similarities can be established between the novels of nineteenth century and humor magazines, regarding the content and ideology. As it is already stated, humor magazines were didactic similar to *Tanzimat* novels shaped by the same epistemology and conservative ideology. For instance, similar to Ottoman humorists acting as spectators, and in parallelism with *Spectator* of Addison, Ahmed Midhat would be watching out for the vices in the society and attempting their censure through literature. He was one of the representatives of conservative ideology which has defined the discourse nineteenth century humor magazines, putting limits on the extent of modernization as would do Ahmed Midhat.<sup>172</sup> His writing position as observer is also evident in the name of his famous novel *Müşahadat* (1890), meaning observation, and as such titled similar to *Spectator* magazine. As Parla defines that Ahmed Midhat incorporates himself into the story as the observer but his observer position is different from Zola's realism. Zola has a naturalist stand, whereas Mithat's position is rather of an instructor, critic and protector.<sup>173</sup> That is what Ahmed Midhat would attempt to do in his novels; humorists already did in humor magazines. This is valid for Non-Muslim communities' literature and press as it is also derived from the topics of *Tadron*. Further, *Tiyatro*'s editor Baronian's novels criticized similar points regarding westernized fops.<sup>174</sup>

As it will explained in the discourse analysis part, conservatives did not completely reject the westernization but they defined limits for it. Westernization or modernization was acceptable to the extent that the indigenous mores and values are saved. Nevertheless, as the westernized fops exceeded the limits set by conservatives, they became the butt of both the humorists and novelists. It was at the same time a matter and criticism of superficial and deficient adoptions from the west,

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<sup>172</sup> Mardin, *Superwesternization*, 1974: p.425. For detailed comments on Midhat's view on Westernization, see: Orhan Okay, *Batı Medeniyeti Karşısında Ahmet Midhat Efendi* (M.E.B.: İstanbul, 1991).

<sup>173</sup> Parla, *Don Kişot'tan Bugüne Roman*, 2000: p.98. About Ahmed Midhat's position as an observer : *Müşahadat* in Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, 2010: pp.72-77.

<sup>174</sup> See: Bardakjian, "Baronian's Political and Social Satire," 1978.

as well as of alienation from indigenous culture as a threat on communitarian society. However, westernization was not the only topic for Ottoman humorists, or moralists, but with a conservative stand and morality concern, either in literature or humor press, they were concerned with any vices, deficiencies and incongruities they observed in society.

Another interrelation of humor magazines was with court literature. It has been stated that Ottoman humor magazines inherited and shaped by the folk literature including verbal humor. With the introduction of press, written humor also could reach a wider public, with transmission of court literature forms of humor including prose and verse satire through press. This is also similar to the case *Spectator*, which included verses from Roman satirical tradition and devised wit to convey their messages, as stated before. It also contributes to the emergence of a modern humor for general public, which is as an intellectual form of humor, requiring more reader involvement and which is socially and politically more critical, as well as literarily more elaborate when compared to the folk literature forms of humor. They made emphasis on *wit*, as which is intellectual form of humor, proves to be more didactic, especially when based on the play of ideas instead of words, to manage the enlightenment of readers by enabling them to turn the mirror to themselves. Therefore, such a move towards intellectual form of humor is again in parallelism with the didactic concern of nineteenth century humor writers. As that is voiced by Addison, “to enliven morality with *wit*.”

Ottoman humor magazines also limitedly included verse and prose satirical pieces. However, written in prose or verse, and blended with *wit*, satire included in nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines was of a gentle kind. As in line with Roman satirical tradition, which perceives satire as a moral instruction tool, and so attributes importance to the propriety of satire, as quoted before. This is also in line with *Spectator*'s inclusion of verses from Horace and Juvenal. Also, with the incorporation of satire, *gölmece* and *yergi* could be merged. The former did not involve ridicule or mockery, in that way it has the connotation of English word comics, but the latter corresponded to the satire.<sup>175</sup> Thus, Ottoman humor magazines, as a new literary publication could emerge out of the mixing of *gölmece*

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<sup>175</sup> Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi: Giriş*, vol. I (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi: Ankara,1998) pp. 148-157.

and *yergi. Muhavere* and conversational stories, which are written by question and answer method, were the dominant writing style. The reason behind which, as already mentioned, was a didactic concern. Another reason for the use of *Muhavere* as a writing style was that it enabled a specific humor production and delivery which also could make a didactic influence through use of *wit*, as which is attempted to be clarified in the next part.

## II. II. *Muhavere*: A Pragmatic Analysis

A linguistic model developed by Grice, presupposes that there are four *conversational maxims* governing a conversation in forming the basis for implications or *implicatures* as he calls. Implicatures are the meanings that the audience or the addressed can get from the way the thing is said. The first one is maxim of *quantity* which requires the speaker to be informative in adequate level to satisfy the audience or the addressed, but only informative to the required extent. Another is maxim of *quality* that is, contribution made by the speaker needs to be true. As the third maxim, maxim of *Relation* requires the relevancy of what is said, and lastly, the *manner* maxim is a matter of bluntness or clearness of contribution by the speaker. As the basis of implications, when these maxims or rules are violated, then the new *implicatures* emerge.<sup>176</sup> Applying this model in the study of humor, it could be contended that flouting these maxims serves in humor production as also shown by various scholars.<sup>177</sup> If these four positions are taken as the standard ways of contributions, then some deviations may involve in emergence of humorous implications. Accordingly, word play, metaphors and metonymy, for instance, can be considered as the results of deviations from maxims of quantity and manner. Besides, humor production is also possible through flouting maxim of quality and relevance.

This pragmatic model of analysis is also useful and relevant in the study of humor production and delivery in the content of Ottoman humor magazines as the most significant characteristic of humor writings is that they are in the form of *muhavere* or conversations. Within these conversations, humorous implications

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<sup>176</sup> Paul Grice, *Studies in the Way of Words* ( Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1991), pp.22-40.

<sup>177</sup> Paul Simpson, *On the Discourse of Satire: Towards a stylistic model of satirical discourse* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2003), p.17.

usually emerge through flouting Grice's maxims of conversation. In the case of Ottoman humor magazines, deviations from the maxims of quality, manner and relation are the most frequent ones. One of the speakers usually confuse or intend to confuse the other and so that the reader through literary devices of humor including tropes, metaphor, metonymy, puns and irony. This can be exemplified with an extract from a *muhavere* titled *Paul et Virgine Belası* published in *Tiyatro*. In this conversation, a man is telling his friend about his son's falling love with a girl. He further states that his son was inspired by the love between *Paul* and *Virgine*, who were the main characters in the novel by Jacques-Henri Bernardin. The father does not consent this love, neither find the girl suitable for his son as the girl is from a lower class. Further, he complains to his friend that the aforementioned lady was only after his son's money. When his friend asks him to explain who were *Paul* and *Virginie*, he begins to tell the story:

Father: - Once upon a time, there used to be Paul and Virgine...

His friend (*interrupting him*):- there is still *pul* found but I don't know what its price is.

Father (*ignores him and goes on*): -Virginie used to love Paul.

His Friend (continues to misunderstand *interrupts again*): -Who does not love the money!

Father (replies): -No, Paul is the guy.<sup>178</sup>

Here, there is a word play as well playing with ideas, between name Paul and the word *Pul*, because the pronunciation of the French name *Paul* and the Turkish word *pul* is almost the same even if they are written differently. Therefore, his friend thinks that he was talking about Turkish *pul* by saying *Paul*. Further, the *pul* is something expensive and valuable at the time. Hence, there is a metaphor between the pul and money and between the name Paul and the word *Pul*. In the former, the word pul substitutes for money due to their similarity in value. In the latter position, Paul substitutes for pul as the girl was considered to love the money in fact, not the son.

In this conversation, flouting the maxims of quantity and manner, respectively, lack of information and obscurity at first instance leads to a misunderstanding by

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<sup>178</sup> "Paul ve Virginie Belası", *Tiyatro*, April 8, 1874, issue 3, p.1.

his friend. This is where the funny or the humorous situation occurs. This humorous approach to son's love, in particular, is the ridicule of wrong inspirations among young generation by newly translated novels from the west at the time, and in general ridicule of overly westernization. This issue requiring further scrutiny will be treated in the following chapter.

Such pragmatic analysis reveals the centrality of playing with words and playing with ideas in humor production through *muhaveres*. The fact that such a literary technique is employed in forming *wit*, and that the nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines were rather publications of *wit*, also explains why the *muhavere* was a common form. Another reasonable explanation for why the humor writings in the magazines, were usually written in conversational form is to make them leave the same effect of a real conversation on the reader. For a writing intending to instruct its audience, conversation would be an influential way. The last but not the least, there was a tradition to read gazettes or magazines aloud in coffeehouses, and conversational form best suited to present the content to the gathered listeners like a theatrical show, as in the case of Ottoman comedies which were also performed through conversations.

### III. Discourse Analysis: Case of *Latife* and *Tiyatro*

#### III.I. Historical Background

Historical context of nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines should be treated in two levels, especially as *Tiyatro* and *Latife* which are both edited by Armenians, are considered. First level involves an overview concerning Ottoman community in general and specifically Istanbul. Second is a focus on Ottoman Armenians in particular in order to integrate their case into the general context which would also apply to the case of other Non-Muslim communities. To begin with, first phase of Ottoman humor press expanding to 1877 coincides with and also one of the results of *Tanzimat* Era, as previously underlined when analyzing the emergence of press. *Tanzimat* means re-arrangement or re-organization in Ottoman Turkish and the period named after which, is remarked by the proclamation of *Tanzimat* Rescript in 1839. This imperial edict secured “the life and property of individuals” was a turning point opening the way for westernization and redefining the state-subject relationships, to the advantage of the latter. Besides, this firman was to be followed by reforms to modernize state, economy and society. There were also some westernizing reforms carried out in previous centuries, but one significant difference of the nineteenth century is growing influence of the west through ever densely commercial and diplomatic relations with Europe.

First element is the westernization of economy as a part of integration process of Ottoman Empire into world capitalist system, which takes its roots in preceding century.<sup>179</sup> When it comes to the nineteenth century, changing economic conditions were signified by Anglo-Ottoman Free Trade Treaty of 1838, and which was followed by other free trade treaties with Europeans. That Free Trade Treaties abolished some restrictions on trade and opened Ottoman markets to trade with Europeans, was a turning point in westernization of Ottoman economy.<sup>180</sup> This was accompanied by a growing of European population in Istanbul as both a diplomatic and commercial center serving as a port city, one of the pillars of

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<sup>179</sup>Eldem, Edhem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” in *the Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, Eds. Edhem Eldem, Bruce Alan Masters, and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.140.

<sup>180</sup>Şevket Pamuk, “On the Free Trade Treaties of 1838-41” *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820-1913* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp.18-21.



peripheralization.<sup>181</sup> Next to which, added continuous influx of European commodities into Ottoman lands and opening of European companies, and various western style establishments such as schools, department stores, cafes, theatres in specific quarters of Istanbul where existence of European and non-Muslim population already had been felt. Second element which is also closely linked with the former is the various westernizing reforms initiated by the government taking European states as a model, which included urban reforms such as the ones on infrastructure, transportation and city outlook and reforms on clothing, education, leisure and similar ones for the consideration of this study. Third, as a natural result of the first two elements, was the continuous adoption of European cultural elements by individuals for modernization.

The reason behind modernizing reforms on the part of government was rather pragmatic; it was to ensure the survival of the state on the face of modernized European powers.<sup>182</sup> Further, it was to catch up with the progress level of Europe and to be one of the representatives of civilization. Therefore, the two important ideologies of *Tanzimat* period were *Terakki* and *Medeniyet* that is, “Progress and Civilization” and which is also shared by non-Muslim communities. One can frequently come up with these terms in the discourse of this period including that of the humor magazines. Even papers in considerable number were titled *Terakki* and *Medeniyet*.<sup>183</sup> Though, it was not a modernization solely brought about through a government ideology, or by the influence of west, but it also came out of internal dynamics of the state, as a continuation of early modern period of Ottomans corresponding to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>184</sup> In the same vein, it would be illogical to take this modernization as simply imposed by the state through reforms as a government initiative, as society was changing along with the changing conditions of time through various social and economic energizers. They were specifically foreigners and Europeans, merchants, non-Muslim communities of the

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid, pp. 135-206.

<sup>182</sup> Such understanding of *Tanzimat* is also found in Ottoman *Tanzimat* statesman Cevdet Paşa, as shown by Christoph Neumann, *Araç Tarih Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet'in Siyasi Anlamı* ( Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul: 1999 ), p. 217.

<sup>183</sup> See: Hasan Duman, 2000 .

<sup>184</sup> Rifa'at Ali Abou El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State, the Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Syracuse, 2005).

Empire, upper classes, and members of wealthy families who had westernized schooling both at home and in Europe, as will be explained below.

In the first place, Ottoman non-Muslim communities had been organized along their religious identities as *millets*. According to *millet* system, each community was administered by their related religious authorities in both religious and public sphere. For the Armenians in Istanbul, they were bound to and under administration of the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul regarding spiritual affairs, and personal affairs such as marriage, divorce, inheritance and schools and printing establishments.<sup>185</sup> Therefore, church also acted as the government body over the Armenian community. However, during the course of the nineteenth century, *status quo* of non-Muslims changed through two important factors. One is the introduction of *millet nizamnameleri* or *millet* constitutions, which allowed a considerable secularization within the community administration. Accordingly, two different Armenian constitutions came into effect respectively in 1860, and in 1863, which allowed participation by different segments of society and secular representation in administrative body, while previously *millet* administration had been monopolized by upper class, *amiras*, and clergy.<sup>186</sup>

Second factor of change was the missionary activities among non-Muslim communities of Ottoman Empire. Eventually, Catholic and Protestant millets were established in Istanbul and recognized by the government, respectively in 1831.<sup>187</sup> and in 1850.<sup>188</sup> Secularization in the internal administration of Armenians; missionary activities; and conversions to Catholicism and Protestantism played a significant role in westernization of this community. First of all, *Mekhitarists* inaugurated enlightenment among Ottoman Armenian community through translations acquainting them with European concepts and invoking a historical consciousness through publications.<sup>189</sup> Secondly, this was accompanied by opening of missionary schools and secular schools which attracted a considerable amount of

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<sup>185</sup> Vartan Artinian, *The Armenian Constitutional System in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1863: A Study of its Historical Development* (Istanbul: V. Artinian, 1988), p.16.

<sup>186</sup> Murat Bebiroğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslim Nizamnameleri*. Edited by Cahit Külekçi (Istanbul: Akademi Matbaası, 2008), pp. 52-76, pp. 133-162.\* Also includes the text of Constitution.

<sup>187</sup> Artinian, *The Armenian Constitutional System*, 1988: p. 38.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, p. 42.

<sup>189</sup> Gerard, J. Libaridian, *Modern Armenia: People, Nation, State* ( Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 2004), pp.53-4.

pupils from Armenian community. Some of them, such as members of wealthy and upper class families, also had the opportunity of education in Western Europe. Thus through these channels, Armenian community could get acquainted with the west earlier than the Muslim community.

Second energizers of westernization were European presence, non-Muslims, European and Non-Muslims merchants, latter forming a new bourgeoisie. For the case of Armenians, upper class members, *Amiras*, took the lead in adopting western ways and helping community to adopt too.<sup>190</sup> Besides, non-Muslim property owners and merchants acting in Galata and Pera had a major role in municipal and urban modernizing reforms.<sup>191</sup> It was rather the members of non-Muslim communities who involved in trade and close relationships with the west. Spot for international trade and European presence was Galata and Pera districts of Istanbul. Pera housed representatives of western powers and members of non-Muslim merchant community. Galata was rather inhabited by non-Muslims including Armenians, Greeks and Jews. As a matter of fact, Galata and Pera have long been of a non-Muslim character.<sup>192</sup> In the seventeenth century, districts of Galata and Pera were already in the position of commercial, diplomatic and cultural interface between West and Ottoman Empire. As Edhem Eldem quotes from the observations of French ambassador's dragamon Fornetty that Galata from 17th century on "...with its churches, its processions, and its population of foreign merchants and sailors..." was "...too cosmopolitan to be oriental."<sup>193</sup> When it comes to the nineteenth century, together with increased commercial relations through 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Free Trade Treaty, and increased diplomatic relations with the west, western influence also increased in this part of Istanbul. This was accompanied by the influx of european visitors, commodities, opening of western establishments and the urban

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<sup>190</sup>Hagop Barsoumian, "The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian *Millet* ( 1750- 1850 )," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, Vol.I* Edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982), pp 177- 178.

<sup>191</sup> Steven Rosenthal, "Minorities and Municipal Reform in Istanbul: 1850-1870", in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, Vol.I*. Edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis ( New York : Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982),p.373, pp.369-382;; Christoph Neumann, " Modernitenin Çatışması, *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye, 1875-1912*", *İstanbul: İmparatorluk Başkentinden Megakente*. Edited by Yavuz Köse and translated by Ayşe Dağlı ( İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011 ),pp.426-55.

<sup>192</sup> Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital," 1999: pp. 148-149.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p.144.

westernization out of economic and class interests and increased European presence in the region. For the emergence of European presence, Crimean War of 1853 was also influential. During the war city hosted French and English soldiers and officials and provided a mass contact and familiarity with Europeans and European culture.<sup>194</sup> Yet, Non- Muslim communities, thanks to their religious and commercial ties with Europeans, were the first in getting under European influence through trade and European education. As they were the first in adapting to the western ways, Non-Muslims had took an active role in the introduction of western cultural institutions such as press, theatre etc. Further, they took important positions in offices such as translation, diplomacy and central government office that also made them agents of westernization.<sup>195</sup>

As for the Muslim community, *Tanzimat* reforms in general had opened the way for westernization. One determinant was the modernization of education, as it was valid for the case of non-Muslims. For instance establishment of *Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şahane* or School of Administration in 1859, provided formation of Ottoman bureaucratic elite as endowed with western knowledge and language.<sup>196</sup> Further introduction of printing and publishing, and that some members of Muslim communities travelled to west, learned western languages and had education in Europe, let them get acquainted with the Western ideas and culture.<sup>197</sup> Especially those, who were educated in the west, brought home western ideas and cultural elements together with them. Another element in Ottoman Muslim westernization was the interactions with westernized non-Muslim communities and Europeans. Member of wealthy segments of society took the lead in adopting western elements, frequenting western cultural spots in Galata and Pera and moving their residences to that westernized part of the city. Edhem Eldem well defines the situation that “For a Muslim inhabitant of some socio- economic standing, moving to Europeanized sectors of the city implied a certain cultural choice and statement that of adopting a

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<sup>194</sup> Kemal Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* ( Leiden: Brill, 2002 ),p.267.

<sup>195</sup>Roderic H. Davison, “The *Millet*s as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire”, in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, Vol.I* Edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982), p. 327.

<sup>196</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi( 1839-1908): İslamlaşma, Bürokrasi ve Disiplin* ( İstanbul: İletişim, 2010 ),pp.77-78.

<sup>197</sup> For a general overview of cultural and intellectual changes in Tanzimat Era, see: M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 94-104.

westernized attitude, as opposed to the option of asserting a more traditional and conservative stand by staying within the perimeter of the walled city.”<sup>198</sup> Yet, it was not only non-Muslims and Europeans who influenced Muslim community in westernization.

Even the first Ottoman Muslim-Turkish gazette was allowed by the sultan to be published, only after the publication of an official gazette in Cairo, as mentioned before. In that sense, Davison’s supposition that Ottoman Muslims abstained from western elements because non-Muslims had adopted which, and as such western elements were coming from “infidel origins,”<sup>199</sup> has grounds. Regarding the energizers of change influencing Muslims of Istanbul in westernizing, it was not only non-Muslims but also other segments were influential. For instance, in the second half of the nineteenth century, wealthy Egyptian Muslim families had arrived in Istanbul. As Şerif Mardin quotes from Cevdet Paşa, that Egyptians ladies were being imitated by Istanbul ladies in wearing western dresses.<sup>200</sup>

### **Modernity and Its Satire**

Thus, Istanbul as the capital, cultural and commercial city, and now being more-multi-ethnic city along with its relatively more dense multi-ethnic population together with a growing number of Europeans, it had been the base of modernization, along with its inhabitants. Westernization or modernization evoked a conservative reaction on the part of Ottoman intellectuals who were appearing as “the protectors or the mentors of Ottoman traditions and values”<sup>201</sup> Such a conservative reaction manifested as the discourse of morality and basing their arguments on the threatening of Ottoman traditions and classical order, was partly a continuation of previous conservatism of early modern period in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as exemplified in attitudes to change with a morality concern characterized by Ottoman *nasihatname* or advice to kings literature.<sup>202</sup> To put it differently, it is linked to the idea of protection of *Nizam-ı Alem*, or the classical order of golden age. An example

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<sup>198</sup> Eldem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” 1999: p. 204.

<sup>199</sup> Davison, “The *Millet*s as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire,” 1982: p.332.

<sup>200</sup> Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir I-II*. Edited by Cavid Baysun (Ankara: 1953), in Mardin, *Superwesternization*, 1974: p.417.

<sup>201</sup> Parla, 1990: pp.9-21.

<sup>202</sup> Rifa’at Ali Abou El-Haj, “Ottoman Nasihatname as a Discourse Over Morality”, *Revue d’Histoire Maghrebine*, 14 (1987), pp. 15–30.

is Koçi Bey, who lived in seventeenth century and when criticizing the changes in society and state of his time as a degeneration of morals with the words *fitne-ü fesat*, he based his arguments on the conditions of previous century, and urging for the restoration of previous order.<sup>203</sup>

When it comes to nineteenth century, conservative reaction continued as traditionalist conservatism, but this time it was particularly articulated against modernity, with two new topics added on the agenda, modernization or *al a franga* and new commercial relationships brought by westernization of economy. It was conservatism peculiar to nineteenth century, emerging in societies when facing the modernity or when the modern society is being formed, as Philippe Benetton well describes it. One of elements characterizing traditional conservatism is the conflict between the *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft*. That is, they supported communitarianism constituted by the family as a unit, against modern society constituted by individuals, because it was only through the communities that preservation of morals could be ensured, assigning its members moral obligations.<sup>204</sup> Political and social ideas of Ottoman *Tanzimat* men were not homogenous in terms of their attitudes towards modernity or westernization.<sup>205</sup> Still, two elements as communitarianism and concern for sustaining morality in society are shared by Ottoman intellectuals such as Ahmed Midhat and Baronian as the representatives of traditionalism which is found in the discourse of nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines of the first period in both Armenian and Turkish Muslim press. Now with the westernization of society and economy, difference between lower and upper classes and so between “the Great and Little Culture” had been widened. It is out of this communitarian idea that Ottoman intellectuals, such as Ahmed Midhat who were also coming from relatively lower class, attempted at to close that gap through intermingling of the two cultures through literature,<sup>206</sup> which is valid as well as for humor press, and for Baronian and Beykozluyan’s position as it is derived from the content and discourse of magazines.

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<sup>203</sup> Zuhuri Danişman, *Koçi Bey Risalesi*, ed. Yılmaz Kurt (Ankara: Akçağ, 1999), pp. 82-84 , pp. 63-84, pp.13-105.

<sup>204</sup> Philippe Beneton, *Muhafazakârlık*. Translated by Cüneyt Akalın (İstanbul: İletişim, 1991), pp. 99-115.

<sup>205</sup> For detail on the topic, see: İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Adamı ve Tanzimat Toplumu*, in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, eds., Halil İnalçık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu ( Ankara: Phoenix, 2006 ).

<sup>206</sup> Mardin, *Superwesternization*, 1974: pp.426-429.

Conservatism therefore, shaped humor and satire and made the humor press a device of conservatives and of government ideology. This was also valid for the satire characterizing genre of novels in this period. As Adorno signifies that “Historically, therefore, satire has thousands of years, up to Voltaire’s age, preferred to side with the stronger party, which could be relied on, with authority. Usually acted on behalf of older strata, threatened by more recent stages of enlightenment, which sought to support their traditionalism with enlightened means: its inexhaustible theme was the decay of morals.” Exactly, satire was the device of Ottoman conservatives of this period, who were representatives of older generation, reacted against modernity for the preservation of traditional order, and by legitimizing their objections through the discourse of moral decadence and corruption. This would shape the first humor magazines into moral weeklies.

Such relationship between satire and modernism has been elaborated by Jonathan Greenberg in his book *Modernism, Satire and the Novel*, which reveals the centrality of satire to modernity, and how the satire as a literary form changed with modernity. With reference to Lewis’s work, he states that satire becomes non-moral and corruptions were ridiculed not for a didactic aim, but for ridicule for its own sake.<sup>207</sup> Millar also quotes the words of Wyndham Lewis that, “I am a satirist. . . But I am not a moralist...”<sup>208</sup> Miller adds that “traditionally the satirist needed moral sanction of society.”, “...yet...shared moral values have evaporated and feels no moral solidarity with others. He is forced, under these circumstances, to consider the possibility of “non-ethical satire,” “satire” for its own sake.”<sup>209</sup>

Yet, at nineteenth century Ottomans, satire was an ethical one. Ottoman conservatives in the formation period of modernity, had appeared as the protectors, in terms of morality, and trying to instruct audience and to criticize the over westernization as exemplified to the full by upper class of civilian bureaucracy and newly forming bourgeoisie. The fact that Ottoman society was a multi ethnic and multi religious composition, and that the magazines taken for a case in this study,

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<sup>207</sup> Jonathan D. Greenberg, *Modernism, Satire and the Novel* ( New York: Cambridge University Press), 2011, p.4.

<sup>208</sup> Wyndam Lewis, *Men Without Art*, ed. Seamus Cooney (Santa Rosa: Black Sparrow Press, 1987), p. 87, in Tyrus Miller, *Late modernism : politics, fiction, and the arts between the world wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999 ), p. 46 .

<sup>209</sup> Tyrus Miller, *Late modernism: politics, fiction, and the arts between the world wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 46.

*Latife* and *Tiyatro*, were both published by the Armenians, does not change the validity of arguments made in this chapter. Ottoman Muslims' conservatism as such also applies to Armenians as Armenian conservatism was also based on a communitarian understanding and emerged as a reaction to modernization with a discourse of morality. When Armenians of Istanbul started to adopt western ways, they faced with a conservative reaction on the part of their community, which similar to Ottoman Muslim conservatives, had worries about losing their ethnic identities.<sup>210</sup>

In short, as the westernization characterized the period, humor press involved in topics of westernization or modernization to a great extent. However, it was not westernization which defined the tone of humor but it was morality and the continuation of traditional society as a dominant structure and conservatism as the dominant ideology that had made Ottoman humor magazines typical moral weeklies in this period. In this point, Ottoman intellectuals attempted to preserve the communitarian structure of society based on traditional values, through attempting to close the gap between lower and upper classes. Thus, first Ottoman humor magazines of the nineteenth century, as well as *Latife* and *Tiyatro* was the product of that mediatory effort of intellectuals.

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<sup>210</sup>Arus Yumul, Rifat N. Bali and Foti Benlisoy, "Gayrimüslim Cemaatlerde Muhafazakarlık," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 5: Muhafazakarlık*, eds., Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil. İstanbul: İletişim, 2003), p. 658.



### III.II. Content: Stumbling Runners, Social Deviators and Self-Ignorant Fops

Ottoman *Spectators* as moral weeklies were watching out for vices, deficiencies, and incongruities in society and city, and also for whether the conservative limits set for an acceptable degree of westernization or modernization is exceeded or not. Among all topics, westernization occupied a significant place and what humorists observed was either a deficient or an excessive westernization resulting in corruption and degeneration of morals. As repeated before, laughter in the context of the first period of Ottoman humor magazines in general had three roots which could be explained respectively by incongruity theory, Bergson's social theory of laughter, and superiority theory, all of which also outline the main content. Besides, similar to *Spectator*, politics as a subject matter were generally abstained in the content of *Tiyatro* and *Latife*, except for rare references in one or two number of issues and topics usually about the current wars. For instance, one of the last issues of *Latife* treated Ottoman-Serbian war, which was currently taking place.<sup>211</sup> This applies to the nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines of the first period in general.<sup>212</sup> Avoidance from politics was mainly originated from censorship on press. As already mentioned, government policy allowed humor press if the publications offer moral instructions and censure of vice and folly in society through wit, instead of satire or subversion. Second reason was the moral concern of humor magazines which directed the attention rather to private daily life of people as topics.

First of all, incongruity theory is the most relevant one to the first period of Ottoman humor magazines, as well as British moral weeklies. It is a theory of wit, intelligence, and of conservatism and ethical humor as defined before. If laughter is produced with ethical considerations, wit is preferred to satire, in order to involve the audience in an intellectual process and in order not to produce hatred but didactic effect on the butt of humor. Even if satire is employed, it was gentle in line with Roman satirical tradition. It is the peculiarity of moral or comic weeklies to underline incongruities through wit and show how the things should be instead. Therefore,

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<sup>211</sup> *Latife*, issue 1, September 1, 1292/1876.

<sup>212</sup> First Ottoman Turkish humor magazine *Diyojen* (1870-73), for instance, included political satire; however it was suspended for five times and banned at the end due to its some political writings. See: Hamdi Özdiş: *Osmanlı mizah basınında batılılaşma ve siyaset, 1870-1877: Diyojen ve Çaylak üzerinde bir araştırma* (İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2010), p. 82.

incongruity theory of the eighteenth century was contemporary to British moral weeklies which are also known as publications of wit. Ideology defined the tone of humor, as this period of Ottomans is defined as *Şarivari* by contemporaries. *Charivari* in Ottoman context was mainly incongruity of western elements to indigenous culture. Nevertheless, it was not limited to westernization, but any social or cultural deviation created incongruity is subject to moral weeklies. Thereof, first Ottoman humor magazines, similar to *Spectator* aimed at underlining the incongruities through wit for their correction.

Secondly, modernization in various fields, ranging from urban modernizing reforms to cultural westernization of individuals such as clothing and new manners, all involved a stumbling, apart from incongruity, similar to Bergson's example of a runner. Ottoman runners on the way of modernization stumbled many times, not being able to properly adapting to western ways, out of their rigidity and unsociability and which caused laughter. It is exemplified with a cartoon depicting men in westernized cloths running, but the wind is blowing their hats away:



“-I took part in this competition, but what about with the wind ?...”<sup>213</sup>

Further, in the context of nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines, modernization or *medeniyet* was usually symbolized with a horse, as also pointed out

<sup>213</sup> *Latife*, issue 4, August 22, 1874, p.4.

by Turgut Çeviker. Cartoon below might be interpreted as a ridicule of deficient western imitation. It depicts men and women with westernized cloths and men riding horses over women:



“Sorry.....this picture has been taken from Europe

on the condition to comply with the original.”<sup>214</sup>

As it has already been stated in related chapter, Bergson’s social theory of laughter is, to the contrary seems to be articulated for the laughter of a revolutionary voice, but it could also be interpreted as a conservative theory as well, as explained before. That is, individuals by adopting western ways were deviating from their traditional society which is the dominant form of society. Thus, they prove incongruous to indigenous culture and provoke laughter. It could also be interpreted as conservatives’ attack on the rigidity of those in conforming to norms of traditional society. Therefore, rigidity and unsociability could be taken as the second elements in the content of first Ottoman humor magazines. Unsociability also originated from the poor imitations of the western originals. Western imitations, as well as fops, and coxcombrs constituted the third main line of the content, which produced a kind of laughter similar to one as explained by superiority theory.

<sup>214</sup> Latife, issue 48, February 27, 1290/ 1874, p.4.

*Tiyatro* and *Latife* shared the same content with their contemporaries in Ottoman press, as the content of other papers is shown by other works.<sup>215</sup> Both published by Armenian editors, but in Ottoman Turkish and Ottoman Turkish alphabet, they reflect the general picture about early humor magazines. Further, a comparison reveals that not only with their attitude, but also with their content, nineteenth century first Ottoman humor magazines to some extent were in parallelism with eighteenth century British moral weeklies as well. Similar to *Spectator*, *Latife* and *Tiyatro* concentrated on the private daily life of people, as well as the city. Both Ottoman and British papers, glorified a moderate, sober, decorous, virtuous society with a good taste and morals against vices, impropriety, coxcombry, show off, luxury, debauchery, idleness and immorality. In line with that, similar topics such as fashion, manners and city life, were shared as will be demonstrated with the analysis of content. One difference from *Spectator* is the theme of westernization around which Ottoman discourse is shaped, as problematized as a threat to indigenous culture and identity.

Though, *Spectator* had also some considerations such as the corruption brought to the city by foreign elements, as exemplified by the critic on Italian plays as will be shown. However, there is a second point of discussion that is, commercial relations which is also shared with and constituted the general frame of *Spectator* Magazine. Eighteenth century had coincided with the formation of middle class in Britain. *Spectator* and *Tatler*, served as guides on “moral, cultural, and social choices that accompanied relationships with one another and themselves, with the financial and commercial markets of their day, and with contemporary entertainments and pastimes.”<sup>216</sup> In parallelism, Ottoman daily life now was of a commercial nature, with newly forming bourgeoisie, and westernization of economy. This commercial nature, as a new bringing was shaping daily life, consumption habits, relationships, manners, leisure, and city itself.

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<sup>215</sup> *Diyojen* (1870-73) and *Çaylak* (1876-77), with similar criticisms, shared the same topics such as transportation, municipal services, fashion, journalism, as shown by Hamdi Özdiş, in *Osmanlı mizah basınında batılılaşma ve siyaset, 1870-1877: Diyojen ve Çaylak üzerinde bir araştırma* (İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2010).p. 90, p.95. For the list of topics covered by the nineteenth century humor magazines in general, see: Turgut Çeviker, *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü Tanzimat ve İstibdat Dönemi, 1867-1878/1878-1908* ( İstanbul: Adam Yayınları, 1986 ).

<sup>216</sup> Erin Mackie, ed., *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from the Tatler and the Spectator* (Boston: MacMillan Press , 1998 ), p.3.

As a result, discourse of the nineteenth century humor press is formed by two main considerations. First is economic, and second which is also closely linked to the former, is cultural westernization, as embodied by the theme on westernization of urban culture, lifestyles, manners, literature, social norms and institutions. Latter partly originates from the idea limiting modernization to technical terms with a fear of losing cultural identity. In other words, Ottoman conservatives supported modernization and westernization to the degree that indigenous culture and values are not changed. Such a concern is found in both Muslims and non-Muslims for their respective communities as revealed by the discourse *Latife* and *Tiyatro* and by literary works of Baronian. With regard to technology, such conservative motto still exists today, “we shall adopt it, but not its culture” in conflict with the fact that every technology comes with a culture. Therefore, technical adoptions are inevitably, accompanied by an acculturation process, which evoked the reaction of conservatives.<sup>217</sup>

All in all, general discourse of magazines was evolved around the axes of economy and westernization. For that reason, economic dimension of conservative reaction against modernization should be incorporated into the analysis. Besides, as it was in the case of British moral weeklies, there were various other topics relating to morality, properness in various fields such as journalism. Given these two axes of economic and cultural westernization, and the frequency of the topics covered, content of *Tiyatro* and *Latife* can be divided into three main topics: economy; urban modernization such as transportation and municipal reforms; cultural westernization such as fashion and new urban habits, manners, etiquette, leisure and journalism. Thus, in line with the greater aim of closing widening gap between Great and Little Culture<sup>218</sup> and of refining all segments of society from vices, topics of criticism relates to both upper and lower classes, to censure the vices of both.

### **Economic Westernization: Moral Economy**

The first major topic that is the westernization of economy constitutes main axes of general discourse trough relating to all the other topics as already been stated. It

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<sup>217</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Osmanlılarda Batı’dan Kültür Aktarması Üzerine”, in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Toplum ve Ekonomi Üzerinde Arşiv Çalışmaları, İncelemeler* ( İstanbul: Eren, 1996 ), p.426.

<sup>218</sup> Mardin, *Super Westernization*,1974:p. 429.



can be interpreted as a morality discourse over economy and commercial relationships which had been found to be unjust, improper, and immoral. New market relationships were shaped by the westernization of economy which had brought about an inequality, increased competition, entrepreneurship and profit motive on the market. Economic theme was usually voiced such as “lack of money, debts, poverty, high cost of living, food forgery, newly introduced means of capitalism such as insurance”, on the one hand, and “idleness, unemployment, spending, dissipation and luxury”, on the other. Two reasons would be offered for why economic theme is structured as such. One is economic crisis; the other is westernization of economy bringing about profit motive and new consumption patterns.

In this period, Ottoman Empire was going through debt crisis.<sup>219</sup> This was accompanied with economic crisis. In the first place, personal debts were linked to poverty and economic crisis in the discourse. High cost of living was a dominant theme and people are frequently depicted as either lacking money or complaining about debts which they could not afford to pay, as it is illustrated in the cartoon below depicting a man talking with his tailor:



<sup>219</sup> Edhem Eldem, “Ottoman financial integration with Europe: foreign loans, the Ottoman Bank, and the Ottoman public debt”, *European Review*, Vol.13, No.3, (2005),431-445.

- Why did not you sew a pocket on this?
- What are you going to do with a pocket? There is no need for pocket on trousers sewed on credit.<sup>220</sup>

Further, in *muhaveres*, friends asked each other to lend money, but no one had the money to lend.<sup>221</sup> In another muhavere, banker or *sarrafi* was asking back the money he lent to a man and they were disputing over which.<sup>222</sup> Similarly, *The Spectator* treats the issue of debts and criticizes families for sustaining a habit of being in debt.<sup>223</sup> Yet, in the Ottoman context, criticism of debts has a second ground which differs from *The Spectator*' stand. The second reason why "lack of money and debts" was a frequently included theme is the changing consumption patterns through the westernization of economy which is also where theme of cultural westernization relates to economic one. Economic morality dimension triggered the negative attitude towards adoption of western ways ranging from fashion to urban habits and modernization in city itself including transportation and municipal reforms, as derived from the discourse. Especially fashion and western department stores seem to be regarded as manipulations by capital owners to make money in the midst of economic crisis and poverty. For instance, men are usually depicted as penniless but are pushed by their inconsiderate wives or daughters to purchase the fashionable items. In that point, entrepreneurs in the field of fashion is criticized as well, as all will be explained with evidences in the parts on cultural westernization. Besides, apart from critic of new market relations, there was the critic of irrational consumption. As an example, *Latife* ridicules, that as the toilet powder, which was being imported from Europe, is so much consumed in Ottoman lands that, a capital owner is planning to found a plant in Istanbul.<sup>224</sup>

When westernized way of life is accompanied by dissipation it was subject to a further criticism because it was associated with debts and lack of money. Eventually, in both *Latife* and *Tiyatro*, people were usually criticized for using up their financial sources to purchase western commodities or to pursue a life of pleasure and enjoyment, or to follow the fashion and western leisure activities. As it was criticized

<sup>220</sup> *Latife*, issue 8, September 5, 1290/1874, p. 4.

<sup>221</sup> *Latife*, issue 12, September 19, 1290, p. 3.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid*, issue, 38, February 27, 1290/1875, p.2.

<sup>223</sup> Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, no. 82, Monday, June 4, 1711. Ed. Bond, 1965: p.352.

<sup>224</sup> "Dersaadet' de Bir Pudra Fabrikası", *Latife*, issue 43, Ramazan 30, 1874/1290, p. 2.

with a verse satire *Ey seven zevki, hemen sat eğer varsa malın*<sup>225</sup> that people were selling out their properties to finance their pleasure activities. An additional reason behind this criticism might be that Ottomans were against too much spending and especially spending on luxury. Ottoman Muslims considered too much spending as harmful to the state economy, which partly originates from traditional values such as teachings of dervish orders and importance of charity.<sup>226</sup> Ottoman Islamic tradition in particular encourages modesty in wealth and spending in contrast to the fact that in this period Ottoman state had started to get integrated into the world capitalist system.<sup>227</sup> Besides, given the possibility of changing and different attitudes among Muslims towards consumption, and given the multi-ethnic and multi-religious status of Ottomans, and that *Latife* and *Tiyatro* magazines were published by Armenians and addressed to Ottoman society in general, it could not be argued that opposition to too much spending only originates from Ottoman Islamic tradition. It could not be contended either that Ottoman communities in general opposed to spending and free market economy at all. It is evident in the discourse of papers that they opposed to too much spending and encouraged a moderate, and a rational use of money instead. It was in parallelism with *Spectator* which criticized those who were irrational and obsessed with spending and called for rational use of financial resources.<sup>228</sup>

As for the second sub-topic relating to economy, that is the expensiveness, or high cost of living, which was at the same time a further reason for personal debts, and was criticized again based on morality concern for commercial relations. For the expensiveness, humor writers accused sellers of the profit motive. As an instance, when listing the prices of most expensive commodities as “coffee, cotton, oil..” spermaceti candle is also included among the three, by noting that after the ban of travelling without candle lamps, price of spermaceti candle raised.<sup>229</sup> Reaction to price increase thus is an economic morality discourse which appears as the hidden texts behind various topics. Before the westernization of economy, prices used to be

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<sup>225</sup> *Latife*, issue 13, September 23, 1290/1874, p.1.

<sup>226</sup> Sabri F. Ülgener gives a detailed account on the topic, in his book : *Dünü ve Bugünü ile Zihniyet ve Din, İslam, Tasavvuf ve Çözülme Devri İktisat Ahlakı* ( İstanbul :Derin Yayınları, 2006 ) ; Sabri F. Ülgener, *İktisadi İntihat Tarihimizin Ahlak ve Zihniyet Meseleleri: Başlangıcından 18inci Asır Sonlarına Kadar Fikir ve Sanat Tarihi Boyunca Akisler ile Umumi bir Tahlil Denemesi* ( İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1951 ).

<sup>227</sup> Eldem, Edhem. “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” 1999:pp. 135-206.

<sup>228</sup> Mackie, *Commerce of Everyday*, 1998: pp. 30-32.

<sup>229</sup> *Latife*, issue 2, 10 August 1290/1874, p. 4.



strictly controlled under *narh* system which Ottoman system of market economy was based on. *Narh* or *ihtisab* partly originated from the concern for the morality of market relations.<sup>230</sup> Previously, prices were predefined by Ottoman *narh* regulations so the price increase was not allowed. It might be argued that humor writers' reactions to price increases were based on those previous conditions of a more balanced market.

Therefore, there is a further criticism directed to profit motive which had taken advantage of new consumption habits. Now, capitalism had invaded country through modernization and incorporation of western elements such as transportation services, fashion, and western commodities. It could be argued that those western elements were regarded by the conservatives as the capital owner's devices of money making. For that reason, *Latife* in an ironic way, lists them as "the winners of railway stocks (railway was also of a shareholder company like steamboat and trams' companies) are as follows:.... a hat shop,... a merchant, company's steam boats, a powder seller, a beauty business owner, a glover, a walking stick seller, a tram, a fez moulder, an armchair..."<sup>231</sup> All the listed items are either western commodities or their sellers and the list represents a two dimensional criticism: economic morality and cultural westernization.

Economic crisis and poverty made conservative reaction against profit motive more severe. Besides, cost of living was so high that people could not afford to buy even the basic foodstuff. It was criticized with a verse satire which was about the prices of foods,<sup>232</sup> among which meat was the most expensive. *Karakoncolos*, fictional spy of *Latife*, who was, similar to the *Mr. Spectator* of Addison, observing the society and reporting his observations, reports of a girl with an intentional exaggeration that "she leaves her goldsmith fiancé, to get engaged instead with a

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<sup>230</sup> Halil Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1525 Yılı Sonunda İstanbul'da Fiyatlar", *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, No.1 (1967), pp. 36-40; Halil İnalçık, "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire", *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 29, No.1, The Tasks of Economic History, (March 1969), pp.97-140; Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983); Ziya Kazıcı, *Osmanlılarda İhtisab Müessesesi: Osmanlılarda Ekonomik, Dini ve Sosyal Hayat* (İstanbul: Kültür Yayın Basın Birliği, 1987); Ö. Lütfi Barkan, "XV. Asrın Sonlarında Bazı Büyük Şehirlerde Eşya ve Yiyecek Fiyatlarının Tesbit ve Teftişi Hususlarını Tanzim Eden Kanunlar", *Tarih Vesikaları*, vol. 1, No.1 (1941).

<sup>231</sup> *Latife*, Issue 2, 25 March 1291 / 1875, p. 6.

<sup>232</sup> *Latife*, issue 5, April 1, 1291/ 1875, p. 2.

butcher, as the meat was more valuable than the precious metals at the time.”<sup>233</sup> Not coincidentally, within the topic of debts, the most frequent was the debts waiting to be paid to butchers. In the *muhaveres* men were complaining about butchers who were asking their money back.<sup>234</sup>

Thirdly, it was either expensiveness or high living costs or the profit motive that also had resulted in another corruption in the market- tobacco and food forgery. *Tiyatro* humorously, listed where the material commodities could be reached by the consumers, and the irony was that they irrelevantly could be found in foodstuff, such as “starch is found in granulated sugar.”<sup>235</sup> Further, following cartoon criticizes spoiled foodstuff:



- What is happening to you? Have you eaten greasy goose?
- It is not greasy goose, but probably oil with gas.<sup>236</sup>

Restaurants constituted another corruption with their low quality services. For instance, spoiled *kebaps*<sup>237</sup> were sold, and it was also possible to crack your teeth

<sup>233</sup> Ibid, issue 4, March 24, 1291 / 1875, p. 13.

<sup>234</sup> “Muhavere”, *Latife*, issue 4, August 22, 1290/ 1874, p. 3.

<sup>235</sup> “Emtia-yi Ticariyeden Mabed” *Tiyatro*, issue 5, April 3, 1290/ 1874, p.4.

<sup>236</sup> *Latife*, issue 3, March 27, 1291/1875, p.13.

<sup>237</sup> “Eyüp”, *Latife*, issue 4, August 22, 1290/ 1874, p.2.

when you are eating beef in one of restaurants in *Galata*.<sup>238</sup> New business fields were also criticized as a bringing of corrupt market relationships. For instance, in *Tiyatro*, insurance was mocked. In a *muhavere* or dialogue, a man whose garden's wall had been collapsed, is advised by his friend that if he had insured the wall, then the damage could have been paid. However, man had not even heard of something like insurance and thought it to be a joke. Further he ridiculed that may be the insurance company would ensure his sick son, and then he could be paid if the son happens to die.<sup>239</sup> Here the ridicule can be interpreted at the same time, as originating from Ottoman's unfamiliarity with insurance as a concept. The profit motive had resulted in unethical commercial relationships in various other fields. For instance *Kadıköy* Sea Baths were ridiculed as trying to attract customers through advertisements advising man often to go to the baths so as to be healthy. In another instance, row boats were charging customers as high as steam boats, though they were offering a low quality service.<sup>240</sup> Western theatre in Ottomans, which was established in *Gedikpaşa* in this century, was also running with a profit motive from the view of *Latife* magazine.<sup>241</sup> Yet, that view seems not to be shared by *Tiyatro*. The reason behind that attitude difference will be explained later.

Corruption in the field of journalism was also subject to criticism as explained with examples in the chapter on press. Like every other field, journalism had also been reduced to be a field of trade, governed by profit motive only with their high prices and low quality. Every other day, a new gazette came on the market. Situation is ridiculed as “*Evet kayık yarışı icra olunduğu gibi yakında Sirkeci caddesinde gazete yarışı icra olunacağı...söylenmektedir,*”<sup>242</sup> “it is rumored that a gazette competition will be organized like row boat competitions.” Gazettes were usually short lived and waited to be sold on the shelves. Further, it was criticized that *Şark* had released a supplement even if it was banned to release supplements.<sup>243</sup> This criticism could also be interpreted as gazettes were publishing supplements with the aim to increase their commercial gains. Discourse over the morality of journalism as

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<sup>238</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 3, March 27, 1290/1874, p.3.

<sup>239</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 2, March 23, 1290/ 1874, p.2.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*, issue 31, 29 June, 1290/1874, pp. 2-3.

<sup>241</sup> “*Gedikpaşa'dan Keza*”, *Latife*, issue 43, Ramazan 30, 1291/1875.

<sup>242</sup> *Latife*, issue 4, March 29, 1291/1875,p.1

<sup>243</sup> *Latife*, issue 43, Ramazan 30, 1291,p.3.

a profession is a matter apart, which will be treated in a separate part. Besides, it was again to a considerable degree related with economic morality as already explained.

Another topic linked to economy, was employment. Comic situation of those who moved to towns leaving their villages with the hope of making money was, for instance, ridiculed by publishing a peasant's letter he sent to his mother living in village.<sup>244</sup> Also the portering was criticized as a physically unhealthy occupation. In a didactic long story, *Latife* narrates a man choosing to be a porter and getting a hunched back at the end.<sup>245</sup> That was accompanied by beggars on the streets,<sup>246</sup> shoe polishers, and peddlers. Shoe polishers on the streets disturbing people were another problem:



- I assure you that it polishes like a mirror finish

- Let me go!!<sup>247</sup>

<sup>244</sup> *Latife*, issue 7, September 2, 1290/ 1874, p. 3.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid*, issue 12, September 12, 1290/1874, pp.2-3.

<sup>246</sup> "Dilencilik ve Dilencilik Havacesi" *Latife*, issue 9, September 9, 1290/1874, p.1.

<sup>247</sup> *Latife.*, issue 9, September 9, 1290/1874, p.2.

Peddlers on *Fener* Ferry Port were also disturbing steam boat passengers, as they were trying to draw attention with their loud calls. Further, there were Greek, Armenians, Jewish and Persian peddlers, who were trying to make sales by frequenting streets and playing bells.<sup>248</sup> Idleness or unemployment, was another corruption or irregularity, as conservative humor writers criticizes them as “filling the coffeehouses”<sup>249</sup>

To sum up, economic discourse was a discourse about morality and regularity of commercial relationships. In the first place westernization of economy as well as economic crisis was intermingled with cultural westernization. This had resulted in an unjust trade, immoral commercial relationships, and in an unapproved kind of consumption. Still, discourse cannot be interpreted as being anti-capitalist in the sense that opposing to free market economy, or totally against spending, and or against trade. Instead, in some parallelism with *Spectator*, trade and consumption are supported to the degree that it is reasonable and progressive both to the society and to the individual. Thereof, consumption of some commodities, unjust trade, over spending, and unfavorable occupations such as portorage, and peddling were not approved, as vices respectively belonging to lower and upper classes. Market relationships as well as occupations should be in the way approved by conservatives with ethical concerns. As a result, with regard to theme of economy, nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines called for moral economy and sought to establish morality over commercial relations. That applies also to the discourse over following other topics.

### **Urban Modernization Failed?**

Economic and cultural westernization also required modernizing reforms regarding the city. Westernization of urban culture was the second theme which is constituted by sub topics of “public transportation” and “municipal services.” The former involved the ridicule of steamboats, trams, subway and omnibus, all of which were newly introduced to the city by taking western examples as a model. As the foreign elements transforming traditional ways in the city, they were strictly watched out by humorists. Discourse about municipal services was concerned with the

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid,p.2.

<sup>249</sup> “Aksaray Caddesi’nden 18 Ağustos”, *Tiyatro*, issue 4, August 22, 1290/ 1874, p. 2

changes in the infrastructure of city, hygiene, constructions and renovations. Urban modernization was critical on the part of the government, which sought to give Istanbul a modern outlook to make it serve as the showcase of modernization for European powers. However, urban modernization was shaped by upper classes, usually limiting reforms to their interests. Accordingly, reforms initially and mainly excluded the interests of lower incomes and gave priority to the spots of bourgeoisie, such as particular parts of Galata and Pera. Even if the reforms were expanded to the other parts of the city and even if novelties offered to the service of other regions, they were not applied properly. Such inequality was also related with lack of finances and organization to run the reforms equally and efficiently, as will be treated. Therefore, urban reforms such as introduction of new transportation and establishment of municipality to make the city more proper and modern were usually interpreted by the humorists as a failure. Second reason was again a matter of economic morality, questioning the efficiency of spending on urban modernization and criticizing unjust gains of such as transportation companies. A third reason for criticism was a conservative suspicion towards novelties or western ways. Consequently, topics such as efficiency and morality of novelties, and whether these applied reforms are appropriate to indigenous culture or not, formed the discourse on urban modernization.

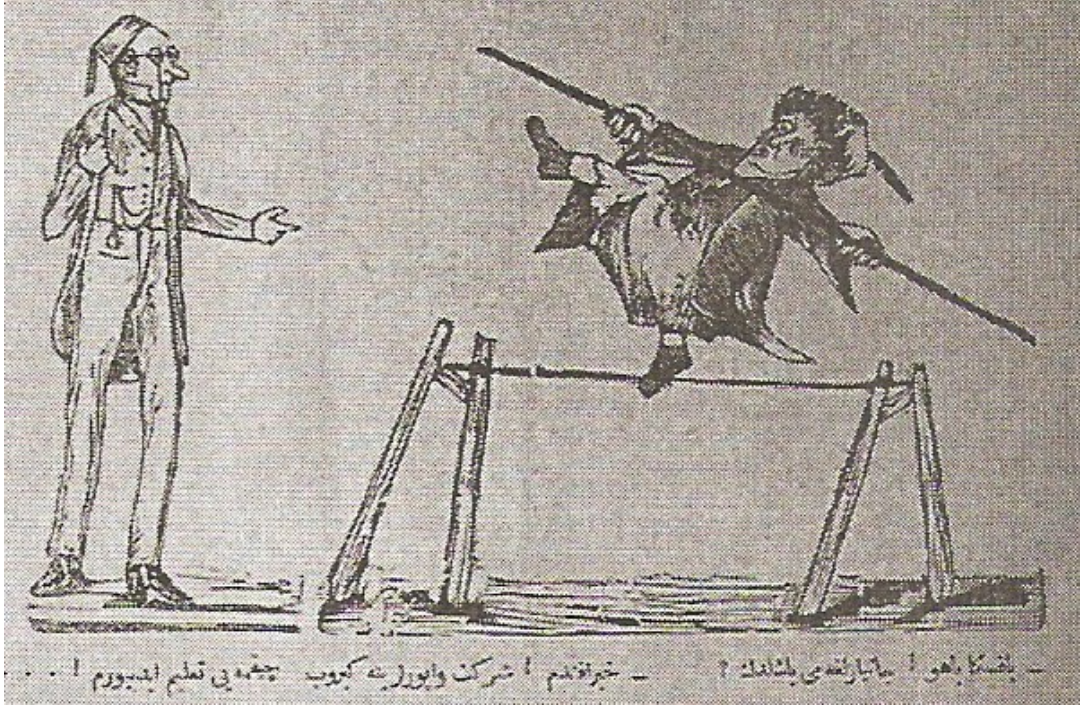
### **Public or “Private” Transportation?**

Conservative prejudices against the new transportation system, involved the questions such as was it preferable to the traditional ways of transportation? If so, were the means of transportation adopted and working properly? Did they carry ethical considerations? Are these western adoptions suited to the indigenous culture or not? Yet, the hidden text behind most of the prejudices and criticisms was the class exclusion of the services as already stated. Secondly, these novelties were coming from a foreign culture.

First view about transportation, with a Bergsonian definition, was that, Ottoman westernized transportation was another stumble of Ottomans on the way of modernization. Accordingly, deficiencies of steamboats, omnibus and trams were underlined. One most frequent deficiency was their slowness. To start with, before the introduction of steamboats in 1851, sea transportation service was delivered



through rowboats and barges.<sup>250</sup> Row-boats, as traditional means of transportation, were usually depicted by the humorists with an intentional exaggeration as overtaking the steamboats in their speeds.<sup>251</sup> Deficient adoption was also evident in improper skeleton which is made of old material and leaking water inside.<sup>252</sup> Further, getting on and off *Şirket-i Hayriye* boats was not convenient either because of crowd as the number of operating boats did not meet the capacity, or by the other possible deficiencies as mocked with the cartoon below:



- Have you started performing acrobatics?  
 - No! I am training on how to enter and exit *Şirket*'s steam boats.<sup>253</sup>

Next to the technical problems, there was also a cultural dimension of deficiency. They had adopted western transportation technically, but rejecting to accept its cultural dimension, such as the norms of use. For example, the signboards hanged inside the steamboats, were found incongruous or irrelevant. Further, as they are warning the passengers not to talk with the captain, they were usually subject to the

<sup>250</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993 ),p. 83.

<sup>251</sup> "Üsküdar Vapurunda Makinist ile Müşteri Beyninde" *Latife*, issue 3, August 19, 1290/ 1874, p.4.

<sup>252</sup> "Birkaç Bilmece," *Tiyatro*, issue 5, p. 4.

<sup>253</sup> *Latife*, issue 3, August 19, 1290/1874, p.4.

ridicule by humor writers.<sup>254</sup> Signboards and implementation of norms through which in public transportation was a new phenomenon for the Ottomans, as well as the banning of talking with the captain. The other one was the signboards banning sleeping in the cabins.<sup>255</sup> Humorists were making mockery of signboards, depicting them as proving to be useless. Here, butt of humorists was not only the use of signboards but also the banning of sleeping because, for them it was nonsense to bring prohibition on a natural act of sleeping. *Latife* well describes the situation by depicting passengers as continuing to sleep after the officer who had warned them not to sleep leaves the cabin.<sup>256</sup> Concerns such as signboards are typical of moral weeklies. It is related with sustaining properness, order, morality and decorum in the service sector as well as the daily life of people. Similarly, but for other grounds, a letter of reader published in *Spectator* criticizes the signboards of the shops in city, as they are decorated with the pictures of African animals, both for their irrelevancy and contributing to barbarity in the city from a conservative point of view. Accordingly, it urges to clean the city off these “monsters” and this view seems to be supported by Addison.<sup>257</sup>

Another deficient adoption was the ticket system, which involved the disputes between the captain and the passengers. Ludicrous was originating both from the operators and from passengers’ inability to get used to the ticket system. Some passengers were getting on board without tickets, when they had to pay on boats and which led to disputes. Fares were set according to the distance, so passengers were asking for a discount on the ticket price, but the captain was rejecting to give it as he did not believe in the passenger’s word that they did not get on the board from another stop.<sup>258</sup> The ludicrous situation was doubled by banning of speaking to the captain, as he is refusing to talk to passengers about the money issue.<sup>259</sup> Again it seems that there is one more motive behind criticism of ticket system which is moral economy. Criticisms questioning morality of commercial relationships was directed against the steam Boat Company itself *Şirket-i Hayriye*. It was a shareholder

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<sup>254</sup> “Garibe,” *Latife*, issue 11, September 16, 1290/ 1874, p. 3

<sup>255</sup> “Kamarada müşteri ile kamarot” *Latife*, issue 2, August 10, 1290/1874, p.3.

<sup>256</sup> *Latife*, issue 11, September 16, 1290/ 1874, p. 4.

<sup>257</sup> Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 28, Monday, April 2, 1711. Ed.Bond,1965:pp.115-119.

<sup>258</sup> “Şirket vapurunda müşteri ile biletçi beyinde”, *Latife*, issue 2, August 10, 1290/1870, p.4. Also, See: Appendix I: Şirket Vapurunda Müşteri ile Biletçi Beyinde”, pp.132-133.

<sup>259</sup> “Şirket vapurunda kaptan ile alacaklı,” *Latife*, issue 4, August, 22, 1290/ 1874, p. 2.



company and shareholders included the ruling elite such as the Sultan, bureaucrats, as well as the wealthy banker families such as Camondo.<sup>260</sup> As a shareholder company, it was approached with suspicion and even there was a rumor about the ticket bribery, leading to the deposal of the director of company, Raşid Efendi in 1866.<sup>261</sup> Problems raised in humor magazines should have been prevailing for a long time that the company required the inclusion of a record book for complaints by passengers.<sup>262</sup> Situation with other transportation means including horse drawn trams, omnibus and subway were no exception, as they were shareholder initiatives as well.

So the second motive behind criticism which is class exclusion in transportation system was again related with the incorporation process of Istanbul into western economy. Starting with the eighteenth century, districts of Galata and Pera appeared as the centers of westernization. Pera was inhabited by European communities and wealthy non-Muslim merchants. Galata also had become the central business district of the city with its business links, its shops and market, and with its non-Muslim communities trading and in close communication with Europeans.<sup>263</sup> Accordingly, for the easy flow of commercial relationships, an efficient transportation needed, and as a matter of fact it was rather demanded by the economic actors and European population in the city. That's one the reasons why transportation was exclusively first introduced in these districts of Istanbul, excluding low income neighborhoods. Secondly, with the westernization and urbanism, westernized leisure and western consumption emerged along with the cultural and leisure spots, coffees, shops, department stores in Pera. Thirdly, increase in city population and the physical expansion of city also required a developed transportation system for an easy living especially for those wealthy enough for frequenting Galata and Pera. Thirdly, upper classes and wealthy families had made area along the Bosphorus their residence places and now needed a regular transportation to city center from their residences. That was the reason behind the operation of first steamboats.<sup>264</sup> When the steamboats were also served to other parts of the city, again relatively poor neighborhoods were assigned more deficient steamboats. *Latife*, criticizes that one of the small steam

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<sup>260</sup> Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 1993: p. 84.

<sup>261</sup> Murat Koraltürk, *Şirket-i Hayriye: 1851-1945* (Istanbul: İDO, 2007), p. 37.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>263</sup> Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital", 1999:, p. 148, p. 204.

<sup>264</sup> Koraltürk, *Şirket-i Hayriye*, 2007: pp. 29-30.

boats operating to *Kasımpaşa*, had escaped a disaster of a crashing accident.<sup>265</sup> Also, other technical deficiencies of transportation means were especially found in the ones serving to lower income neighborhoods.

Accordingly, priority given to upper and wealthy middle classes in the service of transportation was ridiculed in both *Latife* and *Tiyatro*. *Latife* criticizes the situation that as the poor could not afford to buy the seats, they are sitting on the timbers on boats: “*Fi’l vaki düvel-i sairde dahi mevki parası almak âdeti cari ise de öyle mevki parası veremeyen fukarayı kuru tahta üstünde oturtmayıp hiç olmazsa bir halı parçası üstünde yer gösterirler.*” Similarly, *Tiyatro* ridiculed that low income people could not find a seat in steamboats as the seats required higher payment, so they were reserved for the higher income people. *Tiyatro* satirizes the situation as that common people had no place to seat in steamboats, except for the funnels because all the seats and cabins were reserved for upper classes: “*Üsküdar vapurunda ise mevkisiz oturacak mahal bulunmaz...*”, “*... avam için ise tenteden, kazgandan ve bacadan başka yer yoktur.*”<sup>266</sup> Another critic was about the ticket prices of subway. A man is humorously depicted as attempting to pass through the subway route by walking so without ticket, but the conductor does not let him by explaining that “there is not a road allowed to penniless men.”<sup>267</sup> This could be well interpreted as a critic of class difference, as the subway was also built rather for the interest of a privileged class in Istanbul and lower income groups could not afford to use. It can also be interpreted as the Ottoman cultural unfamiliarity to having to pay for the public transportation or such as having to pay for passing over the bridges. Lastly, it could be still a critique of ignorance by the man to pay the required fees, not getting used to the new system. However, within the framework of economic morality first explanation is more valid.

For the introduction of trams, first concession was given to Krepo Efendi in 1869 and who formed Istanbul Tramway Company.<sup>268</sup> He was also given a concession to establish omnibuses according to 1881 regulation.<sup>269</sup> Subway was also a share – holder company initiative. In 1869, Eugene Henri Gavand, the engineer was given

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<sup>265</sup> *Latife*, issue 5, April 1, 1291/1875, p.1.

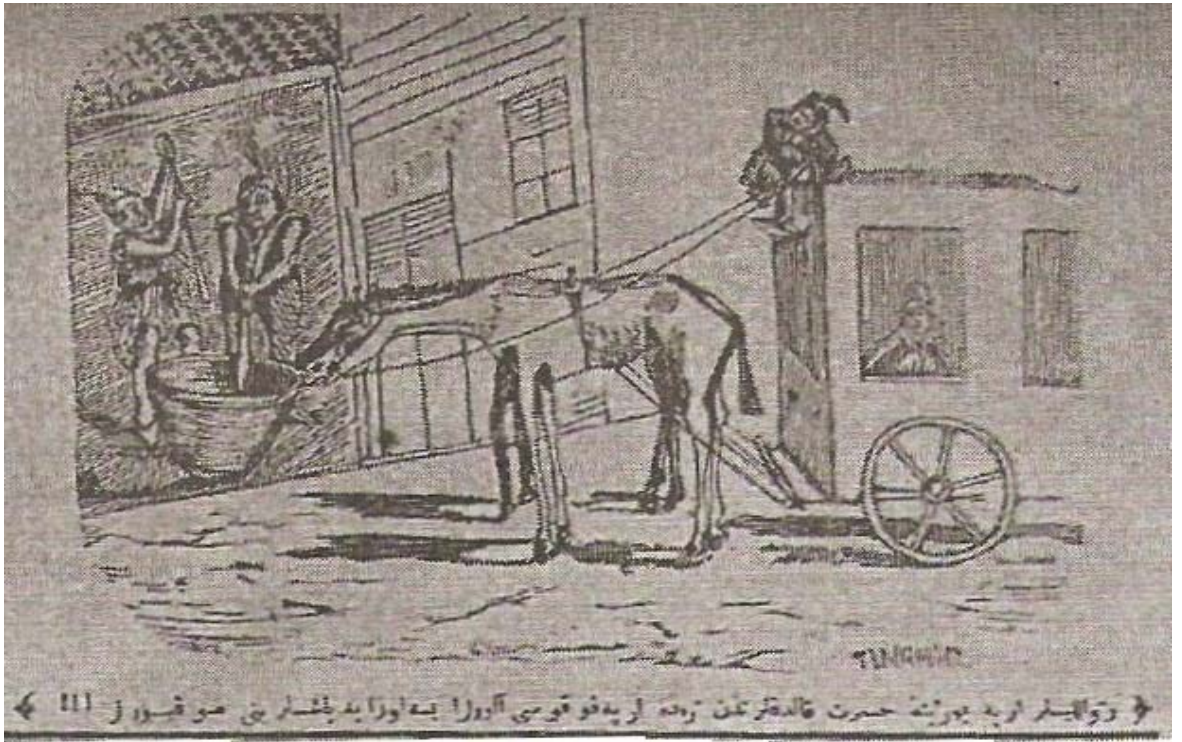
<sup>266</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 5, April 3, 1290/1874, pp.3-4.

<sup>267</sup> *Latife*, issue 1, March 22, 1291/1875, p. 2.

<sup>268</sup> Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-u Belediyeye*, in Çelik, 1993: p. 91.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid*, p. 92.

concession to build a subway system between Karaköy and Pera.<sup>270</sup> Istanbul Subway was opened to service in January 1875, rather for the common interest of upper classes.<sup>271</sup> Likewise, regular water transportation had started with the intention to serve upper classes residing on Bosphorus which further indicates class exclusion of transportation reforms. It later turned into a more public/ mass transportation service, as it is predictable from the schedule of 1881.<sup>272</sup> However, to what extent it had become “a mass” or “public” transportation was questionable due its exclusiveness and which was the very reason of criticism. The same is valid for the trams because in determining the tram lines, priority was again to serve the favored or wealthy and upper class residents of the city. Further, there were the differences in the service quality between the lines based on the socio-economic structure of neighborhoods. For example, Pera line was of a good quality but in the line between Aksaray and Topkapı, cars were not in proper condition.<sup>273</sup> Trams were the butt of humorists for the skinny and powerless horses drawing them, as ridiculed with the cartoon below:



<sup>270</sup> Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 1993: p. 96.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid, 97.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid, 85.

<sup>273</sup> R. Sertaç Kayserilioğlu, *Dersaadet'ten İstanbul'a Tramvay* ( Istanbul: İETT Genel Müdürlüğü, 1998),p.88.

“Poor things, as they are deprived of barley, they get their heads into wherever they got the smell of barley”<sup>274</sup>

Thus, the motive behind criticism was again inequality in the services according to the socio-economic differences of neighborhoods. As further evidence, newly brought horses to Istanbul, were first offered to the service of lines in Şişli, and then three years later they were transferred to Azapkapi line, and lastly, two years later when the horses are older and worn out, they were transferred this time to the lowest income neighborhood Aksaray- Topkapi line.<sup>275</sup> Besides, as shown on the price regulations, tram fares were too high for a regular use by lower income people. Price was 40 para per km, and for 40 para, some basic food stuff could be bought at the time.<sup>276</sup>

Trams and omnibuses, which were drawn by horses, were also criticized for their slowness, like steamboats. A man is telling his friend that he never takes trams implying that they were that much slow.<sup>277</sup> In another *muhavere*, it was humorously criticized that it was taking three hours to get from Karaköy Bridge to *Aksaray* with tram.<sup>278</sup> They were not only slow, but also uncomfortable like steamboats. For instance, Üsküdar omnibuses’ up and down moves when driving, were turning passengers’ stomach and at the same time, that way passengers were swallowing dust as the roads were also dusty.<sup>279</sup> Another discomfort was the crowd of omnibuses and trams like the steamboats. All shows that, capacity of transportation was not satisfying the needs, as they are designed rather with a motive to meet the need of particular groups.

Construction of bridges constituted another dimension of urban modernization, also in relation with transportation. There was a bias against constructions too, as a part of general suspicion towards modernizing reforms in the city. Second reason of suspicion might be because they were entrusted to foreign initiators. Further, it was

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<sup>274</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 31, May 4, 1290/ 1874, p.4.

<sup>275</sup> Kayserilioğlu, *Dersaadet'ten İstanbul'a Tramvay*, 1998: p.88.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*,p.93.

<sup>277</sup>“ Bir Meclis'te Muhavere,” *Latife*, issue 25, May 17, 1291/1875, p. 99.

<sup>278</sup> “Tramvayda” *Tiyatro*, issue 2, March 23, 1290/ 1874,pp.2-3.

<sup>279</sup> *Latife*, issue 26, May 20, 1291/1875, p. 103.

another stumble. Thereof, never ending construction works were ridiculed as: “*Tamir hitam buldu. Yeniden bir daha tamirata başlanacağı memuldür.*”<sup>280</sup>In 1863, an iron bridge construction for Galata was proposed by English company to replace wooden one and government agreed on the proposal. When the bridge was almost finished in 1871, company made another proposal that the bridge be moved to *Unkaparı*, and suggested the construction of another bridge between *Karaköy* and *Eminönü*, so the previous structure moved to suggested location and new Galata Bridge construction again started in 1875 and it was completed in 1878.<sup>281</sup> This might be one of reasons for *Latife*’s criticism in 1874.

So the newly introduced transportation means were criticized for three main reasons. One is related with moral economy that is, their class exclusion, as reflected in their establishment to meet specifically the needs of upper classes and bourgeoisie. That had yielded problems such as high ticket prices, which lower income groups could not afford, especially the tickets with seats. Further, it was limited to specific districts. Quality of service lines made difference depending on the income level of neighborhoods. Therefore, it is not because that urban modernization in the field of transportation had been totally failed, but as it was class exclusive, humorists criticized them. Second motive was that the new system had been introduced from the west, from a foreign culture and was transforming traditional means, so there was a bias against which. Thereby, conservative writers were to some extent nitpicking about anything. Norms of use which had come along with new transportation system were regarded as unsociable and incongruous. Thirdly, there were actually many deficiencies in their quality and operation proving again to be a “stumble” on the part of implementers. All three points lied behind the criticism that transportation was another deficient adoption from the west. Humorists as concerned with morality, properness, and regularity called for reform in transportation.

### **Order of City and Municipal Services**

That municipality had been introduced with similar motivations caused criticisms similar to those on transportation. Like modern transportation services, municipal modernizing reforms were also launched to the interests of upper and bourgeoisie classes in particular to improve their commercial relations and living conditions in

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<sup>280</sup> “Karaköy Köprüsü’nden,” *Latife*, issue 9, September 9, 1290/1874, p.4.

<sup>281</sup> Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 1993: p. 88.

*Galata* and *Pera*. Presence of wealthy class' residences; European diplomatic spots; and commercial spots of Ottoman non-Muslim and foreign merchants; flourishing of western leisure and consumption activity centers such as shops, stores, cafes and cultural spots such as opera house and modern theatre; increasing number of visitors and foreigners, all required municipal improvement in the region. There was also the concern to make the city look modern from the eyes of Europeans as it is evident in documents regarding municipality.<sup>282</sup> Crimean War (1853-56), followed by 1856 Reform Decree, were also influential in accelerating the change in Istanbul.<sup>283</sup> Eventually, a municipal body *Şehremaneti* was formed in 1855 as shown by the regulation document.<sup>284</sup> Though, due to lacking financial sources and power, this body could not be efficient at this time. Class exclusiveness, was also evident in that, *İntizam-i Şehir* Commission, was composed of upper class members, merchants, property owners and inhabitants of Galata, which were non-Muslim and European upper classes. One of them was wealthy banker Avam Camondo.<sup>285</sup> Later a new municipal commission as bound to new municipality *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* was also formed and had already started to operate when the establishment of the municipality is officially declared in 1858. Again commission included upper class members such as Antoine Alléon, Avam Camondo and Cermanos Havva and it was of exclusive character. Further, new municipality *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye*, was to be municipality of Galata and Pera, as an evidence of concentrated focus on these specific regions. This can also be interpreted as distancing of great culture itself from the rest of the society<sup>286</sup> and which could be well taken as a motive behind criticism by humorists. Reform inaugurated in Galata and Pera as a pilot project with the intention to later extent it to other parts of Istanbul. Therefore, another reason of criticism was exclusiveness that is priority of higher income areas in reforms. Lacking public responsibility, manner of council also lacked a civic dimension as Rosenthal defines. There was also a suspicion on the part of the conservative communities, against the reforms as the commission members were composed of

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<sup>282</sup> Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*, vol. 3 ( İstanbul: İstanbul Büyük Şehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1995 ), p. 1268.

<sup>283</sup> Christoph Neumann, *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye*, 2011: ,p.428.

<sup>284</sup> "Tezkire-i Marûza" in Ergin, *Mecelle*, vol.3, 1995: pp. 1271-1772.

<sup>285</sup> Steven Rosenthal, "Minorities and Municipal Reform in Istanbul: 1850-1870", in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, Vol.I* Edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982), p.374.

<sup>286</sup> Neumann, *Altıncı Daire*, 2011: pp.434-437.

foreigners such as Camondo and westernized upper class members. Therefore, commission was regarded as an “instrument of Levantine corruption”<sup>287</sup> and so raised public reaction. This exclusion also originated from the fact that municipal body lacked financial support from the government and it could only run with financial support and taxes taken from property owners and wealthy merchants in the region. Therefore, even if the reforms were aimed to be extended to other regions in 1868, it could not be managed due to the same reasons. First reason is lack of regular funding, second is absence of necessary administrative organization within the city to run a regular municipal system.<sup>288</sup> Thus, humor magazines published in 1870s, were criticizing the state of affairs, as a continuation of deficiencies since the establishment of municipality in 1850. Second prejudice against municipality, combined with the aforementioned factors, was cultural. As municipality itself as an institution, and the municipal implementations transforming the city, were adopted from the west as well, they were approached with suspicion. All in all, owing to the aforementioned motives behind, from the view of conservatives urban westernization had also failed similar to the whole westernization process. However, the criticisms were not originating from prejudices only; there were actually deficiencies as it was in the case of transportation. As a result, the view that modernization involved a failure was sought to be evidenced with those deficiencies.

To start with, after the formation of commission, urban modernizing initiatives were taken such as lightening of *Grand Rue De Pera* with gas lamps,<sup>289</sup> enlargement of the roads.<sup>290</sup> In particular, attempt to lighten the city via gas had proved to be inefficient as defined by *Latife*: “*İstanbul gibi bir payitahtın sokaklarının hala gaz ile tenvir kılınması şayan-ı taaccüp hallerdendir. Filhakika gaz boruları imal edildi ve pek çok liralara sarf olunarak lazım gelen mahallere fenerler konuldu ise de vaz olunan borular zaten boru olduklarından bir işe yaramadılar.*”<sup>291</sup> Also the lamps were criticized for being dirty and broken.<sup>292</sup> Further, they were not working or lightening either as criticized: “*İstanbul sokaklarında rezolunan gaz fenerleri körler ve alilleriyle bil ittifak kendilerine artık bundan böyle ziya geleceğinden kati ümit*

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<sup>287</sup> Rosenthal, “Minorities and Municipal Reform,” 1982:p.381.

<sup>288</sup> Neumann, *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye*, 2011:p. 444.

<sup>289</sup> Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (Literatür: İstanbul, 1998 ),pp.127- 129.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 132-139.

<sup>291</sup> *Latife*, issue 4, August 23, 1290/1874, p.4.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid*,p.4.

*olmaya başlamışlardır.*”<sup>293</sup> Further, reforms such as street widening, gas lightening and services like cleaning were concentrated in the points of bourgeoisie property and business, thus providing no benefits for poor non-Muslim and Muslim populations of Galata.<sup>294</sup> Therefore, the problems seem to be experienced in the ignored regions. Yet, there is a second voice that does not approve some aspects of reform itself such as finding gas lamp lightening as insufficient technology for a capital city like Istanbul.

Open manholes in Pera, created danger: “*Beyoğlu’nda önüne bakmak: Kuyuya düşmekten.*”<sup>295</sup> Pollution including air pollution,<sup>296</sup> and hygiene of Terkos lake- the source of tap water, were other deficiencies of municipal services. Accordingly, it was ridiculed that no solution could be found at home for managing the hygiene of Terkos Lake, so the samples from which would be sent to Europe to find a solution.<sup>297</sup> Further, coming of tap water in Beyoğlu, had been expected for a long time, was also ridiculed.<sup>298</sup> Roads were also dirty and dusty, such as those of Beyoğlu,<sup>299</sup> or Galata as exemplified by the cartoon below, depicting people blocking their noses due to the smell:

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<sup>293</sup> *Latife*, issue 14, April 22, 1291/1875, p.1.

<sup>294</sup> Rosenthal, “Minorities and Municipal Reform,” 1982: p.377.

<sup>295</sup> “İnsanlarda Görülen Bazı Alametin Delalet Ettiği Esbab”, *Tiyatro*, issue 7, p.4.

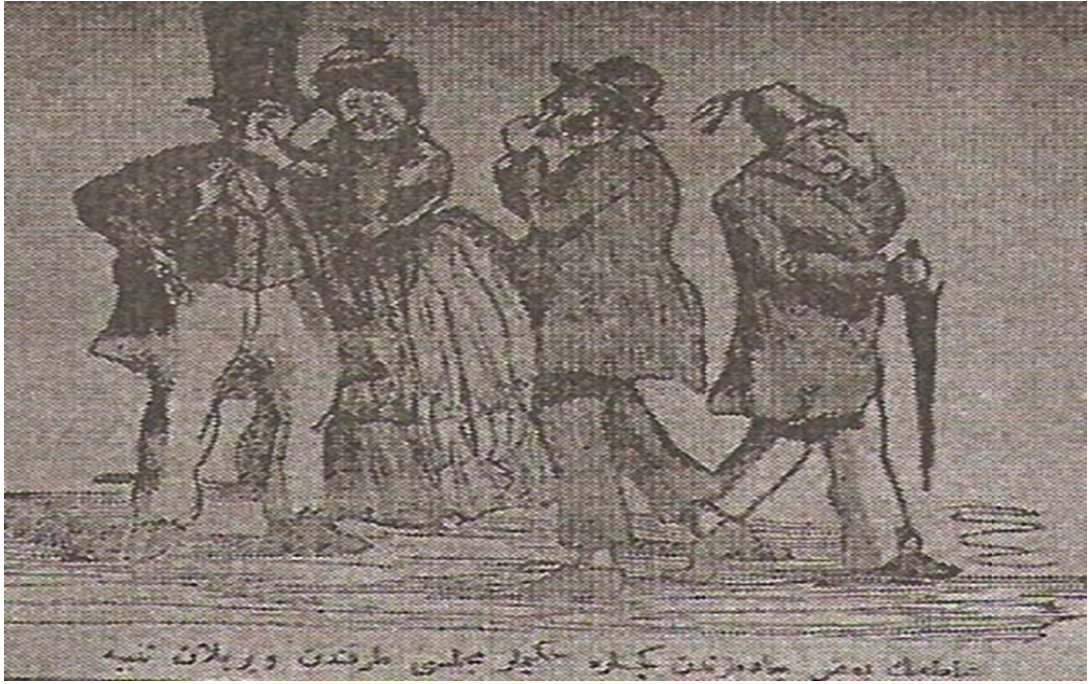
<sup>296</sup> “Telgraf” *Latife*, issue 7, September 5, 1290, p.3.

<sup>297</sup> *Latife*, issue 7, September 2, 1290/1870, pp. 2-3.

<sup>298</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 29, July 8, 1290/ 1874, p.2.

<sup>299</sup> “İki Arkadaş Kağıthane’ye Giderler iken Biri Diğere,” *Tiyatro*, issue 6, April 18, 1874, p.3.





“ Direction given by the medical committee, to those passing through some streets of Galata.”<sup>300</sup>

Another cartoon depicts that horse cannot ride up Bağlarbaşı, as its foots were filled with dust and stones.



<sup>300</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 11, April 24, 1290/1874, p.4.

Lastly, there were some municipal acts which Ottomans were not familiar with, and found ludicrous such as collection of dogs and cats from the streets. Accordingly *Latife* ridicules that, as there had been no cats left, there was a “rats’ uprising.”<sup>302</sup> Similarly, *Tiyatro* ridiculed gazette *La Turquie*’s suggestion that stray dogs should be totally removed from the streets. Also, torture made on stray dogs is criticized.<sup>303</sup>

In conclusion, censure of city and municipal services covered issues varying from the hygiene to stray dogs. There are also other problems in the city, such as beggars, shoe polishers and the peddlers on the streets, which were already pointed out in the part on economic westernization. However, main reason behind criticism was the lack of civic dimension in municipal services and its exclusive nature. To conclude, again it was not generally a discourse of westernization, but it was actually a morality discourse, this time about municipal management and transportation. The same situation applies to criticisms over cultural sphere, which were again about morality, even if westernization had marked the period.

### **Cultural Westernization**

Censure of cultural westernization also relates to moral economy through new consumption and leisure habits, as underlined before. Another point of critic was unsociability and alienation from the indigenous culture, as adopting western ways meant a risk of losing identity, and abandonment of traditions and values. These two points of criticism were combined in a fop character, which is referred to as *şık* and which would later be represented by *Bihruz Bey* character in *Tanzimat* literature as already mentioned. Unapproved cultural westernization, turned individuals into social deviators. In the discourse of humor magazines, the theme of cultural westernization, is a more embracing one and is usually voiced as *à la franga* life style with a negative connotation referring to the topics including “leisure and entertainment, etiquette, fashion, department stores and shops, modern theatre, photography, street musicians, western dance, female-male relations, alcohol addiction and drunkenness.” In the nineteenth century, *à la franga* as a term was

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<sup>301</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 48, August 31, 1290/1874, p.4.

<sup>302</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 5, April 1, 1291/1875, p.1.

<sup>303</sup> “La Turquie’ün Şefkati “ *Tiyatro*, issue 5, April 15, 1874, p.2.

used by the elite to denote westernized lifestyle or westernized commodities. Roughly after the mid- nineteenth century, the term came to be perceived as an attribution of superiority from the eyes of upper class as a mark of progress,<sup>304</sup> on the other hand intelligentsia as well as humorists ridiculed the term as they did not approve all kinds of *à la franga* especially if it is in the form of super westernization in Mardin's terms.

Conservatives were particularly concerned with cultural westernization, as it implied a social deviation, transforming the traditional communitarian family structure of Ottoman communities. Reaction to such deviators appears as a discourse of morality and cultural degeneration and is combined with a utilitarian understanding. Conservative reaction against foreign cultural elements was also found in *Spectator* magazine which usually censured Italian Plays and Italian Opera<sup>305</sup> taking stage in London at those times. Addison criticized both as they are foreign to their culture, and the former was found to be barbarous performances corrupting taste of English people.<sup>306</sup> *Spectator* was particularly concentrated on private daily life, as typical of moral weeklies. Thereof, nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines and *Spectator* magazine treated similar topics such as fashion, manners, leisure, taste of art, entertainment and habits.

It should also be noted that, sybarites, gambling houses, drunkenness and unapproved female- male relationships were no exception to the nineteenth century of Ottomans either. At least from the sixteenth century on, there have always been such cases in Istanbul and evoked conservative reaction.<sup>307</sup> As for the situation in nineteenth century, it was more critical for the conservatives, because now with westernization of economy and society, and with the increased population of westerners in Istanbul, society had become more vulnerable to corruption from a conservative point of view. For that reason, Ahmed Midhat holds the increased foreign population in Istanbul responsible for the so called degeneration of both Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman communities. In *Müşahedat*, he explains this influence with his statement that “*Şimdi Galata ve Beyoğlu'nda ecnebilerin yerli ahali-i hristiyaniden ziyade çoğalmış oldukları muhakkaktır. Ecnebilerin*

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<sup>304</sup> Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 2008: p.100.

<sup>305</sup> Addison, *The Spectator*, no 18, Wednesday, March 21, 1711. Ed. Bond, 1965: pp.78-82.

<sup>306</sup> Addison, *The Spectator*, no 13, Thursday, March 15, 1711. Ed. Bond, 1965: pp.55-59.

<sup>307</sup> Refik Ahmet Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?* ( İstanbul: İletişim, 1993 ), pp.30-33.

*çoğaldığı yerlerde Avrupa ahlakı ahlak-ı asliyeye galebe ediyor...Suistimalat, fuhuş ve rezail artıyor..."*<sup>308</sup> *Latife* and *Tiyatro* shared the same view with Midhat, as the discourse reveals. Galata and Pera, as the new cultural and commercial centers of city housed degeneration from a conservative view. Therefore, the fact that Istanbul population was divided into two in their attitudes towards modernization was also reflected in residential preferences. As stated before, moving residences to Europeanized parts of the city implied adopting a westernized attitude, as opposed to a more traditional and conservative stand. The same was valid for the non-Muslim communities as well,<sup>309</sup> as voiced by Armenian satirist Baronian. Those, who were making their cultural choice towards *à la franga* or westernized part of city, along with its peculiar westernized or modernized lifestyle, were called *şık* (for men) and *şillik* (for women) in the discourse. Both *Latife* and *Tiyatro* used the attribution of *şık*, and which was common to other Ottoman humor magazines of the nineteenth century.<sup>310</sup> Also, *Şillik* for women is frequently used in *Latife*. Both characters are depicted in the following cartoon:



*Two Hundred Liras is fine, but how to carry along this??*<sup>311</sup>

<sup>308</sup> *Müşahadat*, Ahmet Mithat, in Fazıl Gökçek, *Osmanlı Kapısında Büyümek: Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin Hikâye ve Romanlarında Gayri Müslim Osmanlılar*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları), p. 147.

<sup>309</sup> Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital", 1999:p. 204.

<sup>310</sup> Hamdi Özdiş's work on *Diyojen* and *Çaylak*, accounts usage of "şık". Özdiş, *Osmanlı mizah basınında batılılaşma ve siyaset*, 2010: pp.145-146.

<sup>311</sup> *Latife*, issue 11, September 16, 1874, p. 3



Both words had a negative connotation in the discourse. In Ottoman Turkish dictionary, *şillik* meant a woman who dresses up in a corrupt way, and gads around. Whereas *şık* adopted from French word *chique* is defined as a man who is nicely dressed up.<sup>312</sup> Such a word choice, with negative implications only for women, might be because of that sexual morality discourse was rather articulated over women. Though, in the discourse of humor magazines, *şık* had more or less the same connotation with that of *şillik*. Both words implied an unsociable person whose life style and manner is not approved, because either it is found immoral or thought to be incongruous to the dominant or conservative structure of society. Therefore, their unsociability caused both laughter and criticism. They were also representing a fop or coxcomb character with their western imitations or with their self-ignorance which constituted the other root of laughter, as explained in Platon's theory. *Şilliks* and *şiks*, who were pursuing a so called degenerated lifestyle, were watched out by humorists and conservatively criticized with a discourse of morality. Through laughter those vices were encouraged to be corrected, just as the other vices observed in the economy, in transportation or in municipal services. Accordingly, morality discourse over the cultural westernization in Ottoman humor magazines, and in *Latife* and *Tiyatro* in particular, can be classified into following topics as fashion, manners, leisure, entertainment, social activities, drunkenness and alcohol addiction, and relationships. Additionally, ethics of journalism was a major topic to the degree that even some issues of magazines were reserved to which. One reason for why journalism was a significant consideration seems to be that editors were first of all concerned with morality of their own field of profession.

### **Flamboyance and Fashion: *Şilliks* and *Şiks***

In line with *Spectator*, Ottoman humor magazines and Ottoman press in general, paid a particular attention to the instruction of women. In the nineteenth century, instructive magazines for children are almost equal to women's magazines in number. The major reason would be the conservative idea that women and children formed the base for sustaining traditional social structure. Morality concern had not only shaped the form of humor magazines, but also it defined the school curriculum, as it evident in the introduction of *Ahlâk Risalesi*, Morality Booklet as a primary compulsory course material in primary education in the nineteenth century. Besides

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<sup>312</sup> Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-i Türki*, 1902:p.795.

the major education policy of government in this period, was to discipline and instruct morality.<sup>313</sup> That also supports that morality was one of the main ideologies of nineteenth century Ottoman government. Moral weeklies particularly treated manners and roles of woman in society. Addison states when defining the target audience of the magazine: “But there are none to whom this Paper will be more useful than to the female world.”<sup>314</sup> Similarly, *Tiyatro* and *Latife*, as well as the nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines in general<sup>315</sup>, usually dealt with the manners, dressing, and decorum of women.

The first major topic of mockery, that is, fashion was subject to a two dimensional criticism: economic and cultural. The former relates to the moral economy issue, as already been explained. In the midst of poverty and economic crisis, both men and women were shopping constantly to follow the constantly changing fashion. They were even in debts for spending on fashion. For the conservatives, and so for the humor writers, fashion was a commercial trick devised to make people to spend more as derived from the content. This view was clearly expressed through the ridicule of fashion designers in *Latife*. A dialog between two women quoted with illustration, ridicules the fashion as a device for money making:

“- *What happened? Is it that you assembled at a place to settle the way to make money?*  
- (Crying) *No....we just could not decide on what this years' fashion shall be.*”<sup>316</sup>

Similarly, in another conversational comic story, a woman was discussing with his husband over the money she requires to buy fashionable items. She asked her husband to buy the cloth required for getting a new dress prepared by a westernized tailor of Istanbul, so as to dress up in a wedding. Although, her husband was penniless, the wife was insistent on getting the money. Her husband was rejecting by relying on that she can use the same dress that she wore in a previous wedding. She replied that a dress she wore in a wedding cannot be worn again in another wedding, which is what her husband so the conservatives found ridiculous:

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<sup>313</sup> For detailed comments on the topic see: Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi*, 2010:pp.80-83.

<sup>314</sup> Addison, *The Spectator*, no.10, March 12, 1711. Ed. Bond, 1965.

<sup>315</sup> *Diyojen* and *Çaylak* covered similar topics such as fashion, manners and decorum of women: Özdiş, *Osmanlı mizah basınında batılılaşma ve siyaset*, 2010: pp.157-168.

<sup>316</sup> *Latife*, issue 5, April 1, 1291 / 1875, p.20

“(husband) - ... *Daha üç gün oldu şu atlas feraceyi yaptıralı.*  
(wife) - *Aa o giyilir mi? Modası değişti!*  
(husband) - *Ne? Oo! Günde bir moda değişirse...*”<sup>317</sup>

As a matter of fact, new fashion, or modernized dresses were with a more complexity when compared to the traditional ones. They are sewed as two-fold and larger in size and so required much more cloth which again was another point of discussion between wife and husband:

“ - *Canım neden 35 arşın gidiyor?*  
- *İşte hesap et, 20 arşın fistan, 13 de ferace 35*”<sup>318</sup>

They were discussing the amount of the cloth needed to get her dress tailored. Husband was criticizing why a smaller size of cloth did not suffice the tailoring of a dress. Further, the money she needed was not limited to dress, but she also needed to buy new shoes and westernized accessories in harmony with her new dress: “wife: - *Nasıl? 10-15 lira mı? Biz akşam Ayşe kadın ile hesap ettik, tam 35,5 lira gidiyor. 15 lira sade süsüyle dikişine gidiyor. Ya Liza'ya diktireceğim ya madam Corco'ya. 15 lira da 35 arşın mantine gider. Ay efendim, hotoz aldın, şemsiye, potin bunlara kusur kalan 5 lira yetişmez bile...*”<sup>319</sup> Similarly, in *Tiyatro*, a father in Pera was looking for the gloves – another *à la franga* item that his daughter ordered. Yet, his money did not suffice to buy a couple of gloves as they are expensive, which led to a humorous discussion between the man and the saleswoman. He was asking to buy only one glove and was discussing why the gloves are sold only in couples.<sup>320</sup>

Thus fashion had transformed the shopping in both quantity and frequency as the two criticisms regarding morality of commerce. Secondly, not only as a way of consumption, but also as a concept, fashion was foreign to Ottoman understanding, specifically to the understanding of small culture. Therefore, western fashion constituted another step distancing great culture from little culture, so the humorists criticized which, in line with their effort to close the gap between the two. Out of that unfamiliarity, fashion was one of those ludicrous situations leading to laughter in

<sup>317</sup>“Ben ile Hanım”, *Latife*, issue 3, August 19, 1290/ 1874, pp. 3-4; *Appendix I*: pp.134-136.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid. pp.3-4

<sup>319</sup> Ibid, pp. 3-4.

<sup>320</sup> “Eldiven”, *Tiyatro*, issue 2, April 4, 1874, pp.1-2 ; *Appendix I*,pp.128-131.

nineteenth century Ottomans, and so was chosen as a popular topic. Another dimension of critic directed against fashion is corruption of sexual morality. This conservative view actually was not a peculiarity of the nineteenth century. Ottoman traditions did not approve a woman's dressing up in a string and fancy way. If a woman, who faces with a sexual harassment, is dressed up strikingly at the moment of incident, then harassment is hardly considered to be a crime.<sup>321</sup> That mentality is also shared by *Diyojen* which implies that women deserve harassment if they are dressed up seminude.<sup>322</sup> Now with westernization, women, relatively freed from peer pressure, had started to dress up more freely, and in a more string way. The same is valid for men as well. Second but not the least reason behind the critic of fashion, was the conservative idea that modernization was wrongly conceived. Conservatives perceived and approved modernization not rather as a change in cloths or culture, but in limited terms such as technological. Prominent change in cloths threatened the values and traditions, which they sought to preserve when facing modernization.

Third reason was a general conservative morality concern which encourages modesty in outlook, as well as in consumption against excessiveness and show off. Also obsession with clothing and fashion was morally found to be a weakness, and a vulgar behavior. Thereupon *Tiyatro* and *Latife*, in parallelism with other moral weeklies brought criticism on fashion. For the same reason, fashion was a major consideration of *Spectator* as well. Addison criticizes fashion for causing extravagancies and also criticized excessive head dress of women.<sup>323</sup> In another essay, he ridicules women's obsession with clothing as a weakness and superficiality.<sup>324</sup> In the same vein, *Latife* ridiculed women's obsession with clothing in a *muhavere* as depicting them rushing into Pera to buy a dress before it is sold out:

-*Matmazel nereye böyle?*

-*Yeni bir fistan almaya gidiyorum.*

-*Pera'da satılıyor imiş.*

-*Doğru yolda, doğru yolda.*

-*Daha var mıdır acaba?*

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<sup>321</sup> Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu*, 1993: p.146.

<sup>322</sup> Özdiş, *Osmanlı mizah basınında batılılaşma ve siyaset*, 2010, p. 161.

<sup>323</sup> Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 16, Monday, March 19, 1711.Ed.Bond, 1965:pp. 71-73.

<sup>324</sup> Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 15, Saturday, March 17, 1711.Ed.Bond, 1965:pp. 66-69.



-*Çabuk yürü, çabuk yürü belki kalmamıştır*”<sup>325</sup>

Along with obsession, excessive outlook brought by fashion was a target in parallelism with *Spectator*. Men were butt of humorists for following an elaborate western fashion. Accordingly, *Latife* ridicules luxurious details of fashion by giving guide on how to dress up in a modern way.<sup>326</sup> Extravagancies of fashionable western clothing are also mocked in a cartoon, through a metaphor established between peddlers’ panel and shape of women’s hats:



“*Peddlers are charged with tax, and why not these women?*”<sup>327</sup>

Flamboyance and westernization also applied to home décor fashion. In a dialogue, a woman tells her neighbor that passersby are caught by the luxurious and wonderful view of furniture of her house. She replies that furniture had been brought from Europe.<sup>328</sup> This can be interpreted as both a critic of obsession with western commodities as an unapproved way of consumption and as a ridicule of show off, and luxury. Another cartoon also mocks the extravagances of women’s fashion:

<sup>325</sup>“*Şıllıkların Mükalemesi*”, *Latife*, issue 14, April 22, 1291/1875, p. 2.

<sup>326</sup> *Latife*, issue 5, April 1, 1291/1875, p.18.

<sup>327</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 45, August 15, 1874, p.4.

<sup>328</sup>“*İki Hane Beyninde*” *Tiyatro*, issue 31, July 11, 1874, p.1.



- April's fashion for women!!<sup>329</sup>

It is attempted to be revealed that modernization of dressing and furniture was not the humorists were against, but it was against flamboyance, luxury, extravagancy and excessiveness, as a typical of the eighteenth century British moral weeklies. Besides, some elements of western fashion were rejected, as they proved ridiculous and unsociable to the indigenous culture and society. Also, it was again a matter of moral economy as market was channelizing people to excessive and luxurious spending by means of fashion and western commodities. Therefore, regarding the fashion, the hidden text behind discourse was again to encourage rational spending, economic morality, modesty, good taste and decorum in society.

### **Etiquette, Leisure, Entertainment**

For the moral weeklies how people spend their time, as well as their money, how their tastes are shaped, and how do they behave, seem to be vital issues. Accordingly, Ottoman humor magazines of the first period as well as *Spectator*, concentrated on topics as leisure, entertainment, cultural activities and etiquette. As the westernization remarked the period, many of these topics were also linked to cultural westernization.

<sup>329</sup> *Latife*, issue 12, April 18, 1291/ 1875, p. 48.

To start with the manners or etiquette, along with changed lifestyles, *şıks* and *şilliks* had also changed their manners by adopting westernized etiquette rules. However, western manners were perceived incongruous to Ottoman culture, so followers proved to be unsociable to Ottoman traditional society and so seemed ludicrous and laughable. Another root of laughter regarding etiquette was imitations, or self-ignorance of fops as explained by *Platon*'s superiority theory of laughter which emerges when man imagines himself wealthier or more handsome or wiser than he actually is. In Ottoman case, funny situation emerged from men's pretending to be western or *à la franga* through manners, even if actually they are not. One example is the use of *pardon* as an expression of excuse. Therefore, it was subject to laughter and criticism. Accordingly, a man tells his friend that in steamboat, a man stepped on his foot, and said *pardon* as an excuse. His friend asks why he did not yelled at the man, he replies that "...if said *pardon*, then it is done."<sup>330</sup> In another issue of *Tiyatro*, ironically how to obey western etiquette rules are explained.<sup>331</sup> Funny situation emerges from imitation of western manners, and when the western manners are found incongruous and unsociable to the local culture. It is well exemplified with the cartoon below, depicting a monkey as French's imitator in clothing, language and manners:

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<sup>330</sup>"Vapurdan Çıkan Bir Adam Ahbabına" *Tiyatro*, issue 2, March 22, 1290/ 1874, p.2.

<sup>331</sup> "Ahlak Risalesi", *Tiyatro*, issue 7, p. 3.





- *Monkey, look at you. What is it?*<sup>332</sup>
- *Bonjour sir, this is how to be a şık.*
- *But you are an imitator.*
- *No Monsieur No, we are not imitators but şıks are imitating us.*

Again in a *muhavere*, a guy hits a man on the street. When he excuses with French saying “pardon”, man does not understand what the guy means.<sup>333</sup> Here the manners are again criticized for being imitations from the west. Though, it was not only about imitation of westernized manners, but Ottoman humorists were concerned about manners in general, as a typical of moral weekly. *Spectator* also criticized inappropriate manners of men, such as an acquaintance’s joining one another when they come across each other in the Park, though the other is in company with ladies.<sup>334</sup>

Activities and entertainment constituted the third dominant theme in sphere of cultural degeneration. Westernized activities were housed in Galata and Pera as already mentioned. In the nineteenth century, European cafes and restaurants were

<sup>332</sup> *Latife*, issue 30, *Kânun-u Evvel* 30, 1291,p.2.

<sup>333</sup> “*Latife* Baba ile Bir Şahıs Beyninde”, *Latife*, issue 1, September 1, 1292/1876.

<sup>334</sup> Steele, *The Spectator*, no. 24, Wednesday, March 28, 1711 Ed.Bond, 1965:pp.100-101.

flourished in Galata and Pera, such as *Café Byzance*, *Café Concordia*, *Café Flamm*, *Café de France*, and *Café Couzi*.<sup>335</sup> It was closely linked with the increased population of Europeans in Istanbul which also led to the opening of hotels out of need.<sup>336</sup> To these added were the theatres, photographer's studios, various western style shops, and department stores selling European commodities and fashionable items. There were also opened bookstores selling various books.<sup>337</sup> Galata and Pera, for the inhabitants of Istanbul, had become the door opening to the western life. Those who were choosing the westernized lifestyle were frequenting the coffees and restaurants, shopping in the western shops and that way followed *à la franga* social and leisure activities.

Reading some western books such as novels was not approved by moralists as corrupting the minds of young people. For instance, aforementioned novel *Paul et Virgine* by Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre was relatively a newly translated novel into Turkish and gained popularity during this period. In the same vein with *Tanzimat* novels, the previously quoted *muhavere* on novel, tries to convey the message or attempts to stimulate the idea that the young generation was misunderstanding what they read in translated novels and so they were being misled by which,<sup>338</sup> and turning out to be *şıks*.

Ottoman humor magazines were not against leisure, entertainment or social and cultural activities, but there were approved ones and unapproved ones. Besides, it is not approved if in the form of dissipation. First of all, leisure was an unfamiliar phenomenon to the Ottomans, and in the heart of that unfamiliarity is the utilitarian understanding, which is closely linked with morality and conservatism. In other words, if any activity does not provide *faide*, that is any moral benefit to the person, then it should be avoided. Such an understanding is like the Ottoman translation of *Spectator*'s motive encouraging activities provided they are rational and progressive both to the society and individual. For Ottoman humorists, western kind of entertainment and social activities such as westernized dance, polka, and attending masquerade balls were by no means one of those beneficial activities. Therefore those activities were criticized with a moral concern. *Spectator* was also concerned

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<sup>335</sup> Akın, *Galata ve Pera*, 1998: p. 257.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid, pp. 246-257.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid., pp. 220-257.

<sup>338</sup> "Paul ve Virginie Belası," *Tiyatro* 3, April 8, 1874,, p.1

with the moral benefits of activities. For instance, it censured *The Club of Duellists* for its violence and, instead encouraged going to the clubs which are increasing friendships among men.<sup>339</sup> Further, as already mentioned Addison usually criticized people's fondness of Italian Plays.

In somehow a similar vein, Ottoman humor magazines attacked balls and masquerade balls as which were providing no *faide*, and morally corrupt by allowing men and women to come together and to act in unapproved ways. Another point of criticism was that balls are turning people into fops. *Spectator* also mocks masquerade balls as a coxcomb activity.<sup>340</sup> Ottoman humorists defined men who attended masquerade balls as *şıks*, dressing up like buffoons and performing polka during the ball. It was further ridiculed in an ironic way that *şıks* were already like masqueraders in their daily life with their cloths and manners so they did not need a special dress up for the masquerade balls. Further, again ironically walking manners of *şıks* were ridiculed and attributed to the *polka* dance.<sup>341</sup> Third reason behind criticism was cultural unfamiliarity with masquerade ball, so they found it ridiculous and incongruous to Ottoman culture. *Polka* is also mocked with the same grounds. Persons following balls and *polka* were proving unsociable and incongruous not only to traditional Ottoman community but also to the westernized community which housed the balls. Humorists depicted Ottoman men as trying to attend masquerade balls, but not being able to perform *polka*. Walking with madams after the dinner when attended to balls was also found ludicrous. In *Tiyatro, Cemil Bey*, was one of those fops, who were invited to a ball but he did not how to perform *polka*. He was taking polka lessons before going to ball and depicted as a fool.<sup>342</sup>

Street musicians and adoption of western musical instruments was another criticism, behind which there was again the motive of western imitation and pragmatic concern. In one instance, *Karakoncolos*, the reporter of *Latife*, come across *Deli Corci* playing music on the street. When he asks why he is playing music along the streets, he replies that it is helpful in reformation of morality.<sup>343</sup> In another instance, adoption of European musical instrument, *flavta*, in the name of

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<sup>339</sup> Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 9, Saturday, March 10, 1711.Ed.,Bond, 1965: pp.39-43.

<sup>340</sup> Addison, *The Spectator*, issue 8, pp.37-38. Ed. Bond, 1965: pp.37-38.

<sup>341</sup> *Latife*, issue 39, March 6, 1291/ 1875, pp.2-3.

<sup>342</sup> "Ayak Oyunu: Komedy Bir Perde," *Tiyatro*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>343</sup> *Latife*, issue 2, March 25, 1291/1875, p.1.

modernization is ridiculed.<sup>344</sup> Shopping at westernized stores and frequenting westernized cafes were other unapproved activities, not only culturally but also in terms of economic morality. Duality of *à la franga* and *à la turca* were leading to incongruity in both city and society, which caused ludicrous and comic situations in sphere of leisure activities too, as it was in other spheres. Similar to use of western and Ottoman clock system together and operation of traditional transportation system of rowboats next to steamboats, there was the duality of Turkish and European coffee service in cafes of *Pera*. Latter situation is ridiculed in *Tiyatro* as now that westernized elements invaded the daily life, people get into trouble with *à la franga*. To illustrate, the waiter was asking the man whether he wants coffee *à la franga* or *à la turca*. Meanwhile the men sitting on the next table were disputing over what was the time actually, as one of the men was using *à la franga* clock, and the other had an *à la turca* one.<sup>345</sup>

Sybaritic or idle people, who were spending all of their time and money on entertainment and leisure, were other butts of humorists. Men were filling the coffeehouses to play billiard, backgammon and cards. *Latife's* spy *Karakoncolos*, reports those so called corrupt individuals as:

- *Geçenlerde hani ya Sultan Ahmet Kiraathanesi yok mu, onun yukarisına çıkmıştım. Ne görsem ben, orayı gazete okunulan bir mahal diye bilir idim, meğer yukarisında bir iki mektep de açılmış.*
- *Canım Karakoncolos senin artık gözlerin de kararmış, orada mektep ne gezer. Hem öyle bir mektep ki mükemmel ilm-i tavla, ilm-i kâğıt fen-i bilardo orada suhuletle tahsil olunuyor.*<sup>346</sup>

As the quotation implies that coffeehouses are approved on the condition that they serve to illumination of people through literary activities, not to play games. Again there is a pragmatic concern behind criticism. Apart from vices of idleness and dissipation in sphere of entertainment, there was the problem of drunkenness which was an issue also treated by *Spectator*. Drunken was mocked by changes it makes on manners.<sup>347</sup> Further, it is ridiculed that majority of Paris' population is composed by

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<sup>344</sup>“Düdük”,*Latife*, issue 29, May 29, 1291/1875, pp.1-2

<sup>345</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 7, April 10, 1290/ 1874, p.4.

<sup>346</sup> *Latife*, issue 5, April 1, 1291/ 1875, p. 3.

<sup>347</sup> “Bir Fıkra,” *Latife*, issue 10, September 21, 1874, p.3.

drunken, and which was almost true for Istanbul too.<sup>348</sup> This comparison also might be taken as an implication that Western Europe was regarded as corrupted and with the westernization process Istanbul was also adopting vices such as drunkenness. In somewhere else, it is ridiculed that Viennese beer is so much consumed in Istanbul that they are planning to establish a beer factory reserved to produce for Istanbul only.<sup>349</sup> Yet, as already stated, drunkenness and alcohol consumption had been present in Ottoman life through the history. Next to the vices of dissipation and drunkenness, were added the debauchery, which was attributed to *şıks*. Dressing up in an extravagant way, *şıks* were going after *şilliks*.<sup>350</sup> For that reason, *Tiyatro*, in a cartoon associates the vice of drunkenness with other vices of gambling or card plays and as well as women:



“Three bad habits which harms people”

<sup>348</sup> *Latife*, issue 9, September 9, 1874, p.1.

<sup>349</sup> *Latife*, issue, 38, September 2, 1291/1875, pp.135-136.

<sup>350</sup> *Latife*, issue 38, February 27, 1290/1874, p.1.



Above cartoon also reflects the genderisation of the issue because women are excluded from meaning of the word “people,” as it is evident in that among bad habits of (men) women are listed. There is another reason which also explains the inclusion of the above cartoon. Baronian himself is said to have followed a life of dissipation involving alcohol and women for some time until 1870,<sup>351</sup> which is four years before he publishes *Tiyatro*. Maybe that is why he gave a priority to the topic, as many other cartoons about dissipation are in far greater number in *Tiyatro* when compared to *Latife*. Yet, in general he is mentioned to be fond of alcohol but with moderate use.<sup>352</sup> This information is significant in showing that, *Tiyatro* was not totally against alcohol, but it was against drunkenness and instead encouraged a modest use. The same argument could be applied to *Latife*, which also criticized drunkenness, and there are no signs or statements which criticized the use of alcohol itself.

Other point of critic was the western theatre which Ottomans imported into Ottoman life at the nineteenth century, similar to other western elements. Suspicious attitude also applied to western theatre, as it did to all other novelties. Accordingly, issues like quality of the plays and theatre was commonly treated by both *Tiyatro* and *Latife*. However, the latter approached western theatre more critically because there was an ideological motive behind that attitude. Güllü Agop or Hagop Vartovyan, Armenian actor and director, had been given a ten years concession by Ottoman government in 1870 to open and held plays in Turkish, in Istanbul.<sup>353</sup> He was supposed to direct the performance of Turkish and Armenian dramas, comedies etc. Yet he was attacked by *Latife* and by other periodicals, especially by the Armenians. There was an ideological reason behind the satire directed against Güllü Agop as explained by Metin And. Agop was holding plays in Turkish, and because of which Armenian intellectuals were divided into two in their attitude towards him.<sup>354</sup> Though he also held plays in Armenian in equal number to Turkish ones, except for the Ramadan when only Turkish plays were held. Maybe that is what *Latife*, criticized as “when Ramadan arrives, plays held for making money.”<sup>355</sup> Another opposition was based on his profit motive. In the case of *Latife*, Güllü Agop was the

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<sup>351</sup> Bardakjian, “Baronian’s Political and Social Satire,” 1978:p.11.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid, p.16.

<sup>353</sup> Metin And, *Osmanlı Tiyatrosu* ( Dost: Ankara, 1999 ),p. 56, p. 74.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid, pp.121-122.

<sup>355</sup> *Latife*, issue 12, September 19, 1290. p.3. p.4.

most ridiculed topic after the “ethics of journalism.” However, Baronian, the publisher of *Tiyatro* magazine was in good terms with Güllü Agop.<sup>356</sup> Therefore, the content did not include much criticism of him and his theatre when compared to *Latife*. There are almost no critics found, except for some critics such as that people in the lodges could hardly hear the performers<sup>357</sup> whereas, *Latife* was in many issues attacking at Güllü Agop about his profit motive, and questioning the ethics and quality of his art. Many times, the concession given to him was criticized.<sup>358</sup> Also, it had been contended that, he was making an undeserved gain and unjust profit through theatre.<sup>359</sup> That no appreciated plays are performed is criticized: “*Agop kim? tiyatro kim?...Oynadığı oyunlar ise şunun bunun!*”<sup>360</sup> Whatever the ideological stances behind, one of the criticisms about theatre would be interpreted as an unsuccessful imitation of west with regard, in the same vein with the other adoptions from the west.

Topics so far as treated regarding manners, leisure and entertainment reveal that, it was not necessarily westernization, but the discourse was mainly against social deviation either through cultural alienation or through dissipation and extravagance. Humorists were not totally against some of the conducts, but urged for modesty. This is further supported by the fact that *Tiyatro*'s editor Hagop Baronian, was also frequenting coffeehouse and playing backgammon. He also sustained the habit of drinking in a modest way.<sup>361</sup> Censure of cultural westernization, as which is generally associated with upper classes of civilian bureaucracy and wealthy families, also originated from the aim of managing differences between great and little culture in Mardin's terms. Thus the attitude that the moral weeklies needed to assume was a tempering attitude against the excessiveness and weaknesses of men, also to serve to the high aim of sustaining order and morality in society, as derived from the minutes of the assembly which discussed about humor press' banning as quoted before.

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<sup>356</sup> And, *Osmanlı Tiyatrosu*, 1999: pp.122-123.

<sup>357</sup> “Feyz-i Aşk”, *Tiyatro*, issue 2, March 23, 1290/1874, p. 3.

<sup>358</sup> *Latife*, issue 38, 6 Safer 1292- February, 26, 1290/1875, p. 3.

<sup>359</sup> *Latife*, issue 4, August 22, 1290/ 1874, pp. 1-2

<sup>360</sup> “Hayal için iki söz “, *Latife*, issue 9, p.3.

<sup>361</sup> Bardakjian, “Baronian's Political and Social Satire,” 1978:p.16.

## Ethics of Journalism

Journalism, as brought along with the press as a western phenomenon, was not running properly similar to other western adoptions. Accordingly, it was subject to criticism with a morality concern similar to other issues. In *Latife*, ethics of journalism was a frequent topic, there were even some issues reserved only to the ridicule of gazettes. In *Tiyatro*, it was again a topic which is treated for the most time. Humorists were making mockery of journalists and gazettes based on ethics of journalism. One of the implications was that the published news was either not current, or it was false. Second problem was that persons who do not qualify to be a journalist were writing articles for the gazettes. Third problem was the matter of objectivity, as exemplified by the relations of publishers with Güllü Agop. One example is gazette *Basiret*. Through a dialog with *Karakoncolos*, it is criticized that, once *Basiret* had good relations with Güllü Agop, it used to support Güllü Agop in articles. Now that there had been a conflict between them, *Basiret*'s comments were turned against him.<sup>362</sup> The last but not the least, was the profit motive behind publishing which was decreasing the quality of journalism as already described in the chapter on press. Quality of the gazettes was also mocked as they are publishing boring essays or news. For instance, *Latife* ridicules that reading *Medeniyet* or *Ruzname* is a good solution for those who are suffering from sleeping difficulty.<sup>363</sup> *Tiyatro* many times censures content of *Hayal*, which is another humor magazine edited by Teodor Kasap.<sup>364</sup> For many other reasons, humor magazines attacked each other or other gazettes. Also *Latife* and *Tiyatro* were not in good terms, as also derived from their different attitude towards Güllü Agop. Further, they attacked each other in some cases. *Latife* reports that *Tiyatro* had called *Latife* "lady." *Latife* replies *Tiyatro* stating that *Latife* cannot be a lady and that ladies are actually present in *Tiyatro*.<sup>365</sup>

Nevertheless, as it is shown by this study, both *Tiyatro* and *Latife* covered same topics and they perceived the same things as vices and criticized which with the same

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<sup>362</sup> *Latife*, issue 3, March 27, 1291/1875, p.10.

<sup>363</sup> *Latife*, issue 11, September 16, 1290/1874, p. 3.

<sup>364</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 6, April 6, 1290/ 1874, p.3.

<sup>365</sup> *Latife*, issue 10, September 12, 1290/ 1874, p.2.

motivations. For correction of vices through laughter, wit is devised. In line with Bergson's theory of humor and incongruity theorists, it was manifest that comic was originating from unsociability, incongruity and imitation which either the city or the inhabitants experienced. It has been further showed that, as evident in the topics covered; in the points of criticisms; and in justifications based on utilitarianism and morality; it is the laughter of conservative moralists.

#### IV. Conclusion: Whose Voice, Addressed to Whom?

This part is again concerned with Ottoman community in general and Ottoman Armenians in particular since *Latife* and *Tiyatro*, which are both published by Armenians, are taken for a case study. Therefore, answer to the question of who addresses these publications to whom, needs to be constructed within two levels - community and class divisions.

To start with the community framework of analysis, it is evident from the fact that both published in Ottoman Turkish and in Ottoman Alphabet, *Tiyatro* and *Latife* were both addressing to Ottoman community in general. As an instance, *Tadron* magazine by Hagop Baronian was published in Armenian and for Armenian community. *Tiyatro* was the Ottoman Turkish version of *Tadron* that he published simultaneously and for a larger audience.<sup>366</sup> Further it is similar to *Tadron* in form and content. Many times the same articles and same cartoons were published. Only some modifications were made, to make the other fit into Armenian community in particular.<sup>367</sup> Besides, in relation to the topic of westernization, Armenian writers perceived the situation as Armenians, Turks, or Greeks were losing their cultural form, with the influence of the west. As for the other topics such as urban problems, they were experienced by all. That is, it was not only Armenians, or Muslim Turks, but the whole community and the city itself were going through degeneration from the view of humorists. Therefore, the concern of Armenian writers was the whole Ottoman community. Such an embracing concern of the Armenian writers was also shared by Ottoman Muslim Turks, as can be exemplified by the writings of Ahmed Midhat and Hagop Baronian. Fazıl Gökçek in *Osmanlı Kapısında Büyüme*; exemplifies Ahmed Midhat's concern for the whole Ottoman public. In his novel *Müşahadat*, Ahmed Midhat treats the issue of degeneration through western influence within the scope of Armenian community. In this novel, this time characters *Felatun Bey* and *Rakım Efendi* was represented by their Armenian corresponding characters. Midhat clarifies this influence with his statement as quoted before that “*Şimdi Galata ve Beyoğlu'nda ecnebilerin yerli ahali-i hristiyaniden ziyade çoğalmış oldukları muhakkaktır. Ecnebilerin çoğaldığı yerlerde Avrupa*

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<sup>366</sup> Bardakjian, “Baronian’s Political and Social Satire,” 1978: pp. 300-303.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

*ahlakı ahlak-ı asliyeye galebe ediyor... suistimalât, fuhuş ve rezâil artıyor...*”<sup>368</sup> He implies that westernization had degenerated Ottoman Armenians as well as Ottoman Muslim Turks. Further when he depicts an Armenian woman from previous generation, as a well behaved person, he says that such a woman can hardly be found in Istanbul nowadays: “*o zamanlar ehl-i iffet kadınlar İstanbul'da çokça bulunduğunu ama şimdi pek az bulunur...*”<sup>369</sup> The same concern embracing whole Ottoman community can be found in both *Latife* and *Tiyatro*. For instance, Baronian depicts a Turkish-Muslim character named *Cemil Bey* as trying to be *à la franga* and behaving as a fool by his unsuccessful efforts to adopt western ways.<sup>370</sup> It shows that Armenian writers were also concerned with the whole Ottoman community’s morality. It could also be argued that this kind of all-embracing concern by the writers was also partially originating from the so called “upper Ottoman identity” in the case of Ahmed Midhat and Baronian or Cevdet Paşa as the influential figures of the time. However, it is “so called” because with investigation of their real understandings, it will be revealed that they were not considering themselves as Ottomans, but they were belonging to their own community. There were not Ottomans, but there were instead Muslim Turks, Armenians and other communities which are distinguishing themselves from each other. Similar to Baronian, also Ahmed Midhat tried to be the writer appealing to the whole Ottoman public as it is shown by Fazıl Gökçek. However, Midhat in his novels was distinguishing Armenian community from Muslim Turks and he did not actually considered non-Muslims to be Ottomans. Ahmed Midhat also shows in his novels that Armenians also did not consider themselves to be from Ottomans. In *Karnaval*, main characters of which were Armenians, he depicts Mösyö Hamparsun as considering himself to be out of Ottomans.<sup>371</sup>

Second level of analysis that is the class dimension of discourse requires analyzing community structures in the nineteenth century. However, since Ottoman humor magazines covered here, are published in Istanbul and focused on which, only classes in Istanbul will be considered. To start with Ottoman ruling class, it was composed of *Seyfiye*/Military, *İlmiye*/Religious and *Kalemiye*/Scribal institutions.

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<sup>368</sup> *Müşahadat*, p. 98, 99, cited in Fazıl Gökçek, *Osmanlı Kapısında Büyüme: Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin Hikâye ve Romanlarında Gayri Müslim Osmanlılar* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2006), p. 147.

<sup>369</sup> *Müşahadat*, p.98 cited in Gökçek p.146.

<sup>370</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 4, April 11, 1874, p.1.

<sup>371</sup> *Karnaval* in Gökçek, p. 125

However by the eighteenth century, scribal class had gained more importance as a part of bureaucratic and administrative restructuring of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>372</sup> In the nineteenth century, restructuring continued with the rise of a new bureaucracy along with the administrative modernization and reorganization process. As a result of the administrative modernization, bureaucratic elite gained significance within the Ottoman ruling class.<sup>373</sup> The new bureaucratic elite, with their westernized educational background, acted as the forerunners of westernization and represented over westernized segment of Ottomans. Besides, military institution had gone through modernization, and members of which received some westernized education as well. *İlmiye* or *ulema* members in general were more conservative relative to other segments of ruling class. Many constituted a closed family structure strictly preserving Ottoman values and mores. Though, *ulema* do not represent a homogeneous body with regard to conservatism or in their attitudes towards novelties or westernization. For instance, Cevdet Paşa, Ottoman influential statesman of the period, was *Ulema* class origin. However, he many times criticized *Ulema* members as they are closed to novelties, and hindering scientific and technical reforms.<sup>374</sup>

In nineteenth century Istanbul, class boundaries are a bit indiscernible. Further the concept of middle class is floating when it is applied to Ottoman context in this period. Here, a rather social structure analysis is presented. Apart from above listed upper class members, other segments of society living in Istanbul included petty civil servants, professionals, teachers, merchants, artisans, craftsman, and workers. Some works also list artisans, craftsmen; merchants as well as teachers among a second group of dominant elite class,<sup>375</sup> whereas in economic class analysis, artisans together with other groups in various economic occupations are considered to be forming a new Muslim middle class in the nineteenth century.<sup>376</sup> Majority of Ottoman Muslim population in Istanbul however can be counted among either middle or lower class and former represented traditional segment of society against

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<sup>372</sup> Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities." *Studia Islamica* 16, (1962 ), pp.73-94.

<sup>373</sup> For more insight: Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980 ).

<sup>374</sup> Neumann, *Araç Tarih, Amaç Tanzimat*, 1999: pp.91-98.

<sup>375</sup> Karpas draws a table of Ottoman social structure in the nineteenth century: Kemal Karpas, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* ( Leiden: Brill, 2002),p.304.

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*,p.43.

westernized bureaucracy and bourgeoisie. For instance, artisans and craftsmen, in particular represented Ottoman traditional family structure and values as stated before. Eventually, traditional conservative segment was criticizing over westernized upper classes and bourgeoisie segment.<sup>377</sup> In their attitude towards modernization, somewhere in between the upper and relatively lower classes stood newly emerged intelligentsia. Most of them were at the same time hold positions such as small state offices, but they were majorly involved in journalism and literature. They were endowed with western knowledge, and languages. Even if from different class origins, they had internalized communitarianism and voiced the traditional conservative segment as the dominant form of society. They appeared as the mobilizers over lower and upper classes.<sup>378</sup> Therefore, the aim of Ottoman Muslim conservatism was to form a mid-way society based on virtues of traditional middle class family structure, freed from the vices of both classes, such as the vanity of upper classes, and vulgarity of lower classes. This was the stand of Ahmed Midhat, which is to be represented by Hagop Baronian or Zakarya Beykozluayan in Armenian Community, as also evident in the discourse of both magazines.

In Armenian community, clergy formed the first segment of upper class, and *Amiras* or Armenian aristocracy constituted another. *Amiras* were also divided into two groups within themselves. The first group was namely *sarrafs* or bankers, and which derived their status from wealth. Second group was formed by civil servants. That *Amiras* involved both in civil service and in the finances of Ottoman officials, would bring them into close affiliation with the ruling institution. With the influence of their ties with the government, they acted as the mediators between the Ottoman government and Armenian Patriarchate and Armenian community in general. They were also decisive in the internal administration of Armenian millet.<sup>379</sup> Besides, they would be the westernizing segment of Armenian community. Additionally, *millet* administration had been first monopolized by clergy and *Amiras*. Therefore, *Amiras* were usually subject to criticism from their own community since they are regarded as the tools of Ottoman government and as not serving to the national interests of Armenian community. Further, as they were preventing administrative representation

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<sup>377</sup> Ekrem Işın, "Tanzimat Ailesi ve Modern Adab-ı Muaşeret", in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*. Edited by Halil İnalçık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (Ankara: Phoenix, 2006), pp. 388-390.

<sup>378</sup> Mardin, *Superwesternization*, 1974:p.428.

<sup>379</sup> Barsoumian, "The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class, 1982:pp. 171-181.



of other segments from community, *Amiras* were in conflict with them. Only after the establishment of Armenian constitution, other classes gained the right of representation as explained before. Another factor was the Armenian enlightenment, through which an Armenian intelligentsia emerged, most of whom was educated in the West. Intelligentsia joined the struggle to overthrow *Amiras* for the establishment of constitution.<sup>380</sup>

Other segments included artisans, craftsmen, small merchants, manufacturers, teachers and various occupations and workers, in parallelism with other non-Muslim communities' social structure. Again merchants, manufacturers, intellectuals are grouped among second group of dominant elite as separate from working class and peasants.<sup>381</sup> However, within the framework of this study they will be considered as forming a middle class in social structure analysis, as separate from upper class formed by clergy and *Amira*. With respect to an economic class analysis, there was also emerging a commercial bourgeoisie among Armenians. Through western trade protection after the eighteenth century, they were at first advantageous in benefiting from new commercial circumstances in nineteenth century Ottomans. Accordingly, they were able to attain a capital accumulation.<sup>382</sup> Commercial bourgeoisie, together with *Amiras* represented westernized segment of Armenian community. They were therefore, subject to criticism by majority of traditional middle class as voiced by intellectuals.

In order to locate the stand of Hagop Baronian and Zakarya Beykozluyan into the context of Armenian community, first some biographical information is needed. Nevertheless, within the limits of this research, no information could be found about Beykozluyan apart from that he is a publisher. Only from the discourse of *Latife*, some reflections can be drawn about him. It could be argued that he was the representative of conservative society, as opposed to westernized upper class of *Amiras* and commercial bourgeoisie. Further as stated before his attitude and ideology seems to be same with Baronian except for some small issues treated in the previous chapter. As for Baronian, Bardakjian gives some biographical information as well as some reflections on his political and social views. Baronian was born in

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<sup>380</sup> Bardakjian, "Baronian's Political and Social Satire," 1978:p. 65.

<sup>381</sup> Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History*,2002, pp.304-305.

<sup>382</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* ( New York: Oxford University Press, 1996 ),p.34.

Adrianople in 1843. His father was a small banker and his mother was coming from a relatively rich family. Besides, as it can be derived from the life story of Baronian quoted in Bardakjian thesis, he worked in modest positions and even experienced some poverty in his last years. Therefore, he might be defined as a middle class member. After studied at Greek Secondary school, which he left in a year, Baronian worked in pharmacy and tobacco establishments. Eventually, in 1863 and when he was twenty, he arrives in Istanbul where he stayed for a while with his cousin. During his stay, he could meet some of the intellectuals of his time and involved in discussions. He wrote first of his significant literary work in 1865 and which was a comedy. Before he starts periodical editorship in 1870, he works in various positions such as Telegraph office and news agency. Also, he had an excellent command of Greek, Turkish and French.<sup>383</sup> All of which shows that intellectual background of him, provided Baronian with an awareness to current social and political affairs.

With regard to his attitude towards different segments of Armenian community, Baronian criticized both *Amiras* and Clergy which, in his view, were corrupted. Therefore, his criticisms on those, led to the ban of *Meghu* magazine in 1874.<sup>384</sup> The same year he took the editorship of *Tadron* and at the same time started to publish *Tiyatro* as the Ottoman Turkish version of which. Further, the fact that license to publish *Tiyatro* magazine was taken via *Güllü Agop*<sup>385</sup> shows his closeness to Ottoman government. In that point he differed from Armenian intelligentsia of his time, such as Beykozlyan who seems to be one of those attacking at *Güllü Agop* for serving to the interests of Ottoman government, at the expense of Armenian national interests.<sup>386</sup> Yet, Bardakjian states that, it did not mean that Baronian did not care about the national interests; he just had humanistic views in social matters which would reflect in his publishing *Tiyatro* for Ottoman society in general. He “regarded the Ottoman community in Constantinople as one society, all the components of which were equally in need of reform.”<sup>387</sup> Further, he held a conservative view of society which he believed to be based on the same sustained principles.<sup>388</sup> Based on

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<sup>383</sup> Bardakjian, “Baronian’s Political and Social Satire,” 1978: pp.9- 15.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid*, p.14.

<sup>385</sup> And, *Osmanlı Tiyatrosu*, 1999: p.123.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.*, p.121-123.

<sup>387</sup> “Baronian’s *Tiyatro*,” in Bardakjian, “Baronian’s Political and Social Satire,” 1978, pp.304-305.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid*, pp.14-16.

his literary works, Bardakjian also depicts a conservative and morally concerned image of Hagop Baronian. According to the available biographical information, he seems to be coming from a modest family in terms of economic status. However, whatever their class origins, both Baronian and Beykozluyan could evidently be counted among Ottoman intelligentsia with their journalist and writer positions. The discourse of *Tiyatro*, also reveals that he was rather critic of upper class and new commercial bourgeoisie in terms of both economic morality and their luxurious life style. This is supported by the information that *Meghu* supported artisans and craftsman against *Amiras* and wealthy merchant class.<sup>389</sup> The latter can be interpreted as referring to newly emerged commercial bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century which Baronian criticized.

However, when considered within the framework of *Latife* and *Tiyatro*, criticism is more embracing. Both Baronian and Beykozluyan were attacking at westernized commercial bourgeoisie and westernized upper class of both Muslims and Non-Muslims. However, as it is explained before, discourse of the nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines was not actually a westernization discourse but it was rather a morality discourse. Therefore, in order to draw a more general conclusion, it could be argued that, both Baronian and Beykozluyan similar to Ahmet Midhat, belonged to the traditional, conservative segment of society. It was not only unapproved westernization but all the vices are attacked as derived from the content of Magazines. Not only the vices of over westernized upper class, but the vices of all classes including beggars, journalists and even intelligentsia, were ridiculed. They were censuring the whole society with a morality concern for the whole Ottoman community. However, in general terms, similar to Ahmed Midhat, they were writing rather from the side of middle class, against over westernized upper classes and commercial bourgeoisie. *Amira* class and clergy also had a conservative view, but very different from the one Baronian held. Similarly, Ahmed Midhat's conservatism differed from that of *Ulema*. *Amira* and Clergy's conservatism was rather to preserve the status quo in order persist their advantageous position in Ottomans.<sup>390</sup> However, Baronian's conservatism was rather morality concerned, humanitarian and socially responsible. All shows that Baronian was more or less in the same stand with Ahmed

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<sup>389</sup> Zakarya Mildanoğlu-columnist at *Agos*, *Armenian History of Printing and Press and Periodicals*, unpublished research ;Turgut Çeviker,*Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü*: 1986.

<sup>390</sup> Barsoumian, "The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class," 1982: p. 181.

Midhat who had a communitarian and as well as a humanistic view too, as other intellectuals of nineteenth century Ottomans.<sup>391</sup> Both writers were believed to be appealing to a general public. This relates the discussion to the matter of culture of masses on the one hand and elite culture on the other. As Şerif Mardin describes the situation for the Ottoman Muslim intelligentsia that, “The nineteenth century was marked in its first stages by attempts of such persons as Ahmed Midhat Efendi to bring about a fusion of these two streams.”<sup>392</sup>

Similar situation roughly applies to *Spectator*'s position. Addison and Steele appealed to a wider public to spread polite moralism, whereas Shaftesbury addressed to elite.<sup>393</sup> First of all, eighteenth century coincided with the rise of bourgeoisie in Britain. Addison and Steele, both coming from middle class, defined the tone of *Spectator* as “...the Whiggish balance between morality and civility, order and liberty, learning and conviviality, in which post 1689 social and political order was ideologically embedded.”<sup>394</sup> Therefore, somehow in parallelism with Ahmed Midhat and Baronian's efforts, Addison attempted to bring together little and elite culture. This is what Mackie well defines for *Spectator*'s stance “Middle Ground Bourgeoisie standards of taste and culture was often carved out through negotiation with high elite culture and low popular culture.” ...in bourgeoisie discourse, these high and low cultural forms are identified with another and the excesses of each rejected.”<sup>395</sup> Thus, *Spectator* criticized the excessive sides of aristocracy such as vanity and coxcombry on the one hand, and the coarseness and vulgarity of lower classes on the other, which was some way similar to the nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines' attitude.

It is to say that, Baronian as well as Ahmed Midhat sought to establish a midway between two extremes. Therefore, they attempted to censure excessiveness of both classes: flamboyance of upper class, vulgarity of lower classes. Aim was to shape society as refined from vulgarity of lower classes and vanity of upper classes, and instead be based on the modesty of middle classes and noble taste of upper classes. Therefore, it is no coincidence that, peddlers, porters and beggars are criticized, next

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<sup>391</sup> Mardin, *Superwesternization*, 1974: p.428.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, :pp. 428-429.

<sup>393</sup> Klein, Lawrence E, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in early eighteenth-century England* ( Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994 ), p.2.

<sup>394</sup> Melton, *Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 2001: p.96.

<sup>395</sup> Mackie, *Commerce of Everday*, 1998: p.6.

to the unethical money makers of bourgeoisie and upper classes in the discourse of magazines. Further, As Ekrem Işın states that, middle class of artisans and craftsman with its values had formed the base of traditional Ottoman society. However, with the westernization of economy and society, this traditional structure now was being threatened. Among conservative middle classes, a corrupted bourgeoisie was emerging next to the corruption of westernized bureaucracy. As a result, *Tanzimat* discourse tried to protect middle class morality by criticizing overly westernized bureaucratic elite and bourgeoisie consisted by wealthy merchants and tradesman.<sup>396</sup> The same was true for Baronian's stand, as well as Zakarya Beykozluyan's stand as it could be derived from the shared content and discourse of the magazines which have been taken as a case study. Therefore, another aim was to shape the emerging commercial society based on modesty, morality and decorum. In line with that, morality of commercial relationships conducted by newly formed bourgeoisie among middle class and upper classes, were questioned in support of lower classes. Again in some way, in parallelism with *Spectator*'s stand that, wealth is not an evil, but can be "easily corrupted if not properly employed."<sup>397</sup>

As a result, it would be contended that nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines of the first period, especially *Tiyatro* and *Latife*, were generally the voice of conservative segment of middle class against corrupted or overly westernized commercial bourgeoisie and upper classes. Therefore, they were mainly addressed to upper class and newly emerging commercial bourgeoisie as a target. These two arguments first would be derived from the content and discourse of related magazines, secondly would be supported by other points so far treated. In that vein, it was in some way or another, similar to *Spectator* which was specifically recommended by Addison to Gentleman and Businessman including tradesman and merchants.<sup>398</sup> It was a part of greater project by nineteenth century intellectuals to close the gap between Great and Little Culture which had been widened with the westernization of economy, and cultural westernization. In that, Ahmed Midhat, Baronian, as well Beykozluyan are on the same stand. However, it is not to say that expected audience was limited to upper and middle class. On the contrary, it is the general characteristic of moral weeklies that the largest possible audience is sought

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<sup>396</sup> Işın, 2006: pp.388-389.

<sup>397</sup> Ibid,p.9.

<sup>398</sup> Addison, *Spectator*, issue 10, Monday 12, 1711. Ed.Bond,1965: pp.44-47.

in order to reach their highest aim of sustaining order and morality in society through censure of incongruities. Besides, there was the concern of appealing to and enlightening general public, by establishing mediation role between little and elite culture. In the context of humor magazines, such mediation was manifested as extending court humor into popular literature in Schopenhauer's terms, and intermingling court humor with the elements of folk literature. In Ottoman context, the latter was managed through incorporating elements of *Meddah* and *Orta Oyunu* into literature,<sup>399</sup> as well as humor magazines as already shown.

As the subscription lists of *Spectator* shows, it was mainly the middle class, and upper class who read the magazine.<sup>400</sup> However, the matter of who were the readers of Ottoman moral weeklies is unknown as there is no subscribers' list available, as far as within the limits of the information acquired in this research. A comparison of the prices of papers which are contemporary to *Tiyatro* and *Latife* shows that, many of them are the same price. Typical characteristic was that they were usually four pages and published twice a week. First of all, *Latife* and *Tiyatro* were of the same price that is 40 *para* or 1 *guruş*. However, for short periods, prices of both papers were reduced to 20 *para* probably to increase the number of readers. Then the price is again pulled up to 40 *para* and the reason for which, is explained as to meet the expenses.<sup>401</sup> The prices of other humor magazines such as *Hayal* (1875) and *Diyojen* (1872) was gain 1 *guruş*. Other papers such as *Medeniyet* (1876), *Basiret* (1874) were again 1 *guruş*.<sup>402</sup> Therefore, prices of both *Latife* and *Tiyatro* seem to be not an advantage or disadvantage for increasing their audience, relative to the readers of other papers. However, it is generally known that, there was a tradition of reading the papers loud in coffeehouses which might be partly because of that limited people afforded to buy them regularly. Second reason is the low level of literacy. As for the other similarities and differences between *Tiyatro* and *Latife*, first of all, the content was the same. Same topics are treated with the same tone and so they shared the same discourse. One difference was their attitude towards Güllü Agop, as already explained. Therefore, unlike *Latife*, *Tiyatro* also usually published advertisements and news on currently held theatre plays. Further *Tiyatro* and *Latife* were in

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<sup>399</sup> Parla, *Tanzimat Edebiyatı'nda Siyasi Fikirler*, 2004: p.225.

<sup>400</sup> Bond, *The Spectator*, 1965:pp.lxxxiii-cvi.

<sup>401</sup> *Latife*, issue 43, Ramazan30, 1291/ 1875. p. 1.

<sup>402</sup> B.D.K. Hakkı Tarık Us Periodicals Collection.

opposition to each other as derived from the fact that they attacked each other in some issues. In style and form, they were also similar to each other, as well as to other humor magazines. They similarly applied a mixture of verse and prose wit, short funny stories, *muhaveres*, essays, as well as telegrams and letters from the readers. Each number or issue included one cartoon, except for a limited number of issues. Cartoons and advertisements are placed at the end of the page. Baronian was the publisher of *Tiyatro* and at the same time the author of articles published in which. In the case of *Latife*, there are no signatures found in articles. There is only a statement with a signature at end of each issue that “gazete sahib-i imtiyazı Zakarya Beykozluyan” stating that he was the publisher, or in some issues only a signature of him given.

By this study, it has been attempted to show that Ottoman comic papers of the first period (1870-77) which were coined as humor magazines up to present, are actually moral weeklies similar to *Spectator* Magazine (1711-14), aimed at instruction with a traditionalist conservative motive. First of all, persistence of traditional and communitarian social structure as the dominant form of society and conservatism as the dominant ideology; little changed patronage relationships; censorship; government policies on press; didactic humor understanding, all added a pragmatic dimension to humor press that is governed by morality concern. Therefore, Ottoman comic papers emerged as with a morality discourse. Intellectuals, as well as humorists were channelized to intervene in the state of *Charivari* to regulate it, and to take the role of protectors of society, on the name of dominant ideology. Therefore, they devised humor press for censure of observed vices and deficiencies for attaining the highest aim of sustaining order and morality in city and society. All defined the content, style and tone of humor magazines. That Ottoman humor magazines of the first period were moral weeklies, distinguishes them from satirical press of subsequent periods from many other points too. First of all, cartoons are not included in the first years of humor press, except for inclusion of one cartoon per issue in subsequent years which is a sign of less satirical character, as if the cartoon is taken as a verbal form of satire. Besides, included cartoons were rather closer to picture or illustration. Inclusion of typical cartoons as a part of political satire would be seen rather during Revolutionary press. Secondly, as in transition period, and out of instructive needs, Ottoman humor magazines of the first period, inherited the

verbal traditions of folk humor which were also didactic. Such incorporation was also in line with the concern for involving popular culture with literary forms of court humor combined with folk literature. Now that press was introduced, literature could attain a reading public. It was similar to the development of eighteenth century British press, attempting to involve public in literature, through which to enlighten readers. In Ottoman case, or even in case of Britain, that was a part greater project of intellectuals to meet the little and elite culture.

Humor understanding was also shaped by morality concern and brought the use of wit to the fore. Even if satire is employed it was close to Roman satire which is tempered with moral and instructive concerns. It was again in parallelism with *Spectator*'s emphasis on Roman satire. Though, first Ottoman humor magazines were mainly the publications of wit. Through emphasis on wit, humor could evolve towards an intellectual form of humor requiring more involvement on the part of the receiver, which was in line with the aim of enlightening and instructing the reader. That was also similar to case of *Spectator*, which attempted "to enliven morality with wit." Laughter of nineteenth century Ottoman humor magazines of the first period was also the laughter of incongruity theory that explains laughter as an intellectual process or as a process of grasping of incongruities. In that vein wit and moral function of which, were emphasized by Hutcheson. Besides, humorists devised wit to censure the incongruities observed in society, which was manifested as the state of *Charivari*. Second root of laughter in Ottoman context was the unsociability of deviators, as explained by Bergson. Also through westernization number of western imitators and fops had increased which constituted another motive behind laughter, that is, the self-ignorance of fops or *Şıks*, similar to the laughter explained by superiority theory of humor.

Further, the emergence of humor press coincided to the period of increased westernization, economic and cultural westernization became major topic of these publications. Therefore imitation of western culture at the expense of indigenous identity, and economic morality such as ethics of newly emerged commercial society as well as commercial relations as a result of westernization of economy, constituted the two main problems. Next to which, general deficiencies and vices in city and society were the target. Ottoman humor magazines or moral weeklies sought to temper morality of daily life of mainly upper class of bureaucratic elite and of



bourgeoisie as well as commercial relationships. When doing this, aim was to create an intermingling of lower class and upper class virtues, against vices and follies of both classes. Accordingly, in the content of humor magazines, excessive sides of both such as corrupt commercial and economic relations, profit motive, show off, extravagance, arrogance, imitation of western culture, coarse or vulgar taste of leisure and art, idleness, dissipation, drunkenness and debauchery and cheating were censured for correction. Instead, a progressive, rational and modest use of wealth, time, alcohol, as well as leisure; a noble taste of art and consumption; just and ethical commercial relations, and sexual relationships and manners of a decorous kind based on values and traditions are encouraged. All these elements would formulate a kind of ethos that Ottoman moral weeklies projected for all. Such an intermingling lied in the heart *Terakki* for intellectuals, similar to that *Spectator* saw such an effort as a way to *Progress*. Therefore, *Tiyatro* and *Latife* were formed by a discourse of conservative segment of society against corrupted segments. Additionally, deficiencies of the city such as transportation and municipal services were also attacked, but which were again thought to be emerging from western imitation and lack of economic morality. Latter is evident in that motive behind criticism was rather class exclusiveness of services.

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## Appendix I:

### Selected Romanized Texts from *Latife* and *Tiyatro*

#### *Eldiven*<sup>403</sup>

- *Efendim dün sizi Beyoğlu'nda gördüm. Sizin gibi tamahkârlar pek oralarda dolaşmazlar ama bilmem niçin gitmişsiniz?*
- *Bizim Kerime eldiven istemişti de onun için.*
- *Ay nasıl Beyoğlu'nun dükkânlarını beğendiniz mi?*
- *Ne söylüyorsunuz efendim. Beğenmeyecek şey mi? Herifler alışverişin yolunu biliyorlar. Dükkânlarını karı ve kızla doldurmuşlar. İnsanın bir alacağı olmasa bile almaya heves geliyor.*
- *Öyle ise onların İstanbul esnafları gibi ahz ve ita kesat deyü şikâyete hakları yok.*
- *Hayır, efendim onlarda alışveriş gurla. Çünkü kızlar adamı uzaktan celp ediyorlar. Dükkâna gelen müşterileri kapıdan karşıyorlar. Birçok taltifler ediyorlar.*
- *- Sizi de karşıladılar mı?*
- *Yaa. Ama ben hangi dükkânda kız görür isem doğru o dükkâna dalıyorum. Eldiven soruyorum. Ama mesela girdiğim dükkân gömlekçi yahut şapkacı yahut kemerci dükkânı imiş zararı yok! Ben yine eldiven soruyorum. Hatta şapkacı dükkânının birinde böyle eldiven sormuştuk da madam “ ben bilmez kim bu eldiven “ diye bizi koyuverdi. Ben de gülererek dışarı çıktım.*
- *Sonra?*
- *Sonrası doğru yolda gelir iken bir de baktım ki dükkânın birinin kapısında tenekeden bir eldiven asılı:*
- *O ne olacak?*
- *İşaret*
- *Niye?*
- *Sattığı meta. Çünkü herkes ne satar ise dükkânının kapısına bir numunesini koyar. Mesela kunduracı demirden bir çizme, sucu su, arabacı araba asıyor.*
- *Beygirler de beraber mi?*
- *Hayır!*
- *Ha Şöyle.*

<sup>403</sup> Tiyatro, issue 2, March 23, 1290/1874, pp.1-2.

- *Evet efendim. İşte ben de bunun için dükkânın kapısında teneke eldiveni görünce hah! Dükkânı bulduk diyerek doğru içeriye daldım:*
- *“Ben- Eldiven var mı?*
- *Madam- ben Türkçe bilmez. Fakat burada eldiven yoktur.*
- *Ben- Canım şunlar ne?*
- *Madam- Onlar Gants’ dir. Eğer Gants ister isen veririm. Fakat eldiven yoktur.*
- *Anladım ki madam bana ganı eldiven diye yutturmak ister. Lakin ben şaşkınım. Hiç ganı eldiven diye yutar mıyım?*
- *Canım eldiveni görünce tanımıyor musun?*
- *Tanıyorum. Onlar da eldivene benziyor idi. Fakat kim bilir belki de değildir. Her eldivene benzeyen eldiven mi olur? Her insana benzeyen insan mı olur?*
- *Ay nihayet eldivenci dükkânından boş mu çıktınız?*
- *Dinlesenize. Biz madamla eldiven gan falan diyerek konuşur iken dükkân sahibi gelip ne istiyorsunuz diye sordu.*
- *“ ben- Çelebi eldiven isterim:*
- *Dükkân sahibi- İyi ya bunlar çorap değil a. Bunlar da eldiven. Niçin almıyorsunuz?*
- *Be canım bunlar gan imiş.*
- *Dükkân Sahibi- Canım Gants Fransızca eldiven demektir.*
- *Ben- ya öyle ise affedersiniz Çelebi, ben Fransızca bilmem.*
- *Bunun üzerine yine acep bizim kızın istediği eldiven Fransızca eldiven mi yoksa Türkçe eldiven mi diye başladım düşünmeye:*
- *Canım hiç Türkçe eldiven başka, Fransızca eldiven başka olur mu?*
- *Niçin olmaz? Setre’nin Türkçesi başka, alafrangası başka oluyor ya, eldivenin de ondan ne farkı var?*
- *Ha gerçek orası da var. Anladım muradınız eldiven almak değil adeta eğlenmek imiş.*
- *Hâsılı herif aradığımız eldivenin onlar olduğuna bizi ikna ederek kızınızın eli kaç numaradır diye sordu. Bak belaya ki ben evin numarasının 79 olduğunu biliyorum ama kızın elinin numarasından haber yok. Ay ne yapalım bilmediğimi herife söyledim onun üzerine eli büyük mü diye sordu. Ben de ne büyük, ne küçük dedim. Al öyle ise sana bir orta boy eldiven diye çıkarıp elime iki tane eldiven verdi:*
- *“ Ben- Çelebi iki tane çoktur, ben bir tane isterim.*

- *Dükkân Sahibi- Canım bir tane olur mu? Kızınızın eli bir mi?*
- *Tuhaf, eli iki olmağla iki eldiven mi almalı? Mesela on parmağı var diye şimdi kalkıp on tane mi yüzük almalı?*
- *Dükkân sahibi- Hiç eldiven yüzüğe benzer mi?*
- *El iki olduğu için eldiven de iki olmalı.*
- *Ben- Allah Allah! Mesela üç fesi olanın mutlaka üç de başı mı olmalı?*
- *Dükkân sahibi- Efendim siz lakırdı anlamıyorsunuz. Tek eldiven satılmaz. İster iseniz alınız. İster iseniz almayınız: “*
- *Hâsılı baktım ki herif malını sürmek ister. Dükkâncı bu ya, lâkin müşteri dediğinin gözü dört olmalı.*
- *Evet efendim. Hâsılı eldiveni almadınız demek.*
- *Öyle ya. Ortalığın hâli malum, çok masraf edecek zaman değil. Bunun için şimdilik bir tek eldiven alayım da, bir gün bir eline, öbür gün öteki eline taksın. Sonra bir müsaade zamanım olur ise bir tanesini de o vakit alırım mütalaasında idim. Efkârım yolunda değil mi?*
- *Pek yolunda efendim.*
- *Ama herif öyle demiyor.*
- *Efendim siz ona bakmayın. O sizden adeta para kapmak istemiş.*
- *Evet, ama ben şaşkın değilim. Öyle ağız kalabalıklarına gelmem.*
- *Ona şüphe yok efendim. Sonra?*
- *Sonrası eve eldivensiz geldim vesselam.*
- *Ay kızınız ne dedi?*
- *İşi ona açtım ki bir şey desin.*
- *Ya ne yalan kıvırdınız?*
- *Beyoğlu'nda eldiven kalmamış, gelecek hafta aşağıdan gelecekmiş o vakit alırım dedim.*
- *Ay kandı mı?*
- *Kandı ama neyse.*
- *Demek olur ki o gün sadece madam ve matmazelleri seyrettiniz?*
- *Şüphe yok. Beyoğlu'nda ne kadar dükkân var ise hepsine girdim, çıktım. Hatta gelirken aşağıda bir güzel madama tesadüf etmişim ona bile eldiven sordum. Hem doğrusu şu eldiven alışverişi pek hoşuma gitti. Gelecek hafta yine gidip eldiven arayacağım.*

- *Öyle ise bizim evden de eldiven istiyorlar, beraber gideriz.*

### ***Bir Muhavere***<sup>404</sup>

- *Dün akşam seni Beyoğlu'nda gördüm. Gözlerini pencerelelere dikmiş geziyordun. O hal ile nereye gidiyordun?*
- *Efendim bir oda arıyordum.*
- *Bari bulabildin mi?*
- *Evet efendim Galata'dan yukarı çıkarken herifin birine burada bir oda var mı? Kira ile tutacağım diye sordum. O da ( şu sol taraftaki sokakta vardır diyerek bize bir yer salık verdi. Sokağa girdim. Baktım evin birisinin üzerinde "bu hanenin odaları kiraya veriliyor" mealinde bir yafta gördüm.*
- *Aferin be! Çok kolay bulmuşsun.*
- *Azıcık hele dur da dinle: Ön kapısından içeri girdim. Girer girmez bir karı çıktı. "Buyurun efendim" diye bizi karşıladı. Üst katta bir odaya çıkardı.*
- *Bari oda döşeli miydi?*
- *Fena değildi. Güzel döşenmiş. Aynası, masası, karyolası falanı hepsi teknil.*
- *Tamam tutmalıydın.*
- *Madam da bana çok ikram ediyordu. Bir taraftan ( vira? ), bira getirip "buyurun!" diyordu. Odada üç dört tane de kızlar vardı. Kendi kızları mıydı orasını bilmem. Onlar da haylice bira içiyorlardı.*
- *Ay sonra?*
- *Sonra madama: "-bari odalara bari bir baksak da pazarlığını ediversek. Sonra geç kalırım..." dedim. Madam "bakınız hangisini isterseniz emrediniz verelim" dedi.*
- *Ben- Fakat güzel olmalı.*
- *Madam- Evet efendim güzeldir.*
- *Ben- Biraz büyücek olsun.*
- *Madam- Pekâlâ öyle olsun.*
- *Ben- Pis olmasın. Çünkü ben bekâr adamım. Her sabah süpüremem.*
- *Madam- Zaten hepsi temizdir efendim. Haftada bir defa yıkanırılar.*
- *Ben- Akşam gelince yatağım hazır olmalı.*
- *Madam- Peki.*
- *Ben- Yemeği de burada yiyeceğim.*

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<sup>404</sup> Tiyatro, issue 48, August 31, 1874, pp.1-2.

- *Madam- Olur Efendim.*
- *Ben- Yemekten sonra bir de kahve isterim.*
- *Madam- Peki efendim istediğiniz bir kahve olsun.*
- *Ben- Takımı da güzel olmalı.*
- *Madam- Hepsinin fistanları yenidir.*
- *Ben- Ne söylüyorsun? Bizim oda fistan da mı giyecek?*
- *Madam- Nasıl oda?*
- *Ben- Nasıl fistan?*
- *Madam- Siz oda mı arıyordunuz?*
- *Ben- İki saatten beri söylemiyor muyum?*
- *Madam- Öyle ise ben yanlış anlamışım. Burada kiraya verilecek oda yoktur kuzum.*
- *Ben- Şaka mı ediyorsun?*
- *Madam- Nasıl şaka?*
- *Ben- Ya kapının üstüne “bu hanenin odaları kiraya verilecek” diye yazmışsınız.*
- *Madam- Sen ona mı bakıyorsun?*
- *Ben- Ya neye bakayım?*
- *Madam- O bir süs içindir dedi. Baktım madama söz anlatamayacağım. “ Ah “ Allaha emanet olun ” dedim. Ve kapıya doğru gittim. Madam yakama yapıştı. “ Yüz kuruş bira parası vereceksin ” dedi.*
- *Öyle ya! Sana birayı bedava mı verecekler.*
- *Ben onlardan bira istemedim ya! Kendisi bana ikram etti. Bir adam misafirliğe giderse kahveyi para ile mi içer?*
- *Her neyse. Nihayet?*
- *Nihayet baktım olmayacak. Madam bağırıp çağırmaya başladı. Sonra anladım ki başım belaya uğrayacak çıkardım istediği yüz kuruşu verdim. Evden çıktım.*
- *Demek ki odanın yalnız seyri için yüz kuruş verdin. Ya tutacak olaydın...*
- *Artık orasını sorma!....*



### **İki Hane Beyninde<sup>405</sup>**

- *Sizin şu halinizi gördükçe ve bir kere de kendime baktıkça adeta dünyadan usanıyorum.*
- *Niçin?*
- *Evet, görüyorum ki gayet nefis ve zikıymet eşyalarla tezyin olunmuşsunuz. Siz gelip geçenlerin nazar-ı hayretini celb ediyorsunuz. Ben ise bilakis eski olup bitpazarından veyahut mezatlardan alınmış köhne eşya ile doldurulmuşumdur.*
- *Vakıa, haklısınız. Lakin benim esbab-ı ziynetim olan eşya-i nefsiye Avrupa'dan gelir.*
- *Kim getirir?*
- *Benim sahibim Avrupa'ya gider, alır getirir.*
- *Bir şey lazım olursa senin sahibin hemen kalkıp Avrupa'ya mı gider?*
- *Bazı kendi gider ve bazı kere de adamı vardır, ona yazar getirtir.*
- *Bunları nasıl getiriyor?*
- *Vapurla getiriyor efendim, daima vapur vardır.*
- *Acayip vapur var da bizimki niçin getirtilmiyor da beni şu halde bulunduruyor.*
- *Bilmem sizinkinin parası var mı?*
- *Eşyalar vapur ile geldikten sonra paraya ne lüzum var.*
- *Ay parasız olur mu ya... Sen yalnız benim eşyamı görüyorsun ya.*

### **Şirket Vapurunda Müşteri ile Biletçi Beyninde<sup>406</sup>**

- *Biletçi! Büyükdere'ye çıkacağım. Bana bir bilet versene.*
- *O kaç para?*
- *İşte altmış para, ben Beykoz'dan bindim. Büyükdere'ye çıkacağım diyorum.*
- *Hani ya markan ?*
- *Acele ile marka alamadım.*
- *Olmaz üç kuruş, otuz para vereceksin.*
- *Niçin?*
- *Belki köprüden bindin, ben ne bileyim hani ya markan?*

<sup>405</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 31, June 29, 1290/1874,p.1.

<sup>406</sup> *Latife*, issue 3, August 19, 1874,p.4.

- *Canım işte efendiler Beykoz 'dan bindiğimi gördüler.*
- *Ay olmaz dedik üç kuruş otuz para vereceksin burada şahit dinlenmez*
- *Niçin dinlenmez? Burası mahkemelerden büyük mü?*
- *Evet, hakkınız var mahkemelerde şahit gelir ama evvela davalıyı da dinlerler. Burada zaten dava dinlenmez ki.*

**-“Muhadderat” Kırk Paraya!<sup>407</sup>**

- *Baksana gazeteci! Taze mi? Yeni mi?*
- *Efendim taze, taze. Henüz birinci numara.*
- *Yirmi paraya olmaz mı?*
- *Zehra Hanım huu!...Baksana!...Nafile para verip ben aldım da okudum !*
- *Aman allah aşkına ne yazıyor?*
- *Efendim yazıyor ki << gazetemizin mürebbi-i muhadderat unvanı gereği gibi mühim mesuliyeti çok bir unvan ise de bundan muradımız mücerred kadınlara muzır olan şeyleri yazmayacağız >> demektedir. İşte bundan âlâ muhadderat olmaz ki, kadınlara muzır olan şeyleri yazmayacak da daima müfid olan şeyleri derc edecektir.*
- *Doğrusu durdukça var olsun, vaadinde de bulunmuş: Tiyaro (...)’da oynayan şarkı türkü çağıran kadınlara binlerce liralar veriliyor imiş! İşte kadınlar için bundan âlâ müfid bir havadis mi olur mu?*
- *Aman sahîh mi hanım? Eğer sahîh ise bu müfid havadis (...). Sahîh de söz mü ya?*
- *Öyle ise artık bundan böyle sıkılacak müdahene edecek birimiz kalmadı desene? Acaba kaç lira veriliyor!*
- *Beher kadına senede yirmi bin adet İngiliz lirası! Aman vakit geçirmeyerek gidelim!*
- *Gidelim ya! ... (Hanet?) ( Hanet?) komşu kadınlara da madem bir anlatalım, onları da beraber götürelim.*
- *Kimleri götürelim?*
- *Topla Ayşe 'yi kör Fatma 'yı kambur Zehra 'yı, burunsuz Çakırı, ben, sen, tek kaş Latife 'yi olmaz mı?*
- *Tamam, tamam işte bir alay oyuncu olduk gitti*
- *Çat çat*

<sup>407</sup> Latife, issue 38, September 2, 1291/1876,p.147.

- *Kim o?*
- *Aç, Aç*
- *Aman kocacığım erkence geldiğin pek âlâ oldu. Artık senin ile mevzumuz kalmadı. Elbise harçlık dırıltısı tükendi. Artık bundan böyle süslü püslü ağır ağır elbiselere, mücevherata, ağır saatler kordonlara malik olacağım, faytonlarla gezeceğim.*
- *Ne oldun karı çıldırdın mı?*
- *Ay neye çıldırayım. Muhadderat'ın birinci numarasını okumadın mı? Tiyatroda oynayan şarkı mani çığırın be her kadına senevi yirmi bin adet İngiliz lirası veriyorlar vaktime yazık değil mi? İşte bugün komşu kadınlar ile meşveret etik altı yedi kadın bil ittifak gideceğiz.*
- *Ağır ola ama paralar peşin mi?*
- *Gazete peşindir diyor*
- *Aman şu gazete bir de bari erkeklere müfid bir... bulsa da...*

**Ben ile Hanım <sup>408</sup>**

- *Ben: ( kendi kendine )...şimdi Ali Bey nerdeyse gelir. Gezmeye gidelim diyecek. Bende de bir paralar yok. Sözde bugün Büyükdere' ye gidip eğlenecektik ha. Acaba ne yapsam? Ortada ele avuca girer bir şey yok ki, götürüp de satasın. Şimdi ne yapmalı? Ne yapacağım gelirse hastayım derim vesselam! Götüremez aheste değilim ama salt para hastasıyım hani ya şu para olsa gezmeye giderim değil mi? (...) (...) adam niçin hastayım diyeyim. Evde yoktur dedirteyim olmaz mı? Hay Hay.*
- *( cariyeye hitaben ) Kız (Lalifer?)!*
- *Buyurun efendim!*
- *Bugün sevmediğim şekil herifin biri gelecektir. Her vakit beni taciz ediyor. Gelirse ben yoktur odada emi?*
- *Peki, efendim, söylerim.*
- *Ben :( kendi kendine ) o da oldu, bitti. Lakin insanın odada otura otura canı sıkılıyor keşke bir kuruşum olaydı da Şehzadebaşı'ndaki kıraathaneye gideydim. Yirmiliğini kahveye, yirmiliğine de tömbekiye verir, nargileyi yakar guruldatırım. Şimdi bir Keşan tömbekisi misdir, mis.*

<sup>408</sup> Latife, issue 3, August 19, 1874,pp.2-3.

- *Hanım: ( bu sırada odaya girerek) oda köşe penceresinin önünde oturup düşüneceğine kalkıp çarşıya git, şu esvaplıkları al. Düğün yaklaşıyor, karı dikişlerini yetiştiremez şurada bir hafta kaldı.*
- *( Kendi kendine ): ah bir kuruşum olsaydı?*
- *Canım ben sana söylüyorum işitmiyor musun otuz beş arşın mantın al da gel, sonra yetişmez ha.*
- *Ne, ne düğün mü var? Vay!*
- *Şimdi artık çatlayacağım ha bin keredir söylüyorum işitmiyor musun? İşte bizim Cemile Hanım kızını gelin ediyor.*
- *Gelin ediyorsa ne yapalım?*
- *Ne yapacaksın? bir kat mantın istiyorum, bugün alıp getirmelisin ki Beyoğlu 'ndaki (....)'e diktireceğim. Şunda bir hafta kaldı yoksa yetişmez ha.*
- *Ay yetişmezse sen de mor mantınını giyiver, daha geçende yaptırdım.*
- *Ay hiç onlar olur mu? Ben daha geçen gün onları giydim, artık bir daha giyilir mi?*
- *Ya sandıkta mı küflenir?*
- *Ah bilmez gibi söylüyorsun. Bir düğünde giyilen bir daha giyilmez, adama gülerler. Yeni alıp yaptıramamış diye elaleme kepaze mi olayım?*
- *Niye kepaze olacaksın sen de düğüne gitme efendim!*
- *Olmaz, hiç gitmemek nasıl olur? O benim teyzemin düğünü. Yedi kat yabancılar bile gelecek de ben gitmezsem sonra nasıl olur? Zahir olup yaptıramamış desinler değil mi? Hadi kalk git de mantınleri al gel hem gelirken bir gümüş kupa da al onu da kıza hediye vereceğim sakın unutma!*
- *( kendi kendine ) ah bir kuruş ah*
- *Canım sana söylüyorum sağır mı oldun?*
- *Evet kulaklarım işitmiyor.*
- *Galiba işine gelmiyor değil mi? Ben bilmem esvaplık isterim, mutlak bugün gelmeli.*

- *Benim param yok, şimdi en aşağı ona 10-15 kuruş lazım bende bir kuruş bile yok, ah bir kuruş ah!!!*
- *Nasıl? 10-15 lira mı? Biz akşam Ayşe kadın ile hesap ettik, tam 35,5 lira gidiyor. 15 lira sade süsüyle dikişine gidiyor ya Liza'ya diktireceğim ya madam Corco'ya. 15 lira da 35 arşın mantine gider. Ay efendim, hotoz aldın, şemsiye, potin bunlara kusur kalan 5 lira yetişmez bile. Ah geldi (...) ah ah keşke bir kuruş olsaydı?*
- *Ha gümüş kupayı hiç hesap etmedik, güzel yaldızlı ve süslü olacak o da üç-dört liraya ancak alınabilir. Haydi git çarşıya da çabuk bunları al da gel!*
- *Canım bende bir paralar yok, nereye gideceğim bir kuruşun var ise ver de gideyim kiraathanede bir kahve içeyim.*
- *Ben bilmem, nerden bulursan bul, mutlak esvap isterim, otuz beş arşın mantin.*
- *Canım neden 35 arşın gidiyor?*
- *İşte hesap et, 20 arşın fistan, 13 de ferace 35.*
- *Vay ferace de mi var? Daha üç gün oldu şu atlas feraceyi yaptırıldı.*
- *A o giyilir mi? Modası değişti!*
- *Ne? O! Günde bir moda değişirse işimiz ( ... ). İpekli mantin feraceyi giy.*
- *Ben onu (...) 'ya verdim.*
- *İyi halt etmişsin, geri al da giyiver.*
- *A hiç (...) 'dan geri alınır mı?*
- *Çıldırдың mı?*
- *Hani geçende bir ferace daha yaptırıldı? Ne oldu?*
- *Onu da iki kere giydim, ben onu geçen gün tabakçı (...) 'ye sattım.*
- *Ne? Ne yaptın ne yaptın? Bir hafta olmadı daha yaptırıldı, o bana tamam 5,5 liraya mal oldu.*

- *Ben onu elli kuruşta sattım.*
- *Hani ya parası nerde?*
- *Ayağımdaki terlikleri aldım.*
- *Hiç kırk lirası olsun artmaz mı?*
- *Hayır efendim!*
- *Of! Bu odada oturmak ne müşkül şeymiş! Ah bir kuruş olsa ah!*
- *Ve ( ah ) hey bey! Eğer bugün gidip o esvaplıkları almazsan kendimi kaldırır şu pencereden aşağı atarım*
- *Yirmiliğini bir şekerli kahveye, yirmi paralık da tömbeki*
- *Ve ( ah ) kendimi kapıdan aşağı atarım*
- *Şimdi bir baş Keşan tömbekisi ve ( ah ) hey mistir.*
- *İşte işte şimdi şu elimdeki toplu iğne ile kendimi yaralayıp telef edeceğim.*
- *Nargile gürül gürül çeker misin?*
- *Ben kendimi yerden yere çalıp telef edeceğim! Öldüreceğim!*
- *Sen hadi tütün varsa bir sigara yap da içelim de keyfimize bakalım.*
- *Tütün nerde aldık mı ki?*
- *Vay, tütün de mi yok? Ah bir kuruş ah!!!! Ne bahtiyardır ol insanlar ki cebinde bir kuruş bulunur!*

چهارشنبه ۱۹ خرداد ۱۳۲۱



**تئاتر**

۱۳۲۱

۱۹ خرداد ۱۳۲۱

چهارشنبه ۱۹ خرداد ۱۳۲۱



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۱۹ خرداد ۱۳۲۱

<sup>409</sup> *Tiyatro*, issue 10, June 19, 1290.B.D.K.Hakki Tarik Us Periodicals Collection.



مقدمه و محل ایزدس  
احمدنامه، مباحث سالانه، اهورمول  
دارا و مخصوصه  
ایوبه بیلی  
درصحت ایوبه و مستغنی اوج بیاض  
عجیبتر  
طهور اوجون یوسه ایوبه ایشته در  
بر اندامی ۱۰ یاور  
(تجربیه)

# الذی یغنی

اعلان  
هر سلطان برده ایوبه اوج توش  
تور  
برخاچ دصداق لولور ایسه ایوبه  
الزاتی ایوبه  
پوشه ایوبه ویناشن اولان مکتوب  
دایلیجه  
تور ۲  
(برخی سنه)

۱۵ اگوست ۱۲۹۰  
بازار ایزدس ویناشه کوشی نشر لاور اکادمی غریبوس  
۱۵ اگوست ۱۹۱۱

(ایلی سلسله کلمه روسی)  
(یعنی تا اوله جاتک سلسله روسی)  
- ولانده اقدم ا غله زیمه یوبه ؟  
- خواجه سلسله استرا که کز اصل ؟  
- چایس قانلی مازوسه (منج بواتک)  
- وادگی ؟  
- خواجهم ؟ اکادمی قضاوت غریبوس  
- اوبه اولور ایوبه زم اسحاق لغریبوس  
- اید  
- بلشایم دیکلم کیم به طوقون کمال  
- لغوی اوزم اقم  
- وی سی کیسه یوسه ک اولور ایوبه  
- قضاوتک سلسله وادگی واد ؟  
- کورونکی ؟ شیوه سوی کسب ایدم کن  
- حکم اوبه زن ایستاده قاناز  
- خیرانه اوبه یوبه کللی اقبوب مناسسه  
- لوله مزهرین کالی اوشا ایل انکالی دکلم  
- اوق هر یوبه قول ایزد یوبه مناسبتیم  
- اقدم  
- نده ازانه مسافتی ؟ ایزدین (یعنی خرد)  
- قویله ایزد سلسله سوسه کلمه یوبه  
- قور ایلی اول تور کندی یاز قلم  
- اولورک خلق با کوشش  
- اوله ایوبه خرد یوبه سلسله صابری  
- ویدگی ؟  
- نتم دیکر دسه یاننده کلن سن ایوبه  
- ایوبه حاضره تقاضا یوسه ایدم  
- یوحده ایزد یوبه کلن لغو بلطه قاری  
- لنتس  
- تم اوزا ایزد ایلی ایزد ایزد یوبه  
- یازم ۱۰ ایزد یوبه



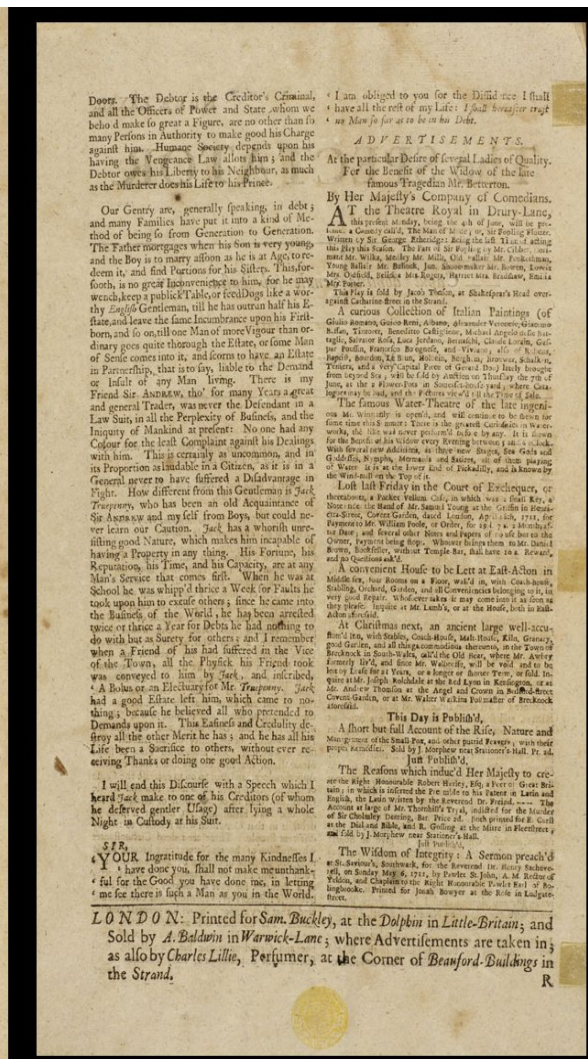
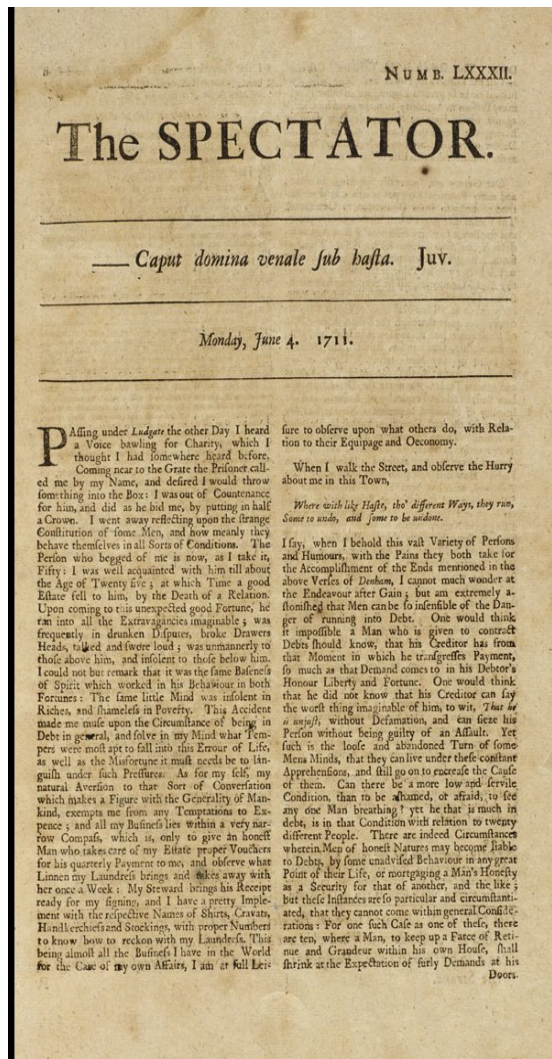
- امان اقدم ا یوبه ؟ غلب ا یزادین ؟  
- طارنده ا اکتاد ویزدین چقیم - حقیقت کز یوبه مستغنی ا

۱۵ اگوست ۱۲۹۰  
بازار ایزدس ویناشه کوشی نشر لاور اکادمی غریبوس  
۱۵ اگوست ۱۹۱۱

۱۵ اگوست ۱۲۹۰  
بازار ایزدس ویناشه کوشی نشر لاور اکادمی غریبوس  
۱۵ اگوست ۱۹۱۱

Hakkı Tarık Us Koleksiyonu Süreli Yayınları





<sup>411</sup>The *Spectator*, no. 82, Monday, June 4, 1711. Retrieved from: <http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/large126933.html>, on August 20, 2012.