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Vielfalt von Arbeit dar, der deutlich macht, dass marginalisierte Praktiken wie die von Wadauer untersuchten mobilen »Lebensunterhalte« weder selten noch anachronistisch noch ausschließlich krisenbedingt waren. Vielmehr sind sie als integraler Bestandteil einer sich neu formierenden Arbeitswelt und, »so beherrscht sie auch waren, [...] als kreative (aber nicht beliebige) Aneignungen von Situationen und Begebenheiten begreifbar«. Es wird deutlich, dass sich mit dem Ausbau der Sozialverwaltung und der zunehmenden Regulierung von Arbeit, Arbeitssuche und Arbeitslosigkeit seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert der Möglichkeitsraum prekärer Mobilität und irregulären Erwerbs im Hinblick auf ihre Legalität wie auch Legitimität immer weiter verkleinerte. Dennoch waren Mobilitätspraktiken, mit denen Menschen sich ein oftmals prekäres Auskommen zu sichern versuchten, im gesamten Untersuchungszeitraum noch verbreitet und verdienen daher genauso der näheren Betrachtung wie die Entwicklung von mehr formalisierten Praktiken der Lohnarbeit oder Arbeitsmigration.

Nora Bischoff (Berlin)

Urban Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire

Malte Fuhrmann, *Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. Urban Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 2020, 477 S., 10 Abb., 93,66 €

An examination of the cultural history of Thessaloniki, Istanbul, and Izmir over the long nineteenth century, Fuhrmann's latest book complements a growing number of comparative urban studies of eastern Mediterranean cities. Rather than treating these cities separately, as

multi-authored collections tend to, this book takes a thematic approach focused on urban space, entertainment, and identities in which evidence from different cities is interspersed. The book's core theme is the westernisation thesis, a long-established, major question of Ottoman history. The focus here, though, is the introduction and reception of Western cultural markers, constituting what Fuhrmann calls the »European Dream«, rather than the political, military, and economic institutions that have so far been the mainstay of such literature.

In his introduction (Part I), Fuhrmann stresses that hybridity and adaptation defined local residents' reaction to European cultural forms in the cities under study, and that variety and complexity resulting from personal preferences marked their responses rather than wholesale adoption or rejection. The point, while obvious, is particularly relevant to Turkish historiography, given how the binaries of European and Ottoman, »civilised« and »Eastern«, have marked political commentaries of both outside observers and Turkish nationalist thinkers. Following their lead, numerous studies of aspects of Turkish cultural history, including music, theatre, and architecture, have conformed to a meta-narrative tracing and mostly trumpeting the spread of western influences and their adoption by indigenous artists, musicians, and architects. Like other recent historians, Fuhrmann suggests a more dynamic and interactive model of change, emphasising the agency and inputs of local residents in the process.

In his discussion of spatial changes that composes part II of the book, Fuhrmann explores how plans aspiring to bring Salonica, Constantinople and Smyrna in line with an idealised European standard of urban planning were driven not only by the pressure of foreign

capital, consuls, and visitors, who became increasingly scathing in their judgements of the organisation of these cities over the nineteenth century, but by the demands of Ottoman elites and local residents. Despite the degree of consensus, Fuhrmann shows how the reception and use of the resulting large-scale projects of waterfront quays and promenades frequently deviated from what was intended. Newspaper commentators criticised lower-class residents' misuse of these spaces whose establishment only further marked out undeveloped areas of these cities as targets for derision and despair. These examples of (mal)adaptation and repurposing of space and the discussions and debates that accompanied them contribute to existing literature on local responses to novel urban and architectural forms in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt.

The book's more extensive discussion of new forms of entertainment in Part III similarly challenges the notion that European art forms arrived at the behest of foreigners and remained distant from and unengaged in by the local population. In chapters focused on balls, opera, theatre, and bar-life, Fuhrmann emphasises the breadth of local demand for and participation in entertainments that the Ottomans themselves and many later historians assumed were the preserve of foreigners and a narrow, westernised elite. Thanks to the value and patronage attributed to such arts in the Republican period, the history of opera and theatre in Ottoman lands is already well researched, as the range of secondary literature and published compilations of primary sources cited from indicates. Fuhrmann's investigations of the *café-chantants* and other popular musical entertainments such as bohemian orchestras are the more novel contributions. Given Fuhrmann's pioneering previous work on the subject, the section's final two chapters on beer are unsur-

prisingly extensive, revealing again how the consumption of beer and the locales in which it was served were appreciated more widely than might be expected given religious prescriptions against alcohol consumption. In matters of theatre, music, and alcohol, Fuhrmann convincingly argues that tastes were shaped by the associations of these items with modernity and European civilisation.

Connected to questions of consumption but necessarily more difficult to quantify or qualify are the issues of identity that are discussed in part IV. Fuhrmann opens the section with a familiar critique of the teleological assumptions that identities in the Ottoman Empire matched the national units into which it dissolved in the twentieth century. Instead, Fuhrmann posits that urban identities were marked by ambivalence, and that this was not a peculiarity of the Ottoman Mediterranean but rather a ubiquitous feature of modernity. Discussing foreign schools, Fuhrmann repeats his refrain that, despite their imperialist trappings, such institutions were welcomed by significant numbers of locals, though it should be emphasised that the attractiveness of the language skills and cultural capital they provided was a measure of European economic and political dominance. Francophone newspapers are demonstrated to have shared editors, journalists and readers with the local language press, and to have exhibited a greater degree of editorial independence from French and European interests than might be expected. The section is wide-ranging, with a subsequent chapter examining gender identities, relationships, female stage performers, and the purchase of sex, which Fuhrmann categorises as among the anxieties produced by modernity. Adopting the habits, traits, dress, and bodily practices that demarcated the bourgeois European lifestyle is shown to have been a similarly fraught

endeavour, leaving subjects whose transformations were deemed either excessive or incomplete open to ridicule from both locals and foreigners. A delicate discussion of Levantine identity attempts to plot a line between dismissal of the term as a useless anachronism and assertions that »Levantine« constituted a coherent community defined by a common mentality. Fuhrmann then revisits his research on working-class European migrants to the Ottoman Empire, emphasising the fissures within European communities and the development of intercommunal class solidarities in contrast to portrayals of foreigners in the Ottoman Empire as the mere foot-troops of imperial avarice. As the author acknowledges, attempting to excavate the attachments and allegiances of figures more often written about than authors of their own testimony is a difficult task, but Fuhrmann is able to reconstruct detailed life-stories of several such migrants through their memoirs and correspondence.

The final section of the book, part V, is devoted to the reactions against the transformations of the Ottoman port cities described in previous chapters and is perhaps tellingly its shortest. Insecurity and attacks on urbanites in the countryside and acts of anti-European violence in Salonica and Alexandria are dealt with briefly, before the author returns to his comfort zone with a more extensive examination of European women involved in sex work and the reactions of Ottoman and consular authorities. Fuhrmann argues that European sex workers symbolised one of a number of disappointments and frustrations with the model of European economic development and liberation on offer in the eastern Mediterranean port city, against which a number of »Raskolnikovs« reacted by attempting its overthrow. The series of twentieth-century wars that followed radically altered

the physical and social structure of these cities, cemented by longer-term efforts toward demographic engineering and cultural homogenisation.

The book ends with a plea to remember the ambiguous urban identities and cultural hybridity and multiplicity that defined these belle-epoque port cities, countering recent politicians' and political scientists' assertions that these cities express monolithic cultural identities. Fuhrmann's deployment of extensive archival evidence and personal testimonies capturing a broad variety of reactions in the face of new cultural trends provides a convincing rebuttal to such claims. While increasingly prevalent in academic literature, Fuhrmann and likeminded historians' arguments for ambiguity are unlikely to outcompete these more simplistic yet compelling public narratives of the outright rejection or embrace of western modernity.

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal (Ankara)

Smell and Social Life

Katharina Herold/Frank Krause (Hg.), Smell and Social Life. Aspects of English, French and German Literature (1880-1939) (Publications of the Institute of Germanic Studies; Bd. 103), München (Iudicum) 2021, 278 S., 42 €

Gerüche haben bekanntermaßen großen Einfluss auf Stimmungen und Gefühle, und damit auch auf Dynamiken von Anziehung und Ablehnung. Das beschränkt sich nicht nur auf die Wirkung von Fliegenderduft vor dem Fenster, Pheromonfallen im Küchenschrank oder Deodorant an heißen Sommertagen. Über die Nase werden unter anderem auch Vorstellungen von Zugehörigkeit und Fremdheit, von Kultiviertheit und Rückständigkeit