

# Under the Light of the Population Register Dated 1857 An Evaluation upon the Socio-Economic Lives of the Gypsy Living in İstanbul

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## ABSTRACT

The Gypsy having abandoned India and scattered to different parts of the world are known with different appellations such as "Gypsies", "Zigeuner", "Gitanos", "Cigani". The Gypsies having become the focus of interest since the date the historical records started to mention have been one of the interesting subjects of both popular culture and academic studies. They draw the attention with some differences unlike the others and generally called as nomads. In addition, in some records it is seen that they have been mentioned as nomads who draw the attention with some differences unlike the others. Actually the interest shown in the Gypsies is closely related to their ethnic origins, their life styles and their physical traits. Thus, they have always appeared as one of the colorful layers of the community in which they live and more probably the most interesting one. The Gypsies who spread to several parts of the world generally constitute a dense population in Anatolia, the Balkans and Europe. The Gypsies having spread to the different geographic regions existed in the Ottoman subjects as well. However, it is seen that in terms of their population they were densely populated in the Balkans during the period of the Ottoman Empire. It is assumed that the Gypsies in İstanbul were settled in İstanbul from the sandjaks of Gümülcine and Menteşe during the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmed. More probably, due to the fact that the Ottoman state had a suspicious look at them, they were not included in the classical "Millet Sistem". The Gypsies have generally been followed from an eye outside and some information pertaining to them has been obtained from some historical records or the narrations romanticized. Therefore, they have become a community perceived and described under the light of this information. In a sense, they became the "other" of the Ottoman State. They have been considered as different owing to their life styles, the way they dress and their language. Therefore, they have been marginalised. Their destiny as "the other" seems to have caused them to lead their lives without getting changed, to preserve some of their authentic traits and identities and also seems to have led them to having some occupations, which were despised by the other communities. Hence, the most widely adopted occupation by the Gypsies engaged in several occupations in the socio-economic Ottoman structure has been *çengilik* (dancing) which has continued up to modern times.

The purpose of this study is to handle and evaluate the socio-economic structure of the Gypsy in the districts of Eyüp, Galata and Üsküdar in İstanbul in the Population Register dated 1857 and numbered 00474. Since there has been very limited studies in the native literature as to the subject, it is aimed to make some contributions to the literature.

**Keywords:** 19th Century, Population Register, İstanbul, The Gypsy, The Socio-Economic Structure.

## 1857 Tarihli Nüfus Defteri Işığında İstanbul'da Yaşayan Çingenerin Sosyo-Ekonomik Yaşamları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme

### ÖZ

Hindistan'dan çıkarak dünyanın pek çok yerine dağılan Çingener, Gypsies, Zigeuner, Gitanos, Cigani gibi farklı adlarla bilinmektedirler. Tarihsel kayıtların söz etmeye başladığı tarihten itibaren ilgi odağı haline gelen Çingener, hem popüler kültürün hem de akademik çalışmaların dikkat çekici konularından biri olmuşlardır. Onlar diğer topluluklardan kimi farklılıkları ile dikkat çekmekte ve genellikle göçer guruplar olarak adlandırılmaktadırlar. Çingenerlere gösterilen ilgi, aslında onların gerek etnik kökenleri gerekse yaşam tarzları ve bedensel özellikleri ile ilişkilidir. Onlar, her daim, içinde yaşadıkları toplumun renkli katmanlarından birisi ve belki de en ilginç olarak karşımıza çıkarlar. Dünyanın her tarafına yayılan Çingener, genellikle Anadolu, Balkanlar ve Avrupa'da yoğun bir nüfus oluştururlar. Farklı coğrafi bölgelere yayılan Çingener, Osmanlı tebası içinde de yer almaktadırlar. Fakat onların nüfus olarak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde, daha çok Balkanlarda yoğunlaştıkları görülmektedir. İstanbul'da yaşayan Çingenerin ise, kente Fatih Sultan Mehmed döneminde Menteşe ve Gümülcine sancaklarından getirildikleri düşünülmektedir. Bu topluluk, büyük olasılıkla devletin onlara şüphe ile bakması nedeniyle klasik Osmanlı "Millet Sistemi" içinde yer almamıştır. Çingener, genellikle dışarıdan bir gözle izlenmişler ve tarihsel kayıtlarda yahut kimi romantize edilmiş anlatılarda onlara dair kimi bilgiler elde edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu nedenle, genellikle bu bilgiler ışığında algılanmış ve tanımlanmış bir topluluk olmuşlardır.

Gerek yaşam biçimleri gerekse giyim kuşamları ve dilleri ile toplum tarafından farklı olarak görülmüşler ve toplum dışına itilmişlerdir. Bir anlamda onlar, Osmanlı Devleti'nin ötekisi olmuşlardır. Bir öteki olarak yazgıları, hem değişmeden hayatlarını sürdürmelerine, hem kimi otantik özelliklerini ve kimliklerini korumalarına hem de diğer topluluklar tarafından hor görülme kimi

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mesleklere yönelmelerine de neden olmuş gibidir. Nitekim Osmanlı sosyo-ekonomik yapısı içinde pek çok meslekle uğraşan Çingenerin yoğun olarak yaptıkları meslek modern dönemlere kadar süren çengilik olmuştur.

İşte bu çalışmanın amacı, 1857 tarihli ve 00474 numaralı nüfus defterinde İstanbul'un Eyüp, Galata ve Üsküdar kazalarında yaşayan Müslüman Çingenerin sosyo-ekonomik yapılarını ele alarak değerlendirmektir. Yerli literatürde Çingener ile ilgili oldukça sınırlı sayıda çalışma bulunduğundan, bu çalışma ile alan yazına kimi katkıların yapılması amaçlanmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** 19. Yüzyıl, Nüfus Defteri, İstanbul, Çingenerler, Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapı.

## 1. Introduction

Gypsies are the community who lead their life in different parts of the world and they take place in the colorful layer of the society with their different characteristics. They are known to be living in several continents. The gypsies who spread from India to several parts of the world dwelt mostly in Anatolia, Balkans and Europe. They also existed in the Ottoman Empire (Kayışbacak, 2017; 45). The Gypsy as a word used in Türkiye refers to a tribe who live in different parts of Europe, Asian countries such as Iran, Balochistan, Egypt, the North Africa and America and whose physical, spiritual nature and life styles and languages differ from the others and also refers to a tribe who has been wandering. In addition, the Gypsy have different appellations due to their origins. They are named as “çingene” or named as “kıpti” because of their connection with Egypt. While some accept that word as the corrupted form of “çandala” in the books of Brahmas, some relate it to the word “athinganus”. It is thought that since they have the name of the people named as “çangar” or “zingar” inhabiting on the Indus coasts along with the word “toyeng” which means a dancer or a music lover in Indian, they are believed to come from that tribe. In Türkiye they are called as “pırpır” or “Karaoğlan” by the people (Altınöz, 2013; 17).<sup>\*</sup> Until the end of the 19th century they were called as “gypsies”, “Egyptian” or “gitano” which means “kıpti” in western languages on the ground that they come from Egypt (Fraser, 1992; 48; Liégeois, 2007; 18; Goeje, 1903; 74-75).<sup>\*\*</sup> Although the Gypsies have been given different names by the people with whom they came in contact, they identify themselves as Roma (singular "Rom" that means a "man" or a "husband" (Rishi, 1976; 4-11, Çelik, 2003; 23).<sup>\*\*\*</sup> However, As a result of the linguistic studies having been carried out for nearly two centuries, it has started to be clarified that they come from India. Etymologically, the word “çingene is derived from Persian and it has turned into “çengâne”, “çingâne” and “çingene” in the course of time and because of the fact that they play “çeng” (an instrument) they have been called as “çengiyân” which means a person playing a musical instrument. Moreover, due to some dialect differences the word has turned into “çingan” or “çingene” (Altınöz, 2013; 26; Yıldız, 2007; 61-82). Besides, Altınöz states that all the words related to “çingene” are derived from a similar origin. Thus, he emphasizes that the words “çingene” and “çingâne” come from the same origin (Altınöz, 2013; 26). In his study Şerifgil puts an

\* In her dissertation Çelik argues that Altınöz's work appears to be more ambiguous in terms of its scope and claims to cover Gypsies living in the Ottoman Empire from the 15th century to the earlier years of 20th century. She contends that his study does not go beyond summarizing of what is available on the Gypsies in the Ottoman archives. The variety of sources that Altınöz uses are quite comprehensive ranging from tahrir and mühimme registers, various documents catalogued in different collections of the Ottoman archives and the court records, though the latter is not read systematically and used intermittently as a supplementary source. Nevertheless, she criticizes that those sources are almost treated as transparent and objective reflections of reality. Therefore, their weaknesses and strengths have not been problematized see. (Çelik, 2013; 63). Considering the limited studies pertaining to Gypsies, this study takes a different stand towards the subject through considering the state's various policies, especially those regarding taxation, settlement and the incorporation of many Gypsies in the Balkans within the structure of the auxiliary military forces (müşellems), yet at the same time (ideally) excluding them from joining the Janissary corps. It is argued that the Ottoman state policy vis a vis Gypsies in the 16th century Balkan and Anatolia was not uniform. In addition, the ruling authorities did not have a singular and monolithic view of Gypsies. She also asserts that one of the main conclusions of the study is that the legal, social and economic status of Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century is much more complicated than what can merely be characterized as marginalization or toleration. The interaction of the Gypsies with the state and the Ottoman society, was simultaneously hostile and symbiotic see. (Çelik, 2013; i-ii).

\*\* The spread of the Gypsies to the world took place in two branches following the southern part of the Caspian Sea over Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran At the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries the Gypsies started to arrive in the north of Mesopotamia and the eastern border of the Byzantine Empire. The first group settled, especially in the west and Syria and Palestine.

\*\*\* Then that spread extended to Egypt and the North Africa and even to the Iberian peninsula under the sovereignty of the Arabians. Subsequently, the ones in the North Africa arrived in Spain over the sea. The second group settled in the southern part of Caucasia, namely Armenia and Georgia from the north see. (Marushiakova and Popov, 2001; 11-13).

emphasis on the fact that the word “çingene” passed into Turkish not from the east but from the west and he thinks that the Turks became acquainted with the gypsies during their conquests in Europe. The reason why the gypsies have such more appellations is that as has been mentioned above, the geography in which they have been is not only restricted to Türkiye but it also extends to America covering the geography of the world (Yıldız, 2007; 61-62).

By the arrival of the Turks in Anatolia, Gypsies had already been dwelling for a considerable time in the realms of the Byzantine Empire which was going to progressively leave its place to the Ottomans. From her establishment to her collapse, the Gypsies lived among the various ethnic groups under the Ottoman rule (Ulusoy, 2013; 247). The Gypsies who had been dwelling in the Ottoman Empire far away from the consciousness of a community were divided in two groups. Even though they were categorised into two groups, they were considered as equal in terms of law; because those could not meet the basic requirements of a sedantary life and their social life and life styles prevented them from getting to the top of their own religious identities. When looked at the the applications of taxation, it is seen that the Ottoman Empire used to receive tax only from the non-muslims. However, she used to take tax both from non-muslims and Muslim Gypsies.

Since the end of 13th century the Gypsies have been mentioned due to their different traits. Owing to their being nomadic the interest shown in the Gypsies has been closely related to their ethnic origins, their pyhsical charateristics and their being different from the majority of the society. Thus, in the history records Gypsies having been regarded as criminals that threaten the settled life or the ones having the mysthic power of fortune telling and witchcraft became the focus of the science in the 18th century in order to explain the difference having been built in the previous centuries (Dişli, 2016; 98). In addition, Gypsies who scattered all over the world existed mostly in Rumelia in the Ottoman Empire and they were subject to a status never seen in the other countries. Altınöz says that the first laws pertaining to the Gypsy were issued during the rule of Fatih Sultan Mehmed (1451-1481) and during the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman a Gypsy sub-province (Liva-i çingane) was formed (Altınöz, 2013; 114; Marushiakovo and Popov, 2001; 115-127)\* and in that sub-province the Gypsies were recruited for military services (Dingeç, 2009; 34; Marushiakovo ve Popov, 2001: 2-3; Altınöz, 2013; 115-127). Çelik notes that even though for the Ottoman Empire the religion is the basis of the communal identity rather than ethnicity and language, the administration of the Gypsy was based on ethnicity rather than religious affiliation and she underlines the fact that it can be clearly observed in the formation of such an administration unit (Çelik, 2004:6).

The Roma (the Gypsy) occupied a peculiar place in the overall social and administrative structure of the Ottoman Empire. However, it is apparent that the Gypsy have been one of the communités the least under-researched among the other religious and ethnic groups that constitute the Ottoman society. Therefore, under the light of the population register dated as 1857 and numbered as 00474, the purpose of this study is to analyse and evaluate the social and economic lives of the Gypsy in Eyüp, Galata and Üsküdar districts in İstanbul in the 19th century and thus to make some contributions to the field of literature.

## 2. Some Background Information on the Gypsy in İstanbul before 19th Century

The arrival date of the Gypsy in İstanbul has not precisely been known. However, it is known that they had been in the town during the Byzantine period. It is predicted that they migrated to the west and entered the Byzantine lands upon the enterance of the Turks into the inner parts of Anatolia with the Malezkirt victory in 1071 (Altınöz, 2015: 80). İstanbul and Rumelia have been important settlements for the Gypsy. In addition, Balat gained importance after the conquest of İstanbul (Altınöz, 2015; 80). After the conquest of İstanbul (Evliya Çelebi, 2016; 47) it is seen that the Gypsy came to İstanbul and at first

\* The law concerning the Gypsies in the province of Rumelia confirms the special administrative legal status and the extended rights to taxation self-government for those living in the Gypsy sanjak. From the year of 1541 onwards, there was also a special law concerning the leader of the Gypsy sanjak. It appeared in Anatolia. However, it was modified to suit the Roma (the Gypsy) in the Balkans. Here sanjak is not used in the usual sense of a territorial unit, but in the sense of a special category of the Roma population which was involved in a number of auxiliary activities in the service of the army.

they were settled in Çürüklük outside the walls of Galata in Kasımpaşa and then they collectively settled down in Ayvansaray, Sulukule, Sultan and Selamsız quarters in Üsküdar (Ergin, 1959; 1903). To İnalçık, the place where the Gypsy dwell most is Rumelia, but as they lead a nomadic life it is not possible to guess their exact number. As is seen here, Gypsies dwell in İstanbul with the number of 31 households. However, the wandering Gypsies may not have been included in this number Altınöz thinks that Gypsies in İstanbul had been settled there before the conquest of the town (Altınöz, 2015; 177). Paspatis, who had worked at Yedikule (Balıklı) Greek hospital between the years 1840-1860 and had been one of the most leading doctors in İstanbul (Sümertaş, 2016, 43), asserts that the district in which Gypsies mostly live is Sulukule between Edirnekapı and Topkapı (Paspatis, 1870; 11). Besides Sulukule, Selamsız and Ziba, Hacı Hüsrev is known to be the first quarter where the Gypsy settled down (Altınöz, 2016; 293-296).

Mantran, the French historian, says that in the following periods after Fatih Sultan Mehmed it is understood that they had been settled in Yenibahçe, Sulukule, Ayvansaray, Üsküdar and Kasımpaşa and he points out the fact that Gypsies in Edirnekapı and Sulukule preferred to camp rather than settle down (Mantran, 1990; 62). Yet since they are considered among the non-muslims in the population data, unfortunately it is not possible to give a precise number as to the Gypsy population dwelling in İstanbul. For instance, the famous Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi mentions the existence of the Gypsy in the other places of İstanbul except for Sulukule and Kasımpaşa. However, he does not provide any information pertaining to their number in İstanbul. As to Tophane known as the place where Gypsies dwell, he says that there have been 170 Muslim quarters, 20 Greek quarters, 7 Armenian quarters and two Jewish communities and he states that there have been no Gypsy and Frank (Evliya Çelebi, 2016:257). Moreover, Koçu states that Gypsies living in İstanbul preferred to live in the close parts of the walls and the outskirts along with the rural parts of İstanbul. It is seen that Gypsies in İstanbul had been leading a nomadic or semi-nomadic life and then they have started to lead a settled life in the course of time. They mostly had a semi-nomadic life style and when they move from one place to another, they generally preferred to use grasslands and the streams (Koçu, 1965; 3986).

Referring to Hovannesyian, the goldsmith, Kömürçiyian, an Armenian author and educated in Mekhitarist monastery, provide some information as to Gypsies in İstanbul. He says that during the conquest of the town, cannons were settled at Topkapı and it was beaten by those military cannons and in the interior side of the same gate dwell the Gypsy. Hovannesyian claims that Gypsies are actually Armenian and they converted to Islam during the reign of Ahmet III (İnciciyan, 1956; 120; Fraser, 2000; 19-36; Berger, 2000; 9; Asseo, 2007; 69). Similarly, in the work of Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyian it is seen that Kömürçiyian calls them dwelling in Topkapı, the following part of Bayrampaşa brooke of Sulukule in the 18th century as “Armenian Gypsy” and calls the others dwelling in Sulukule and its vicinity as “Greek Gypsy (Kömürçiyian, 1952; 15). In accordance with the information in the works of those authors, it is possible to say that considering the fact that Gypsies easily adapt themselves to the communities with whom they live and adopt their religion easily, they might be named as Greek Gypsy or Armenian Gypsy. Moreover, through the cultural and religious interaction with the other communities in the course of history they have gone through some cultural changes (Göncüoğlu and Yavuztürk, 2009; 122), as in the example of their choice of religion. As to the Gypsy dwelling in İstanbul, Mantran says that there have been Gypsies who have the bears dance and do clowning. However, they are mainly engaged in ironworking and he adds that they live in Sulukule extending to the land walls in the vicinity of Edirnekapı (Mantran, 1991; 53-54).

### **3. To Population Register Dated 1273 (1857) the Quarters and the Villages where the Gypsy Dwell in İstanbul**

Before giving information about the quarters of the Gypsy living in İstanbul in aforementioned population register. It would be better to generally mention the administration of İstanbul. In the administration system of the Ottoman Empire the quarters constitute the first step of the civilian, municipal and juridical organisation. The nahiye come after the quarters and the kaza come after the nahiye. They differ from one another in terms of their authorisation and organisation. The kaza was governed by the cadı and the nahiye by the regent (naip) and the quarters by the imam (Ergin, 1936; 104;

Bayartan, 2005; 93-107). In the urban administration of İstanbul existed a hierarchial consisting of the *cadi*, security guard (*subaşı*), the guild of “*bostancı*”, “the *şehremin*” (the person responsible for the care and mending of the buildings that belong to the palace and the state in the Ottoman Empire and who purchases the things necessary for the palace) and the chief architect (*mimarbaşı*) under the administration of the grand vizier until the year of 1826. In the aforementioned year after the abolition of the guild of janissaries, all those were abolished or transformed. As a result of this, a radical change and transformation were experienced in the town administration. Depending upon some political changes and the reform movements, it is seen that a sort of municipal organisation is adopted in the town administration, instead of the traditional mechanisms (Özgüven, 2011; 284).

During the Classical age İstanbul was divided into four “*kadılıks*”: a town and three sub-districts. The residential area, the walled city which actually forms the town, is named as “*Dersaadet*” or “*Mahrusa-i İstanbul*”. *Galata*, *Üsküdar* ve *Eyüp* (Özgüven, 2009; 137), named as “*Bilad-ı Selase*” are the outskirts of the town and they are considered as separate from İstanbul. The “*kadılık*” responsible for the region of the walled city was regarded as higher than the “*kadılıks*” whose jurisdiction was geographically restricted and its administrator was called as “the Effendi of İstanbul”. The aforementioned place covers the palace field and its vicinity where the Sultan holding the ruling power resides (Özgüven, 2009; 131). After the grand vizier each “*kadılık*” was dependent to the shaykh al-islam (*şeyhülislam*). “*Kadılıklar*” were divided into districts and quarters. In modern terminology *cadi* (*kadı*) was also a governor, a judge and a mayor (Ergin, 1922; 1327; Rosenthal, 1980; 30; Cezar, 2002, Çelik, 1998; 35-36). Even if the duty of the *cadi* is to try a case in the field of criminal and civil law in today’s world, his responsibilities were ranging from the bazaar control, price-fixing, providing sanitation and security, organising the guilds to the supervision of the construction activities. Even though the *cadis* were responsible for all the “*kadılık*”, his responsibilities were delegated to the *naib* of *cadi* in the districts and to the imam in the quarters (Rosenthal, 1980; 30-31; Ortaylı, 1974; 108-109). In other words, before the 19th century the Capital was under the sovereignty of Sultan and his own palace. The villages on the Bosphorus were made up of Turkish, Armenian, Greek and Jewish settlements separated from one another (Özgüven, 2009; 131).

Before the Tanzimat the smallest unit in an Ottoman town was the quarter. The residents of a quarter would gather at mosques or coffee houses where people would generally gather and would form a public opinion about the local subjects. Under the leadership of the imam, the representative of the *cadi*, the residents of the quarters organised some basic services such as sanitation and security. In non-muslim quarters the leaders of the communities and in the commercial places the leaders of the guilds would take place of the imam (Ortaylı, 1974; 95-96; Çelik, 1996; 36-40). The imam holding both religious and administration power was the top authority until the year of 1829 (Özgüven, 2009; 140).

During the reign of II. Mahmud some reforms were made as to the municipal and public services. In accordance with it, instead of the imam, the mission of providing intermediary function between the public and the state was delegated to the *mukhtars*, the local representatives of the government. In the new quarter system the *mukhtar* with the titles of “*muhtar-ı evvel*” (predecessor) and “*muhtar-ı sani*” (successor) took the office through an election. First of all, in order to record the males in the registry books of *Dersaadet* ve *Bilad-ı Selase* and to maintain the system of checking the entrance and exit out of the quarters and to prevent the imam from the malpractice in the “*mürur tezkire*”, the *mukhtars* were appointed from some reliable people (Özgüven, 2009; 140).

Actually, in 1827 the male population census of the people in *Dersaadet* and *Bilad-ı Selase* (*Galata*, *Üsküdar* and *Eyüp*) was made. Due to the fact that “the *mürur tezkires*” under the charge of the imam were grafted, two *mukhtars* were appointed to each quarter. Through the reforms of the 19th century the “*muhtarlık*” was established. When compared with the imam, the *mukhtar* came to a higher position. To impose and collect tax, to provide security and municipal services were delegated to *mukhtars*. In 1864 of “*Vilayet Nizamnamesi*” at least 50 households were accepted as a quarter (Yel and Küçükaşçı, 2003; 325-326).

**Table 1:** To the Population Register the quarters where the Gypsy dwell in İstanbul in 1857.

The quarters and the villages	The location	The number of the people	The number of household
Hacı İlyas quarter	Eğrikapı	165	56
Hoca Ali quarter in the vicinity of Ayvansaray	Balat	146	49
Mustafa Paşa quarter	Ayvansaray	21	6
Neslişah Sultan	Edirnekapı	183	58
Bedreddin Bey quarter, Sahaf Muslihiddin	Kasımpaşa	121	34
Sultan Beyazıd	Galata	7	---
Solak Sinan quarter	Üsküdar	61	23
Selami Ali Efendi quarter	Üsküdar	23	11
Şeyh Mehmed Geylani quarter	in the outer part of Bahçekapı	57	----
Mustafa Bey quarter	Kıztaşı-Fatih	3	----
Topkapı	including inner and outer parts of the walls	5	---
Ali Bey village	in the upper part of Eyüp	6	---
Saidabad village	Eyüp	60	11
İncir village	Üsküdar	23	----
Kilyos village	on the Black Sea strait	8	3

When looked at the names of the quarters, it is seen that most of them are made up of the name of a person such as Hacı İlyas, Hoca Ali, Mustafa Paşa, Neslişah Sultan, Bedreddin Bey, etc. Similarly, the names of the quarters in İstanbul had the name of a person who is the member of an occupation or a trade group such as “Üstat Mimar Sinan”, “Üstat Mimar Hayrettin”, “Üstat Kemal el-Harrât”, “Bıçakçı Üstat Acem Ali”, “Kürkçübaşı”, “Ahî Durmuş”, “Camcı Kara Ali”, “Nahlbend Hasan” etc., or the names of stateman such as “Dizdarzade Mehmet Çelebi”, “Yazıcı Murat”, “Abdi Subaşı”, “Cebecibaşı”, “Müneccim Sadi”, “Suhte Sinan”, etc. and even there were quarters whose names are made up of two or three names (Canatar, 2015; 233). In addition, as in the example of Hacı İlyas or Hoca Ali given here, the names of the quarters mostly correspond to the prayer rooms (mescit) or mosques which are the centers of the religious worship and bear the name of a person who had them constructed. Thus, it is understood that nearly 90% of the names of the quarters in İstanbul bear the names of the person who had the prayer rooms or the mosques constructed.

According to the the first table, the first quarter where the Gypsy mostly dwell is Sulukule, the official name of which is Hatice Neslişah Sultan (Ortaylı, 1994; 70-71) and it is one of the most important places in the historical and cultural structure of İstanbul. As is in table, the number of the people living in Neslişah Sultan is 183 and the number of the household is 58. Moreover, this quarter which is in the walls between Topkapı and Edirnekapı is the place where Gypsies have been living for nearly five hundred years. According to historical researches conducted on the Gypsy, except for the Indian example, it is the oldest place in which Gypsies have been leading a sedantary life (Çubukçu, 2011; 87). In many sources it is claimed that the Gypsy (Romani) have been living in Sulukule since 11th century. It is said that the ones in İstanbul had been settled in the districts such as Sulukule, Ayvansaray, Üsküdar and Kasımpaşa and Gypsies just by the walls of İstanbul walls, especially the ones dwelling in Edirnekapı and Sulukule would prefer to camp rather than settle down (Altınöz, 2007; 13-28). The second quarter where they densely live seems to be Hacı İlyas quarter in Eğrikapı. The number of the Gypsy living here is given as 165 and the number of the household is given as 56. Under the light of the data given in the table, the third quarter in which the Gypsy population is dense seems to be Hoca Ali where the number of the Gpsy is 149 and the number of the household is 49. The other one is Bedreddin Bey and Sahaf Muslihiddin quarters where the number of the Gypsy is 121 and the number of the household is 34. Solak Sinan and Selami Ali Efendi quarters in Üsküdar consist of 84 Gypsy and 34 households in total. When looked at the table, it is seen that the least populated quarter seems to be Sultan Beyazıd in Galata with the number of 7 Gypsyies. The next less populated quarter is Mustafa Paşa in Ayvansaray with the number of 21 Gypsy and with the number of 6 households. In addition, the least populated quarters are Mustafa Bey quarter in Kıztaşı-Fatih

with the number of 3 Gypsy and the quarter of Sultan Beyazıd in Galata with the number of 7 Gypsy. Namely, under the light of the statistics given here it is seen that the number of the Gypsy living in 11 quarters of İstanbul seems to be 784 and the number of their household 237.

When looked at the villages in the table, the mostly populated village seems to be Saidabad village in Eyüp with the number of 60 Gypsy and with the number of 11 households. It is followed by İncir village in Üsküdar with the number of 23 Gypsy. In terms of the Gypsy population, the least populated villages seem to be Kilyos and Ali Bey village. Namely, in four villages the total population of the Gypsy is 97 and the number of the household is 14. Furthermore, in some quarters and villages the number of the household of the Gypsy has not been given. It might stem from the fact that they might not permanently have been dwelling there or they might have been there temporarily.

#### 4. To Population Register the Occupations of the Gypsy in İstanbul

As the occupations among the the Gypsy hand down from father to son, the sons in the same congregation do the business of their father. The Gypsy have been under the influence of their tradition as in the case of their faith. It is known that they not only retained their major occupations in India but also they took over several occupations of their ancestors in Iran and Armenia (Altınöz, 2007; 268). During the Ottoman period some information regarding the occupations of the Gypsy can be obtained from the “tahrir registers” because while the population was being recorded, the names and the occupations of the members of the households were being recorded as well. Thus, it is possible to learn what sort of occupation a person has through the name of the occupation before the name of that person or from the occupation group that gives its name to the community. In that way, it is possible to learn the names of the occupations of a community as well. (Altınöz, 2007; 269).

Marushiakova and Popov state that Gypsies earn their lives from a number of different occupations in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries; because they were an indispensable part of the social structure in the Empire and they acquired an important place in the economy. Referring to Ami Boué they assert that the Gypsy really became a useful member of the society and they work as a coachman, a horse trader, the manufacturer of a coach, a blacksmith, a coppersmith, a boilersmith, a tinsmith, a miner, a goldsmith, a musician, a policeman and a decapitator, etc. Moreover, it is emphasized that it is not limited to such sort of occupations. In addition to the nomadic or the settled Gypsy engaged in several occupations, there have been the ones engaged in the occupations that do not require a special talent in the bigger Gypsy quarters in the Empire towns as well (Marushiakova ve Popov, 2001; 79).

**Table 2:** To Population Register the Occupations of the Gypsy in İstanbul

Gardener
The chamberlain of the ironsmiths
Musician
Keeper of a coffeehouse
Ironsmith
Broom maker
Basket maker*
A person who works in the things related to tobacco (çubukçu/ çibıkçı)
The apprentice of an ironsmith
The apprentice of a tobacconist
Boatman
Winegrower
Coachman
Hair dresser
Farmer
Garbage collector

\* The Gypsy living in İstanbul also have the calling of the basket making which Evliya Çelebi does not mention in his work. Some Gypsies in the vicinity of the horse shops and some in the long streets extending parallel to the merchandise market were the basket makers and the manufacture of the basket making constituted a class among the Muslim Gypsies in the north eastern part of Bulgaria see. Altınöz, 2015; 272. In addition, in the table above it is seen that they have the calling of broom making as well.

Greengrocer
The person who sells vinegar
Nailer
A person who plays a musical instrument called as "kaba"
The leader of bears (ayıcı)
Porter
Water carrier
Stock maker
Butler
Shoe-maker
Blacksmith
Tinsmith
Heckler (keten tarakçısı)
Sheepmen
Poultryman
A person who anchors (fondacı)*
A person who stuffs cushion (kıtıkçı)**
Puppeteer
A person who sells saffron (zaferancı)***
A person who sells ponies (midilici)
A person who plays Karagöz (hayalci /karagözcü)
A person who sells lime
The seller of milk dishes

When looked at the table, as to the occupations of the Gypsy in İstanbul, it is seen that they work in 39 different fields and they have some traditional occupations such as ironworking, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, musicianship, basketry, playing bears etc. In addition, they are engaged in the callings such as being a siever, being a gold panner, being a groom, being a fortune teller, being a herbalist, being an acrobat, being a dancer, being a peddler, being a ship builder, being a lapidarian, being a soothsayer and being a beggar (Altınöz, 2007; 268). Likewise, in the travel notes of a consul's daughter and his wife it is narrated that Gypsies have the callings, such as tinkers and blacksmiths (Poole, 1878; 165-166). Moreover, Altınöz thinks that as in their beliefs, Gypsies have been under the influence of their traditions. They not only preserved their major occupations in their homeland India but also they adopted many of the occupations of their ancestors in Persia and Armenia. Equipped with a great deal of professional knowledge as well as black smithing, they arrive in Anatolia and then in Europe as a tinsmith, a coppersmith, a lapidarian and a musician. During the periods when the Gypsy arrived in the Balkans, they benefited a good deal from the blacksmithing not in demand among the farmers (Altınöz, 2007; 268-269).

As is seen in the table above, the occupation for which Gypsies are famous is ironsmithing. They are known for being a blacksmith all over the world and it is based on a very ancient tradition which has been preserved up to now. In the Balkans most of the male Gypsies are engaged in ironsmithing (ironmongery in general) (Marushiakova ve Popov, 2001; 50). Altınöz asserts that ironsmithing is one of the most qualified occupations among the settled Gypsies. Some Gypsies, who were qualified as an ironsmith, especially settled in Kasımpaşa and they had also been working for ship-building yard. In addition, in the tahrir registers it is seen that Gypsies are engaged in ironsmithing and they lead a nomadic life. According to Altınöz, it is probable that Muslim Gypsy community was doing the iron hardware of the villagers (Altınöz, 2007; 273). Similarly, in the tahrir registers among the names of the Gypsy occupations there have been ironsmith and chamberlain (in the table above the chamberlain of the ironsmiths). As is

\* Metaphorically the word means "the depth of the sea". to anchor (fonda etmek) means anchoring. "Fondacı" means a person who anchors see. Şemseddin Sami, 1989; 1009.

\*\* The word is originally "kırtık". It is derived from "kırtmak" which means shell or to trim (kırtmak). The hemp shell is used for stuffing cushion. The person who stuffs cushion is named as the person who stuffs cushion (kıtıkçı) see. Şemseddin Sami, 1989; 1005.

\*\*\* The person who sells saffron see. Develioğlu, 2013; 1357.



in the table, they also follow the callings such as a coachman and a basket maker as well (Altınöz, 2007; 269).

As is seen in table above, the other common calling followed by the Gypsy is the musicianship. Indeed in the tax register of the year 1522-1523 they are seen to have been mostly recorded as musicians (sazende). Moreover, there have been other historical evidence to verify how that calling was very common among Gypsies. The Gypsy musicians are also mentioned in the several descriptions of the travelers. For instance Quclé says that both male and female Gypsies play and sing sweetly everywhere. They play the violin bows that liken a viola and play the things such as a five-wired tanbur that resembles a guitar, tambourine and cymbal. Paspati also mentions that Gypsies sing and dance in the festivals and celebrations of both the Turks and the Christians moving from one village to another (Paspati, 1973; 13). In the Ottoman Empire the guild of the musicians is the 43.guild made up of 300 persons and most of them were Gypsies. The 45. guild consisted of the players, mime artists, and the male dancers and there were 12 sub-groups in that guild. The first one was made up of 3000 persons and most of them were the Gypsy living in Balata. In the second sub- group were 300 male dancers who are engaged in unchaste callings which Evliya Çelebi covertly mentioned. In the other ten sub-groups were some Gypsies whose number is not too many (Marushiakova ve Popov, 2001; 52).

In the entertainmet culture of the Ottoman Empire it is a reality that the Gypsy has an important place. As is seen in table, one of the callings Gypsies follow is player of Karagöz. There have been a number of rumours that claim that Karagöz is Gypsy. In many of the plays Karagöz openly say that he is a Gypsy and it is said that like Karagöz Hacıvat is a real person as well. To Altınöz, if that is true it will be possible to understand what sort of contributions the Gypsy made to the entertainment culture in the Ottoman Empire (Altınöz, 2007; 281). According to the table, it is understood that they also follow a calling of puppeteer. In the entertainment field their other famous calling is being the leader of the bears; that is, they play bears to entertain people in the streets. In his study Alus mentions that Gypsies have followed the calling of the leader of the bears up to the recent periods (Alus, 1995; 32). In the travel notes of Evliya Çelebi, in the 17th century while giving about the number of the guilds, he mentions the name of the Gypsy in the 10th guild of raising bears (Marushiakova ve Popov, 2001; 36). In this sense, Mantran says that the Gypsy in İstanbul were following the callings of both the leader of the bears and the clowning and they were living in Sulukule extending along the land walls in the vicinity of Edirnekapı (Mantran, 1991; 48-53). In addition, in the table above, it is seen that they are also engaged in farming in İstanbul. Likewise, some sources indicate that since the end of the 18th century there has been an increase in the number of the Gypsy who live in the villages and earn their lives from farming. For instance, some Western travelers such as Macmicheal, who had been to Bulgaria, mentions that in the region of Yantra he saw some Gypsy villages, the whole population of which are settled and are engaged in farming. Similarly, it is said by Ami Boué that there have been some Gypsy villages in the vicinity of Edirne and the existence of the villages whose population completely consist of the Gypsy indicates that their residents are farming workers. If a few Gypsy families were living in a village it would be possible to think that they were the artisans of the village. However, if the whole residents of the village are made up of the Gypsy it will be logical to think that most of the residents of the village are farmers, except for a few artisans (Marushiakova ve Popov, 2001; 36, Evliya Çelebi, 2016; 334).

When looked at the table above, the Gypsy are seen to be engaged in a calling named as cushion stuffing and the calling called as anchoring. It can be claimed that even though most of the callings in the table are mentioned in the other studies as well, those are not mentioned in the studies pertaining to the Gypsy. Therefore, it can be said that through the data as to the occupations in the Population register we have some new information about the occupations of the Gypsy living in İstanbul in the 19th century.

##### 5. The Nicknames of the Gypsy in the Population Register

The Gypsy in Turkey are generally known with the name of “the Ggpsy” and in some regions they are known with the names of “Abdal”, “Coachman”, “Aristocrat”, “Cano/Cono”, “Dom/Lom/Rom”, “Siever”, “Dark citizen”, “Gurbet”, “Gurbeti”, “Karaçi/Karaçö”, “Karaoğlan”, “Köptü”, Lûlû”, “Mango”, “Mutrib”, “Mutrip”, “Pırpır”, “Poşa/Boşa/Paşa”, “Romani”, “Basket maker”, “Teber” or “Todi” (Yıldız,

2007; 61). More probably, the reason why the Gypsy are known with so many names is that the place where they live is not only limited to Turkey but also it extends from India to Asia, Africa, Europe and even to America. Even though there have been some studies related to the names used by the Gypsy, it can be said that no study could be found on the nicknames of the Gypsy in the literature of the Gypsy.

**Table 3:** To The Population Register Some Nicknames of The Gypsy.

Çitakoğlu Ahmed	The Marten (Sansar) Hasan
The Dark (Kara) Süleyman	Birika Osman
The Bald (Kel) Ali	The Nut (Fındık) Ali
The Girl (Kız) Mustafa	The Tall (Uzun) Ali
The Mace (Topuz) Mustafa	Boşnakoğlu Arif
The Mad (Deli) Mustafa	The Blind (A'ma) İsmail
The Lover (Aşık) Mustafa	The Beloved (Can)* Mahmut
The Old (Eski) Emin	Karıoğlu/Karıoğlu Said
The Father (Baba) Ali**	-Sofuoğlu İbrahim
Bayramoğlu Salih	The sailor who works on the galleys (Kalyoncu) Ali
The Fatty (Şişman) Acı İbrahim	Kethüdaoğlu Ali
The Fatty (Şişman) Mehmed	Beşer beşer Ahmed
The Rear (Makat) İbrahim	The Agile (Çalak) Kadri
Kızoğlu Süleyman	The Dark (Kara) Ali
The Dark (Kara) Mehmed	The Dark (Kara) Mustafa
The Dark (Kara) Salih	The Dark (Kara) Hasan
The son of a greengrocer (Manavoğlu) Arif bin Mustafa	Mekteb-nişin*** Ahmet

When looked at the table it is seen that the most common nickname is “dark”. That nickname is probably used to refer to the skin colour or the physical appearance of the Gypsy and in some parts of Anatolia they are called as “Dark boy (Karaoğlu) (Kenrick, 2006; 119). The other nickname “The Girl Mustafa” probably refers to a person who is a public storyteller. It is known that the public story tellers also play “Karagöz” (Nutku, 1997; 31). As the table suggests here, in the entertainment world of the Ottoman Empire the Gypsy have the calling of playing “Karagöz. Moreover, in the 19th century one of the famous story tellers is called as “Girl (Kız) Ahmet”. Walsh, Western traveler, says in his book that the story teller is called as “the Girl Ahmet” because he was displaying some feminine behaviours (Walsh, 1836; 240). Similarly, in the table above that nickname may refer to the feminine behavior of a person as well. In addition, the nickname “the son of a greengrocer” refers to the occupation which is one of the most common callings followed by the Gypsy. Moreover, it should be noted that some namings such as “Çatalcalı Hüseyin”, or “Kilyoslu Hasan” are used as well. More probably, those are used in order to refer to the birth place of the person or the place where they have been living and the namings such as Kipti Ali” and “Kipti Hasan” to refer to the fact that they are Gypsies.

## 6. Conclusion

The Gypsy, who had abandoned Asia around 5. A.D spread to different parts of the world. With their physical appearance and their language they speak and with their colorful lifestyle they lead, they have become an interesting point for the people among whom they have been living together. Gypsies whose population is dominant in the Balkans are thought to have been settled in İstanbul from Gümülcine and Menteşe. The Gypsy unlike the other communities were not included in the classical “ Millet sistem” of the Ottoman Empire.

First, it is seen that Gypsies dominantly live in the quarters such as Hacı İlyas quarter in Eğrikapı, Hoca Ali quarter in the vicinity of Ayvansaray in Balat, Neslişah Sultan in Edirnekapı, Bedreddin Bey and Sahaf

\* In the Dictionaries of Turkish Language another meaning of the word refers to a cult brother in Bektashism Bektaşilik and Mevleviyeh.

\*\* More probably, that nickname refers to a spiritual leader or a sheikh in some cults: the Bektashi father see. Develioğlu, 2013; p.61.

\*\*\* “Nişin” categorises the words with the meaning of the person sitting or who have sat. Therefore, the word “mekteb-nişin” means the person who sits at the school see. Develioğlu, 2013; 841.

Muslihiddin quarters in Kasımpaşa, Solak Sinan quarter in Üsküdar, Şeyh Mehmed Geylani quarter in the outer part of Bahçekapı in İstanbul. The village in which they densely live is Saidabad village in Eyüp. Second, when looked at the occupations they have, it is observed that the Gypsy in İstanbul carry out their traditional occupations such as blacksmithing, tinsmithing, keeping a coffee house, water carrying, basket making, broom making, etc. In addition, they are seen to be engaged in some callings related to the entertainment such as being a puppeteer, Karagözcü (a person who plays Karagöz), the leader of bears (ayıcı) and being a musician. Moreover, it is striking that they are also engaged in the callings such as “fondacı” (a person who anchors) and “kıtıkçı” (a person who stuffs cushion) not mentioned in the other studies pertaining to the occupations of the Gypsy. More probably, some Gypsies worked as an anchor in the navy.

Third, it should be noted that the Population register provides some information as to the nicknames of the Gypsy. Those nicknames give us some important socio-cultural information about the Gypsy in İstanbul. For instance, the nickname “Baba Ali”, might refer to a person in the Bektashi Tarikat. Besides, it is seen that their most common nickname is “dark” added before the names such as “The Dark (Kara) Mehmed”, “The Dark (Kara) Salih” referring to the skin color of the Gypsy.

All in all, it can be put forward that the Population Register covers some important data on the Gypsy and it helps us to gain an understanding pertaining to the places where they dwell in İstanbul, the occupations they follow in the economic structure of the Ottoman State in the 19th century. Moreover, the nicknames used might give some important clues for how they are perceived by the society as well.

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