



AN INCIDENT IN THE REFINED WORLD: THE "GUNWOMAN" ALIYE BERGER CASE IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKISH PRESS IN TERMS OF REPRESENTATIONS OF FEMALE CRIMINALITY

Duygu SAYGIN*

ABSTRACT

This study examines how judicial cases involving women were represented in the press during the early Republican period, focusing on the 1929 Aliye Berger case. In the press of the period, female criminality was constructed not as an individual act but as a "moral deviation" specific to the female gender; the female body became the object of public scrutiny, regardless of whether the woman was the perpetrator or the victim. Events such as beauty contests, while seemingly supporting women's public visibility within the discourse of modernization, reduced them to aesthetic criteria. In summary, the existing form of representation reveals that while women's presence in the public sphere appeared to be supported, it was actually restricted; it demonstrates that the patriarchal discourse in the early Republican press carries a historical continuity extending to the present day. In the Aliye Berger case, the woman was presented as a hysterical, degenerate, and morally problematic figure, based on her behavior contrary to social norms and her private life; her family was also included in this discursive construction. The aim of this study is to focus on the Aliye Berger case to reveal how women are framed in the context of legal cases and how this framing relates to gender policies in the modernization process. In this respect, the study is significant not only in examining the representation of a historical event in the press, but also in showing how women's individual subjectivities were overshadowed by ideological patterns.

Keywords: Aliye Berger, řakir Pasha Family, female representations, socially constructed gender, early Republican press

KİBAR ÂLEMİNDE BİR HADİSE: ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ TÜRK BASININDA KADIN SUÇLULUĞU TEMSİLLERİ AÇISINDAN "TABANCALI KADIN" ALIYE BERGER VAKASI

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, erken Cumhuriyet döneminde kadınların karıştığı adli vakaların basında nasıl temsil edildiğini, 1929 tarihli Aliye Berger vakası üzerinden incelemektedir. Dönemin basınında kadın suçluluğu bireysel bir eylem olarak değil, kadın cinsiyetine özgü "ahlaki bir sapma" şeklinde kurgulanmış; kadın bedeni suçlu ya da mağdur ayrımı gözetilmeksizin kamusal denetimin nesnesi haline getirilmiştir. Güzellik yarışmaları gibi etkinlikler, kadınların kamusal görünürlüğünü modernleşme söylemi çerçevesinde destekler gibi görünse de onları estetik ölçütlere indirgemıştır. Özetle mevcut temsil biçimi, kadınların kamusal alandaki varlığının desteklenir gibi görünürken aslında sınırlandırıldığını ortaya koymakta; erken Cumhuriyet basınındaki ataerkil söylemlerin günümüze uzanan tarihsel bir süreklilik taşıdığını göstermektedir. Aliye Berger vakasında ise kadın, toplumsal normlara aykırı davranışları ve özel yaşamı gerekçe gösterilerek histerik, dejenere ve ahlaken sorunlu bir figür olarak sunulmuş; ailesi de bu söylemsel inşaya dâhil edilmiştir. Çalışmanın amacı, Aliye Berger vakasını merkeze alarak, kadınların adli vakalar bağlamında

Araştırma Makalesi

Makale Gönderim Tarihi: 05.09.2025

Yayına Kabul Tarihi: 23.12.2025

* Arş. Gör. Dr., İstanbul Üniversitesi, Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, İSTANBUL,
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4232-1799, E-posta: duygu.saygin@istanbul.edu.tr

nasıl bir söylemsel çerçeveye oturtulduğunu ve bu çerçevenin modernleşme sürecindeki toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarıyla nasıl ilişkilendiğini ortaya koymaktır. Bu yönüyle çalışma, yalnızca bir tarihsel olayın basındaki temsilini incelemekle kalmayıp, aynı zamanda kadınların bireysel öznelliklerinin hangi ideolojik kalıplar aracılığıyla gölgede bırakıldığını göstermesi bakımından önem taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aliye Berger, Şakir Paşa Ailesi, kadın temsilcileri, toplumsal cinsiyet, erken Cumhuriyet basını

Introduction

According to Joan Scott's historical gender analysis, gender is understood as a socially constructed set of roles, meanings, and expectations shaped and continuously reproduced through cultural and institutional practices (Scott, 1986). Michel Foucault's concept of disciplinary power reveals how these gender norms are enforced through mechanisms of surveillance, scrutiny, and moral evaluation, subjecting women's bodies and behaviors to public regulation (Foucault, 1995). Similarly, Susan Bordo's work on the cultural construction of the body demonstrates how aesthetic standards and behavioral rules function as forms of ideological and social control, transforming women's bodies into a site where power is inscribed and contested (Bordo, 2003). In this perspective, the study examines the gendered approaches employed in reports on judicial cases involving women during the early Republican period, by focusing on the press coverage of the 1929 assault case involving Aliye Berger. This case is significant not only as an individual judicial incident but also as a clear illustration of how gender roles were imposed through the press. The study argues that representations of women in the early Republican press did not operate as impartial accounts of isolated events; rather, they constituted deliberate narrative practices that reinforced patriarchal norms and disciplined women's behavior.

Meanwhile what distinguishes the way Ms. Aliye's (Berger) case was reported from others is both its sensational aspect and the "prejudice" that was intensely evident throughout the process. At its most basic level, this is an extension of the distance the press and society maintained towards the Ottoman elite, who were believed to look down on the lower and middle classes, who were the key founders of the Republic. The instinctive reaction against the "upper crust," which was not seen as part of a society rebuilding itself from scratch, has surfaced both through the subtext conveyed by the style used and through extremely unflattering news, either about Ms. Aliye herself or various members of her family. In this context, another detail that makes this case unique is that while targeting Ms. Aliye and her family, the press also resorted to "reminding" the public of other "scandals" involving family members. Furthermore, it is clear how trivial the problems of the wealthy, especially those of women, were considered to be and how they were presented more as characters in a play than as individuals. Additionally, an effort to create a "stereotype" through Ms. Aliye is strikingly evident.

The main protagonist of the case discussed in the article, Aliye Berger, belonged to one of the most prominent families of the period. Her uncle was Ahmet Cevat Pasha, a military-background statesman who served as Grand Vizier to Sultan Abdülhamid II for four years, while her father was Lieutenant General Mehmet Şakir Pasha. Since most descendants of Mehmet Şakir Pasha and his second wife, Ms. Sare İsmet, were prominent figures in various fields of art, they became known to everyone as the "Şakir Pasha Family" in subsequent years. Aliye, the

The Republican regime essentially gave women the responsibility of preserving national virtues and uniqueness, while also encouraging modernization (Kadiođlu, 1998, p. 89; Üstün, 2020, p. 32). However according to nationalist discourse, no matter how external conditions change, women must not lose their inherent spiritual virtues. In other words, they must not become Westernized (Chatterjee, 2013, pp. 107; Üstün, 2020, p. 39). Indeed, as will be discussed later, the critical tone towards Ms. Aliye, who lived entirely in a Western mindset based on her family upbringing, and the bullying perpetrated against her “Francophone” family is partly a reflection of this perspective.

Within nationalist ideology, women who are expected to be good wives and mothers may be labeled as “immoral” if they reject this social role (İlkkaracan, 2003, p. 21; Üstün, 2020, pp. 32-33). This is because the concept of chastity is central to the new female identity being constructed during this period (Öztamur, 2002, p. 47; Üstün, 2020, p. 43). In this context, the figure of the woman who has committed a crime has generally been portrayed by the press as a demonic, lustful, or emotionally unstable character; even victimized women have been indirectly blamed for their outfit, lifestyle, or activities outside the home. As will be indicated with examples later, a similar approach is evident in the case of Ms. Aliye.

As the most important weapon for imposing ideas on society, the press has surrounded women’s new roles with patriarchal discourse. News about women were often structured within a moral framework around concepts such as “honor,” “family order,” and “women’s duties”; the language used was dominated by condescension, judgment, and gender-based prejudices. Thus, the press has gone beyond being merely a medium that reports events and has functioned as an instrument for imposing ideological norms on women. The way judicial cases involving female perpetrators, such as assault or murder, are reflected in the press is also based on stigmatizing women who step outside their assigned roles. Events have been framed in a way that reinforces the idea that women are irrational beings who succumb to their emotions. Women have been represented primarily as deviating from idealized norms of femininity rather than as individual perpetrators. Furthermore, in those days when the first beauty pageant was held, the importance given to appearance has even overshadowed the nature of the crime. Outfit, makeup, and, if applicable, a “Western” style have been made part of the character analysis; appearance has been linked to women’s moral values.



Two of the candidates who submitted photos to the first beauty pageant organized by *Cumhuriyet* (*Cumhuriyet*, August 5, 1929, p. 1)

The language used in reports about suicide cases, which are treated as a character flaw, is no different. For example, in a report dated June 9, 1929, Ms. Sabite, who lived in Kasımpaşa, attempted suicide by throwing herself into a well out of grief following an argument with her neighbor Ms. Sıdıka. The report conveyed this in a sarcastic tone, stating, “*After falling into the well, her nerves calmed down, she came to her senses, and began to cry out.*” (*Cumhuriyet*, June 9, 1929, p. 4). Thus, a woman who reached the point of suicide was portrayed as impulsive and weak-willed. Only four years earlier, 18-year-old Ms. Sabriye, who tried to die by drinking poison in Üsküdar, refused to explain her reason for attempting suicide, was labeled by the reporters of *Son Saat* as “*suddenly experiencing a shattering disappointment in her youthful dreams and attempting suicide for this reason.*” (*Son Saat*, September 30, 1925, p. 1; Kılıç, 2018, p. 89). It is clear that there is absolutely no possibility that a young girl would have a problem serious enough to give up her life. This is because the most prominent or highlighted reason, especially in young girls’ suicides, is love. For example, in the story of Ms. Nesime, who jumped off a ship in 1926, it is stated that her family, who lived a “modest and simple” life, raised their daughter in a “careful” manner, but the young girl “*was a girl who, aspiring to modernity, perceived modernity as having to fall in love with a certain young man.*” Although Ms. Nesime and her lover planned to marry, the young man’s wealth—considerable for their social circle, if not for society at large—prevented him from marrying the young woman; his family insisted that the bride’s family be as “wealthy and noble” as they were. Faced with this situation, Ms. Nesime “*considered life pointless if she could not achieve the happiness she had imagined*” and thus chose to end her life (*Son Saat*, September 14, 1926, p. 2; Kılıç, 2018, p. 94). Similarly, in most of the reports about the assault incident involving Ms. Aliye, it was claimed that her “love turned into violent madness”; rather than the nature of the crime, her being a woman, her emotionality, and her beauty were emphasized. The perpetration of the crime was pushed into the background, and the theme of succumbing to love and producing a tragic end as a “state of womanhood” was brought to the fore.

The Gossip Bombshell of Summer 1929: Ms. Aliye Incident

According to initial reports in the press, the incident unfolded as follows: Ms. Aliye, residing at Şakirpaşa Apartment, No. 5 in Surp Agop, Beyoğlu, who was the youngest daughter of the late Mehmet Şakir Pasha and sister-in-law of Mr. İzzet Melih (Devrim), went to the home of M. Herant, who lives at Tophanelioğlu Hill, No. 34 on June 16 at around 4:30 p.m. in Üsküdar. After getting into a fight with Mme. Mannik, the daughter of M. Herant, she fired a small Browning pistol, slightly wounding the other party on the side. The reason for the attack is said to be Karl Berger, a Hungarian violinist (*Cumhuriyet*, June 18, 1929, p. 2; İkdam, June 18, 1929, p. 2; *Son Saat*, June 18, 1929, p. 11; *Vakit*, June 18, 1929, p. 1; *Son Saat*, June 19, 1929, p. 11)².

The young musician who caused the incident was born on January 6, 1894, in Arad, near Budapest. After graduating with honors from the Vienna Academy of Music, he received a concert invitation from Crown Prince Abdülmecid in early 1918, followed by an offer to become a

² *Milliyet* and *Vakit* reported that the incident took place on June 13 (*Milliyet*, October 13, 1929, p. 3; *Vakit*, September 22, 1929, p. 1).

court musician, and continued his career in İstanbul (Kutlay etc. 2023, p. 28). M. Berger became one of the most famous tutors in the capital, especially after he began teaching violin to Dürrüşehvar Sultan, the only daughter of Crown Prince Abdülmecid. On the other hand works written by or about members of the Şakir Pasha Family state that he took part in an unsuccessful popular uprising in Hungary and sought refuge in Türkiye (Aliye Berger (Yaşamı/Sanatı/Yapıtları), 1980, p. 8; Koç, 2004, p. 70; Kulin, 2023, p. 115).



Karl Berger (Toros, n.d, p. 90)

According to reports, the relationship between two women who met remotely and had previously only encountered each other at balls is strained due to M. Berger, from whom both took lessons. The incident turned into an assault when the musician, who was about to leave for Vienna, vacated his apartment in Beyoğlu and stayed for a few days at the home of M. Herant, a former legal advisor to the Bâbiâli (Milliyet, June 18, 1929, p. 1; Cumhuriyet, June 19, 1929, p. 1, 3)³. Ms. Aliye went to her tutor's house "all dressed up"; however, upon learning of the situation from the apartment attendant, she crossed over to Üsküdar and asked Mme. Herant, who opened the door, about M. Berger. When she was told that he had left that morning, she replied, "You hid him! I'll search the house," and entered. She encountered Mme. Mannik in the room above the garden, where an argument likely broke out between the two young women. Shortly after, the household rushed to the sound of gunfire and found Mme. Mannik fleeing into the street, holding her corset, while Ms. Aliye was sitting on the threshold with a small Browning in her hand. Mme. Mannik, who was shot at from two meters away, was slightly wounded in the right side according to some reports, and in the left side according to others (Milliyet, June 18, 1929, p. 1; Vakit, June 18, 1929, p. 1, 4; Cumhuriyet, June 19, 1929, p. 3). The verdict read at the

³ Taha Toros claims that the reason Karl Berger attempted to leave İstanbul was due to threats from Ms. Aliye, who did not receive a response to her love (n.d, p. 87). However, as will be noted later, at the time of the incident, the relationship between the two had already been going on for about five years.

final hearing stated that the bullet hit Mme. Mannik above her right breast (Vakit, October 13, 1929, p. 1).



Milliyet's illustration depicting the incident (Milliyet, June 19, 1929, p. 1)

After the incident, Ms. Aliye, who had been crying at Karacaahmet Cemetery for a while, was found by the cemetery guard and headed to the police station to give her statement. As a result of the commissioner here knowing her brother-in-law Mr. Ahmet Faik (Erner), who served as İstanbul's chief of police between 1916 and 1918, she was released on bail after giving her statement⁴ (Erner Binark, 2000, p. 47, 49; Koç, 2004, pp. 87-89; Kulin, 2023, p. 114, 118; Ulu, 2020, p. 102). According to the initial statement given by Ms. Fahrünnisa⁵, Ms. Aliye's elder sister married to Mr. İzzet Melih, at her home in the Varon Apartment in Maçka, both the claim that she was looking for M. Berger and that she injured Mme. Mannik are completely false. While she was playing with the necklaces in her pocket at the house she had gone to for piano lessons, they got caught on the gun also in her pocket, causing a bullet to be fired from the gun, which grazed the lady. The young woman described the incident as an “*aksidan*”⁶, adding that she had seen Mme. Mannik shopping in Beyoğlu that very day (Milliyet, June 18, 1929, pp. 1-2; Vakit, June 18, 1929, p. 4; Cumhuriyet, June 19, 1929, p. 1, 3).

⁴ The June 25 edition of *İkdam* reported that Lûtfi Efendi, who was on duty at the Çinili Police Station, rushed to the sound of gunshots and arrested Ms. Aliye (İkdam, June 25, 1929, p. 2). But *Vakit* of the same date reported that Lûtfi Efendi was the police officer who investigated the scene of the incident (Vakit, June 25, 1929, p. 1).

⁵ After her second marriage, to Prince Zaid bin Hussein of Iraq in 1934, she legally changed her name to Fahrünnisa.

⁶ Fr. Accident.



Ms. Fahrünnisa and Mr. İzzet Melih (Sönmez, 2020, p. 57)

The interesting aspect of some early reports on the event, which took place during the days when the first beauty contest in the history of the Republic was organized by *Cumhuriyet*, is that despite the existence of a legal case, the physical descriptions of the two young women were highlighted, and perhaps even compared based on the fact that the situation was “jealousy-driven.” *Milliyet* described Mme. Mannik as a “medium-height brunette beauty” and Ms. Aliye, a “novel enthusiast” as a “20-25-year-old blonde young woman who had studied at a French school.” It also described her appearance after the incident as “Although she was cool-headed, her hair was disheveled, her skin was sallow, and the area around her eyes was purple.” (*Milliyet*, June 18, 1929, p. 2; *Milliyet*, June 19, 1929, p. 1). In a report published in *Cumhuriyet*, which was publishing a photo of a young woman every day for the competition during the same period, Ms. Aliye is described as “blue-eyed, blonde, beautiful, and aged 20-25.” It is specifically noted that she had rejected a marriage proposal from an Egyptian prince and was not yet married. Similarly, it was emphasized that Mme. Mannik, who was “28-30 years old, dark-browed, dark-eyed, dark-skinned, charming, and cute,” had been separated from her husband, Mr. Kevork, for several years (*Cumhuriyet*, June 18, 1929, p. 2)⁷. Indeed, the same newspaper also implied a relationship by claiming that M. Berger had expressed his fondness for a dark-browed, dark-eyed beauty in various circles (*Cumhuriyet*, June 19, 1929, p. 3). *Vakit* was another publication referring to the physical comparison of the two women, emphasizing that Ms. Aliye, a “young lady with curly blonde hair and blue eyes,” had never married, and mentioning to the Egyptian prince rumor. And while describing Mme. Mannik as “a dark-skinned beauty in her thirties,” it explicitly stated that the relationship between the young woman and M. Berger had become

⁷ Ms. Aliye’s Egyptian suitor appears in her niece Şirin Devrim’s memoirs not as a prince but as a prime minister: “Yet she had everything. A beautiful woman, a pasha’s daughter, that skin, those eyes... Those dreamy eyes, that hair, educated, she had everything, everything... She knew French. What suitors she had, yet no one could satisfy her. Those dreamy, blue eyes saw no one but Carl. I know there was a famous Egyptian prime minister. No matter how much he wanted Aliye, it did not happen; Aliye did not want him...” (Koç, 2004, pp. 74-75).

intimate, based on the fact that he sometimes stayed at M. Herant's house (Vakit, June 18, 1929, p. 4).



Ms. Aliye, as sketched by her elder brother Cevat Şakir (Kabağađacı) aka Halikarnas Balıkçısı (Son Bin Fen: Halikarnas Balıkçısının Sarmal Yaşanı, 2001, p. 61)

Despite all claims that the incident was caused by M. Berger, Ms. Aliye sued the press for implying that the incident was related to "*loving a foreigner*," and M. Herant and his family also vehemently denied the allegations that their daughter had a relationship with this young Hungarian man beyond that of tutor and pupil (Cumhuriyet, June 19, 1929, p. 1, 3). However, when the incident occurred, Ms. Aliye and M. Berger had been in a relationship for about five years, and based on the current data, it is uncertain but likely that the musician also had a relationship with Mme. Mannik, which would explain why Ms. Aliye shot Mme. Mannik among all of his pupils. Nevertheless, the vehement denial of the relationship by both parties, due to its illegitimacy and the man's foreign status, demonstrates the extent of social pressure on women. Given that they had these affairs, these two young women, who disregarded the values of society, dreaded the pressure that would be exerted on them or their families when the press exposed them to the public. This situation demonstrates that in our region, social pressure is such a powerful factor that even the boldest individuals may succumb to it.

In a statement to *Cumhuriyet*, M. Herant, whose attitude towards his daughter can best be described as "overprotective," once again denied the alleged relationship between Mme. Mannik and M. Berger, refuting Ms. Aliye's accidental remarks. It is noteworthy that M. Herant, who refused reporters' requests to speak with his daughter in person and did not even allow her photograph to be taken, while mentioning that his family had lived honorably for a century, used the expression "*What could be expected from the daughter of a laundress?*" regarding Ms. Aliye and her mother Ms. Sare İsmet (Cumhuriyet, June 20, 1929, pp. 1-2). However, this ugly statement was vehemently denied by Mme. Mannik later on; by stating "*It was misunderstood.*"

My father did not say such things as 'laundryman' with the intention of insulting. He is a gentleman, and does not like gossip!" (Vakit, June 25, 1929, p. 3)⁸. In another statement to the press in the following days, M. Herant said, "...such things leave very deep and painful impressions on honorable families like ours," implying that the other party, which seemed largely unaffected by the incident, lacked the same "honor" (Milliyet, July 2, 1929, p. 3). Since Mehmet Şakir Pasha has already passed away, Ms. Sare İsmet, remained silent throughout the entire incident as the head of the family. Her only statement was that she was distressed by the incident and would not say anything about it (Milliyet, June 19, 1929, p. 1).

Shortly after the incident, a reporter from *İkdam* managed to interview both M. Herant and his daughter, but this time it was Mme. Mannik who made harsh statements; in her statement, she explicitly accused Ms. Aliye, whom she had not known before the incident, saying, "*I find the claim that the gun fired by rolling over a string of pearls ridiculous. Because when Ms. Aliye pointed the gun at me, she did not forget to add words that revealed her intent*" (İkdam, June 20, 1929, p. 1, 4). Moreover, a few days later, when she spoke to reporters, she said, "*Sir, what can I say? I was the one who was assaulted. I did not fire the gun, so how would I know the reason!*" When asked whether Ms. Aliye fired the gun with the intention of killing her or just to scare her, she replied, "*I do not know that either; the person who fired the gun knows. Ask her!*" (Vakit, June 25, 1929, p. 3; Son Saat, June 26, 1929, p. 2). Another person from the family who made a statement was Mme. Mannik's estranged husband, M. Kevork. This gentleman, who used to be a financial inspector but is now a currency agent on the stock exchange, said that this ugly incident, which upset him greatly, would definitely lead to a change in his situation with his wife, from whom he had been separated for six years. (Milliyet, June 19, 1929, p. 1; Vakit, June 26, 1929, p. 3). It was reported in the next day's newspapers that what M. Kevork meant by change was taking their eight-year-old son to live with him, and that he saw the events surrounding the divorce proceedings as an opportunity to do so, having made numerous attempts previously (Milliyet, June 20, 1929, p. 4).

⁸ Born in Crete, Ms. Sare İsmet, was the second wife of Mehmet Şakir Pasha and was married to him when she was still a minor. Her mother's name was Halime and her father, Ali Kaptanakis, was originally Albanian and is recorded in various sources as a sailor or barber (Erner Binark, 2000, p. 19-21, 96; Şahin, 2022, p. 44; Koç, 2004, p. 28; Devrim, 1996, p. 18; Kabağağaçlı Noyan, 2010, p. 190; Kulin, 2023, p. 27; Ulu, 2020, p. 18; Kahraman, 2018, p. 13).



M. Kevork (Cumhuriyet, June 28, 1929, p. 1)

Reporters hoping for controversy went to the Varon Apartment once more to speak with Ms. Aliye. When they were told she had left with her sister, they went to the family residence, the Şakirpaşa Apartment, but were told that the ladies were not at home there either. However, some who were suspicious of the situation continued to wait, and indeed, half an hour later, they caught Ms. Aliye leaving the building. The young woman, who had lost her composure from the first days, her face pale and clearly sad at first glance, did not want to answer questions (İkdam, June 20, 1929, p. 1, 4; Cumhuriyet, June 20, 1929, pp. 1-2). However, her first statement to the Çinili Police Station that same day was leaked to the press. According to her statement, the young woman, offended by Mme. Mannik's cold reception, fired the gun (Milliyet, June 20, 1929, p. 4; Son Saat, June 21, 1929, p. 15). While journalists continued to stir up gossip about the incident, the Üsküdar Public Prosecutor's Office was also involved in the legal aspects, and the Üsküdar Investigation Department began conducting an investigation. During the investigation, an exploration was conducted at M. Herant's home, and the initial impression was that the claim that the gun had been fired accidentally was weak (Vakit, June 20, 1929, p. 1, 4; Cumhuriyet, June 21, 1929, p. 2; Milliyet, June 25, 1929, p. 1).

Exposing Private Life as a Method of Maintaining Interest and "Renewing" Social Memory

The way the press exaggerated the scandalous nature of the case in order to maintain interest in it eventually reached a point where it was both interesting and embarrassing. Within a few days, the scandal lost its initial impact and began to disappear from the headlines; however, at that very moment, members of the press brought an old scandal involving the Şakir Pasha Family back into the spotlight, striking below the belt, so to speak (Vakit, June 20, 1929, p. 4; Cumhuriyet, June 24, 1929, p. 2). Thus, after Mm. Herant and Kevork, Ms. Aliye's family members also became involved in the affair; however, unlike the others, they were not given the slightest opportunity to present a "virtuous" stance.

The affair, which was unnecessarily reheated and served up, took place four years ago and involved Sidi Wirt, the first wife of Ms. Aliye's elder brother, Suat Şakir (Kabağağaçlı). Accordingly, the young woman, who was married to Mr. Suat and befriended Mr. Selim (Sözel), the eldest son of Painter Halil Pasha, while residing in İstanbul, was beaten, humiliated, and robbed in the middle of the street by Mr. Selim's wife, Princess Şivekâr of Egypt, on the evening of December 31, 1924 (Vatan, January 18, 1925, p. 2). While Princess Şivekâr and Mr. Selim got a nasty divorce (Cumhuriyet, March 22, 1925, p. 4; Vakit, March 22, 1925, p. 2; Akşam, March 22, 1925, p. 1; Son Saat, March 21, 1925, p. 4; Son Saat, March 29, 1925, p. 1), Ms. Wirt, who was subjected to verbal and physical attacks by the princess both at the Dolmabahçe pier and through her statements to the press, as well as in court, has filed a lawsuit against her, on charges of assault, insult, and robbery (Cumhuriyet, June 13, 1925, p. 4; Son Saat, June 14, 1925, p. 5). Even though she demanded 10.000 liras for moral damages and 200 liras for medical expenses from the princess (Vatan, February 27, 1925, p. 2; Cumhuriyet, February 27, 1925, p. 4; Tevhîd-i Efkâr, February 27, 1925, p. 5; Tevhîd-i Efkâr, February 28, 1925, p. 3), the defendant was acquitted of the other two charges and sentenced to pay only 10 liras in compensation for the assault. Although the case essentially ended at the end of 1925, after several appeals over four years, it was completely closed shortly before Ms. Aliye's case began in 1929 (Vakit, December 4, 1925, p. 1; Vakit, December 14, 1925, p. 4; Akşam, December 16, 1925, p. 3; Halk Gazetesi, December 17, 1925, p. 6; Vakit, October 29, 1926, p. 4; Milliyet, October 29, 1926, p. 3; Vakit, October 14, 1924, p. 3; Vakit, December 20, 1927, p. 4; Vakit, October 5, 1927, p. 3; Vakit, January 31, 1928, p. 3; Vakit, March 6, 1928, p. 3; Cumhuriyet, September 3, 1929, p. 2; Son Saat, September 3, 1929, p. 1; Vakit, September 3, 1929, p. 1; Milliyet, September 3, 1929, p. 3).



Suat Şakir and Aliye (Büyükada-1906) (SALT Research, TAKAF2265001)

An Incident in the Refined World: The “Gunwoman” Aliye Berger Case...

The overlap of the two lawsuits was truly an unfortunate coincidence for Ms. Aliye and her family. This is because reports discussing Ms. Aliye’s lawsuit made references to this older case. A few days after the conclusion of the compensation case, the family was once again targeted, this time through Mr. Suat. According to reports, an individual who conducted certain commercial negotiations in Chicago by introducing himself as a prince was featured in local newspapers as “Prince Suat Şakir of Türkiye.” The press first published critical reports about this person, whose identity they claimed they could not be determined, and a few days later, the identity of this person, “*who was never ashamed of introducing himself as the Turkish Prince in America,*” was revealed as Ms. Aliye’s elder brother, Mr. Suat and husband of Sidi Wirt aka Mme. Sayda, with whom Princess Şivekâr had quarreled, “*again due to jealousy*”. Moreover such inappropriate and false allegations about the two, who were no longer even a couple, were published promoting Mr. Suat as a fraudster and Ms. Wirt as the “*mistress of an American millionaire*”. (Milliyet, September 7, 1929, p. 1; Cumhuriyet, September 11, 1929, p. 1; Cumhuriyet, September 11, 1929, p. 3; Akşam, September 12, 1929, p. 2).



(From left to right) Ms. Sare İsmet, Ms. Hakkiye (Koral), Sidi Wirt, Geraldine, Ms. Ayşe (Erner), Ms. Aliye (Koç, 2004, appendices)⁹

⁹ Although the source states that the young woman in the middle and child are Agniesi Kefiera and Mutaharra, this information is incorrect. Meanwhile Geraldine is the daughter of Sidi Wirt from her previous marriage.



Suat Şakir (Devrim, 1996, p. 87; Erner Binark, 2000, appendices)

The most interesting thing about the aggressive stance taken by the press is that the reports never referred to the main scandal of the family, which is the murder of Mehmet Şakir Pasha on July 29, 1914, at the family farm in Afyon. The killer was his eldest son from Ms. Sare İsmet, 24-year-old Musa Cevat Şakir. The reason for this must be that the incident was never reported in the press. At the time of the incident, no articles on the subject could be found in the newspapers. Furthermore, while some news stated that Lieutenant General Mehmet Şakir Pasha would be buried in the Muslim cemetery on Büyükada, they only mentioned that he had died in Afyon, without providing any details about the murder (Sabah, August 2, 1914, p. 3; Tasvîr-i Efkâr, August 3, 1914, p. 4). Despite his mother testifying in his favor (Devrim, 1996, p. 46; Koç, 2004, p. 53; Kulin, 2023, p. 56; Şahin, 2022, p. 81; Taner etc. 2020, p. 48; Ulu, 2020, p. 51), Cevat Şakir was sentenced to fifteen years in prison where he remained until his release in 1920¹⁰.

¹⁰ Taha Toros claims that he saw a letter among Aliye Berger's private documents implying Ms. Sare İsmet and Mr. Cevat hired a perjurer witness to testify in the court. According to Toros the message Cevat sent his mother from prison states that the witness will testify as instructed by the lawyer and he should be paid three gold coins in private. (n.d, p. 92).



Mehmet Şakir Pasha, Ms. Sare İsmet, and Cevat Şakir (Büyükada-1909) (Kabağaçlı Noyan, 2010, p. 16; Şahin, 2022, p. 77)

According to court records, the incident occurred when Mehmet Şakir Pasha refused to give his son the money he demanded (Tarih ve Toplum, November 1995, p. 46/322). Cevat Şakir, while recounting the incident to his close friend Şadan Gökovalı, explained the reason for the murder as self-defense, resulting from his father losing his temper during the fight and reaching for the gun on the table. He also stated that his mother and siblings were at the farm that night and were even pleased with the death of Mehmet Şakir Pasha, "*who killed them every day.*" (Gökovalı, 2014, pp. 26-27). However, according to the memories of other family members and court records, only the family's youngest son, Suat, and their servant Lala Muhittin were at the farm that night. In his famous letter, which is the most detailed account of the incident and has been used as a source in many studies, Cevat Şakir also wrote that during the "*fatal night,*" a violent argument over many complicated issues reached the point where his father fired at him, and when he saw his father reaching for his gun, he also reached for a random gun and fired without aiming. This is because his father, who was both wealthy and a soldier, kept many pistols and weapons with him because he feared being assassinated on the farm. The two guns went off almost simultaneously, and Mehmet Şakir Pasha died at the scene (Erhat, 1979, pp. 150-151). There are other sentences in which he repeats the same statement (Borak, 2002, p. 194).



Mehmet Şakir Pasha and Cevat Şakir (1892) (Şahin, 2022, p. 47)

Cevat Şakir's daughter İsmet Kabağaçlı Noonan, born to his fourth wife Ms. Hatice, implies in her memoirs that the reason for the murder was that Mehmet Şakir Pasha had a relationship with her father's first wife, Agnesia Kafiera, who was Italian. According to her statements Mutaharra (Mutarra) Agustina, who was born from this marriage and taken to Italy by her mother while her father was in prison, never contacted her family again. Years later, her daughter, Chinzia, who contacted Ms. İsmet, mentioned a photograph taken with Mehmet Şakir Pasha in Büyükada, which her grandmother kept by her bedside her entire life. Again, according to the same book, when Mehmet Şakir Pasha attempted to separate from Ms. Sare İsmet, a major crisis ensued in the family (Kabağaçlı Noyan, 2010, pp. 246-249)¹¹.

¹¹ Cevat Şakir, however, has a completely different memory of his parents' divorce. He recounts that while attending Robert College, on a day off, the south wind had reached to a point where it was preventing the steamships from operating. Eager to see his family, he rented a boat for eight gold coins—equivalent to four times a lieutenant's monthly salary at the time—and after a three-hour journey, he arrived home to find his father furious with him, to the point of spitting in his face. When his mother defended her son, the couple got into a fight, leading to divorce; however, they remarried two days later. (Erhat, 1979, pp. 96-97; Şahin, 2022, pp. 69-70; Borak, 2002, p. 196; Kahraman, 2018, pp. 19-23).



A photograph taken on Büyükada in the summer of 1914, when the murder took place (Son Bin Fen: Halikarnas Balıkcısının Sarmal Yaşamı, 2001, p. 23)¹²

It should be noted that some family memoirs and works written based on them state that Cevat Şakir shot his father in June (Devrim, 1996, pp. 45–46; Kulin, 2023, pp. 39–41). However, according to court records, the date is July 16, 1330/July 29, 1914 (Tarih ve Toplum, November 1995, p. 46/322; Okay, 2001, p. 5; Taner etc. 2020, p. 48). Moreover, there is information that the incident took place during Ramadan (Şahin, 2022, p. 73), and in 1914, Ramadan began on July 24. Again, according to the same court records, Cevat Şakir was arrested on the same day, and his fifteen-year sentence began on that date¹³. Indeed, the burial date of Mehmet Şakir Pasha’s body, which was brought from Afyon to Büyükada on August 2, is August 3, 1914 (Sabah, August 2, 1914, p. 3; Tasvîr-i Efkâr, August 3, 1914, p. 4; Okay, 2001, p. 8).

Another piece of misinformation about the incident, found in the family’s memoirs and in works based on them, is that Cevat Şakir was sentenced to fourteen years in prison and was released in 1921 under a general amnesty (Devrim, 1996, p. 46; Koç, 2004, p. 53; Kulin, İstanbul, 2023, p. 56; Şahin, 2022, p. 81; Taner etc. 2020, p. 48; Ulu, 2020, p. 51). However, archival documents reveal that the prisoner, who was sentenced to fifteen years in prison, served six years of his sentence and then submitted a petition in the summer of 1920 requesting a pardon due to illness. Following this request, doctors prepared a report stating that his illness was permanent; however, although the İstanbul Provincial Administration decided that the prisoner should be treated in the prison hospital, since it was noted that his illness could not be treated under prison conditions, and the request for pardon was repeated (BOA, DH.MB.HPS, 110/9, atch. 1). On October 17, upon the recommendation of the Ministry of the Interior, taking his

¹² Back row: Cevat Şakir (second from left), Suat Şakir (third from left). Front row (from left to right): Agnesia Kaifera with Mutaharra, Ms. Hakkiye, Ms. Sare İsmet with Fureya (Koral) and Ms. Ayşe. The remaining three men in the back row are thought to be (from left to right) Mr. Asım, Emin (Koral) Pasha, and Mr. Ahmet Faik.

¹³ It should be noted that in the article containing the transcription of the document in which these records appear, the date in question is incorrectly given as H. 2 Ramadan 1332/M. July 25, 1914, whereas the original document bears the date H. 6 Ramadan 1332/M. July 29, 1914 (Tarih ve Toplum, November 1995, pp. 46-47/322-323).

illness into consideration, the Council of Ministers decided to pardon the remainder of his sentence, which was approved by royal decree and communicated to the Ministry of Justice (BOA, BEO, 4659/349403).

The Press' Approach to the Parties Involved in the Incident During the Investigation Process and the Psychology of the Targeted Woman

Returning to the assault case in Üsküdar, although the parties were summoned for questioning shortly after the incident (Cumhuriyet, June 22, 1929, p. 2; Cumhuriyet, June 24, 1929, p. 2), only Mme. Mannik, her father M. Herant, and her mother Mme. Dirohi responded to the summons. After giving statements that lasted about two hours, the family continued the intimate manner they had displayed in an interview a few days earlier and got into the car with their faces covered to prevent their photos from being taken (Cumhuriyet, June 25, 1929, p. 1, 3; İkdam, June 25, 1929, pp. 1-2; Milliyet, June 25, 1929, p. 1). As Ms. Aliye did not attend the first summons and did not take the second summons seriously either, there was no other option but to bring her in by force (Cumhuriyet, June 25, 1929, p. 1, 3; İkdam, June 25, 1929, pp. 1-2; Milliyet, June 25, 1929, p. 1; Vakit, June 25, 1929, p. 3).

After M. Berger's address was identified, it was decided to summon him for questioning, and his departure from the country was prohibited until he gave his statement (Cumhuriyet, June 25, 1929, p. 1, 3; İkdam, June 25, 1929, pp. 1-2; Milliyet, June 25, 1929, p. 1). Even though he had been rumored to have fled because he could not be reached earlier due to staying with friends after vacating his home (İkdam, June 20, 1929, p. 4; Vakit, June 21, 1929, p. 1; Vakit, June 26, 1929, p. 3), he responded quickly to the summons. After giving his statement, he gave a statement to the *Cumhuriyet* reporter following him, saying, "I was portrayed as a 'Don Juan,' and I am very sorry about this!" He stated that this incident affected his work by damaging his image in the eyes of the families he gave private lessons to. Denying any relationship with either woman, the musician emphasized that Mme. Mannik had been taking lessons from him for six years, but that he had not seen Ms. Aliye, to whom he had given a few lessons three years ago, since encountering her at concerts. In contrast, he stated that on certain days he gave lessons to -Ms. Aliye's brother-in-law- Emin Pasha's daughter (Fureya), and said that Ms. Aliye knew where to find him if she wanted to talk, thus trying to emphasize that the visit to the house in Üsküdar was unrelated to him. M. Berger was also asked if Ms. Aliye had exhibited any abnormal behavior, but he stated that he had not witnessed any such behavior. His final words were that he would soon leave Türkiye, where he had spent eight years with very fond memories, but that the recent incident had erased them all (Cumhuriyet, 26 Haziran 1929, s. 1, 4; Milliyet, 20 Haziran 1929, s. 4). The incident did indeed affect his work, and as a result of no one wanting to leave their daughter or wife alone with such a philandering man, there was a decline in violin lessons (Koç, 2004, pp. 91-92; Kulin, 2023, p. 210). Ayla Erduran, who had been his pupil since age four, made a very accurate statement about him being a ladies man (Koç, 2004, p. 92):

"Before the war, he had given many beautiful concerts, but now he could not do that anymore and was making a living by teaching. Since he was a good tutor, everyone went to him to learn the violin. And Berger was someone the ladies chased after. The women would not leave him alone. They were always around him. That is why Aliye was in such agony, she suffered so much... She loved Berger very much, she was very jealous, and she felt very upset because of him..."



Karl Berger tutoring Ayla Erduran (Koç, 2004, appendices)

However, there are some false statements in M. Berger's testimony. It is a common knowledge that he met Ms. Aliye and her niece Fureya after he began tutoring them, and that a romantic relationship began shortly after their student-pupil relationship (Devrim, 1996, p. 36; Koç, 2004, p. 73; Kulin, 2023, p. 210; Erner Binark, 2000, p. 49). Aliye Berger even described how their relationship began during these lessons with the following words: *"He would come to give us music lessons. If not at first sight, then at second sight, I was smitten with him. I was struck by lightning."* (Aliye Berger (Yaşamı/Sanatı/Yapıtları), 1980, p. 8). Meanwhile the fact that he had been tutoring Mme. Mannik for six years, precisely the length of time she was separated from her husband, is quite intriguing. Depending on the intention, this can be interpreted both as a relationship that has been ongoing since the young woman separated from her husband or a newly single woman wanting to take up a hobby to take her mind off things. Interestingly, Mme. Mannik and her father stated that these lessons had been going on for four years, possibly trying to cover up the fact that the lessons began around the time the young woman separated from her husband (Milliyet, June 20, 1929, p. 4). However, it should be noted that one of the witnesses who testified to the prosecutor about the incident also stated that both Mme. Mannik's and Fureya's lessons had been going on for four years (Milliyet, June 23, 1929, p. 5). In this case, if there was indeed a relationship between Mme. Mannik and M. Berger, his relationship with both women may have begun around the same time. No matter what the truth is, the fact remains that a young woman's private life -especially one who was separated from her husband and had a child, and according to the prevailing mindset, was much more vulnerable to criticism in the eyes of society- was featured in newspaper columns. Therefore, Mme. Mannik, though not to the extent of Ms. Aliye, has been victimized by the press. It would not be wrong to say what kept the situation from worsening was her father's overprotective and conservative attitude - or strategy-.

The news also included rumors about Ms. Aliye. The character of the young woman, who is said to have quit her classes after being warned by M. Berger for not showing interest, was described as very imaginative, flirtatious, cheerful, adventurous, temperamental, emotional, and a voracious reader of novels (Cumhuriyet, June 26, 1929, p. 1, 4; Milliyet, June 20, 1929, p. 4; Milliyet, June 23, 1929, p. 5). Thus, in the initial reports on the subject, the sexist language and style that manifested itself in the comparison of the physical characteristics of both women

gradually focused solely on the woman in the position of the perpetrator, Ms. Aliye, whom the press dubbed the “gunwoman.” The main reason for this situation is, of course, her position as the accused, but the attitude displayed by the parties over the past few days has certainly been a determining factor. From the outset, Mme. Mannik and her family have managed to reinforce their victimhood by projecting an image of privacy, respect for the law, and modesty. So much so that, following months of newspaper coverage of such a scandal, today we do not have a single photograph showing Mme. Mannik’s face. The family’s choice has even been reflected in the respectful portrayal of journalists. For example, M. Herant, who is recorded as having come to give his statement wearing a frock coat and a straw hat, is described as “*a man with a goatee, of medium height, unassuming*”; his wife, Mme. Dırohi, who wore a slightly old-fashioned black hat and dress, covering her neck with tulle hanging from her bonnet-style hat, is described as “*a petite woman with white hair and a demure demeanor*”; while their daughter Mme. Mannik, who completely covered her face by lifting the fur-trimmed wide collar of her black coat while covering her eyes with a black straw hat, was described as tall and very simply dressed, that is, in a way that could be considered “normal” in society (*Vakit*, June 25, 1929, p. 1, 3).



Photographs showing M. Herant, Mme. Dırohi, and Mme. Mannik with their faces covered (*Milliyet*, June 25, 1929, p. 1; *Vakit*, June 25, 1929, p. 1.)

When the young woman finally agreed to partially uncover her face, the description that followed was openly complimentary: “*A wheat-colored complexion, hazel eyes, a face without powder or makeup. She has a sincere, simple expression. Her demeanor and way of speaking give the impression of a well-behaved family woman.*” (*Vakit*, June 25, 1929, p. 3). The style of all these descriptions is a proof that, unlike Ms. Aliye, who was demonized by the press, M. Herant and his family were seen as respectable people and efforts were made to present them as such. A similar approach to that of M. Herant and his family was also followed as much as possible by M. Berger, and it was successful, as the reporters who conducted the first interview with him introduced him in extremely positive terms despite the situation he was in. For example, *Vakit* wrote the following (*Vakit*, June 26, 1929, p. 3): “*M. Berger speaks Turkish well. He has lived in İstanbul for a long time and has given music lessons to many well-known families.*” Similarly, *Cumhuriyet* contains the following statements (*Cumhuriyet*, June 26, 1929, p. 1):

“M. Berger is a polite, very gentle Hungarian young man, estimated to be between 30 and 33 years old. This Hungarian musician, who speaks Turkish beautifully, has a charming personality and a well-deserved reputation. Having been in our country for eight years and teaching the most distinguished families in our city during this time, M. Berger, who has trained many outstanding students, is very distressed that his name has been involved in this scandalous incident.”

In contrast, Ms. Aliye, who from day one adorned the newspapers with her photographs and managed to cause a wave of anger even among İstanbul drivers who were completely uninvolved in the incident by claiming she carried a gun because she was afraid of drivers (Vakit, June 18, 1929, p. 4; Cumhuriyet, June 20, 1929, p. 2), continued to display the same recklessness by refusing to go to give her statement. Indeed, the charade played out for the reporters who went to the Şakirpaşa Apartment, claiming that Mmes. Aliye and Fahrünnisa were not at home, positioned the family in the public eye in a manner completely opposite to that of M. Herant and his family. Accordingly, while the private car that brought the ladies was waiting at the door of the apartment building, the maid who opened the door tried to close it, saying, *“The ladies are not here,”* without even allowing the reporter to speak. At that moment, an elderly lady who was leaving the house also felt the need to emphasize that no one was home, asking the maid to say “hello” since she could not find them at home. But just then, a woman’s shadow appeared behind the door, and in an irritable voice, she said, *“What do you want, dear? What done is done, what’s the point in dragging this out for days?”* and slammed the door shut (Cumhuriyet, June 20, 1929, p. 2). Similarly, when caught by journalists while leaving the apartment, insisted with the same recklessness, *“There’s nothing to discuss, it is just a matter that happened, what’s it to you?”* (İkdam, June 20, 1929, p. 1, 4; Cumhuriyet, Issue: 1836, June 20, 1929, pp. 1-2; Milliyet, June 20, 1929, p. 4). Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that Ms. Aliye and her family worsened the situation for themselves with their poor crisis management.

Despite all the protagonists of the incident being from the upper class, Ms. Aliye, who managed to draw all the criticism aimed at the bourgeoisie upon herself with her series of missteps, submitted a report stating she was unwell and requested that her statement be taken a few days later. This was again reported by the press in a sarcastic tone at (Cumhuriyet, June 26, 1929, p. 4; Vakit, June 26, 1929, p. 1). Even though the report mentioned the young woman’s nervous disorder and stated that she needed a few days of rest to calm down (Milliyet, June 26, 1929, p. 1; Cumhuriyet, June 27, 1929, pp. 1-2) the press presented it as if there were a serious mental illness (Milliyet, June 26, 1929, p. 1). Meanwhile it was rumored that the report, which was emphasized as containing the signatures of two or three of the city’s leading doctors, was not well received by the authorities led to allegations that Ms. Aliye would be forcibly brought in for questioning so that the investigation could be concluded as soon as possible. Moreover, according to rumors circulating in Şişli, Ms. Aliye’s claims of illness are not true and were made to gain time (Cumhuriyet, June 27, 1929, pp. 1-2). However, Ms. Aliye herself informed the press members who visited her that she was ill and would give her statement as soon as she recovered (İkdam, June 27, 1929, p. 1). The same report stated that the pistol carried by Ms. Aliye was completely different from the *“presumed shape and size,”* and was *“of such a size that not even the bravest of men, let alone a modern lady belonging to the city’s most distinguished family, would dare to use or carry”;* and that a single bullet from this pistol, described as a *“12-14 cm long*

pocket revolver,” would be enough to kill two men standing back-to-back. Another point emphasized against Ms. Aliye was the strong belief that a crime committed with such a weapon could only be intentional (Cumhuriyet, June 27, 1929, p. 2). During this process, only *Milliyet* wrote that the weapon was a very small and silent Browning (Milliyet, June 20, 1929, p. 4). Indeed, the small size of the weapon was always emphasized in the first reports on the incident. Although rumors emerged that this pistol, which was published in newspapers and was indeed very small, had been stolen during the appeal process, it was later understood that these rumors were unfounded (Vakit, January 2, 1930, p. 5).



The gun Ms. Aliye used to shoot Mme. Mannik (Cumhuriyet, June 27, 1929, p. 1)

Another thing that undoubtedly contributed to creating a negative image of Ms. Aliye in the eyes of society was the mention that she arrived at the courthouse with her servant and maid on the day she gave her statement. This reinforced her image as a “spoiled daughter of the pasha” in the eyes of society. One more step taken for the same purpose was to emphasize that Ms. Aliye and the female family members accompanying her were dressed exceptionally elegantly (Vakit, June 28, 1929, p. 1). Yet another attempt to discredit Ms. Aliye was through false allegations. Rumors began to spread among the people of Üsküdar that an anonymous threatening letter written in French had been sent to Mme. Mannik demanding that she withdraw her complaint; however, this claim was denied by the authorities themselves and by M. Herant (Cumhuriyet, June 30, 1929, p. 1; İkdam, June 30, 1929, p. 1; Milliyet, June 30, 1929, p. 1; July 1, 1929, p. 1; İkdam, July 1, 1929, p. 2; Milliyet, July 1, 1929, p. 1; Vakit, July 1, 1929, p. 4; Cumhuriyet, July 2, 1929, p. 1; İkdam, July 2, 1929, p. 1; Milliyet, July 2, 1929, p. 3; Akşam, July 2, 1929, p. 4). It is certain that all suspicions were being directed towards Ms. Aliye based on the claim that the letter was in French. This is because, as she would later testify in court, she was highly proficient in French (Akşam, September 22, 1929, p. 2; Devrim, 1996, p. 52; Koç, 2004, p. 62). As stated in the memoirs, knowing French was considered a necessity for all members of the Şakir Pasha Family, and even “*the possibility of a child not being able to speak French was considered equivalent to the disaster of being mute.*” (Kulin, 2023, p. 59; Devrim, 1996, p. 52).

At this point, it would be appropriate to examine the psychology of this young woman, who was declared guilty by both the authorities and the press before the investigation was even completed, and whose medical report certifying her illness was even implied to be fake. As previously mentioned, Aliye Berger, the youngest child of Mehmet Şakir Pasha, was known to everyone who knew her, for her extremely colorful character from an early age, her melancholic yet

equally positive mood, her behavior that did not conform to social norms, and her independence. Her friend Aziz Nesin described her as follows (Koç, 2004, p. 9): “*Aliye Berger seemed to me like a spring branch that had budded and blossomed in the middle of winter and remained that way forever.*” An incident in which she challenged social norms in the early years of her life is recorded in archival documents. According to this document dated 1910, Mehmet Şakir Pasha, who lived with his family in Büyükada, was warned not to let his two daughters, aged 7-8, walk around the pier wearing hats in the evenings. As stated in the document, although girls sometimes wore different types of headgear to protect themselves from the sun during certain seasons, pasha’s daughters wore hats with black-trimmed brims. The disregard shown in wearing such headgear, which was not in accordance with national dress etiquette, caused gossip among the people and had a negative impact on the Muslim community. Therefore, out of respect for public opinion, pasha was requested to discontinue the use of these headdresses (BOA, DH.EUM.THR, 35/45). Due to the date it is clear the mentioned daughters were Mehmet Şakir Pasha’s two youngest daughters, Fahrünnisa and Aliye, who were born in 1901 and 1903. According to Fureya Koral, it was Mehmet Şakir Pasha himself who brought these two straw hats, decorated with cherries, from Paris for his daughters to wear. The task of informing the pasha of the situation fell to Mr. İsmail Hakkı (Canbulat), the District Governor of the Islands at the time; following this warning, Ms. Sare İsmet stored the hats in the house’s pantry (Akpınar, 2014, p. 80).



Fahrünnisa and Aliye, with their furs, hats, and British governesses (SALT Research, TAKAF2263001)

This incident also encapsulates the family’s general outlook on life. Indeed, all the works written by members of this family, now known as the Şakir Pasha Family, reveal that they lived their lives with a thoroughly Western mindset. However, among these “wonderful madmen,”

each unique in their own way, the youngest, “Alyoşa”, was considered by all to be the most rebellious, whose life philosophy was “*Je m'en fiche de l'opinion publique*”¹⁴ (Erner Binark, 2000, p. 96; Koç, 2004, p. 55). Her maintaining an illegitimate relationship with Karl Berger, which was considered scandalous in the context of the times, for a full twenty-three years from her youth to middle age, without caring about criticism from society or her family, was also a product of this philosophy of life. Her niece, Şirin Devrim, said, “*The biggest thing about my Aunt Aliye was that she sacrificed her whole life for love,*” and described how her aunt courageously lived her relationship despite the conditions of the time with the following words (Koç, 2004, p. 74, 90):

“She wore black hats. And long dresses... She would go to him once or twice a week. And we all knew where she was going. What a scandal in those days... She would even cover herself so as not to be recognized. But everyone knew the whole story... My grandmother was a very religious woman who prayed five times a day... And Aunt Aliye was going out, living with a man. She showed great courage in a way.”

In this assault case, while the other two parties -perhaps since one being a non-Muslim and the other being a foreigner, was afraid of becoming the target of criticism- acted as expected by society, Ms. Aliye’s reaction cannot be explained away as merely the whims of the spoiled daughter of the pasha. For this woman, who lived her entire life listening only to her heart without caring what anyone else thought, even while committing this crime for love, it is recorded that she cared more about her lover’s thoughts than society’s expectations, that she was shaken by the fear of losing him, and that she even shut herself away in the Notre Dame de Sion convent for a time as a result of the depression she fell into (Kulin, 2023, pp. 109-111; Koç, 2004, p. 116). Therefore, although it is unknown whether she was actually examined by the doctors who signed the report, contrary to the suspicions of the authorities and the press, Ms. Aliye did indeed experience a deep crisis during this period. Indeed, it is known that she attempted suicide several times by poisoning herself and throwing herself into the sea when her mother, Ms. Sare İsmet, tried to prevent her relationship with M. Berger in previous years (Koç, 2004, p. 72, 82; Ulu, 2020, p. 102). The only person who empathized with Ms. Aliye’s experiences during this period was Ahmet Haşim. In his column in *İkdam*, the writer, who described her love as an “*animalistic passion,*” assessed the young woman’s experiences as follows (Haşim, 1929, p. 1):

“Ms. Aliye’s bullet could not cause more than a slight scratch to the young woman who was her rival. But how deeply it wounded her spirit! Whatever the court’s verdict may be tomorrow, the invisible yet powerful force known as public opinion has already seized the poor young girl, dragged her down from her social standing, and cast her among the ranks of a suspicious, murky humanity.”

¹⁴ Fr. Public opinion means nothing to me.



Karl Berger as sketched by Aliye Berger (Aliye Berger (Yaşamı/Sanatı/Yapıtları), 1980, p. 19)

Finally, Ms. Aliye, the only person who could put an end to the rumors, gave her statement on June 27. The press, which had previously not hesitated to publish claims that her illness was an excuse, this time reported that Ms. Aliye, accompanied by some members of her family, was too exhausted to climb the stairs without assistance, had dark circles under her eyes, a sallow complexion, and was acting irritably, leaving no doubt that she was genuinely ill. She arrived at the prosecutor’s office after 5:00 p.m. to avoid meeting journalists, stayed for a long time, around 2,5-3 hours, with Investigator Mr. Cemal, who was conducting the investigation. It was noted that she initially showed irritability and did not want to answer questions (Cumhuriyet, June 28, 1929, pp. 1-2; Milliyet, June 28, 1929, p. 1, 5; Vakit, June 28, 1929, p. 1). The statement that marked the day, however, was given by Mme. Mannik’s estranged husband, M. Kevork. Although the questioning of everyone directly connected to the incident was completed with these final statements, some noteworthy remarks made by M. Kevork, who answered questions about his relationship with his wife and the reasons for their six-year separation, necessitated the taking of statements from other witnesses (Cumhuriyet, June 28, 1929, pp. 1-2; Milliyet, June 28, 1929, p. 1, 5). Perhaps wanting to protect his wife’s honor or his own dignity, M. Kevork stated that he separated from his wife for family reasons, that he could not get along with M. Herant, a man with a clean past and honorable but very conceited and domineering, and that he could not get along with his wife, who was also extremely honorable but very similar to her father in her selfishness, due to his free nature. He also stated that he was a very good friend of M. Berger, who was also a very honorable man. He claimed that Ms. Aliye, who had feelings for her tutor, harbored a feeling of revenge against all of M. Berger’s students (Vakit, June 26, 1929, p. 3; Cumhuriyet, July 3, 1929, p. 1; İkdam, June 28, 1929, p. 1, 3; Milliyet, June 28, 1929, p. 5). M. Herant’s earlier inappropriate remarks about Ms. Aliye and her family can be considered proof of M. Kevork’s use of the adjective “conceited” to describe his father-in-law. Evidence of M. Herant’s domineering nature came to light during a dialogue with journalists. According to this, when the journalists wanted to talk to Mme. Mannik, who was leaving the courthouse with her family after giving her statement, her father did not give permission and

explained his intervention as follows: “*Since she is my daughter, she belongs to me. Without my permission...*” (Vakit, June 25, 1929, p. 3).

Meanwhile, Mr. Cemal, having completed his investigation, submitted his approximately a total of 60-70 pages report to the public prosecutor on the evening of July 3 (Cumhuriyet, July 3, 1929, pp. 1-2; Cumhuriyet, July 4, 1929, p. 2; Milliyet, July 4, 1929, p. 2). After days of examination, Public Prosecutor Mr. Suat wrote his opinion and concluded that the crime was committed with intent, paving the way for Ms. Aliye to be tried at the İstanbul Heavy Penal Court with a five-year prison sentence under Articles 62 and 448 of the Turkish Penal Code (Vakit, July 7, 1929, pp. 1-2; Cumhuriyet, July 8, 1929, p. 2; Akşam, July 8, 1929, p. 1; Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, July 8, 1929, p. 3; Milliyet, July 8, 1929, p. 3). The case was then referred first to the İstanbul Public Prosecutor’s Office and then to the court, with hearings scheduled to begin on August 24; however, due to the judicial recess, it was decided that the case would be heard by the İstanbul First Criminal Court (Cumhuriyet, July 11, 1929, p. 2; İkdâm, July 11, 1929, p. 2; Cumhuriyet, July 15, 1929, p. 2; İkdâm, July 17, 1929, p. 6; Cumhuriyet, July 18, 1929, p. 2; Vakit, July 18, 1929, p. 1; Cumhuriyet, August 5, 1929, p. 2; Milliyet, August 20, 1929, p. 3; Cumhuriyet, August 23, 1929, p. 2; Milliyet, August 23, 1929, p. 1; İkdâm, August 23, 1929, p. 4). The press, which had been following the case from the very beginning like a pack of wolves chasing the scent of blood, began to shed crocodile tears when the case was transferred to the High Criminal Court, saying, “*The transfer of the incident to the High Criminal Court has taken this matter out of the realm of entertaining gossip and given it a serious character.*” (Cumhuriyet, June 25, 1929, p. 1; Cumhuriyet, October 1, 1929, p. 1, 4).

The Legal Process

Ms. Aliye and Mme. Mannik chose to send their lawyers to the first day of “*the trial which was the subject of the most gossipy and curious event of the season, if not the year,*” (Vakit, August 13, 1929, p. 2) trial instead of attending themselves. However, Ms. Aliye, who was “*sufficiently well-dressed but whose extravagance was noticeable,*” waited at the bar in a closed car, trying not to be seen by anyone, in case the trial was postponed. On Mme. Mannik’s side, her mother, Mme. Dırohi, attended as a witness and, as usual, covered her face with a black veil to avoid having her photo taken. Even though she was hot and sweaty, she did not remove the veil. Although those curious about the scandal filled the courtroom early, the panel of judges, believing there was no urgency in hearing the case, deemed it appropriate to postpone the hearing to September 21, after the end of the judicial recess (Cumhuriyet, August 25, 1929, p. 1; İkdâm, August 25, 1929, p. 1; Milliyet, August 25, 1929, p. 1; Son Saat, August 25, 1929, p. 2; Vakit, August 25, 1929, p. 2).

As the date of the first hearing of the scandal, which caused a great stir especially in Şişli, approached, some elegant ladies who wanted to be spectators sent their servants to the courthouse to find out the date of the hearing. Some people, even considering the possibility of the courtroom being overcrowded, suggested that numbered cards be given to those entering (Son Saat, September 16, 1929, p. 1). Mme. Mannik again did not attend the first hearing of the trial, which began on the appointed date, and the press focused all its attention on Ms. Aliye; the young woman’s outfits and facial expressions were scrutinized in minute detail. For the first hearing -and all subsequent hearings- she chose to wear a black dress, a black coat with squirrel or fox fur, a small black velvet bag, beige stockings, and white gloves. She was noted to sniff her white scented handkerchief from time to time and wipe her blue eyes, and she wore her dark

blonde hair wrapped in a thin black veil with a drooping left end. It was recorded that the young woman moved slowly both when entering the courtroom and when answering questions. Another observation regarding Ms. Aliye, whose eyes were noted to be darkened, was her trembling due to excitement and nervousness. The young woman, who asked for water as soon as she entered the courthouse, was calmed down by her lawyer before the hearing by having her look inside the courtroom door to help her get used to it. She also ran to the lawyers' dressing room to hide from the journalists waiting in front of the building and in the corridors. Her attorney Mr. Sadi Rıza (Dağ)¹⁵ requested that the journalists be prevented from continuously taking photographs of his client, but this request was denied. After the decree was read, the prosecutor stood up and made an unexpected suggestion. His request that the details of the case not be published in the newspapers, on the grounds that "*it is a matter of love and being loved*" and that "*there are some sentences in the investigation file that concern the honor and dignity of the defendant, Ms. Aliye,*" was accepted. The next hearing was postponed until September 30 to question the witnesses, and it was noted that a large part of the crowd filling the courtroom was "elegantly dressed, refined ladies" (Cumhuriyet, September 22, 1929, p. 1, 4; İkdâm, September 22, 1929, p. 1; Milliyet, September 22, 1929, p. 2; Vakit, September 22, 1929, pp. 1-2; Akşam, September 22, 1929, p. 2).

As a result of the decision taken during the first hearing, even though the details could not be reported in the newspapers, the fact that the reason for this decision and some news about the second hearing openly mentioned that the incident occurred because of love, despite the parties' complete denial, meant that the incident could no longer be covered up (Cumhuriyet, October 1, 1929, p. 1, 4; İkdâm, October 1, 1929, p. 1). Indeed, Mme. Sürpik, who was present at the hearing as a witness because she took Mme. Mannik to the pharmacy after the incident, told an *İkdâm* reporter she met outside the courthouse that "*M. Berger came between two young women, and now he is watching the show.*" (İkdâm, October 1, 1929, p. 1). Another interesting statement made by Mme. Sürpik to journalists that day was that Mme. Mannik and M. Kevork had reconciled as a result of this incident (Milliyet, October 1, 1929, p. 3). Audience profile were described as well-dressed ladies, stylish gentlemen from the Şişli neighborhood, neighbors of Mme. Mannik, who came from Üsküdar where the incident took place, madames, mademoiselles, and some well-known figures in Beyoğlu's music community. The reports also mentioned that the large number of women filling the courtroom during the hearings was due to both the appeal of the subject matter and the ban on publishing the trial's progress in the newspapers, as well as Ms. Aliye's "*attempting to kill her rival for a foreign violin tutor*" aroused excitement and curiosity not only among the high society of İstanbul but also among women in the most remote corners of the city. Mme. Mannik chose not to attend the second hearing, as she had the first, while the statements of seven witnesses, including Mme. Dırohi, M. Kevork, Mme. Sürpik and Mr. Lûtfi were heard. Another name absent from the hearing was M. Berger, who submitted a report regarding his illness. However, at the request of the prosecution, it was decided that he would be brought in by force and that the case would be postponed until Saturday, October 5, at 10:30 a.m. (Cumhuriyet, October 1, 1929, p. 1, 4; Milliyet, October 1, 1929, p. 3; Vakit, October 1, 1929, p. 2).

¹⁵ Sadi Rıza (Dağ) Bey, who married Feriha Tevfik (Negüs), the winner of a beauty contest organized by *Cumhuriyet* during the days of the trial, and before that, Benli Belkıs (Belkız Rufa Kemali Söylemezoğlu), a famous name in high society, was a renowned lawyer who took part in many high-profile cases of the period.

The third hearing of the case was undoubtedly the most interesting. For it was at this hearing that M. Berger and Ms. Aliye appeared together for the first time. On this significant day, which was more crowded than the other hearings, it was noteworthy that the hall was filled with elegant ladies from Şişli, Pangaltı, and Maçka, who were particularly eager to see this young man who had “set two young and beautiful women against each other.” Another point that attracted attention was the nervousness of Ms. Aliye, who had appeared calm since the beginning of the trial. Clearly not wanting to encounter M. Berger, the young woman, whose complexion was more sallow than usual, tried to appear calm but revealed her stress by biting her lips and smoothing her hair. Waiting at the bar before and after the hearing, she woman complained to reporters that they would write about her every breath. M. Berger who was described as “not as beautiful as imagined” and even “ugly rather than beautiful,” had sparse hair, a protruding forehead, thick eyebrows, small eyes, a clean-shaven face, was also described by some newspapers as short and by others as medium height and stocky, yet portrayed as polite, wearing a navy blue suit, holding a bowler hat and kid gloves in his hands, failed to make the impression on journalists that was expected of the hero of the Üsküdar case (Cumhuriyet, October 6, 1929, p. 1, 4; İkdam, October 6, 1929, p. 1; Milliyet, October 6, 1929, p. 3; Vakit, October 6, 1929, pp. 1-2; Akşam, October 6, 1929, p. 2).



Ms. Aliye, the defendant, and M. Berger, the witness, together in the courtroom (Cumhuriyet, Issue: 1944, October 6, 1929, p. 1)

Even though his portrayal in court was clearly implied to be absurd for pitting two women against each other, *Vakit* wrote a few months earlier, “M. Berger, estimated to be around thirty to thirty-five years old, is a very handsome, polite, clean, and simply dressed individual.” (Vakit, June 26, 1929, p. 3). While M. Berger answered questions in a foreign accent, Ms. Aliye, kept looking down, changed color repeatedly, her mood reflected on her face. While the content of the statement was not disclosed to the press due to confidentiality requirements, at the end of the hearing, M. Berger gave another interview to reporters, stating that he had learned that Ms. Aliye was a “troubled girl,” that they had been in a tutor-pupil relationship for four to five months three or four years ago, and that he had ended this relationship because she did not study for her lessons, and that they had not seen each other since then. Then he claimed that he would leave the country within ten to fifteen days after his testimony in the case ended. After

M. Berger's statement was taken, the case was postponed until Saturday, October 12, for the prosecutor to present the indictment and the defendant's lawyer to present the defense (Cumhuriyet, October 6, 1929, p. 1, 4; İkdam, October 6, 1929, p. 1; Milliyet, October 6, 1929, p. 3; Vakit, October 6, 1929, pp. 1-2; Akşam, October 6, 1929, p. 2).

At the fourth and final hearing, Ms. Aliye, who appeared calm and composed, compared to previous days, was waiting with her uncle when she was surrounded by elegantly dressed women who had come to see her. As a result, she was subjected to intense scrutiny for a considerable time, sweating profusely, and at one point was even seen complaining to her lawyers and relatives about this stare-fest. At the beginning of the hearing, Public Prosecutor Mr. Cemil read the indictment at length, after which the young woman's lawyer, Mr. Sadi Rıza, presented his defense, which lasted more than half an hour. Following this phase, the panel of judges convened to deliberate, and according to the decree read by the head of the panel, Mr. Hasan Lûtfi, although Ms. Aliye claimed that she accidentally fired the gun while rummaging through her bag, it was determined that she intentionally wounded Mme. Mannik. It was determined that this was not with the intent to kill, and that the young woman's failure to fire the loaded gun more than once or pursue her victim was evidence of this. Furthermore, since the injured party recovered after a week of treatment and 10 liras in expenses, and waived her personal claim, Ms. Aliye was acquitted but the pistol, used as the weapon of the crime, was confiscated (Cumhuriyet, October 13, 1929, p. 2; İkdam, October 13, 1929, p. 1; Milliyet, October 13, 1929, p. 3)¹⁶. However, as the first part of the decision seemed to be against Ms. Aliye, the young woman swayed slightly and became increasingly agitated. Even after the decision was read out, she remained in shock and continued to stare at the panel. When the crowd filling the hall began to leave, she realized the situation and went outside. Upon reaching the hall door, she said, "As if the journalists made such a fuss, and what happened?" and left the courthouse "in high spirits after having a cup of coffee at the bar." (Cumhuriyet, October 13, 1929, p. 2; İkdam, October 13, 1929, p. 1; Vakit, October 13, 1929, p. 2).



Ms. Aliye during the final hearing and after her acquittal (Cumhuriyet, Issue: 1939, October 1, 1929, p. 1)

¹⁶ For the text of the decision, see (Vakit, October 13, 1929, pp. 1-2).

The masculine tone reflected in the news from the first day continued to find its place in the acquittal news. Indeed, it is understood from the following comment in the *Vakit* newspaper that, during this era, carrying a gun was a “man’s job” (Vakit, January 15, 1930, p. 4):

“We see that the habit of carrying a gun is becoming an increasingly widespread fashion in the country... In fact, the Ms. Aliye incident, which dominated the newspapers at length during the past summer, showed that this habit has spread beyond men to women’s circles as well.”

It should be emphasized at this point that the gun did not actually belong to Ms. Aliye. Although Ms. Aliye stated in her first interview with *Milliyet* about the incident that the gun belonged to Emin Pasha and works written about the family indicate that the gun belonged to Mr. İzzet Melih (Milliyet, June 18, 1929, p. 2; Devrim, 1996, p. 94; Koç, 2004, p. 84; Kulin, 2023, p. 117). In other words, Ms. Aliye did not actually commit the offense of “carrying a gun” attributed to her by the press. Additionally, the following news article in *Cumhuriyet* is an excellent example of the sexist perspective on this matter (Cumhuriyet, October 14, 1929, p. 3):

“The High Criminal Court concluded the case of Ms. Aliye, which had been the subject of gossip in İstanbul for months.

As soon as Ms. Aliye left the court, it was as if the pink and sharp-nailed finger pulling the trigger of her gun was the finger of the journalists:

-‘The journalists wrote and wrote, yet what happened?’ She blamed the journalists!

Anyway, the issue is not so much what Ms. Aliye gave us, but the court’s decision to confiscate Ms. Aliye’s pistol... There could be no more unfortunate decision! Because, first of all, a pistol is not an object that suits a woman’s hand; and secondly, to prevent a second accident from happening in Ms. Aliye’s hands, she should not play with such dangerous toys.

Besides, bullets do not always just graze; they usually send the victim to the grave and the shooter to prison...”

However, the acquittal decision, which was appealed based on the prosecutor’s claim that the incident was intentional, was overturned the following year on the grounds that the injury was caused by a weapon and that the victim’s withdrawal of the complaint could not dismiss the case. The case was referred back to the high criminal court, and the new trial date was set for March 15 (Milliyet, October 21, 1929, p. 3; Vakit, February 10, 1930, p. 3; Milliyet, February 10, 1930, p. 1; Yarın, February 19, 1930, p. 3; Vakit, February 19, 1930, p. 4; Milliyet, March 14, 1930, p. 3). As in the previous trial, the fact that there were many women among the audience and that some of them being dressed up in “elaborate attire” was another point that was emphasized (Vakit, March 16, 1939, pp. 1-2). Thus, these women, most of whom belonged to the “high society,” were subtly bullied by being portrayed as detached from reality, viewing the court as a social setting where they could attend by having their hair done.

The press did not abandon its tendency to treat Ms. Aliye as a decorative figure, even at the last minute. Her expensive clothes were described as “*Ms. Aliye was wearing her old black and yellow fur coat, with black and white seasonal shoes on her feet*” (Vakit, March 16, 1930, p. 1) or “*She carelessly wrapped her dark blond hair in a black veil and was wearing the same black*

coat with a squirrel fur collar that she wore at the previous hearing. Beige stockings, black and white leather shoes... White gloves in her hand, a coffee-colored embossed leather bag." (Milliyet, March 16, 1930, p. 5) Furthermore, various subtexts were used to reinforce the label of neurotic that had been attempted to be pinned on Ms. Aliye since the beginning of the trial. The first of these is the emphasis on her "nervous steps" as she entered (Milliyet, March 16, 1930, p. 5). Another emphasis is hidden in the following statements in *Vakit* (Vakit, March 16, 1939, p. 1):

"While waiting, Ms. Aliye lit a cigarette, took a few puffs, dropped it, and stamped it out with her heel. After turning one of her gloves inside out, she put it on her fingers, then took it off again. Sitting with her legs crossed, she ran her fingers along the radiator pipes for a while. At one point, she spoke to two or three acquaintances standing nearby. She gave short answers."

It is clear that Ms. Aliye was very uncomfortable and upset about this situation, which she had fallen into once again, just when she thought she had truly escaped it. Indeed, her body language also points to this. While on the witness stand, she tried to hide her face with her hand or the collar of her coat, feeling uncomfortable with the photographers taking her picture. She fidgeted constantly, nervously touching her hair and her bag, occasionally bringing her handkerchief to her nose to smell it, and blinking repeatedly, as reported in the news (Vakit, March 16, 1939, p. 2; Milliyet, March 16, 1930, p. 5). It was also noted that she was not in good health, having lost some weight and looking paler and more tired over the past few months. Indeed, at the end of the trial, one of the spectators was heard saying, "Poor thing, she suffered greatly from the situation. Anyway, the matter has been resolved, her sorrow is over. If it had gone on a little longer, her nerves would have completely broken down and instead of going to prison, she would probably..." (Vakit, March 16, 1939, p. 2).

Ultimately, since it was proven with evidence that she wounded Mme. Mannik with a revolver, causing her to suffer from illness for a week, Ms. Aliye was sentenced to a total of 35 days in prison under Article 456, and because the weapon was a pistol, under Article 457, as well as to pay Mme. Mannik's 10 liras in medical expenses. Pursuant to Article 36, the gun was confiscated; however, at the request of her lawyer, Mr. Sadi Rıza, considering that she had no previous convictions, and had been raised in a noble family, and was an educated person, it was decided to suspend her sentence on the condition that she will not commit any crime within five years (Yarın, March 16, 1930, p. 4; Milliyet, March 16, 1930, p. 5; Vakit, March 16, 1939, p. 2). The press, however, continued to portray the young woman as a Western-admiring, frivolous daughter of the pasha even after the case was concluded. The language used in a report about the trial in *Vakit* neatly summarizes this situation (Vakit, March 18, 1930, p. 4):

"Ms. Aliye, who placed a small pistol in her bag designed to carry lipstick, a silk handkerchief, and tiny perfume bottles, and then shot Mme. Mannik in Bağlarbaşı, was retried, and sentenced to one month and five days in prison."

If you have read the final interrogation, you will have noticed:

The judge asked her:

-Madame, do you have any prior convictions?

She replied:

-Sir?

Finally, the judge translated:

-So, have you been convicted?

-No, sir.

Bravo, Aliye! Her 'Sir?' will prevent the use of Persian expressions in court language. Is this a small, insignificant service?"

The only positive outcome of this entire difficult process was that Ms. Aliye and M. Berger's relationship emerged stronger from what they had been through; neither the assault itself nor the bullying by the press was enough to end their love. Despite the turmoil they experienced, the couple married in the family's winter residence, the Şakırpaşa Apartment, after a total of twenty-three years of companionship. However, Karl Berger, who converted to Islam and took the name Ömer Baki to make his wife's family happy, died of a heart attack on September 25, 1947, just six months after the wedding, at the age of 53 (Cumhuriyet, September 27, 1947, p. 3; Kösemihal, 1947, p. 4; Devrim, 1996, p. 196; Koç, 2004, pp. 106-107, 111-112; Erner Binark, 2000, pp. 168-169; Kulin, 2023, p. 211; Toros, n.d, pp. 89-90; Kutlay etc. 2023, p. 29; Aliye Berger (Yaşamı/Sanatı/Yapıtları), 1980, p. 9).



Aliye and Karl Berger (Büyükada-1947) (SALT Research, TAKAF2267001)

Aliye Berger, who had previously attempted suicide several times and once attempted murder for love, made her final suicide attempt on the evening her husband died. After holding a mirror to his mouth all and night day, in the hope that it would fog up, she concluded that her great love was dead and attempted to throw herself into the well in the garden, but was stopped by her relatives (Devrim, 1996, p. 197; Koç, 2004, pp. 113-116; Erner Binark, 2000, p. 169; Kulin, 2023, p. 57, 215-217; Aliye Berger (Yaşamı/Sanatı/Yapıtları), 1980, p. 9). From this point on, Aliye Berger, who was reborn through her encounter with the art of engraving, spent the last years of her life in her apartment in Narmanlı Yurdu. When a fire broke out there, she asked

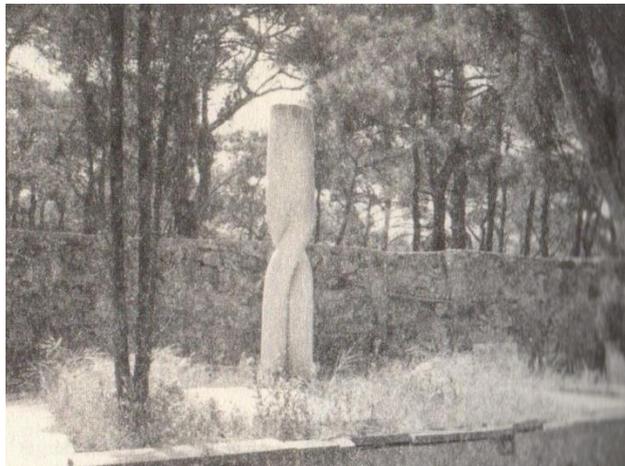
An Incident in the Refined World: The “Gunwoman” Aliye Berger Case...

the firefighters to rescue her husband’s photograph playing the violin first, and she left the apartment with only that photograph, showing that she still carried Karl Berger in her heart (Kabağaalı Noyan, p. 216; Ko, 2004, p. 190). Indeed, she herself has confirmed this situation from time to time (Ko, 2004, p. 111, 181):

“Thus, I always felt his presence, his love, right beside me, no, inside me, in my mind, in my heart. Thus, I never lost my love. I never lost my Berger. Even after his death, he gave meaning to my life, constantly guiding me, lighting my way...” and “Can I say that our love lasted twenty-three years? Can I say that death ended our love? No, absolutely not.”



Aliye Berger in her workshop/home in Narmanlı Yurdu, with the portrait of Karl Berger (SALT Research, TAKAF2246001)



The gravestone sculpted by Fureya Koral for the couple, featuring two figures embracing each other (Büyükada) (Ko, 2004, appendices)

Years later, she said the following about her legendary love for Karl Berger, for whom she repeatedly went to the gates of hell, and their short marriage (Koç, 2004, p. 108):

"We got married twenty-three years after we met. What does marriage matter to those who love each other! What meaning does it have other than signing some papers? It never crossed our minds to legalize our union, our togetherness. I wish we had not legalized it... It did not bring us luck."

Conclusion

Early Republican press, while encouraging women's presence in the public sphere in line with the modernization project, also perpetuated a sexist discourse that limited women's social roles and positions. Within this discourse, the female body was positioned both as an object of discipline and as a field of visibility. Events such as beauty contests functioned as part of this structure; the ideal of the "modern Turkish woman" was presented to the masses in a form reduced to certain aesthetic norms. Although these contests appeared to support women's visibility in the public sphere, in reality, they did not go beyond objectifying them. Indeed, in reports on the beauty contest organized by *Cumhuriyet* in 1929, only the physical appearance of the contestants was mentioned, with no information provided about their education or professions. This situation concretely reveals the reduction of women's bodies to measurable and comparable objects in the public sphere.

During these years, legal cases involving women were mostly interpreted through the lens of the "moral risk" associated with being a woman, rather than personal circumstances. The female body, whether as perpetrator or victim, was represented as an area subject to social control under all circumstances. This form of representation transformed the body into an object to be controlled and made it the subject of public scrutiny through the media. Distinct patterns of representation in legal cases involving women presented female criminality not as an individual act but as a deviation from womanhood, thereby ensuring the continuity of patriarchal norms through the female figure. Women's bodies and behaviors were placed at the center of visibility; the forms of representation produced in the media reinforced the continuity of cultural codes that conditioned women's presence in the public sphere. Those who refused to conform to these codes, as in the case of Aliye Berger, were punished by being socially ostracized.

In the 1929 Aliye Berger assault case the limits of the press' bullying of women were pushed to the extreme, and both she and her family were humiliated in the eyes of millions who did not know them at all. This young woman was portrayed as a degenerate influenced by the novels she read, a slave to her emotions, and a hysterical lunatic, simply because she behaved in an unconventional manner, belonged to high society, and fell in love with a foreigner. This situation is consistent with the approach of viewing women involved in legal cases not as individuals capable of making their own decisions, but as weak beings acting on their emotions. Furthermore, the two female protagonists of the story are positioned against each other in terms of physical appearance, clothing, and morality; thus, while producing tabloid content, a concrete example is presented of the female body being reduced to a measurable and comparable object in the public sphere.

What makes this case unique is not only the extreme use of masculine tone, but also the sensational developments involving Aliye Berger's family members, which were brought to the

forefront, creating widespread pressure on the entire clan. Thus, the narrative extends the blame beyond the young woman herself to include her family as accomplices, transforming the household into a symbol of moral decay and class corruption. For both Aliye Berger and her family, despite being extremely modern and well educated, are excessively "Westernized" individuals.

It should be noted that the traces of patriarchal discourse still linger in media representation today. The narratives of the "emotional woman," "moral deviation," or "identity identified with the body" from the early Republican era continue in different forms in today's digital media. Women are still judged based on their personal lives; they are evaluated based on their outfits, relationship histories, or motherhood qualities. Particularly in news portals, in reports of violence against women or crimes involving women, comments about the woman's appearance, photo selections, or suggestive language in headlines are striking, regardless of whether she is the victim or the perpetrator. This situation reveals the historical continuity of women's representation in the media. In some high-profile cases of female murder in the media, references to the victim's social media posts, detailed accounts of the perpetrator's motives, or the implied questioning of situations such as a woman "being out at night" are extensions of the discourse patterns seen in the early Republican press. This shows that women's representation in the media is still shaped more by how much they conform to society's ideals of womanhood than by their individual subjectivity.

ABBREVIATIONS

aka: Also known as; atch.: Attachment; ed.: editor; etc.: Et cetera; Fr.: French; M.: Monseur; Mm.: Monseurs; Mme.: Madame; Mmes.: Mesdames; Mr.: Mister; Ms.: Miss/Mistress; n.d.: No date; p.: Page; pp.: Pages; trans.: translator.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Archival Documents:

1.1. *Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, State Archives Directorate, Ottoman Archives (BOA):*

Bâbüâlî Document Office (BEO), 4659/349403

Ministry of the Interior General Security Correspondence Office Documents (DH.EUM.THR), 35/45

Ministry of the Interior, Directorate of Imperial Buildings and Prisons (DH.MB.HPS), 110/9

1.2. *Taha Toros Archive*

Taha Toros, "Yaşamı ve Sanatıyla Aliye Berger (1903-1974)", pp. 84-92, TT-1582864010

1.3. *SALT Research*

TAKAF2246001

TAKAF2263001

TAKAF2265001

TAKAF2267001

TAKAF969

2. Periodicals:

- (1914.08.02). "Merhûm Şâkir Paşa". *Sabah*: 3.
- (1914.08.03). "Merhûm Şâkir Paşa". *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*: 4.
- (1924.10.14). "Prenses Şivekâr Davası". *Vakit*: 3.
- (1925.01.18). "Prenses Şivekâr Hanımın Anlattıkları". *Vatan*: 2.
- (1925.02.27). "Madam Saydanın Prenses Şivekârdan Davası". *Vatan*: 2.
- (1925.02.27). "Prenses Şivekâr Hanım Mahkemedede". *Cumhuriyet*, 4.
- (1925.02.27). "Şehrimizdeki Kibar Hayatına Ait Bir Dava". *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*: 5.
- (1925.02.28). "Bir Davanın Garabetlerinden". *Tevhîd-i Efkâr*: 3.
- (1925.03.21). "Şivekâr Davası". *Son Saat*: 4.
- (1925.03.22). "Prenses 'Şivekâr' Muradına Erdi". *Akşam*: 1.
- (1925.03.22). "Prenses Şivekâr Hanım Boşandı". *Cumhuriyet*: 4.
- (1925.03.22). "Prenses Şivekâr Hanım Boşandı". *Vakit*: p. 2.
- (1925.03.29). "Şivekâr Hanım Parise Niçin Gitti?". *Son Saat*: 1.
- (1925.06.13). "Prenses Şivekâr Hanım Davaları". *Cumhuriyet*: 4.
- (1925.06.14). "Prenses Şivekâr Mahkûm Mu Olacak?". *Son Saat*: 5.
- (1925.09.30). "Bir Genç Kızın İntihar Teşebbüsü". *Son Saat*: 1.
- (1925.12.14). "Prenses Şivekâr, Cezadan Kurtuldu". *Vakit*: 4.
- (1925.12.16). "Prenses Şivekâr Hanımın Beraatine Karar Verildi". *Akşam*: 3.
- (1925.12.17). "Prenses Şivekârın Davası Temyize Gönderilecek". *Halk Gazetesi*: 6.
- (1925.12.04). "Prenses Şivekâr". *Vakit*: 1.
- (1926.09.14). "Boğaziçi Vapurunda Bir Facia: Seviştikten Sonra İsteddiği Yuvayı Kuramayacağını Anlayan Biçare, Yesini Ölümle Iskat Etti". *Son Saat*: 2.
- (1926.10.29). "Prenses Şivekâr". *Vakit*: 4.
- (1926.10.29). "Şivekâr Hanım". *Milliyet*: 3.
- (1927.10.05). "Şivekâr Hanım". *Vakit*: 3.
- (1927.12.20). "Şivekâr Davası Yine Kaldı". *Vakit*: 4.
- (1928.01.31). "Şivekâr Davasında". *Vakit*: 3.
- (1928.03.06). "Şivekâr Hanım". *Vakit*: 3.
- (1929.06.09). "Komşusuna kızmış intihar etmek istemiş". *Cumhuriyet*: 4.

- (1929.06.15). "Aliye Hanım ağırceza mahkemesine verildi". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.06.18). "Acaba sebep ne?: Şişlinin kibar bir hanımı bir kadını yaraladı!". *Milliyet*: 1-2.
- (1929.06.18). "Bir kadın, rakibesine ateş etti". *Son Saat*: 11.
- (1929.06.18). "İki genç kadın arasında ateşle neticelenen bir hadise oldu!". *Vakit*: 1-4.
- (1929.06.18). "Kibar âleminde bir hadise: Şakir Paşanın kızı Aliye H. bir kadına silâh attı". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.06.18). "Saklanan sır: Şakir Paşanın kızı bir kadını vurdu". *İkdam*: 2.
- (1929.06.19). "Aliye Hanım, rakibesine neden ateş etti?". *Son Saat*: 11.
- (1929.06.19). "Gene o mesele: Mm. Manniğin zevci muharririmize ne diyor?". *Milliyet*: 1.
- (1929.06.19). "Şişli muhitinde dedikodu: Aliye H.ın Madam Manniği yaralamasının sebebi nedir?". *Cumhuriyet*: 1-3.
- (1929.06.20). "Aliye H.: madam mannik davadan vaz geçmiyor". *İkdam*: 1-4.
- (1929.06.20). "Aliye Hanım: 'Mm. Mannik beni barit bir surette karşıladı, bundan muğber oldum ve...'". *Milliyet*: 4.
- (1929.06.20). "Dedikodu devam ediyor: Madam Manniğin babası hadisenin kaza değil kasten çıktığını söylemiştir". *Cumhuriyet*: 1-2.
- (1929.06.20). "Silâh katil maksadile mi, yoksa korkutmak için mi atıldı?". *Vakit*: 1-4.
- (1929.06.21). "Aliye H. Hadisesi: Herant Beyin sözleri üzerine dedikodu aldı yürüdü!". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.06.21). "Aliye H.: Pürüzlü hadise kahramanı tevkif edilecek mi?". *Son Saat*: 15.
- (1929.06.21). "M. Berger ne diyor?". *Vakit*: 1.
- (1929.06.22). "Aliye H. ve M. Manniğin ifadeleri alınacak". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.06.23). "Üsküdar vak'ası: Aliye H. meselesinde alâkadarlar dinlenecek". *Milliyet*: 5.
- (1929.06.24). "Aliye H. ve m. Mannik bugün isticvap edilecekler". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.06.25). "Aliye H. mustantik huzuruna polisle getirilecek". *Vakit*: 1-3.
- (1929.06.25). "Aliye Hm. Hadisesi yeni bir safhaya girdi ve dün isticvabata başlandı. Aliye Hanım için Polise emir verildi..". *Milliyet*: 1.
- (1929.06.25). "Tabanca vak'ası: Mm. Mannik dün iki saat devam eden bir ifade verdi". *İkdam*: 1-2.
- (1929.06.26.). "Keman muallimi ne diyor?: Ben bir 'Don Juan' gibi gösterildim, bundan çok müteessirim!". *Cumhuriyet*: 1-4.
- (1929.06.26). "Aliye Hm.: Dün Adliyeye hasta raporu gönderildi". *Milliyet*: 1.
- (1929.06.26). "Dün M. Berger dinlenildi". *Vakit*: 1-3.

- (1929.06.26). "Kemanî Berger sırroldu!: Kendisi ve tabancalı Aliye H. polisle celbediliyor". *Son Saat*: 2.
- (1929.06.27). "Aliye Hanım brovningini katil kastile mi boşalttı?". *Cumhuriyet*: 1-2.
- (1929.06.27). "Tahkikat: Aliye H. "Ben temaruz etmedim" diyor". *İkdam*: 1.
- (1929.06.28). "Aliye H.: Müstantikliğe geldi ifade verdi". *Vakit*: 1.
- (1929.06.28). "Aliye Hanım nihayet müstantikliğe gitti ve hadiseye dair ifadesini verdi". *Cumhuriyet*: 1-2.
- (1929.06.28). "Hâlâ o esrar!: Aliye Hanım hiçbir şey söylemiyor". *İkdam*: 1-3.
- (1929.06.28). "Tabancalı kadın! Aliye Hm. dün dinlendi". *Milliyet*: 1-5.
- (1929.06.30). "Aliye H. ın katil kastiyle silâh attığı tesbit ediliyor!". *Cumhuriyet*: 1.
- (1929.06.30). "Aliye H.: Madam Manniğe tehdit mektubu mu gelmiş?". *İkdam*: 1.
- (1929.06.30). "Tehdit mi?: Madam Mannik bir tehdit mektubu aldı!". *Milliyet*: 1.
- (1929.07.01). "Aliye H. mes'elesi: Tahkikat son safhaya girdi". *Cumhuriyet*: 1.
- (1929.07.01). "Aliye Hanım: Dün de şahitler dinlendi, ifadeler alındı". *Milliyet*: 1.
- (1929.07.01). "Aslı yok!: Mm. Manniğe tehdit mektubu gönderildiği tahakkuk etmiyor". *Vakit*: 4.
- (1929.07.01). "Şahitler dinleniyor kararname gelecek hafta". *İkdam*: 2.
- (1929.07.02). "Aliye H. mes'elesi: Şişlili şahitler ihzaren getirilecek!". *Cumhuriyet*: 1.
- (1929.07.02). "Aliye Hanım: Şahitler bugün dinlenirse kararname de yazılacak". *İkdam*: 1-3.
- (1929.07.02). "Üsküdar hadisesi". *Akşam*: 4.
- (1929.07.03). "Aliye H. tahkikatı dün ikmal edildi". *Cumhuriyet*: 1-2.
- (1929.07.04). "Aliye H. mes'elesi". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.07.04). "Aliye Hanım: Ağır cezaya sevki muhtemel görülüyor". *Milliyet*: 2.
- (1929.07.07). "Tahkikat bitti: Aliye H. Kasten adam öldürmiye teşebbüs etmiştir". *Vakit*: 1-2.
- (1929.07.08). "Aliye H. ağır cezaya verilecek". *Akşam*: 1
- (1929.07.08). "Aliye H. kasten adam öldürmeğe teşebbüsle müttehem". *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*: 3.
- (1929.07.08). "Aliye Hanım: Evrak hazırlandı, kendisi Ağır cezaya verilecek". *Milliyet*: 3.
- (1929.07.08). "Aliye Hanımın muhakemesine yakında Ağırcezada başlanıyor". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.07.11). "Aliye H. ın muhakemesine 15 güne kadar başlanıyor". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.07.11). "Aliye Hanım". *İkdam*: 2.
- (1929.07.17). "Aliye H.: 24 Ağustos'ta muhakeme". *İkdam*: 6.
- (1929.07.18). "Aliye H. ın muhakeme günü". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.

- (1929.07.18). "Aliye H.: 24 Ağustos sabahı muhakeme edilecek". *Vakit*: 1.
- (1929.08.05). "Aliye Hanımın muhakemesi". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.08.13). "Aliye H. hadisesi: Alâkadarlarla, bu arada M. Bergere de tebligat yapıldı. Aliye H. vekil tuttu". *Vakit*: 2.
- (1929.08.23). "Aliye H. davasına yarın başlanıyor". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.08.23). "Aliye Hanımın cumartesi günü muhakemesi var!". *İkdam*: 4.
- (1929.08.23). "Tabanca kadın! Aliye Hanımın muhakemesine yarın başlanıyor". *Milliyet*: 1.
- (1929.08.25). "Aliye H. davası: Mes'ele müstacel mevattan olmadığından dava talik edildi". *Cumhuriyet*: 1.
- (1929.08.25). "Aliye Hanım davası: Dün rüyetine başlandı, fakat müstacel davalardan olmadığından 21 Eylül'e tehir edildi". *Milliyet*: 1.
- (1929.08.25). "Aliye hanımın muhakemesi". *Son Saat*: 2.
- (1929.08.25). "Tabanca ile ateş hadisesi: Müstacel görülmedi". *Vakit*: 2.
- (1929.09.01). "Aliye Hanım hikâyesi: Dünkü muhakemenin koridorlardaki intibası!". *İkdam*: 1.
- (1929.09.03). "Prenses Şivekâr H. 10 lira nakdî cezaya mahkûm oldu". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.09.03). "Prenses Şivekâr H. MM. Sayda için '10' lira ceza verecek". *Son Saat*: 1.
- (1929.09.03). "Prenses Şivekâr H. On Liraya Mahkûm Oldu". *Milliyet*: 3.
- (1929.09.03). "Prs. Şivekâr". *Vakit*: 1.
- (1929.09.07). "Bu da kim?: Sözde prens imiş!". *Milliyet*: 1.
- (1929.09.11). "Amerikada kendisini Türk prens diye tanıtan Suat B. kim". *Cumhuriyet*: 1.
- (1929.09.11). "Türkiye prensi". *Cumhuriyet*: 3.
- (1929.09.12). "Sahte prens..". *Akşam*: 2.
- (1929.09.16). "Aliye H.: Muhakeme gününü soran sorana". *Son Saat*: 1.
- (1929.09.22). "Aliye H.ın muhakemesine başlandı". *Akşam*: 2.
- (1929.09.22). "Aliye hanımın davası gazetelere geçmeyecek mi?". *Milliyet*: 2.
- (1929.09.22). "Muhakeme tafsilatı: Muhakeme 30 eylûle kaldı". *Cumhuriyet*: 1, 4.
- (1929.09.22). "Üsküdar'daki silâh vak'ası: Aliye Hanım davasının safahatı neşredilmeyecek". *İkdam*: 1.
- (1929.10.01). "Adliye H. dün de ağırcezaya geldi...: Fakat kemancı Berger gelmedi; ihzaren getirilecektir". *Milliyet*: 3.
- (1929.10.01). "Aliye H. davası". *Vakit*: 2.
- (1929.10.01). "Aliye Hanımın muhakemesi: Dünkü celsede bazı şahitler dinlenmiştir". *Cumhuriyet*: 1, 4.

- (1929.10.06) "Keman hocası M. Berger mahkemeye geldi: Aliye H. meselesinin gelecek celsede intac edilmesi muhtemeldir". *Milliyet*: 3.
- (1929.10.06). "Ağırcezada hararetli bir celse: Aliye Hanımla Mösyö Berger mahkemede karşı karşıya!". *Cumhuriyet*: 1, 4.
- (1929.10.06). "Bugün keman muallimi dinleniyor". *Akşam*: 2.
- (1929.10.06). "M. Berger: Aliye H. hadisesine ismi karışan musiki muallimi dün mahkemeye geldi". *Vakit*: 1-2.
- (1929.10.06). "Üsküdar'daki silâh davası: Piyano muallimi M. Berger ifadesini verdi". *İkdam*: 1.
- (1929.10.13.). "Aliye H. cezadan kurtuldu". *Vakit*: 1-2.
- (1929.10.13.). "Aliye H. davası bitti: Mahkeme bu davanın sukutuna karar verdi". *Cumhuriyet*: 2.
- (1929.10.13). "Aliye H. davası dün bitti: Hukuku umumiye davası ortadan kalktı ve dava sukut etti". *Milliyet*: 3.
- (1929.10.13). "Aliye H. hakkında karar: Dava sukut etti. Tabancası alınacak". *İkdam*: 1.
- (1929.10.14). "Musip bir karar!". *Cumhuriyet*: 3.
- (1929.10.20). "Aliye Hanımın muhakemesi". *Milliyet*: 3.
- (1929.10.21). "Aliye H. davası gene tazeleniyor". *Milliyet*: 3.
- (1929.09.22). "Aliye H.: Tabanca ile ateş davasına dün başlandı". *Vakit*: 1-2.
- (1930.01.02). "Aliye H. ın tabancası çalınmamıştır". *Vakit*: 5.
- (1930.01.15). "Korkunç bir muamma". *Vakit*: 4.
- (1930.02.10). "Aliye H.". *Milliyet*: 1.
- (1930.02.10). "Şakir Pş.zade Aliye H. tekrar muhakeme edilecek". *Vakit*: 3.
- (1930.02.19). "Aliye H. davası". *Yarın*: 3.
- (1930.02.19). "Aliye H.ın muhakemesi başlıyor". *Vakit*: 4.
- (1930.03.14). "Aliye H.". *Milliyet*: 3.
- (1930.03.16). "Aliye H. tecziye, ceza tecil edildi". *Yarın*: 4.
- (1930.03.16). "Muhakeme nasıl oldu?". *Milliyet*: 5.
- (1930.03.18). "Efendim?". *Vakit*: 4.
- (1939.03.16). "Şakir Pş.zade Aliye H. cezadan kurtulamadı!". *Vakit*: 1-2.
- (1947.10.27). "Sanatkâr Ömer Berker vefat etti". *Cumhuriyet*: 3.
- HAŞİM, A. (1929.06.26). "Bir aşk faciası". *İkdam*: 1.
- KÖSEMİHAL, N. Ş. (1947.10.04). "Karl Berger'in Ölümü". *Cumhuriyet*: 4.

3. Research Works:

- (1980). *Aliye Berger (Yaşamı/Sanatı/Yapıtları)*. İstanbul: Ada Publications.
- (1995). "Bir Belge: Halikarnas Balıkcısı'nın Mahkûmiyeti". *Tarih ve Toplum*. 143: 46/322-47/323.
- (2001). *Son Bin Fen: Halikarnas Balıkcısının Sarmal Yaşamı*. (ed. Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu). İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Publications.
- (2011). *Haremden Sürgüne Bir Osmanlı Prensesi*. (ed. Nemika Deryal Marşanoğlu). İstanbul: İnkılap Publishing House.
- AKPINAR, S. (2014). *Büyükada, Bir Ada Hikayesi*. İstanbul: Adalı Publications.
- BORAK, S. (2002). *Halikarnas Balıkcısı ve Bir Duruşmanın Öyküsü*. Ankara: Bilgi Publishing House.
- BORDO, S. (2003). *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture and the Body*. 10th Anniversary Edition. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- CHATTERJEE, P. (2013). "Kadın Sorununa Milliyetçi Çözüm". *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*. (ed. Ayşe Gül Altınay) İstanbul: İletişim Publications: 103-127.
- DEVİRİM, Ş. (1996). *Şakir Paşa Ailesi "Harika Çılgınlar"*. (trans. Semra Karamürsel). İstanbul: Milliyet Publications.
- DEVİRİM, Ş. (2003). *Şirin*. Second Edition. İstanbul: Doğan Books.
- DURAKBAŞA, A. (2007). *Halide Edip: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*. İstanbul: İletişim Publications.
- ERHAT, A. (1979). *Mektuplarıyla Halikarnas Balıkcısı*. 2nd Edition. İstanbul: Çağdaş Publications.
- ERNER BİNARK, N. (2000). *Şakir Paşa Köşkü (Ahmet Bey ve Şakirler)*. 5th Edition. İstanbul: Remzi Bookstore.
- FOUCAULT, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. 2nd Vintage Books Edition. (trans. Alan Sheridan). New York: Vintage Books.
- GÖKOVALI, Ş. (2014). *Ben Halikarnas Balıkcısı: Doğdum Sevdim Öldüm*. Ankara: TURAB Publications.
- İLKARACAN, P. (2003). "Müslüman Toplumlarında Kadın ve Cinsellik". *Müslüman Toplumlarında Kadın ve Cinsellik*. (ed. Pınar İlkaracan). İstanbul: İletişim Publications.
- KABAAĞAÇLI NOYAN, İsmet. (2010). *Halikarnas Balıkcısı'nın Kızından Anılar Akın Akın*. 3th Edition. Ankara: Bilgi Publishing House.
- KADIOĞLU, A. (1998). "Cinselliğin İnkârı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadınları". *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Publications.
- KAHRAMAN, S. (2018). *Ben Cevat Şakir: Mavi Yolculukların Halikarnas Balıkcısı*. İstanbul: Genç Destek Publications.

- KILIÇ, R. (2018). *İntiharın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kitap Publishing House.
- KOÇ, E. (2004). *Alyoşa*, İstanbul: Can Publications.
- KULİN, A. (2023). *Füreyâ*, İstanbul: Everest Publications.
- KUTLAY, Evren-Gabor FODOR. (2023). *Osmanlı Sarayı'nda Bir Macar Piyanist: Geza Hegyei*. Bonn: Max Weber Foundation – German Institutes of Humanities Abroad.
- OKAY, C. (2001). *Mavi Sürgün'e Doğru*. Ankara: Turkish Ministry of Culture Publications.
- ÖZTAMUR, P. (2002). "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Güzellik Yarışmaları ve Feminen Kadın Kimliğinin Kuruluşu". *Toplumsal Tarih*. 99: 46-53.
- SCOTT, J.W. (1986). "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis". *The American Historical Review*. XCI/5: 1053-1075.
- SÖNMEZ, N. (2020). *Fahrelnissa Zeid Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Doğan Books.
- ŞAHİN, C. (2022). *Cevat Şakir (Halikarnas Balıkcısı)*. İstanbul: Sosyal Publications.
- TANER, S.-Rüşü TEZCAN. (2020). *Halikarnas Balıkcısı'nın Mirası*. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Publications.
- ULU, M. (2020). *Halikarnas Balıkcısı'nın Yolculuğu*. İstanbul: Bağlam Publications.
- ÜSTÜN, E. B. (2020). *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın Cinayetlerinin İstanbul Gazetelerine Yansımaları (1923-1945)*. İstanbul: Yıldız Technical University Institute of Social Sciences (Unpublished Master's Thesis).
- YILDIZ, F. (2019). "Türkiye'de İlk Güzellik Yarışmaları ve Basının Öncü Rolü: Genç Cumhuriyet'in Asri Güzelleri". *Etkileşim*. 4: 66-87.

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This study undertakes a critical examination of gendered representations of women in the early Republican Turkish press, foregrounding judicial cases as a revealing site for the articulation, reproduction, and contestation of normative femininity. At the core of this inquiry lies the 1929 assault case involving Aliye Berger, aged twenty-six at the time, whose media portrayal illuminates the intersections of gender, class, and morality in the formative years of the Republic. Far from being treated as an isolated legal matter, her case was mobilized by the press as a discursive instrument to delineate the boundaries of acceptable female behavior. Her actions were framed not merely as individual transgressions but as symptomatic of a broader moral deviation attributed to her gender, thereby transforming her body and comportment into loci of public surveillance and ideological regulation. This process reflects the early Republican press's function as a moralizing apparatus.

The article situates Aliye Berger case within a wider context of press practices that, during the early Republican era, consistently filtered women's legal entanglements through a gendered moral perspective. Whether perpetrator or victim, women's bodies and behaviors became privileged sites of disciplinary scrutiny and visual consumption. Contemporaneous phenomena, such as beauty contests framed as emblems of modernity, similarly reinforced restrictive aesthetic and behavioral norms by reducing women's social presence to measurable cor-

poreal attributes while marginalizing intellectual and professional contributions. The press depicted the young woman as emotionally volatile and excessively influenced by literary currents, framing her mindset and behavior stemming from her upbringing as social infractions. In doing so, reportage extended culpability beyond Aliye Berger herself, implicating her family and transforming the household into a symbol of moral decay and class-based degeneration.

Biographically, Aliye Berger emerged from the Ottoman elite Şakir Pasha Family, having received a French education and nurtured early artistic ambitions—attributes that endowed her with considerable cultural capital. Yet, her nonconformity and cosmopolitan persona rendered her particularly susceptible to sensationalist framing, wherein she was constructed as the archetypal “spoiled daughter of the pasha.” The juxtaposition of her personal conduct with her family’s status, generated a narrative at once sensationalist and moralizing, effectively transforming her into a cautionary spectacle. Through such discursive mechanisms, women’s deviation from prescribed social and gendered roles was not only penalized legally but also publicly shamed, consolidating patriarchal codes and delineating the permissible contours of female agency in both private and public spheres.

The study also underscores the historical continuity of patriarchal regimes of representation. The mechanisms observed in the Aliye Berger assault case resonate strikingly with contemporary digital media practices, wherein women continue to be appraised primarily through appearance, attire, sexual history, and compliance with dominant ideals, often regardless of their intellectual or professional achievements. The case thus provides a critical genealogy of how gendered moral regulation operates across temporal registers, revealing that the press has historically functioned not as a neutral chronicler of events, but as an active participant in the production and reproduction of gendered ideological formations.

By foregrounding this case, this article contributes to ongoing scholarly debates on the entanglement of law, media, and gender in early 20th century Türkiye and beyond. It reveals how the early Republican press subordinated women’s individual subjectivities to collective moral and ideological imperatives and demonstrates how such historical practices have left durable imprints on contemporary representational regimes. Ultimately, the analysis situates Aliye Berger within a complex network of intersecting discourses -gendered, classed, and moralizing- thus offering a critical vantage point for understanding the enduring negotiation between patriarchal constraints and female individuality in both historical and present-day contexts.