

reveals occurrences of unusual depictions of kissing couples engaged in sexual acts and the absence of otherwise common representations of dwarves in a range of coital positions. When compared and contrasted to the material from other provincial sites, this suggests that the production and consumption of certain sexual imagery is associated with specific provincial sites and that different provincial communities demonstrated distinct affinities towards certain types of sexual imagery.

In my study, I investigate continuity and change in the repertoire of sexual iconography over a period of five hundred years and also investigate patterns of consumption and the deposition of the cultural objects upon which such imagery occurs. In approaching sexuality as a lived experience informed by bodily representations and practices, I elucidate the social function and symbolic meaning of sexual imagery and associated material culture, and assert that they were used as a mechanism for producing, transforming and negotiating sexualities and gender hierarchies as provincial communities were integrated into the new and changing socio-political landscape of the Roman empire.

Generous support from the British Institute in Ankara, in the form of a 2015 Strategic Research Initiatives Study Grant, has allowed me to engage in three weeks of full-time research in Turkey, which has proved invaluable in achieving key research objectives for my dissertation. During my time in Turkey I was able to visit the archaeological museums and storerooms of Ephesus and Pergamon, study the material from the two sites and consult with archaeologists working on the material from the two excavations. The Austrian and German archaeological teams at Ephesus and Pergamon were extremely welcoming and keen to assist my specific interests and needs during my stay. This fieldwork trip has significantly enriched my PhD project and I am confident that I have broadened my approach to my research and have grown as an academic; this would not have been possible without the grant from the British Institute at Ankara. My time spent in Turkey was highly enjoyable and I am immensely grateful to the Institute for providing me with the opportunity to undertake such a successful research trip.

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Sun, sea and smack? Smugglers in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman Mediterranean

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When I began my fellowship at the Institute in September 2014, Ankara was something of a mystery to me – my work had always focused on Istanbul. From the perspective of the characters inhabiting my PhD thesis, which studies in detail the occupation of the Ottoman capital by Allied troops during the years 1918–1923, Ankara (or Angora) was a far-off centre of sedition, nationalist opposition and anti-imperialist conspiracy. Indeed, my thesis to some extent can be read as an explanation of the shift of the capital to central Anatolia and out of a city seen by 1923 to be irredeemably tarnished by Ottoman decadence and European imperialism.

While my heart and my head are still buried in Istanbul, I've come to darkly appreciate this city, looking as it does like a ready-made film-set for a state capital in an imaginary totalitarian future – *Bladerunner* (Kızılay's crowds), *1984* (the big-brother eyes staring at you at the city's metro stations) and *Alphaville* (the bakanlık buildings with innumerable tiny windows) rolled into one. As autumn now turns to winter, the city is as grey as ever, a contrasting backdrop to my current research on the very colourful history of smuggling in the eastern Mediterranean.

After finishing my PhD at Cambridge (a city that is perhaps the absolute opposite of Ankara in appearance and atmosphere) in May 2014, I finally had the time to begin pursuing what had been a side-interest in maritime smuggling. I had spent four years working on the meticulously planned (if not executed) military logistics that spread across the eastern Mediterranean during the First World War and its aftermath. Uncovering the secretive and dispersed smuggling networks that overlay, criss-crossed and succeeded them required a different archival approach.

To piece together these secretive transnational connections I have had to draw on multiple sources. My first leads were the documents written by British and French military authorities during the occupation of Istanbul, detailing the arrest of mostly Russian cocaine traffickers who made the most of the opportunities provided by a city in crisis. As Allied soldiers were consuming and at times aiding in the traffic of these drugs, military authorities in the city became acutely concerned. Nightclubs, like *La rose noire*, *Le Parisiana* and *L'oiseau bleu*, where cocaine was traded were put under surveillance and the Allies effected a number of arrests under martial law, targeting employees working in the city's recrudescing hospitality and entertainment sectors.

The occupied city's peculiar nightlife, booming from the demand of soldiers' wages but more tightly regulated than ever under the powers of martial law, was one of the major topics of my PhD thesis. Thanks to the support of the British Institute at Ankara, I was able to organise a day-long

workshop drawing together scholars working on aspects of nightlife in the eastern Mediterranean in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman eras. The presentations demonstrated the many uses and meanings of nightlife in religious festivals, prostitution, spectacles, cinema and the consumption of alcohol and other narcotics.

What made trafficking so threatening was not only that it transgressed morals and laws but that it traversed boundaries. In an age when the speed of travel was dramatically increasing with the rise of steam shipping and rail, motor and air travel, a fear took hold that the spread of narcotics, and with it moral and physical decline, would likewise accelerate. Smuggling by definition defies borders, in this instance borders which had proliferated with the dissolution of the Ottoman, Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires; it threatened the cohesion of the new national units on which it was hoped a broader regional order would be established.

For concerned statesmen and civil servants, it seemed the only means by which states could counter such a global phenomenon was through international cooperation, faith in which had grown exponentially since the First World War. The comparably timid pre-War 1912 convention governing the opium trade was enforced on Turkey as part of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, but by that time was considered well out of date. A year later Mehmed Sureya was in Geneva representing Turkey in the negotiations that led up to the 1925 opium convention, which demanded limitations on opium production and export which the Turkish government rejected due to the potentially ‘disastrous results’ for the country’s opium economy. Most major League powers, however, signed the treaty, leaving Turkey, alongside Iran – another major opium producer – isolated and suspect in the eyes of prohibitionist campaigners.

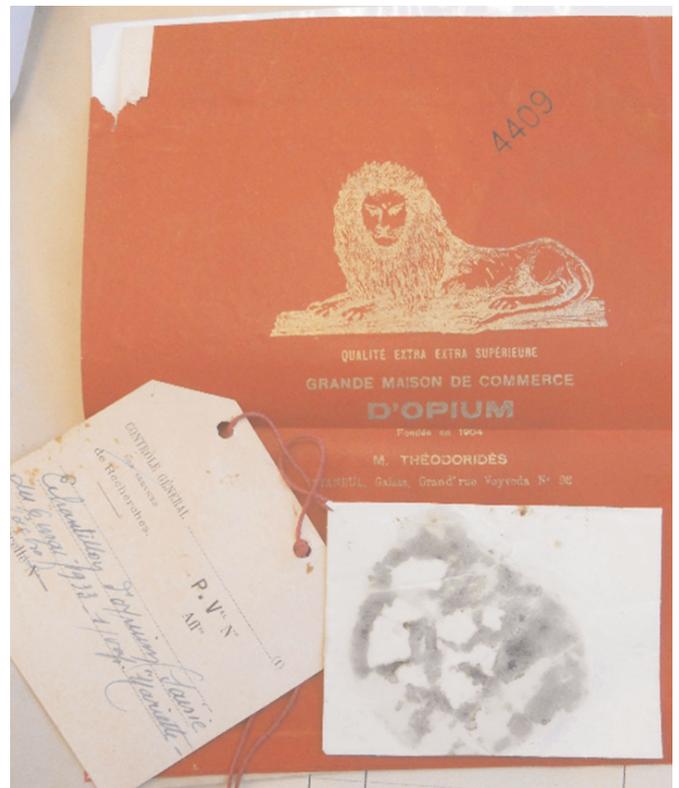
Legal codification was followed by the development of an international secretariat in Geneva, whose records form the second major basis of my research. Housed in the former League of Nations’ Palais des Nations in the UN compound in Geneva, where peacocks wander the grounds, it was a beautiful place to work, and contained some surprising documents on smuggling reported from across the region, not least one – pictured right – containing a sample of opium which would have a street value of some \$5,000 if it wasn’t 70 years past its use-by-date!

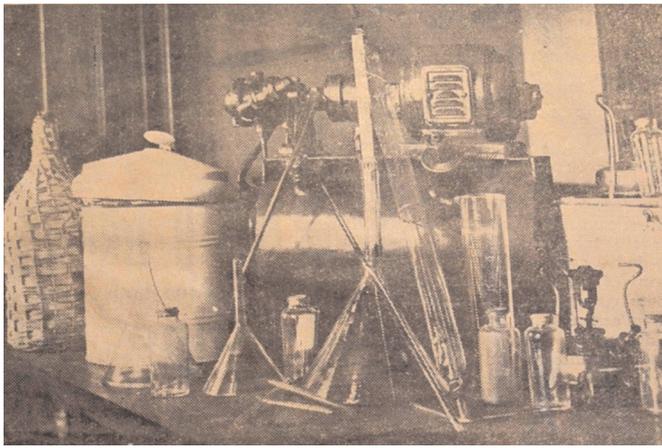
The 1925 treaty suppressed opium refinement in Europe, which, as a result, in part shifted to Istanbul, where three factories swiftly opened producing heroine and morphine. As Turkey remained outside the opium regime, such activities were closely monitored and contested, particularly by those countries which felt their citizens were suffering the ill effects of Turkish grown and manufactured drugs. Foremost among them was Egypt, which established its Central Narcotics Intelligence Bureau to fight trafficking in the country and beyond. Records from the bureau, including the

intelligence reports of agents it dispatched to Istanbul, are valuable in establishing the many connections between smugglers in Egypt and Turkey. Another major regional player was the French mandate government of Syria-Lebanon, a supplier of most of the region’s hashish, and the records of which I also consulted at the French archives diplomatiques in Nantes. As a result of the pressures of its Mediterranean neighbours and major powers, in particular the United States, Turkey eventually agreed to close its legal opium refinement factories and agreed to the successor narcotics limitation convention of 1931, while establishing a monopoly on the opium market for export purposes.

But since it was thereafter directly benefiting from opium sales, the Turkish state expanded efforts to market its products around the world, establishing an export company for the purpose. Sales to Asia, South America and Africa continued to generate concerns that Turkish opium once exported was being rerouted for recreational purposes. As major opium producers, such as India, curtailed exports under international pressure, Turkey found opportunities to replace its declining sales to Europe. The Turkish export monopoly’s negotiations with other parties and participation in trade fayres are the subject of contemporary newspaper reports and Turkish government documents available in the Başbakanlık Arşivleri, another major source for my research.

At the same time, however, the Turkish government faced the problem of the illegal refinement of narcotics. The suppression of open heroin factories in Istanbul led to the multiplication of illegal ones, and they were to be found in basements, attics and farm buildings across the city.





Tools used in the production of heroin found in an illegal factory in an Istanbul apartment

A succession of raids and arrests during the 1930s made for colourful newspaper headlines and stories. Research on Turkish newspapers from the period has been greatly eased by digitisation projects in recent years, making it possible to search the text of multiple newspapers across any given time period with relevant keywords. In combination with cross-referencing the dates of drug raids documented by the League of Nations, I have in this way discovered new details of cases and been able to assess the public reaction to them.

Indeed, investigating the public discourse on smuggling is as significant a part of my research as attempting to gauge the material networks that constituted it. For most of history, smuggling was simply a matter of avoiding taxes, but in the early 20th century prohibitionists claimed to have established a consensual medical and sociological basis for the outlawing of entire categories of goods. Alongside this global epistemological shift, Turkey's attempt to create a national economy, and indeed a homogenised nation, were the defining contexts to the smuggling debate. Newspaper editorials termed smuggling a threat to 'our state treasury, economic life, national wellbeing and morality', while smugglers themselves were categorised as anti-national and journalists emphasised their exoticness, foreignness and marginality. At the same time, the licensed export of opium was monopolised by the Turkish state, displacing foreign and Levantine merchants who had previously controlled the trade, in accordance with an intended shift in patterns of ownership and entrepreneurship across the economy.

The smugglers that succeeded these merchants (sometimes one and the same person) were drawn from a wide social, religious and ethnic spectrum that continued to characterise the major port cities of the eastern Mediterranean, despite a rising tide of nationalist critique and policies for ethnic homogenisation. They included all classes, from bank managers, to porters, to beauty queens, or at least runners-up (as in the case of Mademoiselle Araxie, whose Cihangir apartment was implicated in a major heroin

trafficking case in 1933), and opera singers, such as Mademoiselle Zozo Dalmas, pictured below. Through the study of such networks, my research challenges the class distortions of histories of the cosmopolitan Mediterranean which have typically focused on the mobile upper classes. Indeed, the diverse backgrounds of smugglers and their reliance on transborder kinship and migratory networks left minorities vulnerable to allegations that they were responsible for the spread of vices, a pernicious politics much evident in the contemporary world.

The politics of smuggling, forged during the rise of prohibitionism in the period I study, continues to shape views of the Mediterranean as a potential gateway by which unwanted products and people can reach Europe. Turkey's position as a transit point has long been entrenched in the minds of local politicians and weary international statesmen. Indeed the debate on smuggling in the region has been conducted in accordance with a long-held belief in a type of hyper connectivity, thought to have characterised the region from its ancient past to the present day. At the same time, each phase of mobility that captures public attention is thought to be multiple times greater than anything before it, the preceding years recast as a placid Mediterranean idyl. My research shows this to have been anything but the case, and provides background to and explanations for the debates raging around the trafficking of people and substances today.

