Minority Cuisines of İstanbul and Their Contribution to Formation of İstanbul Cuisine

Banu Özden

Independent Scholar

Abstract

Cuisine offers various lenses through which to analyse culture and how identities and experiences are shaped within and between communities that coexist in the same city. Istanbul is a unique city that has been home to countless cultures throughout history and served as the capital of three empires. This rich historical background has given rise to a cosmopolitan culinary culture. The Ottoman Empire played a significant role in shaping the local culinary culture, which was further enriched by the interaction and cultural exchange of the societies that lived together under its auspices. Alongside the food traditions of Muslim Ottomans, Istanbul's cuisine was also influenced by the contributions of minority groups such as the Istanbul Greeks (Rums), Istanbul Armenians, and Turkish Sephardics. This makes Istanbul's cuisine the only cuisine in the world with the most diverse, multi-ethnic, multireligious, and wealthiest structure. This paper delves into the culinary cultures of three specific non-Muslim minority groups, namely Rums, Istanbul Armenians, and Turkish Sephardics, and their influence on Istanbul's cuisine. These minority groups were selected for various reasons, including their historical background and socio-economic, cultural, and religious factors that impacted their contribution to Istanbul's cuisine. Furthermore, these groups were selected based on their different circumstances and how their paths intersected in Istanbul. Despite their unique backgrounds and ethnicities, these communities have lived together for centuries and shared a food culture shaped by available food sources. Therefore, Istanbul's cuisine is not just the cuisine of a city but a refined culinary culture created by the interaction of different communities over the centuries and the transfer of their food knowledge.

Keywords

İstanbul cuisine; ethnic cuisine; Rum; Armenian; Turkish Sephardics

Food and eating are both vital for the survival of all living creatures. However, for humans, there is also a social aspect of food that is critical when forming and expressing identities and connecting. In Istanbul, home to different empires, societies, and minority communities, for centuries, the social connection and interaction within and between different groups has continued throughout history

Contact Banu Özden - bozdenı@gmail.com

until today, enriching the culture. Cooking and eating provide various entry points into cultural analysis and how identities and experiences are reconstructed within and between communities. As this interaction continues, and different food cultures within İstanbul amalgamate, different minority groups maintain their culinary identities and pass on the knowledge to the next generations while making it a part of the more extensive İstanbul cuisine through different types of interactions such as social settings, published materials, academic and non-academic forums.

This paper focuses on the culinary cultures of three specific non-Muslim minority groups, Rums,[1] İstanbul Armenians,[2] and Turkish Sephardics, whose impact on İstanbul cuisine is undeniable. These minority groups were chosen for various reasons, based on their historical backgrounds and socioeconomic, cultural, and religious factors concerning their contribution to İstanbul cuisine. Moreover, one of the main reasons for this selection is based on the different circumstances of how their paths have intersected with İstanbul. Rums are the heirs of the Eastern Roman Empire[3], and their ancestors have lived in İstanbul since 395; therefore, İstanbul is their homeland and continued to be so even after the Ottoman conquest in 1453. Armenians were brought to İstanbul after 1453 by Sultan Mehmet, the Conqueror from different parts of Anatolia,[4] to increase the population of İstanbul and for their artistic skills to provide services such as architecture, silversmith, and tailoring to the Ottoman elites. Smaller Jewish communities lived in İstanbul under the rule of the Eastern Roman Empire; however, the majority of the Jews of İstanbul were the ones who were forcefully expelled from Spain and migrated to İstanbul starting in 1492 and became known as Turkish Sephardics (Özen 1993). Therefore, each of the minority groups ended up in İstanbul based on varied circumstances, but each contributed significantly to the social life and culinary culture of İstanbul over the years.

[1] Greeks who lived within the Eastern Roman Empire's borders and had Roman citizens' rights. In Muslim countries, people who spoke Latin until the 6th century and who spoke Greek after the 6th century, which formed the Eastern Roman Empire, are called Rums.

[2] İstanbul Armenians have come from different parts of the Ottoman Empire and settled in İstanbul. They have created a separate culinary culture that differs from other Armenians outside of İstanbul. Therefore, they are referred to as İstanbul Armenians.

[3] In this paper, the commonly known Byzantine Empire will be called the Eastern Roman Empire.

[4] Peninsula of Asia Minor or current day Türkiye's Asian side.

Defining İstanbul Cuisine

İstanbul is a unique city that has been the cradle of countless cultures throughout history and the capital of three empires. It is home to a cuisine with a unique blend of flavors filtered from the depths of history and passed down from generation to generation by the cultures, nations, and communities that have lived in it for centuries. This ever-evolving diverse cuisine is influenced by the city's history, geography, seasons, traditions, and strong ties with the communities that have lived and continue to live there.

İstanbul, a prominent port city starting in the Eastern Roman and continuing into the Ottoman period, has consistently received the most valuable and high-quality products from different regions. Merchants transported these goods to ports of İstanbul, delivered the best to the palace kitchens, and sold the rest at the marketplaces. Creative dishes developed in the Ottoman Imperial kitchens were then reflected in the kitchens of mansions and houses, markets, restaurants, coffeehouses, and taverns, reaching every population segment.

The Ottoman Empire, which was dominant in forming Istanbul's culinary culture throughout its history, was further enriched due to the interaction, cultural exchange, and cosmopolitan structure of all the communities living together under its auspices. Up until the early Republic period (1923–1943), Muslim Ottomans, the Rums, İstanbul Armenians, Sephardic Jews, Assyrians, Levantines,[5] and the White Russians who fled the Bolshevik regime constitute what is known as the classical Istanbul cuisine. The impact of the first four is more significant than the rest. In the later years, the food culture brought by Turks who emigrated from Anatolia enhanced this cuisine further. Istanbul cuisine has come to the present day by continuously enriching due to cultural exchange and knowledge transfer between generations. These people from different communities and ethnic backgrounds have lived together and shared the food culture shaped around food sources available to them. In summary, Istanbul cuisine is the only cuisine in the world with the wealthiest, most diverse, multi-ethnic, and multireligious structure. Therefore, Istanbul's cuisine is not just the cuisine of a city; it is a refined culinary culture created by the interaction of different communities over centuries and the transference of their food knowledge.

The transfer of food knowledge from one generation to another within the family is part of an informal education (Sharif et al. 2013). The essential ingredient in keeping a culture alive for a long time relies on transferring cognitive and social

[5] The word Levantine is derived from the French word "Lever." The word, which means East or to be born, is used to describe the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean region. Generally, a Levantine refers to those who came from European families and settled in the port cities of Izmir and Istanbul in the Eastern Mediterranean country of Türkiye.

orientations and cultural knowledge through generations. During festive occasions, the food becomes a focal point of the celebration and carries symbolic meanings, which increases its value. Therefore, it is one of the best techniques for transferring and gaining knowledge about food. This approach can be observed in communities of İstanbul. Festive occasions, primarily based on religious holidays, paired with religious dietary requirements, revolve around significant foods of specific holidays, thus making them memorable. However, since İstanbul's different communities have lived together for centuries, these significant holidays have always created an occasion for interacting and sharing their food.

Rums

Eastern Romans continued to live in İstanbul after the Ottoman conquest in 1453 and were referred to as Rums. The political events of the 1900s caused alterations that greatly affected the lives of Rum and Turkish communities living together in Istanbul for centuries. The forced population exchange in 1923, after the Lausanne Treaty was signed, caused approximately 1,200,000 Orthodox Rums to leave Türkiye. In return, 500,000 Muslim Turks migrated from Greece to Türkiye. The main criterion for this exchange was only based on religion. The cuisine of Istanbul, both its continuation of the Eastern Roman tradition and the Rum population that continued to live in the Ottoman lands after its conquest, helps in understanding that some dishes of Ottoman, Eastern Roman, and Rums were synthesized (Zafera 2019).

The most essential elements of Rum cuisine are vegetables and fish due to İstanbul's proximity to the sea. The abundance of such ingredients has developed and shaped Rum cuisine. Vegetable mezes and fish cooking techniques are among the most distinctive features of this cuisine (Zafera 2019). In general, eating and drinking are very dominant in the traditions of the Rums, and every celebration was an occasion to get together around a table and feast on the traditional dishes.

Until the 1960s, women's work in Rum communities was limited to professions such as teaching, tailoring, embroidery, cooking, nannying, and housekeeping. The only social option for women was to be a good mother and wife. Therefore, the kitchen became one of the most essential centers where women could use their creativity. The preparation of the daily meals in Rum households was a task that required knowledge, skill, and time. In the kitchens of the wealthy, meals were prepared by male or female cooks and their assistants. In crowded middle-class families, the young women of the house prepared the dinner under the supervision of the mother or mother-in-law. The low-income housewife prepared the dishes using traditional recipes that she learned from her mother and neighbors.

The meals in Rum homes were organized according to the Orthodox religious rules, fasting days, and holidays. Particular to Rums, name days are of great

importance. Every day of the year is dedicated to different saints, which calls for a celebration. However, the most significant celebrations and feasts were prepared for Christmas, Easter, and New Year's Eve (Bozis 2012, 20).

During the Lent period, meat products and, on some occasions, even fish were forbidden for the Rums. However, oysters and shrimp were allowed by bending the rules. Vegetables and legumes cooked in olive oil and non-dairy desserts were consumed during this period. This practice had a very significant impact on late Ottoman cuisine. In Ottoman Turkish cuisine, which preferred butter, clarified butter, and tallow fat to olive oil, the emergence of *zeytinyağlılar*, vegetables cooked with olive oil, as a distinct cooking technique, was the influence of the Rums (Samancı 2006, 22-23).

As for the legumes, a braising method called *pilaki* was used, and it became one of the highly regarded starters of Turkish cuisine. The dish takes its name from the Greek word *plakion*, a flat cooking vessel made of a fireproof stone. Although the main ingredients of *pilaki* dishes vary, their common feature is using very few ingredients and cooking over low heat to create an intense flavor. Although this method is commonly used for beans, fish is sometimes cooked similarly. Both of these Rum techniques have become significant types of dishes in İstanbul cuisine.

Easter is celebrated on the days that mark the transition from winter to spring after a forty-day Lent period, and it is celebrated with a light meal of roasted lamb and potatoes. One of the most remarkable contributions of the Rums to Istanbul cuisine is undoubtedly the *paskalya çörek*. In the older days, one of the most exciting occasions in Rum households was the preparation of the *paskalya çörek*. A yeasted dough flavored with mahlab and mastic made from 5-10 kg of flour was kneaded and left to rise over several hours. A big bun was made for the household with a red-dyed egg baked on it, and customarily, several smaller ones were distributed to the neighbors regardless of their religion. Since the purpose of Easter is to celebrate the resurrection of Jesus Christ after his crucifixion, everyone gives each other colorful eggs representing rebirth and resurrection (Bozis 2012, 24-25). Nowadays, *paskalya çörek* can be found in many bakeries around İstanbul, and it has become a common practice for all İstanbulites to buy freshly baked buns during the Easter period.

New Year's Eve, which is not considered as sacred as the birth of Jesus Christ, is still celebrated in a semi-religious way by the Rums around a rich table. The New Year's table *To trapezi tis kalis vradis* (A good night's feasting table) was the most spectacular table of the whole year (Bozis 2000, 32). More than forty types of cold and hot appetizers, typical of the rich Istanbul cuisine, are served. Some appetizers, such as a variety of salt-cured fish, salted sardines, anchovies, caviar, deli meats, cheeses, and pickles, were bought from delicatessens around İstanbul. The rest of the appetizers, stuffed vegetables (dolmas), stuffed mackerel, and mussels, were prepared at home. Stuffed turkey was often the main course, and the dinner concluded after midnight with the head of the household slicing and distributing

the round New Year's bun called vasilopita (Eksen 2008, 64). These New Year's Eve tables are some of the most festive feasts replicated in the homes of Muslim Turks of İstanbul, celebrating the arrival of the new year.

İstanbul Armenians

There is limited information regarding Armenian existence in Constantinople, which was considered an important center and the birthplace of the Armenian alphabet before the conquest (Grousset 2005, 166-69). During the reign of Sultan Mehmet, the Conqueror's objective was to reconstruct the city and increase its population; therefore, Armenian families, especially those selected from unique professions and skills, were brought from Anatolia. While artisans and merchants settled in the town center, others settled in the city villages. Artisans, carpenters, sailors, architects, and contractors were placed directly under the sultan's command (İnalcık 2000, 54; Karaca 2008, 28).

Sultan Mehmet, the Conqueror, granted permission to establish Istanbul's Armenian Patriarchate, which carried out the religious duties and regulated the social lives of İstanbul Armenians until the Tanzimat and Islahat Edicts.[6] İstanbul Armenians had a positive image in the eyes of the Ottoman administration and society. In the later years, İstanbul Armenians' dexterity and hard work made them the preferred people in the state bureaucracy (Külekçi 2019).

Since tradition cannot be isolated from cultural existence, and food and eating rituals cannot be isolated from festivals and special occasions, religion's contribution to society brought the culinary culture of the İstanbul Armenians. Armenians and Muslims lived in neighborhoods of İstanbul. They respected and interacted with each other during their special festivities, where unique offerings given by Armenians to Muslims were a common sight (Külekçi 2019).

As İstanbul Armenian families are generally large, they live in big houses with spacious reception rooms where all the family members sit and dine together. Great importance is placed on particular days of the year when the whole family comes together to celebrate with the appropriate food. This allows İstanbul Armenian families to maintain their community identity over the centuries (Külekçi 2019). Although most of the special days were religious and commemorated Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, there were also special days to celebrate significant people in Armenian history. Feasts were held to celebrate these special occasions. The most significant practice is the lent periods, which take place almost half the

[6] The Tanzimât Edict was the Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid I's proclamation in 1839 that launched the Tanzimât period (1839-1876) of reforms, reorganization, and westernization movements in the Ottoman Empire. Islahat Edict dated February 18, 1856, granted new rights to non-Muslims.

year and are spent abstaining from meat and dairy products. This practice led to the formation of a culinary culture that features fish, seafood, and vegetables, which is quite different from other Armenians worldwide. Olive oil was used dominantly in cooking. Stuffed grape and cabbage leaves, a variety of mussel dishes, and a special dish called *topik*[7] were some of the lent dishes that were originated by the Armenians in and around İstanbul (Seyfeli 2019).

A typical lent dish of İstanbul Armenians, *topik* was a challenge to prepare, and it was a prerequisite for mothers to teach their daughters how to make this dish before marriage. Numerous small square pieces of cheesecloth were always placed in the dowry chest of marriage-age girls. These cloths were essential when making *topik*, where the chickpea dumplings were wrapped and boiled (Garo Halepliyan, face-to-face interview, October 16, 2015). Takuhi Tovmasyan (face-to-face interview, September 3, 2022) explains the history and the significance of *topik*:

> In Christendom, there are many days of fasting and abstinence. The most prominent fast is seven weeks before Easter. This fasting and abstinence period requires a diet completely devoid of meat and dairy. Topik is a special dish made for monks in monasteries that existed in Anatolia 100 years ago. It is very healthy and filling. Since topik is a laborious product, it is made in large quantities at a time. After preparation, it is boiled and first consumed hot. The leftovers are consumed as a cold appetizer the following days. When topik is boiled, the aroma of the olive oil, tahini, and spices seeps through the cheesecloth and passes into the water. Since the water is discarded after boiling, the flavor of the topik is slightly reduced. To prevent this, the boiling step was removed over time, and topik became a dish consumed cold. In later years, topik became modernized, found its way into taverns, and became an appetizer for rakı.[8] If you go to Armenia today, nobody knows about this dish. Topik is strictly an İstanbul dish and is unknown to all other Armenians worldwide.

The story of *midye dolma,*[9] which began after the conquest of Istanbul, is intertwined with the history of Istanbul. During this period, Armenians from Anatolia settled in the coastal parts of Istanbul. Accustomed to eating meat in almost all their meals, high meat prices in İstanbul prevented this. Having settled by the seashore, Armenians soon realized the abundance of delicious and cheap mussels from the sea to replace the meat. Since they were masters in using spices and dolma-making techniques, they created a new recipe called *midye dolma* (Levon Bağış, face-to-face

[7] A chickpea paste dumpling filled with caramelized onions, tahini, currants, and pine nuts, served with a drizzle of olive oil and a sprinkle of cinnamon.

[8] Rakı is anise-flavored alcoholic drink made of twice-distilled grapes. National drink of Türkiye.

[9] Rice cooked with onions, black pepper, salt, cinnamon, allspice, sugar, pine nuts, currants and olive oil. This mixture is stuffed inside mussel shells, and the mussels are steamed with rice mixture until cooked.

interview, September 3, 2022). During the reign of Sultan Mehmet, the Conqueror (1461), there were considerable changes in the palace cuisine, including seafood dishes. Sultan, a fan of stuffed mussels produced by İstanbul Armenians, had this dish prepared for special guests at the palace. Thus, the first Turkish acquaintance with stuffed mussels was through the palace kitchen (Çolakoğlu et al. 2022). This dish is yet again unknown to other Armenians outside of İstanbul. It is important to note that both *topik* and *midye dolma* are lent foods that abide by the dietary restrictions of Orthodox Armenians when they abstain from eating meat and dairy products. These dishes were popularized over time and made a prominent place for themselves in İstanbul cuisine.

Sephardic Jewish Community

The first contact between the Jews and Turks was made in 1326 when Orhan Gazi conquered the city of Bursa[10] and granted permission to the Bursa Jews to continue living there and practicing their religion. When Sultan Murad 1st conquered Edirne in 1361, many Balkan Jews immigrated to Edirne,[11] hoping for a better life under Ottoman rule. After the conquest of İstanbul in 1453, Jews residing under the Eastern Roman Empire's rule were promised a life where they could keep their language and traditions and practice their religion freely (Güleryüz and Fismann 2024).

The final wave of immigrants came in after 1492 when the rulers of Spain, Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, declared Spain entirely Catholic and asked all non-Catholics who refused to convert to leave. According to the edict, which was proclaimed by Ferdinand and Isabella on March 31, 1492, and put into effect in May, the Jews of Spain were to leave the country by August 2 of the same year. During this time, the Jews were given a deadline to dispose of all their property, both movable and immovable. They were allowed to take their possessions out of the country, except for gold, silver, and all kinds of cash, as well as prohibited goods, substances, and food. According to some historians, around 200,000 Spanish Jews left, and about 93,000 of them came to the Ottoman lands as it was declared as a haven. This forced migration continued until the sixteenth century (Şarhon 2015).

Although the Spanish Jewish migrants did not bring wealth to the Ottoman Empire, they did bring skills and knowledge. The overall climate of tolerance in the Ottoman Empire allowed the Spanish Jews to not dissociate themselves from the local societies or cultures. The Ottomans upheld the rights of their new migrant society and used their various skills by hiring many of them to work as ambassadors,

[10] Bursa is the first capital of the Ottoman Empire and is located in the southern part of the Marmara sea.

[11] Edirne is a city located in the Thrace region of Türkiye right by the border with Greece and Bulgaria.

physicians, and other professionals in their palaces (Özen 1993; Şarhon 2015). They started building a new life for themselves using those skills and knowledge.

The Spanish Jews called themselves Sephardim, meaning Spanish Jews, which is derived from the Hebrew word Sepharad for Spain. In Turkish, this society is called Sephardic Jews or Turkish Sephardic. They spoke a language called Judeo-Espanyol or Ladino (Özen 1993; Güleryüz and Fisman 2024). Complete with total autonomy allowed by the Ottoman rule, their close-knit connection to their communities and religion, and the ability to speak their mother tongue, Turkish Sephardics of İstanbul kept their culture alive for more than five hundred years. Kosher rules, eating in accordance with the Jewish religion, have helped to keep Jewish cuisine essentially closed and preserved, but there are still undeniable influences from other cuisines of İstanbul communities (Şarhon 2015; Tan 2012, 51).

Turkish Sephardics created a revised Sephardic cuisine with the foodstuff of their new homeland while adjusting to their new life in İstanbul and lack of monetary means. However, it is essential to note that there are many commonalities in the culinary cultures of Iberia and Ottoman since they share similar types of geography and influences from medieval Arab cuisine and the Mediterranean diet (Tan 2012, 49). Therefore, the Turkish Sephardics did not steer far away from their already existing culinary cultures. However, some adjustments were made based on the available food products.

In Turkish Sephardic cuisine, there are examples of dishes with sour elements. It was only natural that the expulsion from the land of Spain would leave a bitter-sour taste on the palates of the Jews. The sour taste had traveled with Sephardic Jews and found its place in another culture with the same taste. In both Ottoman and Turkish Jewish culinary traditions, sour elements were used in cooking every day. One of the most prominent examples of Turkish Sephardic cuisine in today's Türkiye is *gaya kon avramila*, a dish made with rockling fish and sour green plum sauce. The word *avramila* and its variants *agristada* or *ajada* always implied the presence of sour elements, seasonings, or vinegar-garlic sauces (Tan 2012, 51). This dish is unique to İstanbul because of rockling fish. It was one of the fish caught in the nets used to catch other fish. After being caught in the nets all week, the fishermen would sell all the rockling fish early Friday mornings. Turkish Sephardic ladies would buy these on Friday mornings, prepare for dinner, and finish preparations before sunsets and Shabbat starts. For this reason, it has become a tradition to serve rockling fish with sour plums or tomatoes, depending on the season, during the Shabbat dinners on Friday evenings (Alphan 2012, 88).

In Turkish Sephardic cuisine, vegetables are the main staple. Based on kosher rules, vegetable dishes can be eaten with meat or dairy. Therefore, vegetables are cooked on their own to accompany either one. Whether eaten cold or hot, vegetables are always served as a starter. Onion, garlic, and spices are rarely used; parsley is the only abundant herb, and dill is used sparingly. Slow cooking over low

heat was the only secret to creating delicious food in this simple cuisine. Although it is kosher, the rules are not as strict, sometimes allowing milk, meat, and eggs to be used in the same dishes (Alphan 2012, 22-23). *Zeytinyağlılar* is also common in Sephardic cuisine, which does not mix meat and dairy. In the late nineteenth century, olive oil dishes became widespread in Istanbul cuisine and consumed by all communities. Slowly cooking vegetables in extra virgin olive oil until they have absorbed their juices has emerged as a technique unique to Turkish cuisine. This method allows the vegetables to develop their flavor and their nutrients to remain in the dish (Samancı 2006, 23).

In Turkish Sephardic cuisine, using the Ladino names of the dishes helped preserve the food culture; however, over time, the name of the dishes became a mixture of Ladino and Turkish. For example, *börek* is a Turkish word, and it is used to describe a savory phyllo pie with a variety of fillings and shapes. In Turkish Sephardic cuisine, *börek* is transformed into small savory pastries, resembling the Spanish *empanadillas*[12] with eggplant or cheese filling and called *börekitas*, derived from the Turkish word with a Ladino suffix at the end to indicate its small size (Alphan 2012, 64). Another example is *köftes de pırasa*, an essential Rosh Hashanah dish. *Köfte* is a Turkish word used for all types of meat patties, *pırasa* is leeks, but the "de" in the middle is the Ladino word for "from," meaning "meatballs (made) from leeks." The final example is kaşkarikas, a dish made by cooking only the peels of green courgettes that are removed when cooking courgette dishes, preventing food waste (Alphan 2012, 57).

Turkish cuisine undoubtedly has had a significant influence on the food of Turkish Sephardics. This unique cuisine that has emerged in İstanbul has also contributed to İstanbul cuisine. Along with *börekitas, kaşkarikas*, *köftes de pırasa*, a variety of stuffed vegetables, there are others, such as *lakerda*[13] and *abudaraho,*[14] which are essential foods of typical İstanbul cuisine. Finally, the vast use of eggplants in Turkish Sephardic cuisine, similar to Ottoman cuisine, makes them a valuable ingredient of İstanbul cuisine.

Conclusion

Istanbul is a cosmopolitan city where Muslims, Rums, Armenians, Turkish Sephardics, and many other minority groups live and interact together. This has been the case since the time of the Eastern Roman Empire, and despite the decreasing population of some minorities, it continues to do so. Istanbul's multicultural, multiethnic, and multireligious cuisine was formed by transferring

[12] Baked beef turnovers.

[13] Salt-cured bonito fish.

[14] Salted and pressed grey mullet roe that is covered with hot wax for preservation.

food knowledge through generations and between communities, which has resulted in the unification of cultures and communities over time. As a result of this interaction, it can be said that İstanbul provides the ideal platform to unite all these cuisines under one roof and perhaps becomes the only example in the world where the name of a city defines the cuisine.

References

Alphan, Deniz. 2012. *Dina'nın Mutfağı.* İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık.

Bozis, Sula. 2000. *İstanbul Lezzeti.* İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Bozis, Sula. 2012. *İstanbul Rumlarından Yemek Tarifleri*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları

Çolakoğlu, Fatma, Ulaş YÜZGEÇ, and Serhat Çolakoğlu. 2022. "Türk Mutfak Kültüründe Midye Dolma: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu dönemi." *Ege Journal of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences* 39, no. 2: 170-73.

Eksen, İlhan. 2008. *İstanbul'un Tadı Tuzu, Saray Sofralarından Sokak Yemeklerine*. İstanbul: Everest Yayınları.

Grousset, Réne. 2005. *Başlangıçtan 1071'e Ermenilerin Tarihi*. Translated by Sosi Dolanoğlu. İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık.

Güleryüz, Naim Avigdor and Fisman, Louis. n.d. "Jewish Life in Istanbul from the Ottomans to Modern Life." Istanbul Jewish Heritage Tours (website). Accessed February 9, 2024. https://istanbuljewishheritagetours.com/jewish-life-in-istanbul-from-the-ottomans-to-modern-life/.

İnalcık, Halil. 2000. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi*. İstanbul: Eren Yayınları.

Karaca, Zafer. 2008. *İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi Rum Ortodoks Kiliseleri.* İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Külekçi, Cahit. 2019. "İstanbul Armenians: Church and Tradition." *History of İstanbul: From Antiquity to the 21st Century*, 5. https://istanbultarihi.ist/520-istanbul-armenians-church-and-tradition

Özen, Adem. 1993. "Cumhuriyetten Günümüze İstanbul Yahudileri". Master's thesis, Marmara University.

Samancı, Özge. 2006. *XIX.Yüzyıl İstanbul Mutfağı*. İstanbul: Medyatik Yayınları.

Şarhon, Karen Gerson. 2015. "Jewish Life in İstanbul From the Ottomans to Modern Times." Accessed February 1, 2024. https://istanbultarihi.ist/522-jewish-life-in-istanbul-from-the-ottomans-to-modern-times

Schönpflug, Ute, and Song Yan. 2013. "The role of parental and child motivation in the intergenerational transmission of values in East Germany and Shanghai/China." *Cross-Cultural Research* 47, no. 1: 68-85.

Seyfeli, Canan. 2019. "Armenians in İstanbul: Church and Tradition, 20th Century." *History of İstanbul: From Antiquity to the 21st Century*, 5. https://istanbultarihi.ist/521-armenians-in-istanbul-church-and-tradition-20th-century

Sharif, Mohd Shazali Md, Mohd Salehuddin Mohd Zahari, Norazmir Md Nor, and Rosmaliza Muhammad. 2013. "How could the transfer of food knowledge be passed down?" *Procedia -Social and Behavioral Sciences* 105: 429-437.

Tan, Aylin. 2012. “From The Journey of Sephardic Cuisine from İberia to Ottoman Land.” *1st Symposium on the Turkish (Ottoman) Culinary Culture,* edited by Özge Samancı & Arif Bilgin, 46–63. Bilecik: Bilecik Seyh Edebali Üniversitesi Yayinları.

Tovmasyan,Takuhi. 2004. *Sofranız Şen Olsun*. Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık.

Zafera Huriye. 2019. “Geçmişten Günümüze İstanbul Mutfağına Etki Eden Rum, Ermeni Mutfağı ve Diğer Etnik Kültürler.” Master’s thesis, Okan University.