

ENLIGHTENED FATHERS AND THEIR REFORMIST SIBLINGS

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ABSTRACT

ENLIGHTENED FATHERS AND THEIR REFORMIST SIBLINGS

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Continuity of applications is one of the most important features of a state, also a requirement for its credibility. This was valid for the Ottoman State which, in the 19th century, became dependent upon modernization for independent survival. It was therefore that the continuity of westernizing renovations performed with the anticipation of preserving state integrity gained outmost importance for the Ottoman ruling class. This study focuses on three nineteenth century enlightened fathers, one of them a non-Muslim, and their reformist siblings who have contributed to this cause as well as to Ottoman modernization. They are Kostaki and İstefanaki Musurus; İbrahim Edhem Paşa and Osman Hamdi Bey; and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and Fatma Aliye Hanım taken up as case studies and presented here mostly through first hand sources.

Each of the three selected prominent Ottomans who rendered different types of services to the Empire were not only enlightened men who, from different aspects

contributed to overall Ottoman modernization, but were praiseworthy for bringing up reformist youngs. The six mentioned people with their official careers, scholarly, literary and artistic works served the Empire during a most turbulent era when the state steadily declined, leaving their unforgettable marks on the Ottoman institutions, society and culture as they contributed to the continuity of reforms. The study also brings them forth as role models opening the way to profession legacies among some prominent Ottoman families who served to implant tradition for educational and cultural elevation of the society that can be claimed to have passed to republican Turkey.

Keywords: The Tanzimat Era, Ottoman Modernization, Fathers and Children

ÖZ

AYDIN BABALAR VE REFORMCU ÇOCUKLARI

Kurt, Eyüp Murat

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

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Modern çağda saygın devlet olmanın en önemli gereklerinden biri olan yaptırımlarda devamlılık ilkesi, Osmanlı Devleti için de geçerliydi. Bu nedendir ki devlet yöneticilerinin devletin varlığının bağımsız olarak sürebilmesi için modernleşmeye dönük yenilikler yapılması gerektiğini kavradığı 19. yüzyıla gelindiğinde uygulanan reformlarda devamlılık sağlamak da batılılaşma hareketlerini gerçekleştirmek kadar önem kazanmıştı.

Bu çalışma, Osmanlı Devletinin reformlar çağı diyebileceğimiz 19. yüzyıla birçok farklı alanda damga vuran biri gayrimüslim üç aydın babayı ve reformcu çocuklarını öne çıkararak onları Osmanlı batılılaşması/modernleşmesi bağlamında incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Vaka ya da durum çalışması olarak da nitelendirilebilecek olan çalışmada, Kostaki ve İstefanaki Musurus; İbrahim Edhem Paşa ve Osman Hamdi Bey; Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Fatma Aliye Hanım'ın mesleki entelektüel yönleri ve kendi isimleriyle hatırlanan katkıları, devletin devamlılık ilkesine örnek olmalarının da altı çizilerek incelemektedir.

Çalışmanın konusunu ve aynı zamanda sorunsalını oluşturan biri gayrimüslim baba ve çocukların seçiminde sadece Osmanlı batılılaşmasına ve devletteki devamlılık olgusuna katkıları değil, mesleki ve düşünsel yaşamlarında gösterdikleri devamlılık ve tutarlılık da belirleyici oldu. Başka bir deyişle, babalarının eğitimleri, buldukları üst düzey görevleri ve Osmanlı modernleşmesi ve devletin geleceği ilgili düşünceleri ve tutumlarının çocuklarının üzerinde bıraktığı önemli etkilerle birlikte ele alındı. Uzmanlık alanları gibi devleti kurtarmak için sundukları çözüm önerileri de farklı olan, ancak, devletin ömrünü uzatmak için yönetsel ve toplumsal yapının yenilenmesi gerektiğinde birleşen bu kimseler hem yaşadıkları zaman diliminde hem daha sonralarda da görülen, hatta Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sine intikal eden baba-evlat-meslek bağlantısının da başarılı örnekleri olduklarından çalışma haklarında yazılmış eserlerin yanı sıra birinci el kaynaklar da incelenerek hazırlandı.

Anahtar kelimeler: Tanzimat Dönemi, Osmanlı Modernleşmesi, Babalar ve Çocukları

To My Family and Yağmur Ar

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“Enlightened Fathers and Their Reformist Siblings” is a study which aims to provide different perspectives on Ottoman westernization and reformers by underlining the importance of continuity and exemplifying three fathers and children for evaluating the role of relationship and continuity in the process of modernization. The study is based on reformists who well understood this and moreso, three case studies of enlightened men who became role models by initiating the much sought continuity by transmitting reformist spirit from father to child. The fathers and children who are taken up as a case study here are Kostaki and İstefanaki Musurus; İbrahim Edhem Paşa and Osman Hamdi Bey; and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and Fatma Aliye Hanım. Each of the three selected duos was prominent Ottomans who rendered different types of services to the Empire.

Methodologically, this study aimed to present a comparative approach to the generalization of individualistic roles upon reforms through analysis of aforementioned figures. However, providing the reader with a dull chronological outline for each person’s career life was an inevitable but essential part of the study. Nevertheless, I tried to compensate this by enriching the content with first hand sources and some abstracts from the important works of the referred fathers and children.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Professor Seçil Karal Akgün for her encouragement, guidance and patience throughout my research. Her invaluable support and trust have made the completion of this work possible. Without her guidance, encouragement and contributions, I could not dare to begin this work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Ottoman State emerged as a Turkic principality at the end of the 13th century in Anatolia and became an imperial world power in the fifteenth century. Her absolute command lasted up to seventeenth century. Hereafter, Ottoman Empire entered the period of stagnation and regression when the State declined steadily in military and economic areas, while the advancing Western states underwent tremendous changes. The State started to lose military superiority over the West by the end of the 16th century, due to her adriftness from the Renaissance and Reformation innovations and technological progresses scientific and military revolutions equipped European states with. Infact, accelerating consolidation of technologic renovations and military power within the European states entailed two defeats to the Ottoman Empire concluding with the treaties of Karlofça (Carlowitz) in 1699 with Russia and Pasarofça (Passarowitz) with Austria in 1718. Yielding imperial lands with these treaties obliged the Ottomans to alter inferior perceptions they held for the West, moreover, take it as a model to fortify their own military and technology for the sake of preventing further territorial losses. On the other hand, conformity with changing dynamics in international scale and participation in Western diplomacy necessitated political and diplomatic alliances for the Ottoman state and dignitaries.¹

Until the “Tulip Era” (1718-1730), the Ottoman cultural interaction and diplomatic contact with Europe remained limited; whatever existed was generally initiated by European countries and often pursued unilaterally. The Ottoman administerers, obsessed with supremacy over West, regarded it unnecessary to mission permanent representatives to European capitals whereas most of the

¹ Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1987, p. 4.

European states did have permanent envoys in the Ottoman Empire. This was not looked upon as a serious defect by the rulers; nor was maintaining good relations with Europe and the rest of the world was problematic as long as the state preserved military and diplomatic superiority over the west. Historian Thomas Naff explains the Ottoman attitude towards European states and the conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy based on self-sufficiency and superiority with regard to Ottoman religious mentality and perceptions as follows:²

Ottoman thinking in diplomacy, as in all matters of government, derived from the Muslim concept of the state, which was rooted in the *Shari'a* (Holy Law); traditionally, the *Shari'a* provided for all the exigencies of life and government, thus making the Muslim state, in theory, self-sufficient. In this sense, the Ottoman Empire was pre-eminently a *Shari'a* state. The Ottomans clung stubbornly to the illusion of Islam's innate moral and cultural superiority over Christian Europe. They expressed this belief in their ideas of self-sufficiency and in their practice of non-reciprocal diplomacy. The Muslim prejudice that whatever was western was tainted prevented the Ottomans from wholly accepting or imitating western ways.³

The Ottoman Empire was brought into direct contact with Western innovations during the Tulip Era, extending from 1718 to 1730. It was during this period which is referred to as the Ottoman Renaissance by some historians that "Europe and the Ottoman Empire, thus far two belligerents, started to learn about each other."⁴ Serving this purpose was Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, the special envoy sent to Paris in 1720-1721 within the context of temporary ambassador and his accompanying son, Mehmed Said Efendi. Mehmed Efendi was appointed plenipotentiary to Paris⁵ "to visit fortresses and factories, and to make a thorough study of means of civilization and education, and report on those suitable for application in the Ottoman Empire."⁶ The embassy and travel account presented to the authorized administrators was the first document written by an Ottoman official

² Nuri Yurdusev, "Ottoman Attitude toward Diplomacy" in A. Nuri Yurdusev ed., *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or unconventional?*, Palgrave-Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2004, pp. 8-9.

³ Thomas Naff, 'Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789–1809', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. LXXXIII (1963), p. 296; Thomas Naff, "The Ottoman Empire and the European States System," in H. Bull and A. Watson eds., *The Expansion of International Society*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1984, p. 152.

⁴ Seçil Akgün, "The Emergence of the Tanzimat in the Ottoman Empire," *OTAM*, Vol. 2, Ankara, 1991, p. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶ Bernard Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, pp. 45-46.

within the scope of observing and understanding the West. Infact, it was the "first window opening to the West."⁷ In this respect, initial glimmers of westernization as well as a new life concept inspired by art and changes of mentality penetrated into in the Ottoman Empire during the Tulip Era. The new modes of life inviting changes in mentality as well were heralded by the father and son. Particularly Mehmed Said Efendi was the epitome of this period of cultural interactions with the West. Indeed, he was the first Ottoman statesmen known who learned a European language.⁸ Speaking good French, "Mehmed Said had oriented himself toward the West. Mehmed Said's particular reaction to this cultural encounter foreshadowed the development of a new kind of Ottoman personality oriented toward the West and Western culture. This personality was soon going to help steer the Ottoman Empire toward Western waters."⁹

The most important contribution of the father and son to Ottoman culture and people, particularly to Muslims, was the introduction of the printing press with the assistance of İbrahim Müteferrika, a Hungarian convert who translated numbers of eastern and western sources in the fields of history, geography, military and literature, grammar.¹⁰ The first publication of the press appeared in February 1729; however, the press was closed in 1742, after seventeen books were printed. Most of them were in Turkish, and dealt with history, geography, and linguistics. They included the instructions given to Mehmed Said Efendi for his secretarial mission by his father in France in 1721, a Turkish grammar book in French, and a short treatise by İbrahim Müteferrika on the science of techniques as practised by the European states.¹¹

The Tulip Era renovations were initiated by Sultan Ahmet III and his chief vizier, Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Paşa and few enlightened figures like the mentioned father and son who left lasting marks upon the history of the Empire by

⁷ Enver Ziya Karal, *Tanzimattan Evvel Garphlaşma Hareketleri (1718-1839)*, Tanzimat I, 100. Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle, Maarif Matbaası, İstanbul, 1940, pp. 17-19.

⁸ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, McGill University Press, Montreal, 1964, pp. 35-36.

⁹ Göçek, p. 71.

¹⁰ Göçek, p. 8; Lewis, p. 51.

¹¹ Lewis, p. 51.

carrying the printing press into Ottoman society and culture. It can easily be observed that the Ottoman eighteenth century reforms and westernization process depended on individualistic initiatives and perseverance. Accordingly, the abovementioned father and son not only became influential figures in Ottoman cultural and intellectual world of the eighteenth century but they also paved way to the subsequent enlightening developments in the 19th century westernization process. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed and his son Said, with their outstanding individualistic performances can also be marked as the first pair initiating reformative legacy from father to his young, for Ottoman history henceforth registered several other prominent “enlightened” fathers who brought up their siblings as reformist contributors to the state. They became a role model and source of inspiration for many renovative Ottoman families in which enlightened fathers were pioneering reformists in different aspects of Ottoman westernization as the youngsters they brought up with care and instructive attention followed their footsteps in serving the development of Ottoman thought and mentality and contributing to modernization of bureaucracy, diplomacy, education, literature, arts and science.

This study aims to examine Ottoman westernization through analysing three important representatives of Ottoman westernization, pertaining to different stances and perspectives on the Western civilization and westernization, choosing pioneering enlightened figures. A brief glance to the development of westernization in the Ottoman Empire will serve to better explain individualistic roles in the renovations through the accomplishments of the selected figures within the framework of the objective of the study. However it should first be underlined that from the end of the Tulip Era to the reign of Selim III, (1789-1807) Ottoman Empire’s westernization attempts remained as individualistic efforts of the sultans whereas in the following years enlightened men were added to the administrators and reforms were made state policy.

Ottoman State for the first time resorted to serious and systematic measures to parry domestic and foreign threats during Selim III era. The Sultan tried to rescue the state from these threats by expeditiously overarching the feeble reform attempts of the previous Sultans with a systemized movement called Nizam-ı Cedid (New Order). However Selim III, noting the failure of his predecessors in assuring the continuation of the reforms they performed, sought the views of prominent statesmen

in order to liberate intended reforms from assuming individualistic character and sought to launch them with supporters behind. Inspired by the Cahiers of the French Revolution, through a questionnaire called *Islahat Layihaları* meaning Reform Decrees he anticipated providing a well-rounded bureaucratic support from the highest ranking statesmen to functionalize renovations he planned.¹² The establishment of permanent diplomatic representation in foreign countries was part of Selim's reform program.¹³ Hence, legations were sent to, London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin and, St. Petersburg headed by ambassadors and including designated young officers expected to learn foreign languages and diplomacy to efficiently pursue foreign relations of the state.¹⁴ Although, Selim's Nizam-ı Cedid movement was short-lived, it did leave certain praiseworthy implications for the future of the Ottoman State.¹⁵ So 19th century bureaucrats were acknowledged about the West, some learned western languages, and soon, their subsequents were prominent men like Mustafa Reşid Paşa¹⁶ the author of the Gülhane Edict.

Infact, for the Ottoman State 19th century was the age of radical changes and westernization reforms. Reforms of Mahmud II, the Tanzimat and the Ottoman Constitutionalism followed each other in order to fortify the state against nationalist and imperialist threats of the west. Conflicts arising from nationalism, nationalist movements, equality and human rights introduced by the American and French Revolutions were added to chronic problems transmitted from the previous century such as conflicts with the Ayans and economic and financial difficulties.

Initially, Ottoman Empire underestimated the new current nationalism and did not foresee its possible implications to the state. However it could not be overlooked after the brief French occupation of the Ionian Islands and Egypt when

¹² Akgün, p. 4.

¹³ Carter Findley, "The Foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry: The Beginnings of Bureaucratic Reform under Selim III and Mahmud II." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3, no. 4, 1972, p. 396; Seçil Akgün, p. 5.

¹⁴ Naff, p. 304.

¹⁵ Findley, p. 399.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

revolutionary ideas were disseminated throughout the Empire.¹⁷ These ideas and movements were also triggered by the Ottoman State's political and military weakness, the severe socioeconomic problems and even worse, Western pressure and intervention on behalf of non-Muslims and their rights whereas intervention gave the Great powers an opportunity to carry out Western imperialism under cover of protectorship of their Ottoman co-religionists.

Coincidentally western economic and cultural imperialism penetrated into the Ottoman state; its foreign commercial impact on Ottoman economy expanded with the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty of 1838, and Ottoman government began to lose control over economy and domestic production.¹⁸ It was the rapid social and economic decline that made the administrators take up reforms and westernization in all areas as a state policy.

Mahmud II accomplished institutionalizing westernization and centralizing the state apparatus as he carried out an extensive reform movement covering, military, administrative and bureaucratic organization, education, diplomacy, as well as the judicial and legal systems, economy, and culture. This naturally invited the emergence of and gave rise to prominent men serving this purpose.

During these turbulences, *Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası* (the Translation Chamber of the Sublime Porte) was established in 1821 in order to overcome reliance on the Phanariot Greek dragomans to serve as translators during negotiations with foreign powers. This office became one of the most basic components of the state, core of the Foreign Ministry and the starting-point of many influential bureaucrats and intellectuals in state affairs.¹⁹ Indeed, many of them, even those who subsequently became the backbone of the late Tanzimat Era such as Ali, Fuat, Safvet Paşas, and Namık Kemal became officials of the Chamber.²⁰ In addition to these developments,

¹⁷ M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2008, p. 51.

¹⁸ Findley, pp. 139-141.

¹⁹ Findley, the Foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry, p. 402.

²⁰ Akgün, p. 8.

the new schools provided the necessary qualified men, in military, medicine, engineering and bureaucracy.

Another important procedure was sending young students to European capitals such as Paris, London, and Vienna. That was probably the most important accomplishment of the new educational system. This generated modern Ottoman bureaucratic elite. The nascent Ottoman intelligentsia become the constructors and practitioners of Tanzimat and founding fathers and precursor of the Ottoman constitutionalism.²¹ “Young men sent abroad lost no time in learning about the western mentality as they pursued their education. When they returned to the Empire they attempted to fortify the reforms from above with renovations of mental development they possessed. Actually this enlarged the base ready to accept developments.”²²

Such reforms and changing mentality paved the way for the promulgation of the Edict of the Rose Chamber that was announced in the morning of November 3, 1839 under the guidance of Mustafa Reşit Paşa.²³ The Tanzimat Fermanı (Edict on three main social aspects related to socio-economic and military welfare of the Empire: These were “1- guarantee for security of life, honor and property to all Ottoman subjects; public trials according to regulations and abolition of confiscation (a promise of Mahmud II) 2- creation of an orderly system of fixed taxation and 3- a regular system of military conscription, with the term of service reduced from lifetime to four five years.”²⁴ In doing so, Ottoman state anticipated that this policy of equal treatment to each group would create a locus of loyalty irrespective of

²¹ Ibid., p. 8.

²² Ibid., pp. 8-9.

²³ Mustafa Reşid Paşa, (March 13, 1800 – 17 December 1858) was an Ottoman pioneering statesman and diplomat, known best as the chief architect and father of the Tanzimat. He was born in İstanbul in 1800, entered the Ottoman bureaucratic service at an early age and promoted rapidly. Later, he was assigned as an ambassador to Paris (1834) and London (1836), minister for foreign affairs (1837), once again ambassador in London (1838) and in Paris (1841). Appointed governor of Adrianople in 1843, he returned to Paris once again as the ambassador the same year. Between 1845 and 1857; he was promoted Grand Vizier six times. Mustafa Reşid Paşa was one of the greatest and most brilliant statesmen of his time, thoroughly acquainted with European politics, and proficient in domestic and international affairs. His efforts to promote reforms within the government led to the advancement of the careers of many other reformers, such as FuadPaşa, Mehmed Emin Ali Paşa and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa.

²⁴ Akgün, p. 12.

religious and ethnic differences. Ottomanist policies were also assumed to bring about a secular ideal and love and loyalty for *vatan* (the fatherland). Introduction of an Ottomanism as Ottoman political identity and loyalty free of religious and ethnic differences opened the way to classification of the Ottoman state as a secular entity.²⁵

This period beginning with the Edict of the Rose Chamber and lasting until the Constitution of 1876, (*Kanun-ı Esasi*) was named as Tanzimat-ı Hayriye or “Auspicious Reorderings” when the intense and influential reforms created its own people referred to as Men of Tanzimat. Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa (1815-1871), Keçecizade Mehmet Fuat Paşa (1815-1869), Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895), Midhat Paşa (1822-1884), and İbrahim Edhem Paşa (1818-1893) were among the most important figures of these men. Apart from these important figures, during the Tanzimat years many of the students who were sent to abroad for education also assumed active roles upon their return as bureaucrats, scholars, engineers, doctors, and journalists. The main actors in this thesis, who are Kostaki Musurus Paşa İbrahim Edhem Paşa and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, were among such prominent figures of this period.

This study focuses on three of the nineteenth century “enlightened fathers and their reformist siblings”, taken up as case studies. They are Kostaki and İstefanaki Musurus; İbrahim Edhem Paşa and Osman Hamdi Bey; and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and Fatma Aliye Hanım.

While selecting these individuals I paid special attention to demonstrate the continuity and consistency of professional careers of each as well as their intellectual stance, considering achievements of each of these figures in their own specialization area. In doing so, I tried to create a framework indicating continuity and discontinuity patterns of Ottoman reforms of the Tanzimat Era with special emphasis to pre and posts. In addition to analysing the youngs as to the extent they pursued the ideals and values they transmitted from their fathers. Through the figures taken up, this study automatically conveys Ottoman family structure, the essence of familial and formal educations, and political culture within the scope of family heritage. Thus, it also enables a general outlook upon Ottoman modernization/westernization

²⁵ Gábor Ágoston, and Bruce A. Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, New York, NY: Facts On File, 2009, p. 448.

process with its reformers and the accomplished reforms within the extensive time span and wide geography they materialized in. In the meanwhile the naturally comparative approach to reforms through the limitation of the three selected cases facilitates the reader's understanding of the concrete, specific reforms by introducing them in a micro scale restricted to six individuals.

Each of the three selected prominent Ottomans who rendered different types of services to the Empire were not only enlightened men who from different aspects contributed to overall Ottoman modernization, but were praiseworthy for bringing up enlightened youngsters who played equally pertinent roles in reforming the Ottoman state and public. The meticulous guidance of Kostaki Musurus, İbrahim Edhem Paşa Ahmed Cevdet Paşa to their siblings' education gifted the Ottoman State with a diplomat, an artist and a woman literary who opened new horizons to future generations.

The fathers and youngsters taken up in the study served during the most turbulent era of the Empire when the steadily declining state marched towards collapse while with this awareness the enlightened of the administrators struggled to prevent the inevitable end by westernization reforms.

Taken up first is Kostaki Musurus Paşa who served Ottoman diplomacy; as an ambassador for many years. He, as the first non-Muslim diplomat in the history of Ottoman Empire who was assigned as ambassador (Sefir-i Kebir) He registered profound achievements in his posts at Athens and London. Consistent with his father's achievements, İstefanaki Musurus who served as a diplomat also reached the highest rank of Ottoman diplomacy as an ambassador.

The second case study is İbrahim Edhem Paşa. İbrahim Edhem started to work as a mining engineer following the education he received in France and advanced in his career progressively, reaching to the position of grand vizier in the time of Abdülhamit II. Not only İbrahim Edhem Paşa but also his children and grandchildren were the pioneers of various innovations both during the late Ottoman Empire and in Republican Turkey. Taken up in this study is his eldest son, Osman Hamdi Bey, who became the first archaeologist and museologist in the Empire while he also received grants in painting.

The third reference is Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and his daughter Fatma Aliye Hanım. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa started his career in the religious institution, İlmiye, and maintained his position in scribal institutions, Kalemîye. He headed the Mecelle Commission, assumed responsibility for many high official duties including ministership, and justice of peace. Briefly stated, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa with his accomplishments was one of the most qualified men of Tanzimat and in contrast to İbrahim Edhem Paşa and Kostaki Musurus Paşa, it was not his son but daughter, Fatma Aliye Hanım, who followed the way of her father as an intellectual, author, and scholar and contributed greatly to the Ottoman literary and intellectual milieu.

Fatma Aliye Hanım received a qualified education thanks to the opportunities that her father had provided, and become a path-breaking novelist, columnist, women rights activist, and humanitarian during the late Ottoman period.

Another purpose of this thesis is to examine the above mentioned Tanzimat and post Tanzimat personalities, as to the way they influenced their children in terms of their worldview, career, and artistic skills making them reformists, as well as how their referred siblings at perceived their fathers and, maintained their missions not only as of their posts but as of their enlightened, progressive reformist intellectual identities.

Historian Carter V. Findley makes the following remarks in relation to those who with their mission, ideas, and works left long-lasting marks upon the Tanzimat era, as he describes the emergence of the movement pinpointing to its general and bureaucratic characteristics:

The fact that those who filled the de facto power gap in 1839 were civil officials, rather than military officers, may seem surprising, given the initially military goals of reform, not to speak of the military's political prominence in earlier and later centuries. However, after the settlement of the Egyptian crisis and despite all efforts of Hüsrev Paşa and his faction, Ottoman commanders did not regain political dominance before 1908. Reasons for this fact included the greater costs and technical difficulties of training modern military elites as opposed to civil officials with a diplomat's facility in French. Another reason was that the empire could no longer protect its interests by its own military strength alone. The men best able to get outside assistance were civil officials, particularly diplomats, of whom a small number therefore dominated the Tanzimat. The key figure initially was Mustafa Reşid Paşa (1800-1858). His protégés and successors as foreign minister and grand vezir were Mehmed Emin Ali Paşa (1815-1871) and Keçecizade Fuad Paşa (1815-1869), both of whom rose through the foreign ministry. Mustafa Reşid's other prominent associates included Sadık Rifat Paşa (1806-1858) and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895), latter a religious scholar who transferred from one of the highest religious ranks into the civil service in the 1860s.

Many men of religious education served in new civil institutions in this period, but no other changed career at so high a rank. Another outstanding figure of the later Tanzimat was Midhat Paşa (1822-1884), who served largely in provincial administration, then as leading architect of the constitution and grand vezir... The recruitment of non-Muslims to civil office, especially after 1856, added another new factor to bureaucratic networking. At the top, the Tanzimat statesmen formed a revolving pool of generalists eligible for provincial governorships, ministerial portfolios, and the grand vezirate.²⁶

In conclusion, although there is abundant literature concerning the figures who are chosen as the subject of this thesis, particularly on Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, Fatma Aliye Hanım and Osman Hamdi Bey, none examined the dynamics between the fathers and their youngs in the context of Ottoman westernization, or analysed how and in what ways family disciplines affected their careers and world perspectives. Bringing out these features is the main aim of this study equipping the readers with first hand sources of the era and individuals concerned.

²⁶ Carter Vaughn Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789–2007*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2010, pp. 88-90.

CHAPTER II

KOSTAKI MUSURUS (1807-1891) AND İSTEFANAKI MUSURUS (1841-1907)

2.1 KOSTAKI MUSURUS (1807-1891)

2.1.1 Introduction

Kostaki Musurus and İstefanaki Musurus, Phanariot father and son who worked in different degrees including key positions at the Ottoman Foreign Office among the most influential Ottoman non-Muslims in the field of diplomacy. Throughout their long bureaucratic career, they were sent on various diplomatic missions, appointed as minister and ambassador to Athens, Vienna, London and Rome, were granted the distinct honor of vizierate and thus constituted a unique example among Muslim and non-Muslim diplomats in Ottoman foreign affairs. For holding the two very pertinent positions for almost 70 years stretching from the appointment of Kostaki Musurus to Greece as the Ottoman minister in 1840 to the death of İstefanaki Musurus in London in 1907 while he was the ambassador.

The father and son Musurus' career lives displayed similarities and differences with that of their Ottoman colleagues, some originating from their father-son relationship. The three-dimensional traditional relationship frequently observed among the members of the Foreign Office from the appointment of the latter and continues as father-son, master-apprentice (*usta-çırak*), and patron client (*hami-mahmi*) was among the similarities. To be more precise, similar to many members of the diplomatic corps, by acknowledging İstefanaki Musurus about his own profession

while raising him, Kostaki Musurus paved the way to his son's diplomatic career and consequently undertook his lifelong patronage. Briefly, İstefanaki Musurus had his father to thank for in starting and advancing in the career.

As for the differences with their colleagues, reliability, capability and practicality enabled the father and son to serve free of interventions by the sultans, prime ministers (başvekil) and foreign ministers (hariciye nazırı). In this respect, especially the London ambassadorship of Kostaki Musurus deserves to be classified as a monument of stability. For instance, Kostaki Musurus witnessed the reigns of three sultans, more than twenty prime ministers and eighteen foreign ministers during his mission as the Ottoman ambassador to London between 1851 and 1885.²⁷ Considering significance of Great Britain for European and Ottoman politics in the 19th century makes the importance of stable diplomacy Kostaki Musurus pursued during this period more understandable.

Evaluating father and son Musurus in the historical context indicates that official achievements of Kostaki and İstefanaki Musurus were closely related to three important processes in the nineteenth century Ottoman State: the first was the rising ascendancy of the neo-Phanariots who were descended of the old Phanariots, in Ottoman domestic and foreign affairs after Greek Independence; the second was the Ottomanist policy of the Tanzimat Era (1839-1876) promising equality of all Ottoman subjects irrespective of their ethnic origins and religions under the banner of Ottomanism. The third was modernization of Ottoman diplomacy and diplomatic relations starting with the reign of Selim III (r.1789-1807).

The above summarized natures of the processes are explanatory for why and how father and son Musurus acquired prominence and representative positions in Ottoman diplomacy. Appointed to London the year following the proclamation of the Gülhane Hatt, particularly, Kostaki Musurus enjoyed the advantages of Ottomanist policies and modernization of Ottoman diplomacy. The Gülhane Hatt (The Edict of the Rose Chamber) in 1839 and the Reform Decree in 1856 were turning points for Ottomanism and integrationist policies of the Empire and career of Kostaki Musurus.

²⁷ Nurdan Şafak, *Bir Tanzimat Diplomati: Kostaki Musurus Paşa (1807-1891)*, Unpublished Phd Dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006, p. 78.

2.1.2 Diplomatic Career of Kostaki Musurus

2.1.2.1 Governorship of Samos Island

Kostaki Musurus began his bureaucratic career in the Samos Island as the Ottoman governor replacing İstefanaki Vogoridi Bey (Stephanos Vogorides) who was to be his father-in-law in the future. In the summer of 1834, when Kostaki (Constantine) Musurus appointed governor of the island, personally traveled to each of the island's seventeen villages to negotiate with and to gain the acceptance of the headmen.²⁸ After Kostaki Musurus became the governor, he learned that people of Samos abandoned their constant complains to the Sublime Porte for their rights and instead informed the Sublime Porte (Bab-ı Ali) that they were contented with Kostaki Musurus and would continue to pay their taxes. Musurus was rewarded with badge of pride (İftihar Nişanı) by Mahmud II in 1836 due to his restoration of the status quo at the Island.²⁹

Kostaki Musurus governed Samos Island for five years (1834-1839). His successful governorship there was a prominent step proving him eligible for future state missions. It was therefore that when the Ottoman government decided to open an embassy in the new Greek State recognized as independent in 1832 with the London Treaty, he was appointed to Athens as charge d'affaires (maslahatgüzar), the year following his return to İstanbul.³⁰ In the eyes of Sultan Abdülmecit and Mustafa Reşit Paşa, Kostaki Musurus, as a protégé of Stephanos Vogorides (İstefanaki Vogoridi), was the most suitable person for this position.³¹ Infact, Stephanos Vogorides, had personally recommended Kostaki Musurus who recently married his daughter to Mustafa Reşid Paşa for this mission to enhance political and economic

28 Sinan Kunalp, "Bir Osmanlı Diplomatı Kostaki Musurus Paşa 1807-1891", *Belleten* (Temmuz 1970), v. XXXIV, p. 427.

²⁹ Şafak, p. 40.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

status of his son-in-law as well as of his own.³² This recommendation, regarded favorably by Mustafa Reşit Paşa, provided the beginning of Kostaki Musurus's diplomatics career, and soon after, with the official change of the status he occupied, he became the first Ottoman ambassador to Athens.³³

2.1.2.2 Ambassadorship of Kostaki Musurus in Athens (1839-1848)

The appointment of Kostaki Musurus to Athens embassy was due more to his linguistic, religious and ethnic affiliations with the people of the newly established Greek State rather than the prominence and influence of his father-in-law.³⁴ Furthermore, with this appointment the Ottoman government was able to display to European powers as well as to her non-Muslim subjects that the Imperial Rescript of Gülhane, promising all Ottoman subjects equality before the laws would not remain on paper.³⁵ As a matter of fact, Phanariots had been suspended from their positions in the Ottoman diplomatic service when the Greek uprising started and the Translation Office of the Sublime Porte, subsequently established in 1821 had started to work actively, making remarkable efforts to compensate for the vacancy. Nevertheless, the international conjuncture of 1830s, nationalist movements emerging within the Ottoman State, the Egyptian Question and Russian threat led Ottoman government to recharge Phanariots to Foreign Office and diplomatic missions. Thus becoming influential again in Ottoman diplomacy, they were named as Neo- Phanariots and Kostaki Musurus was one of the foremost within the lot.

Musurus, who was initially considered to be appointed as deputy ambassador (maslahatgüzar) to Greece continued his new duty as *küçükkelçi* after the Sultan was informed that this position was more congruent with European diplomatic tendencies.³⁶ As for the reasons compelling the Ottoman Government to established

³² Christine M. Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011, p. 149.

³³ Şafak, p. 44.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

an embassy in Athens, first was the inevitable diplomatic obligations of being neighboring states. The second, was that solving problems related to sales of the properties of Ottoman subjects who had migrated to Ottoman Empire after the establishment of the Greek State, and dealing with the issues of Ottoman merchants residing in Greece, necessitated the establishment of a permanent diplomatic agent in Greece.³⁷ Particularly these issues constituted a great portion of the work agenda of Kostaki Musurus in Athens between 1840 and 1848.³⁸

In the beginning, Kostaki Musurus was occupied with the problems mostly related to Muslims who migrated to Ottoman lands following the establishment of a Greek state. Infact, his first mission was to retrieve immigrants' losses in accordance with the July 22, 1832 *İstanbul Mukavelenamesi* (Istanbul Convention) requiring the sale of the property left behind by the immigrants according to their market value within 18 months and the immediate extension of the payment to the owner whereas the immigrants had to leave their immovable goods behind without receiving any payment.³⁹ Negligence of the Ottoman officials sent to Greece to tend to the matter as well as of their Greek colleagues delayed the solution of the matter, depriving real estate owners.⁴⁰ Accordingly Kostaki Musurus started to allocate property losses of Ottoman subjects. For this purpose, he decided to create public opinion of European power about loans of Greece.⁴¹ In that respect, Ottoman Empire was supported by the European powers about the problems related with Greek State, and ambassadors of Great Britain, France and Russia gave ultimatum to Greece related to the problem.⁴² As a result, Greek government consented to pay the debt due to the Ottoman government⁴³ and the contributions of Kostaki Musurus, listed and accounted for the values of immovable estates and goods immigrants left behind. Greece agreed to pay

³⁷ Ibid., p. 46.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 46.

³⁹ M.Faik Yavuz,
'Kostaki Musurus Paşa' <http://www.osar.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=24206>

⁴⁰ Ibid.,

⁴¹ Ibid.,

⁴² Ibid.,

⁴³ Ibid.,.

the amount of 8.796.100 kuruş in return for the immovable goods to Ottoman State.⁴⁴ In 1844, the Ottoman Empire won the struggle against Greece as a result of the considerable efforts spent by Musurus. “While negotiations with regard to the expropriation of commodities belonging to Ottoman subjects residing in Greece remained inconclusive in accordance with the agreement signed in 1832, Musurus forced Greek government to return the properties of Turkish refugees and to pay compensation fees with an interest rate of 8 percent.”⁴⁵

Hence, Kostaki Musurus not only concluded his first four years of service successfully, but also acquired his first diplomatic experience in Athens embassy. In other words, Musurus proved himself as a promising diplomat in a relatively short period of time. Particularly, the manner in which Musurus had obtained the support of the European states and the negotiations he had conducted without experiencing any practical obstacles with regard to language and translation could be claimed to be distinguishing features of Musurus’ personality and identity as an Ottoman non-Muslim diplomat. Musurus’ familiarity with the geography and socio-economic dynamics of the Greek mainland may have been additional factor in successful completion of these tasks in a relatively short period of time when compared with a Muslim Ottoman ambassador.

Another important mission of Kostaki Musurus in Athens was to gather information about aims and activities of the *Society of Philiki Etaireia* (Filiki Eteryay); in conjunction with this, Musurus and the Sublime Porte resorted to publish articles in Greek newspapers in favor of Ottoman interests in order to undermine propagandas lessen the activities and decrease the impacts of this society.⁴⁶ In 1846 Ottoman government sent Kostaki Musurus 4000 kuruş just for this assignment.⁴⁷ Moreover, Kostaki Musurus for the same cause bribed a member of Society of *Filik-i Eteryay* to leak information⁴⁸ which he Musurus shared with the Ottoman government

⁴⁴ Ibid.,

⁴⁵ Kunalp, p. 428.

⁴⁶ Yavuz, ‘Kostaki Musurus Paşa’,

⁴⁷ Şafak, p. 53.

⁴⁸ Yavuz, ‘Kostaki Musurus Paşa’,

as well as the Great Powers to provide their warnings to Greece via Ottoman government concerning harmful the belligerent activities of the Society of *Filik-i Eteryia*.⁴⁹

Such activities of Kostaki Musurus raised reactions of Greece government and staunch Greek nationalists which he was frequently exposed to even after his mission was over. Particularly the Colonel Caratoss incident explained below and the attempt to assassinate him in were the most noteworthy demonstrations of the hostilities of the Greek government and nationalists.

In fact, hostility to Kostaki Musurus which expanded with his services on the behalf of Ottoman State did not begin in 1846, nor had it emerged yet when he was appointed to Athens. He developed a bad image in the eyes of the Greek government and nationalists for choosing, albeit his ethnic origin, to work for the Ottoman Empire rather than serving the newly founded Greek State.⁵⁰ More importantly, the most profound cause of mentioned hostility was probably due to news the German journal Frankfurt, stating that the implicit reason of the attempt to assassinate Musurus was that he was the son-in-law of and was under the protection of Stephanos Vogorides.⁵¹

2.1.2.2.1 The Colonel Caratoss Incident

Colonel Caratoss Incident was a movement which was started by the Greek colonel known as the main figure of the 1841 Macedonia revolt for organizing bandits who attacked Thessaloniki and Thessaly.⁵² The incidence known by his name was a product of the hostility stimulated by the Greek Prime Minister Ioannis Colettis propagating Megali İdea among the Greek nationalists and directed to both Kostaki Musurus and the Ottoman State. The event which led to a diplomatic crisis between the Ottoman Empire and Greece began with the rejection of colonel's visa

⁴⁹ Yavuz, 'Kostaki Musurus Paşa',

⁵⁰ Şafak, p. 61.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 62.

⁵² Kunalp, p. 428.

request to visit İstanbul.⁵³ While Colonel Caratoss informed Colettis about the rejection due to his former stance against the Ottoman State, the Greek government attempted to discuss the rejection with the Ambassador Musurus but he could not be contacted.⁵⁴ In the subsequent day, Greece King invited Kostaki Musurus to a ball without observing proper international protocols including omitting the Ambassador's name from the invitation letter where he was referred as the Ottoman ambassador.⁵⁵ Apart from this improper attitude, the King officially accused Kostaki Musurus too for not obliging the required display of respect to him in the presence of the ambassadors of other European states during the ball.⁵⁶ Having experienced this diplomatic humiliation, Musurus immediately contacted Prime Minister Colettis, who reminded that the visa ought to be given to Colonel Caratoss to Musurus refused this request by stating that it was not possible for him to go beyond the instructions of Ottoman government⁵⁷ and consequently, informed the Sublime Porte about the derogative manner directed to him. The Sublime Porte responded immediately by sending the dreadnought "Ereğli" to Athens to convey Porte's ultimatum to the Greek government.⁵⁸ The ultimatum consisted of the following issues:

Firstly, Greek Foreign Minister should personally visit the Ottoman Embassy in Athens immediately with a letter of apology from Greece King to Ottoman State. Secondly, Greek government should apologize to Kostaki Musurus within three days. Thirdly, it should be understood that negative and inappropriate manners directed to the Ottoman Ambassador would not be tolerated under any circumstances. If these conditions were not fulfilled, Ottoman State would discharge Musurus from his mission in Athens and recall him to the Capital. In addition, unless these conditions were met in a month and half, the mission of the Greek Ambassador in İstanbul would be halted, and Greeks would not be allowed to continue commercial activities within the lands of Ottoman Empire.⁵⁹

When the Greek government did not apologize within the three consecutive days, Musurus and the embassy personnel left Athens with the aforementioned

⁵³ Şafak, p. 56.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 57.

⁵⁶ Kunalp, p. 428.

⁵⁷ Yavuz, 'Kostaki Musurus Paşa'

⁵⁸ Şafak, p. 57.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

vessel, “Ereğli”, and Ottoman Empire proved that she was not bluffing by carrying out the ultimatum.⁶⁰ Having understood the decisiveness of the Porte in observing the ultimatum, Greece asked Austria for mediating the conflict between Greece and the Ottoman Empire. However, the Austrian government suggested Greece to fulfill the requirements of the Ottoman State.⁶¹ Afterwards, Great Britain, France, Prussia and Russia also became involved in the resolution of this problem, and finally the crisis between Greece and Ottoman Empire was concluded with the apology of Greece.⁶² Consequently, Kostaki Musurus returned to his mission in Athens as the ambassador.

2.1.2.2 Attempt to Assassinate Kostaki Musurus

Kostaki Musurus’ return to Athens did not mean that the problems between Greece and Ottoman Empire had ceased. Particularly the fact that Greece tried to dominate Ottoman Greeks and encouraged them to rebel against the State deeply contributed to widen the conflict between the two states.⁶³ Apart from these, even the presence of Kostaki Musurus as an ambassador in Athens was a significant problem all by itself. To illustrate, King Otto of Greece who was the son of the philhellenic King Ludwig I of Bavaria, stated in September 1847 that Musurus was the one who was responsible for the problems between the two states underlining that Greeks for long were not content with the performances of Musurus, and worried that presence of Musurus would deteriorate further the ill relationship between Greece and Ottoman Empire.⁶⁴

In this negative atmosphere, Greek government asserted that Ottoman Empire was responsible for the instability and confusion in Greece and blamed Kostaki Musurus for having a profound impact on the current situation.⁶⁵ Blamed for the crisis between two states, Kostaki Musurus was made an open target of Greek

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 59.

⁶² Ibid., p. 59.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 63.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 60.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 63.

nationalists. In other words, he became persona non grata for injuring diplomacy between Greece and Ottoman Empire. Subsequently, informing Ottoman Foreign Ministry about this hostile attitude Musurus requested protection for a possible assault so four gendarmes were assigned to safeguard his security.⁶⁶ However, in spite of this precaution the ambassador was subjected to an assault on 26th of April 1848 by Apostol Nadir, who was one of the Rum servants of the Ottoman embassy in Athens. Nevertheless, Apostol Nadir was arrested by the Greek police while trying to escape from the embassy shouting “I shot the tyrant!”⁶⁷ Since Apostol Nadir was Rum and the attack took place at the Ottoman embassy, he was sent to the related Ottoman authorities, and was interrogated by a congress assembled at Bab-ı zabtiye (Ottoman Police).⁶⁸ After the attack Musurus could no longer continue his mission in Athens embassy, hence Bab-ı Ali decided to assign him to another European capital, so he was missioned as ambassador to Vienna.

To sum up, although Kostaki Musurus was initially expected to make positive contributions to diplomatic relationship between Greece and Ottoman Empire, his ethno-religious identity, unyielding personality and the activities he carried out on the behalf of Ottoman Empire resulted in the disruption of diplomatic communication between the two states.⁶⁹

2.1.2.3 Ambassadorship of Kostaki Musurus in Vienna (1848-1850)

When Mustafa Reşid Paşa was given the Grand Vizier seal once again he appointed Kostaki Musurus as the temporary Minister (geçici orta elçi) to Austria in 1848, replacing Şekib Bey.⁷⁰ This appointment was not a coincidence; infact, several factors paved its way. To begin with, according to historian Sinan Kunalp, Phanariot families played an important role regarding the affirmative relationship between Austrian and the Ottoman Empire. Hence, Musurus, coming from a

⁶⁶ Kunalp, p. 429.

⁶⁷ Şafak, p. 63.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 64.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 67.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 67.

Phanariot family was a particularly suitable person for this diplomatic mission.⁷¹ Secondly, the atmosphere of 1830-1848 Revolutions in Europe, the stance of Austria, and the reflections of these revolutions upon the relationship between Ottoman Empire and Austria as neighboring states necessitated meticulous handling of diplomatic issues, particularly of the territorial which were of vital importance for the Ottoman Empire. Kostaki Musurus with his diplomatic knowledge, skill, experience as well as his excellent conduct of several languages was the right person for this appointment. Thirdly, Stephenos Vogorides exerted his political influence in Bab-ı Ali once again for Kostaki Musurus like he did in appointments to Samos and Athens.

Ottoman Empire was greatly aware of the fragile political and diplomatic balance among the European powers due to nationalistic rebellions and wars encompassing the years 1830-1848. Exposure to negative effects of these developments was inevitable for the Ottoman state especially when Balkanic provinces were taken into account. Particularly Russian and Austrian interests were closely related with Balkan subjects of the Empire in the sense that Russian and Austrian expansionist policy targeting Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (Eflak and Boğdan) required the close observation of European politics in order to preserve territorial integrity.⁷²

Such concerns of the Porte were included in the instructions (Talimatname) given to Kostaki Musurus after his attention was called to the ambiguity and instability of European politics and the resulting difficulty to determine a specific international policy. Musurus was reminded that Austria's role pertaining to the balance between European States and the Ottoman Empire was of utmost importance and he was asked to be cautious of the tone he used during his official conversations. He was also asked to keep close watch over Serbians, Bosnians and Bulgarians, all were susceptible to external provocations. His special attention, awareness and information were sought concerning the general conditions in Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (Memleketeyn/ Eflak and Boğdan). Finally, he was

⁷¹ Kunalp, p. 430.

⁷² Şafak, p. 70.

expected to follow closely Austria's frontier infringement which the Porte could not keep up with due to its domestic affairs.⁷³

Albeit the matters Musurus was warned about, moreso, quite unexpectedly, matters pertaining to Hungarian refugees who rebelled against Austrian government and took refuge in Ottoman Empire which wholeheartedly accepted them became the most prominent issue on the work agenda of Kostaki Musurus while he was in Vienna.

The Hungarian refugees among whom were the leaders of the revolt as well, were settled by Ottoman authorities in Vidin, Şumnu (Shumen) and Belgrad (Belgrade).⁷⁴ Thereupon, Austrian government claimed that the refugees were rebels who revolted against their own king, and requested their return from the Ottoman Government.⁷⁵ However, the Porte refused claiming that protecting refugees was a humanitarian obligation.⁷⁶ Subsequently, Russia and Austria gave ultimatums to the Empire and threatened the Sublime Porte to suspend diplomatic relationships unless Hungarian Refugees were returned.⁷⁷ In order to overcome this international crisis, Ottoman Empire suggested the refugees to embrace Islam and most of them accepted this proposal, so religious conversions was made the remedy to the problem which was finally solved on the behalf of Ottoman State, particularly after the supportive intervention of Great Britain and France.

2.1.2.4 London Ambassadorship of Kostaki Musurus

Kostaki Musurus was assigned to the embassy in London temporarily for the *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations*, which was the first series of World's Fair exhibitions in 1851.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 71.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 73.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 73.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 73.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 73.

London Exhibition was a great opportunity for the Ottoman Empire to gain worldwide recognition; therefore, it was essential to appoint a skillful and experienced representative to England.⁷⁸ However, appointing someone who formerly was the ambassador (ortaelçi) in Austria as a temporary ambassador to England was not consistent with the European diplomatic tendencies; moreover, the rank of the prior ambassador in London, Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Paşa, was Sefir-i Kebir (Büyükelçi).⁷⁹ Thus Musurus was promoted to London embassy permanently.

After serving in London for two years, Musurus decorated with third degree Mecidiye Nişanı in February 1854, requested to be promoted to a higher rank. In the following year, he was gifted the second degree Mecidiye Nişanı. In January 4th 1856 he was promoted from the position of ambassador to Sefir-i Kebir and this promotion was also reported to Queen Victoria.⁸⁰ Subsequently, Musurus obtained the title of vizier, and henceforth addressed as Paşa, which was the highest rank in Ottoman bureaucracy.⁸¹

2.1.2.4.1 Economic and Financial Activities of Kostaki Musurus in London Embassy

Kostaki Musurus was both an active representative and negotiator of the Ottoman Empire in England. One of his important missions with regard to economy and finance was to meet and negotiate with the institutions that could provide financial support to Ottoman Empire which was suffering from fiscal constraints.

Wars, crises, Crimean War and particularly, the extravagance of Sultan Abdülmecid led Ottoman economy become dependent on the influx of external loan since Ottoman Empire was not able to handle economic difficulties with domestic loans. Consequently, borrowing from foreign countries was started with specific encouragement of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (Sir Stratford Canning), the British

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 88.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 89.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 91.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 93.

ambassador in İstanbul, Ottoman State had for the first time resorted to foreign loan during the Crimean War in 1854 with the efforts of Kostaki Musurus. Subsequently Ottoman Empire authorized Kostaki Musurus and chief council (Baş Şehbender) Edward Zohrab to quest London market for a loan, conducting negotiations and signing necessary treaties in the name of Ottoman government.⁸² After a few unsuccessful attempts of Musurus, British government and English Foreign Minister, Lord Clarendon, intervened and the matter was solved on behalf of Great Britain by acquiring the long term interests sought due to the ongoing war between Ottoman and Russia. The credit was acquired only after British government declared that aforementioned representatives of Ottoman Empire were plenipotentiary for taking credits and the institutions providing loans would be supported by their own governments.⁸³ Consequently, a loan of 5 million sterling with 33 years of payment was obtained as a result of not only Musurus and Zohrab's negotiations with the company *Palmer and partners*, but also through agreements with *Goldschmidt and partners* in Paris.⁸⁴ Revenues of Egypt were determined as the assurance of this.⁸⁵

Since it was obvious that foreign loans obtained in 1854 would be insufficient to meet war expenditures, remedy was sought in acquiring a new credit of 8 million sterling in order to clear the previous debts. Accordingly, Kostaki Musurus and Edward Zohrab were once again appointed to find the necessary sum.⁸⁶ In addition to the revenues of Egypt, the Ottoman State resorted to customs revenues of Damascus and İzmir as the assurances of this loan⁸⁷ when the suggestion Musurus made to include only one custom as an assurance for this external borrowing was rejected.⁸⁸ This was an open display that Musurus struggled consistently to get the aforementioned debts with the minimum amount of interest however, due to immense economic deprivation of the State, well known by then, he mostly had to

⁸² Ibid., p. 103.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 105-106.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 106.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 106.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 109.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 111.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 111.

accept the offers of Great Britain and France without any objection. To conclude, Musurus had spent both considerable time and effort during his duty in London embassy in order to find the necessary external loans with the full authority he had received from Ottoman State.

2.1.3 Contributions of Kostaki Musurus

Kostaki Musurus contributed to elevate Anglo-Ottoman relationship. His long-term presence in London was of vital importance in terms of establishing a relatively stable and successful diplomatic relationship with the Great Britain. In fact, taking into consideration the successful contributions he had made to the Ottoman-Great Britain diplomacy, these thirty four years were qualitatively and quantitatively unique. During this time, the Ottoman embassy in London became more professional and institutionalized⁸⁹ with increasing Musurus' staffs in number and qualification.

Musurus terminated his career leaving behind a professional life full of achievements. The places he served as well as the time and international conjuncture of that period made his career much more significant. More concretely, the Crimean War, first foreign loans promulgation of the Reform decree, the Paris Peace Treaty, nationalist uprisings in the Balkan peninsula, declaration of Ottoman Constitution and the following Ottoman-Russian war, the Berlin Conference, official announcement of Ottoman financial bankruptcy, and establishment of Commission of Public Debt in 1881 were some important incidents that Musurus was involved in both directly and indirectly especially during his ambassadorship in London.

Considering the fact that Great Britain was the main supporter and controller of Ottoman Reforms and Tanzimat, the affirmative contributions of Musurus during his ambassadorship to England were invaluable services to the Ottoman Empire. However, it is important to note that Musurus attained great achievements as a foreign representative not only during his mission in London but also in Athens and Vienna. In other words, he contributed remarkably to the state with heart and soul throughout his career. His contributions which were related to the diplomatic relationships between the Sublime Porte and European powers, to the image of

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 128.

Ottoman state in European public opinion, and contribution to Ottoman and Greek culture can be roughly classified into three main categories.

Firstly, in all of the places he served a Musurus, pursued an outstanding career in establishing and pursuing diplomatic relationships between the Empire and Western states particularly with his firm stance during diplomatic crises concerning the Sublime Porte. During his governorship of Samos, he used his negotiation skills and ability of persuasion while appeasing the discontented Samian people. He established personal contacts with Samians, communicated with them frequently, learned their problems and tried to solve these problems effectively. By doing so, Musurus achieved to manage this negotiation process in a successful manner.

Musurus was distinguished by his different qualifications and means during his mission in Greece. For example, his persuasiveness was effective when he confronted the problem of Ottoman possessions in Greece, as he resorted to obtaining the support of Western public opinion before pressuring the Greek State. Consequently, this became a diplomatic strategy he added to his vocational repertoire which he used throughout his entire career. In spite of the fact that he was the first ambassador in a newly established state, Musurus, who had Greek roots dealt efficiently with the tension in Greece through his knowledge, personality, dignity loyalty and diplomatic ethics.

Furthermore, during his mission to Great Britain, Musurus behaved not only as an Ottoman diplomat but also as a kind of policy maker in the name of Ottoman government. In other words, he not only implemented the orders that he received from the capital but also used his own common sense and initiative for policy making. Using the advantage of the close relationship he had established with Queen Victoria, the British ministers and high officials, as well as the support from the Sublime Porte, Musurus actively participated in diplomatic discussions with Great Britain and other European states. For example, he was influential in the solution of the problems pertaining to Wallachia and Moldavia, Lebanon and Crete Island. He assumed responsibility of going for public approval about Ottoman policies in Great Britain and obtaining support from the British government. In addition to these, Musurus kept a close watch over the British and European press to obtain information regarding existing attitudes toward Ottoman state. He personally

conveyed what he learned to the Ottoman capital rapidly to be made the reference point in determining foreign policies of the Sublime Porte.

Musurus had an undeniable role in the establishment of a concrete alliance between England and the Ottoman Empire during his mission to London. As mentioned above, he formed good relationships with Queen Victoria, her court, the British government and his colleagues. In the course of time, his relationships with royalty evolved to a friendship that went beyond official relations. Queen Victoria's first impression was quite positive about Musurus, as well; in fact, conversations on topics stemming from sharing the same religion developed a warm relationship between the Queen, Musurus and even his family.⁹⁰ Moreover, when Musurus was dismissed from his office, on November 3, 1885, it was expressed in the editorial of the *Morning Post*, a well known conservative daily that for the British, the name Musurus was associated with the establishment of the Anglo-Turkish friendship.⁹¹ Even British Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone who was known by his anti-Turk feelings and stance confessed in his letter to Musurus that in conjunction with his return to Ottoman capital, 'Great Britain lost a significant institution'.⁹²

In conclusion, Kostaki Musurus made immense favorable great contributions to Anglo-Ottoman relations and became practically the symbol of the friendship between the two countries from the time of his appointment to London as an Extraordinary Envoy in 1851 until the conclusion of the Berlin Treaty in 1878, when this friendship started to tighten.

Secondly, Musurus also contributed significantly to improve the image of Ottoman state, and people among the Europeans. He successfully represented his state and citizens in Great Britain and European states, introduced Ottoman diplomacy and politics to Western counterparts and departed leaving good impression behind especially among the English.

The Ottoman state starting from the reign of Selim III, resorted to a balance policy in her relations with Western and Eastern states in order to survive in the face

⁹⁰ Kunalalp, p. 423.

⁹¹ Kunalalp, p. 423; *Morning Post* November, 3, 1885.

⁹² Kunalalp, p. 423.

of the changing power relations. In practicing this policy, the Sublime Porte benefited from the system of alliances in Europe, molding public opinion in the Europe and accepting protection of a “Great Power” at different times via her conducting effective diplomacy and diplomats. Thus, Ottoman diplomacy and foreign representative in Europe became one of the most important means for the continuation of the Empire. Especially in 1830’s, with intensification of diplomatic relationship between European states and the Sublime Porte, Ottoman state reconstituted her permanent embassies, established ministry of the Foreign affairs and allied first with Russian Empire and Great Britain with regard to rebellion of Mehmet Ali Paşa. Precisely at this time, among the Ottoman bureaucrats and diplomats appeared such as Mustafa Reşid Paşa and Kostaki Musurus who gained international reputation (Europe-wide reputation). In this sense, Mustafa Reşid Paşa was the best-known Ottoman bureaucrat, as for Musurus build a reputation on Ottoman diplomatic relationship with European states. Musurus’ reputation provided major advantages for the positive image of the Ottoman state among European public. These advantages offered by Musurus were as follows: The first, thanks to his esteemed and well-equipped personality; he inspired respect for his name and his state in every milieu. Hence, to some extent, he was successful in changing unfavorable image of Ottoman state and peoples to positive one.

After promulgation of Reform decree in 1856, Kostaki Musurus was awarded with the title of honorary doctorate by the University of Oxford. This award was deeply promoted by the British. He received the award in front of a student body of two thousand persons and other candidates who were son of Prussian King and British lords were nominated for this award.⁹³ During the speech at the award ceremony, about the promotion of Kostaki Musurus, chancellor of the university referred to the importance of this event with regards to toleration of ethnic, religion spheres and equality of all subjects of the Ottoman Empire and he ended his speech good will in the future of Ottoman state and her non-Muslim citizens.^{94,95} Thus,

⁹³ Şafak, pp. 91-92.

⁹⁴ Kunalalp, p. 433.

⁹⁵ “...Doktor unvanına çâkerleri Kostaki nâil olduğundan doktor sıfatıyla cemiyete dâhil olunmaklığım bir çok tahsîn ve sitâyîş arasında icrâ olunduğu ve intihâb olunan doktorları Latince bir nutk ile cemiyete idhâl için ta’yîn olunan dârülfünûn me’mûru kullarının ibrâz ettiği vakitte nutku irâd sırasında tarâf-ı şâhânelerinden İngiltere Kraliçesi nezdinde sefir olmak şerefini Hristiyan tebeasından

Kostaki Musurus and Ottoman Empire were honored by one of the oldest and most prestigious educational institutions in the world.

Considering entire career of Kostaki Musurus and his official duties, these exemplified a good exponent of official ideologies of the Tanzimat Era: Westernization and, Ottomanist policies of the Sublime Porte. Kostaki Musurus was involved in those processes both directly and indirectly. Westernization of Ottoman bureaucracy, diplomacy and Ottomanist policies were determinants on Musurus like many Ottoman non-Muslims. When his timing of assignment and places of duty were considered, it is obvious that Kostaki Musurus was an essential demonstration that Ottoman government staunchly applied articles of Tanzimat edict and Reform Decree in respect to equality of all Ottoman subjects and inclusion of non-Muslims to Ottoman bureaucracy. As an Ottoman non-Muslim, his ascent to ambassador rank in Great Britain demonstrated that Ottoman state offered equal rights to all officials irrespective of their language and religion. At the same time, with the example of Musurus in Ottoman bureaucracy, the state purposed to tackle with complaints in domestic and foreign public opinions concerning failure to fulfill promises in aforementioned Fermans.

Kostaki Musurus was involved in Ottomanist project as an imperial upper sample. In the age of nationalism of Ottoman and European states, Musurus became the symbol of Ottomanism via his loyalty and services to the state. While Ottoman Empire struggled with consecutive nationalist insurrections, he was among the most trustworthy diplomats in the foreign missions and representing his state ideally in international arena. In this sense, he shared the vision his father-in-law, Vogorides. Vogorides expressed his vision as: “My goal and wish is for civilization to be fully realized in Turkey but with the names and paradigms of the Muslim legal system, guarding the unity of Ottomanism and of the Ottoman ethnos and the need for fusion, diffusion, and intermixing and equality before the law [isonomia] of the Christian re’aya.”⁹⁶ In compliance with this vision, Musurus pursued interests of Ottoman state under any circumstances. When his reports sent to the Ottoman capital and his

birine layık ve sezâver görmüş olan hazret-i padişahinin mevâdd-ı mezhebiyye hakkında müsaâde-i mülûkâneleri ne derecelerde tahsîn ve bulunduđu mezhebiyye üzerine hâzır bulunan kimselerin dikkatlerini da’vet eylemesiyle nutk bilcümle hüzzâr tarafından tahsîn ve memnûniyeti hâiz olmuştur...”

⁹⁶ Philliou, p. 167.

negotiations with British officials are examined, it could be easily understood that Musurus' efforts were for the survival of the state. In doing so, Musurus exemplified official ideology of Ottomanism. Musurus set a good example in domestic policy. His status and importance in Ottoman bureaucracy was a great role model to Ottoman non-Muslims. At the same time, he was a prominent evidence for Ottomanist policies foreign policy. Ottoman state benefited from his presence in Ottoman bureaucracy against Great powers about pressures on improvement of conditions of non-Muslims. In a sense, Musurus' career was implementation of Ottomanism. Milestones of his career coincided with important dates of Ottomanist policies. To illustrate, he was assigned to his first diplomatic mission in 1839; the same year the Tanzimat Firman was pronounced by Ottoman State. Christine Philliou summarized missions and experiences of Kostaki Musurus and other Ottoman non-Muslims of Greek origin who by remaining in the Empire rather than migrating to the new Greek state shared the same fate as in the below:

By the 1880, Musurus was the most esteemed and experienced foreign ambassador in London. Vogorides and Musurus bridged the transition to this final phase of Ottoman history: Vogorides, as the Dragoman par excellence, and Musurus as the Christian representative of the Ottoman Empire to its most important ally in the nineteenth century, illustrate the logic of Ottoman imperial governance and exemplify the persistence of that logic well into the national age. From their perspective, their task was to assess possible reforms at each step along the process of promulgation, preventing abrupt changes that would disturb the old order, but expand the political and commercial possibilities for themselves and their allies, whether Christian or Muslim. They experienced first-hand the inherent tensions of the Tanzimat reform project: on the one hand, they were to enjoy expanded rights and possibilities as Christians within the framework of reforms, and on the other, Christians could be suspected of conspiring with a foreign state or one of several movements aspiring to break away from the Empire.⁹⁷

Thirdly, Kostaki Musurus had significant contributions to the Ottoman and Greek culture. Apart from official activities, he was interested in literature and did translations. During the last years of his career, he especially concentrated on translating Dante's *The Divine Comedy: Inferno; Purgatorio; Paradiso* into Greek. The first edition was published in 1882, while Musurus was still the ambassador in London. In the prologue, he modestly explained the adjustments he had to make on the iambic meter of the original text in Latin as he translated into Greek and expressed his gratitude to Sir Frederick Pollock (1815-88), the British scholar whose

⁹⁷ Christine Philliou, "The Paradox of Perceptions: Interpreting the Ottoman Past through the National Present", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 44(5), 2008, p. 669.

translation of Dante into English (in 1854) he had benefited from when composing his own translation.⁹⁸ This translation was much appreciated by the Hellenists of the time.⁹⁹ With this translation with which, he proved himself as a literary, intellectual person, he also introduced a magnum opus, an immortal work of art to Greek culture to be appreciated at all times. His translation which was of major importance for the culture and literature of the Greeks of the Empire was also valuable for world literature for being accomplished at a fairly early date in respect to other translations of the Divine Comedy. At the present time, Musurus's translation still sustains its prevalence for the readers of Greek language.

⁹⁸ Philliou, p. 170.

⁹⁹ G. Washington Moon, *Men And Women Of The Time: A Dictionary Of Contemporaries*, London: George Routledge and Sons, 1891, p. 665.

2.2 İSTEFANAKİ (Stephanos) MUSURUS (1841-1907)

2.2.1 Introduction

İstafanaki Musurus was one of the last and important representatives of the Mususus family and the Phanatit tradition in Ottoman diplomacy and westernized foreign affairs.

Kostaki Musurus and İstefanaki Musurus, Phanariot father and son who worked in different degrees including key positions at the Ottoman Foreign Office were among the most influential Ottoman non-Muslims in the field of diplomacy. Throughout their long bureaucratic career, they were sent with different ranks on various diplomatic missions and were appointed as minister later as ambassador to different European capitals. Kostaki served as the Ottoman Ambassador in Athens, Vienna and London whereas İstefanaki served in Rome, later in London, which was a common post for the father and son making them a unique example in Ottoman foreign affairs for holding the two very pertinent positions totally for almost 70 years as well.

The father and son Musurus' careers displayed similarities and differences with that of their Ottoman colleagues, some originating from their father-son relationship. The three dimensional relationship frequently observed among the members of the Foreign Office as father-son, resembling master-apprentice (usta-çırak), or patron client (hami-mahmi) was among the similarities some colleagues shared. Again, similar to many members of the diplomatic corps, by enlightening İstefanaki Musurus about his own profession while raising him, Kostaki Musurus paved the way to his son's diplomatic career and consequently undertook his lifelong patronage. Briefly, İstefanaki Musurus had his father to thank for in starting and advancing in his career.

Evaluating father and son Musurus in the historical context, one can observe that official achievements of Kostaki and İstefanaki Musurus were products of three important processes in the nineteenth century Ottoman State. The first was the rising

ascendancy of the neo-Phanariots (descendants of the old Phanariots) in Ottoman domestic and foreign affairs after Greek Independence. The second was the Ottomanism current of the Tanzimat Era (1839-1876) withholding state warranty for the equality of all Ottoman subjects irrespective of their ethnic origins and religions. The third was modernization of Ottoman diplomacy and diplomatic relations starting with the reign of Selim III (r.1789-1807).

The Gülhane Hatt (The Edict of the Rose Chamber) of 1839 and the Reform Decree of 1856 were turning points enabling the emergence of Ottomanism and integrationist policies of the Empire, explanatory for the prominence and representative positions of the father and son who enjoyed the advantages of Ottoman modernization.

2.2.2 Upbringing and Career of İstefanaki Musurus

İstefanaki was born in 1841 in Athens as the first child of Kostaki Musurus and Anna Vogoridi.¹⁰⁰ Due to his father's diplomatic mission, he lived in Athens until the age of seven. After spending more than a year in Vienna with his father when he was ten, he accompanied Kostaki to London, where he spent most of his life. Since most of his childhood passed in European cities such as Athens, Vienna, London and Istanbul, in addition to Greek, İstefanaki learned French, English and Italian. He went to university in France,¹⁰¹ studied linguistics, literature and law, spoke English and French, yet he was not good in Turkish, although he is known to have received education in eastern languages as well.¹⁰² According to his father Kostaki, İstefanaki received a perfect British education.¹⁰³ Yet it is known that as the

¹⁰⁰ Şafak, p. 27. The French version of his name, Etienne, was occasionally used by Stephanos. Kostaki Musurus named his children with traditional Greek names (Stephanos, Pavlos, etc.), however, when the family moved from Athens to Vienna and London, they started to use the European versions of their names. For instance, in his correspondence after 1880, Stephanos Musurus used French "Etienne". Even his father started to address him as Etienne Musurus. This fact is clearly present in the correspondence between the father and son after İstefanaki was appointed as the Ambassador to Rome.

¹⁰¹ Şafak, p. 27.

¹⁰² Abdülhak Hâmid Tarhan, *Abdülhâk Hâmid'in Hatıraları*, ed. İnci Enginün, İstanbul, 1994, p. 173.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

result of his European education, İstefanaki could not speak Turkish well.¹⁰⁴ Historian Olivier Bouquet interprets İstefanaki's education and cultural affiliation as follows:

Particularly expensive, studies abroad are reserved for the privileged few. We first have the Ottomans of Greek culture to which Europe is a second home, or their cultural homeland. There is nothing more natural than Etienne Musurus studying in Paris: the young man, educated in London, knows French perfectly but ignores Turkish.¹⁰⁵

Father Kostaki Musurus had important role and a good share in the rising of İstefanaki as well as in his advancement from introductory ranks of diplomacy. French historian Olivier Bouquet describes father Musurus's impact on İstefanaki and his other son's careers in his book titled *Les Pachas du Sultan: Essai sur les agents supérieurs de l'Etat ottoman (1839-1909)* in these words:

Kostaki is the head of the family who guides his offspring's in the career; he has managed to have his two sons at his side in London. His eldest, Etienne, is destined to follow his footsteps. The Ottoman legations are the first horizon: he was born in it and studied there with tutors. After completing his studies, he took his first functions in the Chancery. His father taught him the diplomat's craft. He was sent to İstanbul to make himself known and to enjoy his remarkable address book; he obtained for himself and his other son Paul decorations and honors (also secretary to the embassy, but having the soul of a poet rather than being a diplomat). With a talented pen that only his ability as a negotiator equals, Kostaki Musurus manages to take care of the singular situation of being the father superior (no pun intended) to advance his pawns in the chessboard of family honor. As for İstefanaki Musurus Bey, Counselor, and [Paul] Musurus Bey, Second Secretary of the embassy, Musurus Paşa, being their father, would prefer to leave the appreciation of their services to the Imperial Government. Both have the honor to serve the Imperial Government since the age of 18. The first, who was appointed secretary to the embassy 11 years ago and has the rank of civil servant of the first rank, second class and was awarded the Order of *Mecidiye* 3rd class, held three times the function of Chargé d'affaires. And the second, who has the rank of civil servant of the *mütemayiz*¹⁰⁶ rank and is decorated with the order of *Mecidiye* of 4th class, also serves for 11 years as Second Secretary. In the interview above, Musurus Paşa has expressed to Safvet Paşa how much it would be consistent with the principles of fairness of the Imperial Government that the two officials were not forgotten by the mere fact that they are far from the capital and under the direct orders of their father. And he said if no promotion would be given to İstefanaki Bey at the next reshuffle of the Diplomatic Corps of the Sublime Porte, that it would be only fair if he was at least given the *Mecidiye* of 2nd class or that of *Osmaniye* 3rd class; just like what has already been done for other employees who have been in the

¹⁰⁴ Esat Cemal Paker, *Siyasî Tarihimizde Kırk Yıllık Hâriciye Hatıraları*, Hilmi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1952, p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ Olivier Bouquet, *Les Pachas du Sultan: Essai sur les agents supérieurs de l'Etat ottoman (1839-1909)*, Louvain, Peeters, Paris, 2007, p. 256.

¹⁰⁶ This rank is used as Ottoman civil grades which was equal to Efendi degree.

diplomatic services for less. After getting the direction of the legation in Rome for İstefanaki, Musurus, once retired, continued to ensure his son was in good orbit. He helped him overcome difficult passes. And İstefanaki, who knows only too well that he is the creature of Kostaki, finds in his father the best advisor possible. Even when he is an ambassador he continues to rely on him, informs him of everything in long letters down to the last details, continues to seek advice for problems he has to deal with and generally agrees with his opinion, and the frequency of letters are accelerating when career related events arise or when Etienne suspects intrigues being plotted. The father puts all his relational capital at the disposal of his son, waiting for him to strengthen and extend it.¹⁰⁷

Kostaki Musurus's contribution to the members of his family was not limited to the immediate members not just Etienne relied on father Musurus. When considering the correct suitor for his daughter, he stretched a helping hand to his future son in law who was already in the service of the Sublime Porte. In an environment where protection was a privilege for advancing in a career, this was extremely useful for the young man to easily enter the diplomatic service.¹⁰⁸ As a matter of fact, Kostaki's nephew Basil also often sought "paternal solicitude" and took refuge in the affectionate generosity of his uncle.¹⁰⁹

In view of the aforesaid, İstefanaki Musurus started his diplomatic career at the age of twenty one on 19th of December in 1860, as a third rank assistant to his father.¹¹⁰ His brother Pavlos Musurus and his brother-in-law Aleko Vogorides were also working at the embassy.¹¹¹ Thus, the London Embassy was more like a family company.¹¹² On 25th of January, 1861, Kostaki Musurus, with anticipation to motivate İstefanaki and contribute to his advancement, requested from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the promotion of his son to third rank second confidential clerk at the London Embassy.¹¹³ His purpose was well served; İstefanaki was staunchly attached to his careers and consequently, Kostaki Musurus and his family were

¹⁰⁷ Bouquet, pp. 342-343.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 343.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.343.

¹¹⁰ Şafak, p. 27.

¹¹¹ Musa Kılıç, *Osmanlı Hariciyesinde Gayrimüslimler (1836-1876)*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 2003, p. 227.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 227.

¹¹³ Şafak, p. 27.

awarded the Order of *Osmaniye* 1st class by the Sultan Abdülaziz during his visit to İstanbul in 1863. This was an honor which reflected upon the entire family. İstefanaki expressed his thoughts over this honorary promotion in a letter to his father with the following sentences:

The testimony of the goodwill of our Emperor indeed makes us twice happy because we find there, firstly, a new bright mark of honor accorded to the head of our family, and secondly, a very sweet satisfaction for any good patriot of having the head of his country an active and enlightened prince, who while busy attending major political and social issues, did not overlook the services of his faithful servants and knew well how to reward and encourage them with dignity.¹¹⁴

İstefanaki's letter to his father, apart from expressing the importance of Musurus family ought to be examined as an important testimony of first-hand witnesses who were Ottoman bureaucrats and non-Muslims expressing Ottomanist policies implications and reflections of the Tanzimat Era especially after the promulgation of the Reform Decree. Additionally, İstefanaki's remarks concerning the Ottoman Sultan and administrative mentality can be interpreted in the context of Ottoman citizenship and Muslim and non-Muslim equality. Knowing that İstefanaki Musurus with his non-Muslim origin was both a domestic and a foreign observer facilitates forming an opinion about Ottoman domestic and foreign images from the eyes of son Musurus. It also has implications about Sultan's relationship with the citizens as to their rights, which were identified more clearly with the Reform Decree even if with Great Powers' pressure. Consequently, 'the just Sultan' image, the Ottomanist practice and the related discourses were functional to ensure loyalty and motivate people.

After serving as the second clerk for seven years, İstefanaki on 21st of May, 1868¹¹⁵ was appointed as the chief clerk to the London Embassy due to his qualifications and good relations with diplomatic corps and British elite.¹¹⁶ After waiting for a while, father and son Musurus made frequent attempts and even pressed the Porte to obtain a decoration and promotion to İstefanaki Musurus.¹¹⁷ Father

¹¹⁴ Bouquet, p. 171.

¹¹⁵ Şafak, p. 27.

¹¹⁶ Kılıç, p. 228.

¹¹⁷ Bouquet, p. 119.

Musurus intervened between the Grand Vizier and Etienne not only for the fulfilment of the promise, but to avoid it to be forgotten in too much discretion:¹¹⁸

You told me that you were kind enough to ask, the Grand Vizier to give me the Osmania of third class and he promised he would. The first step and the hardest were thus accomplished. I hope that if his Highness will not forget his promise and that you will not hesitate to remind him before you leave Constantinople.¹¹⁹

In 1877, İstefanaki was appointed as the embassy undersecretary.¹²⁰ Naturally, there were some advantages of serving in his father's entourage. Besides the comfortable working environment and conditions, he received a considerably better education than his colleagues, had as well a steady income; was promoted faster¹²¹ and had a promising bright future.¹²² In his future career, İstefanaki would be promoted to vizierate rank and unprecedentedly appointed to the embassies where his father served.¹²³

It was 1879 when Kostaki Musurus thought that it was time his son İstefanaki be appoint as an ambassador. Just when the government was about to give Etienne the *Mecidiye* of 2nd class, the change in the cabinet compelled his father to ask one of his nephews in Istanbul to bring the subject to Savaş Paşa, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, so that he would monitor the application and the commitment would be kept albeit the political change.¹²⁴

It was with his father's support that the Embassy clerk İstefanaki was quickly promoted to be the Ambassador. However, İstefanaki always claimed the opposite. In one of the petitions he wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he clearly stated that he served as the second degree clerk for eight years, as the first degree clerk/secretary for nine years and even served as an ambassador's deputy for a few

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 119.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 119.

¹²⁰ Kılıç, p. 228.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 288.

¹²² Ibid., p. 288.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 288.

¹²⁴ Bouquet, p. 119.

times and that if he hadn't worked for his father, he would have been promoted much earlier, as many of his colleagues of lower ranks were.¹²⁵

Three years after the petition, at the end of 1880 İstefanaki was appointed as the Ambassador to Rome,¹²⁶ where he served for five years. Before leaving for his new post he was received by the Sultan who presented him the Grand Cordon of *Mecidiye*.¹²⁷ This was an exceptional promotion that coincided with the reward of a noteworthy travel compensation of 25,000 francs.¹²⁸

During his ambassadorship in Rome, İstefanaki acquired fame for his parsimonious character. It is said that after the King of Italy gave İstefanaki a deer he hunted as a present, instead of consuming the deer, İstefanaki sold the deer to a butcher, who noted that it was "the deer presented to Ottoman ambassador by the King of Italy," thus increased its price and earned more money. This fact caused great rumors in Rome for days.¹²⁹

İstefanaki Musurus as he habitually did, corresponded from Rome with his mentor and benefactor, father Musurus about his mission post¹³⁰ related his complaints, requests,¹³¹ problems.¹³² He also shared his concerns and doubts related

¹²⁵ Şafak, p. 28

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

¹²⁷ Bouquet, p. 173. This was probably what happened to Ali Pasha, appointed for the first time as an Ambassador (of great importance since it is Paris), who receives the Mecidiye of first rank. However, his record only specifies that he previously obtained the 4th rank.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 173.

¹²⁹ Şafak, p. 29

¹³⁰ "I have another secretary of Polish birth and named Emin Bey. He is a man of 35-40 years. He writes quite well French, keeps the records and is certainly the most helpful employee of the Embassy. But the poor boy does not advance and does not even have a grade, obviously due to insufficient protection." (Etinne Musurus to Constantin Musurus, Rome, 12, April, 1881). Bouquet, p. 328.

¹³¹ "Etienne Musurus, former ambassador to Rome, requires a sum that the state owes him: "as it was a sum of more than fifty Liras, the payment could not have been done without the Department of Foreign Affairs referring it to the Grand Vizier and without the sanction of His Majesty. I reflected upon it by letting Kirkov Efendi note that I was only intending to ask what was in compliance with regulations and adding that, when it came to disturb His Majesty for such a small matter, I would prefer to ponder."(Etinne Musurus to Constantin Musurus, 20, June, 1885) Bouquet, p. 166.

¹³² "Said Pasha saw me to the door and said in French: "I would like to keep you here". Having understood the first time that he wanted to prepare me for the idea of my permanent recall from Rome, I answered that I was naturally always to the orders of the Imperial Government, but thinking about it

to his professional vulnerability and uncertainty stemming from Sultan Abdülhamid II's authoritarian personality other Ottoman bureaucrats felt as well.¹³³ In one of these letters he informed his father of such concerns as "It is said that when His Majesty heard something or suspected someone, He almost always acted without revealing His reason. We must therefore limit ourselves to the assumptions and be content with what others can tell us about it."¹³⁴ İstefanaki Musurus was afraid to befall regarding Sultan's arbitrariness and unpredictability. In this sense, he was a victim of the Hamidian politics and diplomacy as his father and many other high-ranking diplomats. Correspondences between father and son provided important insights into the existing Ottoman central organizations and institutions including bureaucracy diplomacy and financial conditions and deficiencies of qualified personnel in Ottoman bureaucracy at that time.

Upon the increase of Italy's conjunctural significance and the rumors regarding alliance between Britain and Italy, İstefanaki was dismissed from his office in May of 1885. Another reason for his dismissal was declining relationship of the Sultan with Kostaki Musurus, arising from Sultan's skeptical personality and his will to concentrate all powers in his own hand. This dismissal was also due to political conditions of the time and İstefanaki's inability to fulfill the expectations as an ambassador.¹³⁵

since, and since I only stayed for a few minutes with him and him having difficulty expressing himself in French, I am rather inclined to believe that he simply wanted to tell me that he regretted not being able to keep me a little longer with him." (Etinne Musurus to Constantin Musurus, 22, December, 1884) Bouquet, p. 263.

¹³³ "Abdülhamid was suspicious of the power of the Ministry and feared that he might be forced to share power with the ministry in foreign policy decisions once he allowed others some power in the decision-making process. He might also have thought that appointing ex-ambassadors to posts in the foreign ministry or prime ministry might enable the countries where these ex-ambassadors had served to interfere and develop influence over the policy making of the Ottoman Empire. The suspicion of Abdülhamid was equally true for any individual of the Porte who might rise to challenge the supreme authority of the sultan as Said Pasha had. Instead, he preferred the Palace to be the sole authority in making foreign policy. He used to correspond with the ambassadors and consulates personally from the Palace and bypassed the Ministry and Grand Vizirate as he did with governors and local officials." Doğan Gürpınar, *An Intellectual Collective Biography of Ottoman Diplomatic Service in the Hamidian Era Ottoman Diplomatic Service in the Hamidian Era*, Ph.D., Sabancı Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İstanbul, 2010, pp.201-202.

¹³⁴ Bouquet, p. 397.

¹³⁵ Şafak, p. 28.

After Roman ambassadorship, in 1885 İstefanaki was almost appointed to Samos, although not as the Governor like his father, but as “Bey,” or Prince of the island. İstefanaki was not satisfied when he heard of this prospected appointment so he expressed his discontent in his letters to his father who somehow managed to avoid it¹³⁶ for the time being.¹³⁷ However ten years later, in 1896, the Sublime Porte appointed İstefanaki as the Prince of Samos. Contrary to his father, İstefanaki was not successful in Samos for he did not have the duty he desired in the first place, and secondly, he did not spend much effort to measure up to his father’s success that was decorated by the Ottoman state for his achievements there.¹³⁸ The people of Samos were not pleased with İstefanaki’s administration either and upon numerous complaints; he was dismissed from his duty in 1899.¹³⁹

Finally, in 1902, İstefanaki following the steps of his father in his career was appointed as the London Ambassador¹⁴⁰ Father and son serving in the same embassy was not common in Ottoman diplomatic history.¹⁴¹ Accordingly, the relationship between father and son, two Musurus, similar to many other diplomats was not only familial, but also professional. But, İstefanaki did not climb the ladder of diplomatic career as fast and as successful as it was expected from the son of such a renown ambassador. Not only had the political circumstances of the time, but also

¹³⁶ “Çok Sevgili Babacığım, gerçekten düşüncelerini paylaşmak istemekle beraber, şatafatlı “Prens” unvanına karşın Roma görevinin, bu adacık yöneticilerinin gülünç şekilde giydirildiği Sisam yönetiminden daha önemli olmadığını kabul etmem mümkün değildir. Kesin olarak Roma’dan çağrılıp Sisam’a gönderildiysem, bununla Roma görevinin benim için daha önemli olmadığını düşünmek noktasında acaba kuruntuya kapılmalı mıyım ve eğer bu görevi kaybetseysem bunun daha ziyade bu görevin benim için çok önemli olarak görülmesinden ve uzun zamandır bir çok yüksek memurumuzun aşırı isteklerinden kaynaklandığını farzetmek daha akılcı olmaz mı? Benim için en iyi olanı, hayatımı tehlikeye atarak veya (yanılmıyorsam) bu adanın çoğu yöneticileri gibi er ya da geç oradan sürülmek pahasına Sisam’a gitmektir. Marie gibi genç bir kadın için bir köye gidip izbe bir yaşam sürmenin gerçekten ne kadar üzücü olduğunu hesaba katmadan!” (Etinne Musurus to Constantin Musurus, 23, May, 1885) Bouquet, p. 277; Şafak, p. 28.

¹³⁷ Şafak, p. 28.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 29.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁴⁰ Bouquet, Olivier, “Etre Prince de Samos: Desir de Legation, Imaginaire Dynastique et Ordre de la Carriere Chez Etienne et Constantin Musurus” in *Insularites Ottomanes*. Sous la dir. De Nicolas Vatin et Gilles Veinstein, Maisonneuve et Larose, Institut Français d’Etudes Anatoliennes, Paris 2004, p. 280.

¹⁴¹ Şafak, p. 29.

İstefanaki's inability to seize opportunities or perhaps his lack of political talent played an important role in this misfortune.¹⁴² Bearing in mind the fact that Kostaki Musurus was one of the most successful and renowned diplomats in Ottoman diplomacy, İstefanaki Musurus should be evaluated in a more conscientious and objective manner.

İstefanaki spent his life in his father's path and finally faded away, when in October of 1907 he fell and broke his knee cap and died in a couple of months at the age of 66. He was buried in İstanbul.¹⁴³

2.2.3 İstefanaki Musurus' Contributions to the Ottoman Diplomacy

İstefanaki Musurus served the Ottoman state as a diplomat and bureaucrat for quite a long time, from the year of 1860 to 1907. After different posts, he finally ascended to the ambassador and was sent to London where he had passed his childhood and adolescence years. Thus, the father and son had the chance to serve as an ambassador in the same embassy in the same European capital. This, as mentioned before, was unique in the Ottoman foreign office and diplomatic history. İstefanaki was the last link in the chain of the Musurus family, which was one of the most important representatives of the Phanariot tradition in Ottoman bureaucracy and diplomacy so his family's name was continued until the last days of his career and life. Nevertheless, İstefanaki Musurus with his devotion to safeguarding the benefits of the Ottoman State was a good example for the loyalty of Ottoman non-Muslims at the time of accelerating nationalism.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁴³ Şafak, p. 29.

CHAPTER III

İBRAHİM EDHEM PAŞA (1818-1893) AND OSMAN HAMDİ BEY (1842-1910)

3.1. İBRAHİM EDHEM PAŞA (1818-1893)

3.1.1. Introduction

Ibrahim Edhem Paşa was an extraordinary figure in the court among the nineteenth century Ottoman statesmen. His life story is also a partial history of Ottoman Westernization in the sense that his time was the period of direct encounter of the Empire with Western culture, educational institutions and knowledge. He differentiated from other top-ranking bureaucrats with his Greek origin, educational background, personality and career with ups and downs. Unlike his contemporaries, he did not display the characteristics of accustomed Ottoman bureaucrats. As an enlightened man of Tanzimat, he was an intellectual bureaucrat, technocrat and man of science. His education, experiences and enlightened personality equipped him with these different qualifications.

Like Ahmed Vefik Paşa, Münif Paşa and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, he continued his bureaucratic career with scientific and intellectual interest he acquired during the years he was educated in France as a mining engineer. He did not abandon geology and mining in his entire lifetime. He used his theoretical knowledge in all of his missions. He contributed to Ottoman reform in political, technical, educational and cultural areas.

Edhem Paşa returned to his country as the first mining engineer. He was prominently influenced by French culture during his years in Paris so he became a

staunch representative of this culture in his personal and professional life. He reflected his great commitments in French as well, thus served for their installation into western culture. He passed his artistic and intellectual pursuits to his children and grandchildren providing their further display through professional interest they all shared. These placed İbrahim Edhem Paşa and his family to a special position as contributors to Ottoman and Turkish modernization to the point that although he did not intentionally devise it, his lineage in science and fine arts became a tradition.

3.1.2. Upbringing of İbrahim Edhem Paşa

İbrahim Edhem Paşa was born to a Greek family in 1818, on the island of Chios (Sakız) intensely populated with Orthodox Greeks.¹⁴⁴ There is no precise information about his family apart from his Greek ancestry. In 1821 when he was at the age of four, the Greek Revolt turned into a War of Independence spreading to the island of Chios. When the Christian subjects of the island were suppressed by Ottoman and Egyptian fleets in 1822, many of the islanders were captured and enslaved including Edhem. He was brought to İstanbul as a captive for sale and purchased by the Grand Admiral Mehmed Hüsrev Paşa,¹⁴⁵ who did not have children and frequently adopted, brought up and educated orphans most of whom later occupied important positions in Ottoman bureaucracy.¹⁴⁶ Thus, in the first half of nineteenth century, his mansion functioned as an unofficial educational institution where many members of Ottoman ruling elite were raised. It was in this environment that Edhem Paşa with his outstanding intellect and a talent came into prominence of Hüsrev Paşa and hitherto was his protégé.

When Hüsrev Paşa within the scope of Ottoman reform movement developed a determination to send four of the brightest boys he took under his protection to Paris for education; he introduced them to Sultan Mahmud II in Aynalıkavak

¹⁴⁴ İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar*, vol. 2, Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1945, p. 600.

¹⁴⁵ İnal, p. 600.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 601.

Pavilion.¹⁴⁷ Hence, Abdüllatif, Ahmed, Edhem and Hüseyin became the first Muslim students the Ottoman state gave the chance to receive education in Europe in 1831, the twelve year old İbrahim Edhem and his three companions sailed from the Ottoman capital accompanied by Amédée Jaubert who was a well-known French diplomat, orientalist, translator, and traveler. After a forty-day sea voyage; they landed in Marseille, and then travelled to Paris.¹⁴⁸ Jean-François Barbet who was the owner of the most famous preparation school of that period in Paris assumed the responsibility of their education. In fact, Institution Barbet had gained its fame for being the boarding school where, Louis Pasteur, famous French chemist and microbiologist, was educated.¹⁴⁹ So, Abdüllatif, Ahmed, Edhem and Hüseyin were enrolled in Institution Barbet to learn French and adopt French culture and civilization. This preparatory education was to equip them with the essential acknowledgements and manners for their prospective higher education.

Hüsrev Paşa continued to watch over his adoptees during their orientation process. In his letters to Barbet and the boys he reiterated the reasons for their attendance to the school and with remarks as the below, motivated them to achieve their mission in the direction of Ottoman westernization.¹⁵⁰

Your friends here display a remarkable progress, and even though their conditions are quite different than yours, they try to outdistance you in terms of knowledge. My sons, if you want me to love and protect you, be as hardworking as them since your conditions make your duty easier; otherwise, you can imagine what a disgrace it would be to return here without gaining any knowledge.”¹⁵¹ In another letter that he wrote in July 15, 1832, he revealed his long-term intentions as: “When I choose you among the young people that I raised, I entrusted you all the hopes of Muslim youth education. Your achievements will set example to the dignitaries here towards their

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 602

¹⁴⁸ Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Son Sadrazamlar ve Başvekiller*, İstanbul: Ahmet Sait Matbaası, 1948, p. 404.

¹⁴⁹ Eldem, Edhem. "Sadrazam İbrahim Edhem." Web. 6 Feb 2013. <http://www.ambafrance-tr.org/>. Web. .>.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.,

¹⁵¹ Ibid.,

decision on whether they should follow this instance to entrust the future of their children to the wisdom of Europe.¹⁵²

İbrahim Edhem successfully completed his education in Institution Barbet as his benefactor and Ottoman state desired. He was admitted to L'Ecole des Mines¹⁵³ (School of Mines) as a foreign student in the external (externe) status in 1835.¹⁵⁴ Having overcome the cultural barriers there, he overshadowed his three companions and become a quintessential example.¹⁵⁵ İbrahim Edhem maintained his success during his higher education. He was among one of the best students at the L' Ecole des Mines.¹⁵⁶ After four years of education, he graduated from this school with Bachelor of Arts degree in 1839¹⁵⁷ and specialized in mining and geological engineering, started his career as the first Ottoman mining engineer equipped with Western knowledge and methodology.¹⁵⁸ However, before returning to İstanbul to practice his profession immediately after graduating Edhem travelled around several central European countries including France, Belgium and Switzerland to observe and survey scientifically their mines.¹⁵⁹

In conclusion, İbrahim Edhem and his companions' educations and experiences in Paris did not purport only foreign education for them and reformist Ottoman ruling bureaucracy, but also provided "one of the first and most significant signs of a form of prelude to the process of Westernization that would form the core of the Tanzimat reforms."¹⁶⁰ Thereafter, the Sublime Porte systematized sending Ottoman students to Europe for scientific, vocational and technical education.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁵³ The Ecole des Mines de Paris, is one of the oldest French higher education institutions in engineering, was created in 1783 by King Louis XVI in order to train intelligent directors of mines.

¹⁵⁴ Eldem, Edhem. "Sadrazam İbrahim Edhem Paşa."

¹⁵⁵ Eldem, Edhem. "The Story of the Little Greek Boy Who Became a Powerful Pasha: Myth and Reality in the Life of İbrahim Edhem Pasha, c. 1818–1893." *Athens Dialogues E-Journal* (2010): <<http://athensdialogues.chs.harvard.edu/cgi-bin/WebObjects/athensdialogues.woa/wa/dist?dis=51>>.

¹⁵⁶ Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer, *Russia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century*, 2008, p. 204.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 204.

¹⁵⁸ Kemal Erguvanlı, *Türkiye'nin ilk Maden Mühendisi: İbrahim Edhem Paşa (1818-1893)*, *Bilim Tarihi*, Vol. 29, Mart 1993, p. 10.

¹⁵⁹ Pakalın, p. 404.

¹⁶⁰ Edhem, *The Story of the Little Greek Boy Who Became a Powerful Pasha*,

Furthermore, being the first Ottoman Muslim students educated in Europe, ‘children’ of Hüsrev Paşa served as direct contacts with West and were “part of Ottoman civilization project” in the context of Ottoman modernization.¹⁶¹ They like the Musurus’ became role models for installing westernization, into modernizing Ottoman bureaucracy without intermediaries who were insufficient diplomatic representatives, converted foreign adviser and instructors.

As for İbrahim Edhem, his individualistic experiences and acquisitions in Paris at an early age shaped his personality, career and worldview, making him an admirer of French culture and civilization. This process not only influenced his own life but also had a substantial impact on the future of his children and grandchildren as well.

3.1.3 Career Life of İbrahim Edhem Paşa

In 1839, İbrahim Edhem returned to İstanbul, entered the service of the military and was nominated to the Deliberative Council of the Army (Dar-ı Şurayı Askeri) with the rank of *miralay* (colonel) under the auspices of Hüsrev Paşa.¹⁶² Consequently, he was appointed as the director of Sarıyer copper mine; in 1842 that of silver mine of Gümüşhacıköy, and then chief engineer to Keban, Ergani mines in 1845.¹⁶³ He was called to Istanbul in 1847 to be appointed to the Palace army. Promoted *Mirliva* (brigadier-general) in 1848 and *Ferik* (lieutenant-general) three years later, İbrahim Edhem was appointed to Mabeyn-i Hümayun with the rank of lieutenant-general in 1851. Giving French lesson to Sultan Abdülmecid while in this office¹⁶⁴ provided Edhem the opportunity to introduce himself to the Sultan and establish close contact with him. In the meantime, he was selected as a member to both the *Encümen-i Dâniş* (Ottoman Academy of Sciences) and newly established the *Meclis-i Ali Tanzimat* (High Council of Tanzimat).¹⁶⁵ These appointments

¹⁶¹ Eldem, "Sadrazam İbrahim Edhem Paşa."

¹⁶² Pakalın, p. 405.

¹⁶³ İnal, p. 3.

¹⁶⁴ İnal, p. 603; Pakalın, p. 405.

¹⁶⁵ İnal, p. 603.

enabled him active participation in three different positions namely in Ottoman military, bureaucracy and scientific community. In addition to these, he was sent to Sevastopol in 1854 during the Crimean War, to deliver the certificates and present decorations to those proven worthy of them. Shortly afterwards, he was missioned to Belgrade to investigate and settle some state issues concerning the suzerainty of Serbia.¹⁶⁶

Edhem in 1855 was dismissed from his service at the palace with the influential interference of Tophane Müşiri (Field Marshal) Fethi Paşa though he preserved his position as a member of the council.¹⁶⁷ Concerning İbrahim Edhem's dismissal his son, Halil Edhem Bey pointed out that:

After the Crimean War, four factions appeared among notables in İstanbul. Tophane-i Amire (the Imperial Arsenal) Müşiri Ahmed Fethi Paşa who had credit and reliability in the eye of Abdülmecid was in the first faction, Mustafa Reşid Paşa who was a strong proponent of England was a representative of the second, known as the patriotic faction. The third faction was represented by pro French Fuad and Ali Paşas, rivals of Reşid and Fethi Paşas. The fourth faction did not follow a specific policy; it rather aimed to consolidate the first faction or to weaken the second, depending on the situation. Fethi Paşa with his few friends who were anticipating to drive Edhem Paşa away from the Sultan's environment provided his dismissal from his post in the palace.¹⁶⁸

The dismissal of İbrahim Edhem could also be accounted for the hostility between the aforementioned factions and Hüsrev Paşa, who was still his protector. Therefore it did not disfavor him. In 1856 İbrahim Edhem replaced Ali Paşa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the rank of vizier in the cabinet Mustafa Reşit Paşa, formed after a long struggle to suppress Ali and Fuad Paşa's power in the Sublime Porte.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Reşit Paşa's plan did not reach to a successful conclusion and he was obliged to work with Ali and Fuad Paşas once again. Accordingly, İbrahim Edhem's first experience as a minister resulted in his dismissal from Foreign Affairs at the end of a six-month office term. Nevertheless, he henceforth was included among the high ranking statesmen until the end of his career.

¹⁶⁶ Pakalın, p. 405.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 405.

¹⁶⁸ İnal, p. 604.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 603-604.

Apart from his bureaucratic duties in İstanbul, İbrahim Edhem was found appropriate for temporary missions in politically fragile regions such as Serbia due his former experiences. He was send to Belgrade in order to solve the conflict with Prince Aleksandar Karadordevic who was the ruler of Serbian Principality and to maintain the order and safety of the community of this region.¹⁷⁰ Completing this mission successfully, he was decorated with the first class order Mecidi in 1858. Afterwards, he was charged with welcoming Russian Emperor Alexander II in Odessa and was appointed the Minister of Commerce in the cabinet of Mehmed Rüştü Paşa in the following year.¹⁷¹ Dismissed from this ministry in 1861, he devoted himself to serving the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkamı Adliye). However, he was reappointed to the same position several months later and in 1863 he concurrently was given the responsibility of Ministry of Education, as well as of Public Works (Nafia) while he presided the Ottoman Bank which was linked to Commerce m Ministry.¹⁷² Although he lost this post this time to Savfet Paşa only to be reappointed to the same position in 1865 for the third time in six years while his position as the education minister came to an end due to the separation of trade and education ministries the same year.¹⁷³

The repeated appointments were mainly due to the financial difficulties in the Tanzimat Era as well as lack of western educated, reformist and competent dignitaries, making Edhem Paşa indispensable for the state. On the other hand, the Pasha through his various performances multiplying demonstrated that he was worthy of this dependency.

Providing the establishment of the Imperial Printing Press (*Matbaa-i Amire*) right next to the Topkapı Palace as the minister of Public Works is only an example to many important achievements of Edhem Paşa.¹⁷⁴ Infact, it was his reliability and

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 606.

¹⁷¹ Pakalın, p. 409.

¹⁷² İnal, p. 607.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 607.

¹⁷⁴ Stanford J. Shaw, Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 219.

esteemed personality as well as various positive bureaucratic experiences with different groups of Ottoman subjects and foreigners, facilitated by his competence in foreign languages, namely in Greek which was his mother tongue that multiplied his popularity and increased the stately confidence in him.¹⁷⁵ It was therefore that he was confided with challenging tasks in turbulent regions. His appointment to Tirhala, an Ottoman sancak in Thessaly was one of the kinds. Moreso, Tirhala as a border town to Greece called for more attention of the Sublime Porte due to the incipient Cretan Revolt (1866–1869).

Edhem Paşa was appointed the Governor of Tirhala in the place of Hasan Paşa who was accused of exercising violence and oppressing and his own subject.¹⁷⁶ In addition to this, he was also appointed as Governor to Yania in 1867.¹⁷⁷ Returning to İstanbul, he was nominated to the Council of State as a member and chairman of Chamber of Public Works in 1868.¹⁷⁸ He was charged with Minister of the Council of Judicial Regulations (Divan-ı Ahkam-ı Adliye), later he was appointed as Minister of Commerce in 1871.¹⁷⁹

Well appreciated for his services, İbrahim Edhem Paşa was awarded with the First Class of the Order of the Osmani (Birinci Rütbe Osmani Nişanı) before he was discharged from Ministry of Commerce in 1872 and from Ministry of Public Works in 1873.¹⁸⁰ In the following year, he was reappointed as the minister as well as a member of the Council of State.¹⁸¹ In 1873 which was an important year in Edhem Paşa's career, Ottoman State attended the Vienna International Exposition with a committee headed by Edhem Paşa. This committee prepared an important monumental publication *Usul-ı Mimari-i Osmani* and *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* reflecting

¹⁷⁵ İnal, p. 608.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 608.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 608.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 608.

¹⁷⁹ İnal, p. 608.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 608.

¹⁸¹ Pakalın, p. 410.

Ottoman culture and architecture to be exhibited in the exposition.¹⁸² It can be asserted that among all duties he assumed Ministry of Public Works was the most compatible one with his education, formation and background which was a fine display of his multidimensional character. In 1875, he was discharged from his mission as a member of the Council of State.¹⁸³

Ibrahim Edhem Paşa was appointed as the Ottoman Ambassador to Berlin in 1876. This was a turning point in his career for paving the way for the rest of his bureaucratic career.¹⁸⁴ Although he remained only a few months in Berlin, he was appreciated and praised by Minister President of Prussia Otto von Bismarck¹⁸⁵ who was impressed by Paşa's personality and proficiency at Western education and culture.¹⁸⁶ Soon after Abdülhamid II acceded to throne in 1876, Conference of Constantinople (Tersane Konferansı) was held in Istanbul by the Great Powers to settle the Balkan crisis resulting from Herzegovina and Bulgarian uprisings. Edhem Paşa was called to İstanbul to participate in this conference, as the second Ottoman delegate.¹⁸⁷ The Sultan and the Porte well aware of Ethem's fluency in German and French and his profound knowledge on European politics, diplomacy and history had requested his attendance.¹⁸⁸ It is possible to claim that this appointment was the pro-German foreign policy that Abdülhamid II pursued in order to secure Germany's support against Great Britain, France and Russia.

Edhem Paşa with his performance and 'firm attitude' at the conference, gained Abdülhamid II's confidence to the point that he was nominated as the President of the Council of State at the end of 1876.¹⁸⁹ Immediately after this

¹⁸² Ahmet Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," in *Muqarnas* 24 2007, p. 117.

¹⁸³ Pakalın, p. 410.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 410.

¹⁸⁵ İnal, p. 626.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 626.

¹⁸⁷ İnal, p. 609; Pakalın, p. 410.

¹⁸⁸ Pakalın, p. 410.

¹⁸⁹ Ercüment Kuran, "İbrahim Edhem Pasha," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1969, p. 993.

appointment, İbrahim Edhem Paşa was promoted as the Grand Vizier in 1877, replacing Midhat Paşa. He served at this position about for a year before he was awarded First Class Murassa Order.¹⁹⁰ His grand vizierate was marked by the opening of the Ottoman Parliament on 9th of March and by the rejection of the London Protocol on 9th of April, resulting in the Russian declaration of war on the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹¹ He therefore was held responsible for the defeats of the Ottoman armies in The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and was dismissed from this position.¹⁹² Consequently, he was sent to Vienna as the Ottoman Ambassador by the Sultan possibly due to harsh public criticisms as well as of the Cabinet.

Edhem Paşa served as the Ottoman Ambassador to Prussia from 1879 to 1883, when he returned to İstanbul this time to be appointed as the Minister of the Interior. The fall of Said Paşa cabinet, in 1885 marked the end of this mission for Edhem Paşa who¹⁹³ retired from state service in 1886, and did not hold any others then after.

In conclusion Edhem's stance regarding the nature of Tanzimat bureaucracy and reforms could be drawn through examining the bureaucratic career of İbrahim Edhem Paşa. Beginning from 1839 to 1876, he served in various official duties many lasting notably short periods, which was an indication of unstable and unorganized domestic policy of Tanzimat Era. The newly established ministries, institutions and councils that İbrahim Edhem was actively involved in changed frequently with regard to content and form due to impetuous, pragmatic and unsystematic nature of Tanzimat reforms. As a result, various well-educated bureaucrats like İbrahim Edhem were not able to make full use their education qualifications and skills. In fact, İbrahim Edhem who was equipped with western knowledge, methods and values was absorbed in the dominant Ottoman political culture. This all by itself indicated that Ottoman State Project of sending students to Europe with the anticipation of utilizing them in suitable positions in conformity with the education

¹⁹⁰ İnal, p. 614.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 614.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 614.

¹⁹³ İnal, p. 621.

could not produce the desired outcome since these students eventually merged into the existing bureaucratic structure.

3.1.4 Contributions of İbrahim Edhem Paşa

İbrahim Edhem Paşa left a noteworthy mark upon Ottoman Westernization by means of his mastery and commitment to western values, particularly the French to the degree of treating them almost like faith. He was a persistent and faithful representative of these values, displaying this in his personal life and with his contributions to Ottoman reforms. Nevertheless, his relation with and perspectives regarding western values and westernism were not focused on installing new terms to mining engineering as a physical or natural science. Contrary to many of his colleagues, he was closely interested in human sciences, arts, European culture and history and preserved the enthusiasm he developed for increasing his knowledge in these areas throughout his life. Edhem Paşa's knowledge and intellectual curiosity about multiple social areas played a significant role in stimulating the creativity he displayed in his political appointments and high-ranking missions. Fully aware of Ottoman realities and requirements he attempted to install knowledge, know-how and technology of the west into institutions and society while serving in authorized posts. In fact, the reforms that Edhem Paşa proposed were beyond the time although they did not hold any place in the agenda of government in spite of the fact that some of them such as conversion to metric system would have eased life for the government and public.

The fact that İbrahim Edhem was devotedly attached to the west and western values did not prevent him from ignoring the Ottoman. On the contrary he made a point of making important contributions to providing the respectability of Ottoman civilization while striving for elevating Ottoman state and culture so that both would not be recognized as second class in the west nor would the Ottoman state be regarded as "uncivilized".

Osman Hamdi and other sons of Edhem Paşa displayed similar attitudes to that of their father towards comprehending and safeguarding elements of Ottoman culture and civilization in scientific and artistic manners.

As a “distinguished technocrat, a suave westernized intellectual, and a model bureaucrat of the period of reform”¹⁹⁴ Edhem Paşa served Ottoman bureaucracy in various ways. The contributions of İbrahim Edhem as a high ranking bureaucrat and Men of Tanzimat¹⁹⁵ could be classified into three domains, which are Ottoman science, art and culture, and social and bureaucratic reforms.

To begin with the first mining engineer in Ottoman state in the modern sense, Edhem Paşa initially practiced his profession actively in mines at different regions of Anatolia. After he began to be involved in Ottoman bureaucracy, he served Ottoman science via Ottoman scientific communities and scientific journals. He was a prominent member of the *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman Society of Sciences) and published a series of articles under the name of *Medhal-i İlmi-i Jeoloji* (Introduction to Geology) and *İlm-i Maadin* (Mining Science) in *the Mecmua-i Fünun* (Journal of Sciences).¹⁹⁶ The articles about mines and geology published in this journal were 165 pages in length, and İbrahim Edhem assisted diffusion of Western scientific knowledge among intellects of Ottoman State through these articles.¹⁹⁷ He coined the term “geology” instead of *İlm-i Tabakatü’l arz* in writings introducing the term for the first time to the Ottoman scientists and students.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, he was a pioneer who played an essential role almost in all educational processes such as the establishment of *Darülfünun* and *Darüşşafaka*. A member of *Darülfünun*’s regulatory board in order to arrange the curricula, İbrahim Edhem donated the necessary samples, collections and technical instruments to these schools to be used for geology lectures.¹⁹⁹ While the construction of the *Darülfünun* was still in process he delivered the lectures which were supposed to be given in public in his residence with the approval of Grand vizier Reşid²⁰⁰ so that continuity in public

¹⁹⁴ Ersoy, p. 135.

¹⁹⁵ Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 219.

¹⁹⁶ Emre Dölen, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Bilim,” *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İletişim Yay., İstanbul 1985, Vol. I, p. 188.

¹⁹⁷ Dölen, p. 188.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.188.

²⁰⁰ Pakalın, p. 440.

education would not be tarnished. As a matter of fact, this was publicly announced through the Levant Herald dated December 22, 1875 as in below:

A lecture on "Ottoman Architecture" was delivered at the town residence of Edhem Paşa on Friday last by Montani Efendi. A number of Turkish and Christian functionaries were present.²⁰¹

Secondly, Edhem Paşa made outstanding contributions to Ottoman art and culture with two important publications: *Usul-ı Mimari-i Osmani* (Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture) and *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* (Costumes of the Ottoman Empire).²⁰² Especially, the Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture held the importance of being the first scholarly study about the history and theory of Ottoman architecture.²⁰³ *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* targeted to define and establish in World architecture of Ottoman architectural past with modern artistic, architectural perspective.²⁰⁴ Architectural historian Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu summarized the contribution of this publication to Ottoman architecture and aesthetic as follows:

The importance of The Principles of Ottoman Architecture was threefold. First, it marked the rise of a historical awareness of Ottoman as well as Western architectural aesthetics. Second, it attempted to codify the former to provide a universally recognizable identity for Ottoman architecture. Third, it announced the beginning of a nationalistic ideology that was to dominate architecture in the coming decades. In sum, the voluminous work of Ibrahim Edhem and his co-authors signalled the beginnings of an intellectual concern with architecture outside of the military schools and the traditional bureaucratic practice.²⁰⁵

As for *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* (Costumes of the Ottoman Empire), this publication consisting of seventy-four photographic plates documented different Ottoman costumes from three main sections (the European Territories, the Aegean/Mediterranean Islands, and the Asian/African Territories) which are subdivided into twenty-two units.²⁰⁶ Thus, far collected local costumes and accessories which represented regional, ethnic, social and religious elements of

²⁰¹ Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "The Birth of an Aesthetic Discourse in Ottoman Architecture," METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 8, 2 1988, p. 116.

²⁰² Ersoy, p. 117.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 117.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 117.

²⁰⁵ Nalbantoğlu, p. 120.

²⁰⁶ Ersoy, p. 177.

Ottoman Empire by the organizers were photographed by famous photographer Pascal Sebah in mansion of Edhem Paşa at Kantarcılar.²⁰⁷ İbrahim Edhem Paşa and his commission of the 1873 Exhibition created and immortalised much valuable ethnographical, cultural and anthropological testimony for Ottoman society and culture, it also visualized the imperial diversity, richness and a historical section of Ottoman daily life. Finally, Edhem Paşa translated the first volume of Andalusia history by French author Viardot, made contributions to Ottoman historical studies. The second of the two volume book however was translated by renowned poet and author Ziya Paşa by the request of İbrahim Edhem Paşa.²⁰⁸

Thirdly, İbrahim Edhem made significant contributions in public services. His adoption of the metric system including utilization of meter, gram, and litter instead of Ottoman traditional weights and measures for the purpose of standardizing the regionals to facilitate domestic and international commercial transactions is of particular importance. In line with other reforms of Ottoman modernization is the booklet he prepared to enable the practicing of the new system throughout the Ottoman lands.²⁰⁹ Consequently, İbrahim Edhem Paşa ordered posters exemplifying new unit of measurement from Paris, had them translated into Ottoman and distributed to administrative units.²¹⁰ In the meanwhile he prepared regulations about the new metric system and published them in a book to explain the new application in detail as well. Despite the fact that İbrahim Edhem Paşa had planned and prepared thoroughly substructure about this application, this revolutionary innovation attempt failed due to “longstanding familiarity of the general public with the traditional system” and “fraudulent practices of shopkeepers’ hostility toward the new system.”²¹¹ Additionally, “the decimal base of the new system, its new terminology with confusing prefixes such as uşr (deci), uşeyr (deca), and mişar (centi), the various psychological obstacles, and the astronomical basis of the metric

²⁰⁷ Ahmet Ersoy, “A Sartorial Tribute to Tanzimat Ottomanism: the Elbise-i ‘Osmaniyye Album,” in *Muqarnas* vol. 20, 2003, p. 193.

²⁰⁸ İnal, p. 623.

²⁰⁹ Masters and Ágoston, pp. 597-598.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 598.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 598.

system, which was seen as lacking any social, functional, or human dimension, also slowed its adoption.”²¹² It must be noted that transition to the metric system was not achieved until 1934, in Republican Era.²¹³

Before concluding, another point that is worth mentioning is that İbrahim Edhem’s children are also regarded as pioneering figures of science and fine arts in late Ottoman period and Republican Turkey. Implanting seeds of westernization to his sons through education, personal upbringing and guidance fortified İbrahim Edhem’s recognition as a notable historical personality. Furthermore, according to historian Wendy Shaw “Edhem’s close relations with the royal family, as well as his appointment in various departments of government paved the way for his sons to have the connections and education necessary to construct a new attitude concerning the arts in the empire.”²¹⁴

In this respect, his eldest son, Osman Hamdi followed his father’s way: he received education in Paris and his commitment to French culture and values was Osman Hamdi’s distinguishing feature. More importantly, he was the founding father of Ottoman museology, archaeology and of fine arts education in the late Ottoman Empire. İbrahim Edhem’s other son, İsmail Galip Bey received an ordinary education in İstanbul. Later, he was canalized into numismatics (meskukat in Turkish) studies in the company of Osman Hamdi and gained reputation with important works on Early Islamic, Seljukid and Ottoman coins, specie.²¹⁵

As for Halil Edhem, he was educated abroad during his father’s ambassadorship in Wien, and then he continued his higher education in chemistry in universities of Zurich and Wien.²¹⁶ However, he too decided to concentrate on archaeology, history and epigraphy, and ultimately became one of the most

²¹² Ibid., p. 598.

²¹³ Masters and Ağoston, p. 598.

²¹⁴ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, University of California Press, 2003, pp. 97-98.

²¹⁵ Selin Adile Atlıman, *Museological and Archaeological Studies In The Ottoman Empire During The Westernization Process In the 19th Century*, Unpublished M. A. Thesis, METU, Ankara, pp. 57-58.

²¹⁶ Eldem, Edhem, *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2010, pp. 257-258.

successful art and architectural historian and archaeologist in Ottoman and modern Turkey.²¹⁷ With Edhem Paşa's sons' breathtaking contributions to arts, sciences and nascent disciplines of Turkey "turned Edhem Pasha's life story into a sort of synopsis of successful Westernization."²¹⁸

²¹⁷ L. A. Mayer, "In Memoriam: Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938)", *Ars Islamica*, 6(2), 1939, pp. 198-201.

²¹⁸ Edhem Eldem, *The Story of the Little Greek Boy*,

3.2 OSMAN HAMDİ BEY (1842-1910)

3.2.1 Meeting Osman Hamdi Bey

Osman Hamdi Bey, an Ottoman notable of the Tanzimat era, was one of the influential and outstanding figures providing the development and professionalism of fine arts, museology, archeology and painting in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, he was the founder of the first fine arts school and museum in Turkey. He was not only an artist, but also an intellectual and a profound administrator; therefore, he was not content with only the availability of these innovative institutions. Accordingly, he tried to inject reasoning and requirement behind their establishment into the minds of the museum personnel and the students attending his school. He skilfully set up a supportive network of professional knowledge, qualified manpower and technical infrastructure to promote museology, archaeology, fine arts as well and to ensure their continuity through bringing up prospective artists and specialists. Osman Hamdi's distinguished qualifications bore close linkage to his relations with the Western world; his attachment and commitment to culture, life style and values particularly of France.

Osman Hamdi was a deep appreciator of the West and Western values. His such qualifications reflected over his world view and domestic life. The perfection he acquired in French language during his law education in Paris had a substantial impact upon his career, artistry, intellectual world and even his private life. Moreso, having to communicate in French with foreign colleagues and institutions after he returned to İstanbul developed his conduct of this language to such an excellency that he preferred to use French not only at his home while talking with his wife and children, but also in the dedications he wrote for his paintings. In fact, his family life, domestic relations, daily routines, colleagues and entourage were all indicatives that Osman Hamdi had established his own West in İstanbul. This makes it possible to claim that with his understanding of education, museology, the artistic ecole he

represented and the newspapers he read, he was almost a Westerner: In fact, historian Edhem Eldem explains this as:

Osman Hamdi Bey was not just an imitator of the West. For an individual having lived in Paris for eight years, corresponded in French, signed and dedicated almost all of his paintings in French, married two French women, and integrated European bourgeoisie culture into his personal life, west was a life style as well as an identity. The dominant impact of West in his personal life was also apparent in the fulfilment of his official and public duties. His paintings with westernized orientalist themes, his cooperation with the western world to materialize his efforts in archaeology, his museum complex inspired by Western samples could all be regarded as the examples of this dominant effect.²¹⁹

French archeologist of the time Salomon Reinach remarked that Osman Hamdi was “the most Parisian of Ottomans, the most Ottoman of Parisian.”²²⁰ However, Osman Hamdi did not disregard or neglect Ottoman culture and people in any manner. On the contrary, for his paintings he selected Ottoman themes, backgrounds, and architectural elements. He guarded artifacts from foreigners’ lootings. In one sense, Osman Hamdi Bey was a westerner as of “his youth and his mind”; but he at heart, was exclusively a Turk²²¹ although it was difficult for him to balance his emotions for his motherland and his second land: “Salomon Reinach had called him a hyphen between two worlds; the truth is that he was also caught between these two worlds, but that he managed to turn this captivity into a remarkably productive, effective, and from his own perspective, gratifying endeavour.”²²²

The fact that Osman Hamdi professionally pioneered in modernizing and institutionalizing the formerly ignored disciplines of archaeology and museology in the Empire demonstrates his aim for registering long-standing social outcomes rather than personalized attempts, destined to fail soon after the initiator. This distinguished him from the accustomed Ottoman bureaucrats. More specifically, rather than advancing in Ottoman bureaucracy Osman Hamdi Bey preferred to pursue his own

²¹⁹ Eldem, Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü, p. 90.

²²⁰ Edhem Eldem, An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)", *Archaeology, Antropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, edited by, D. Shankland, İstanbul: İsis Press, 2004, An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)", p. 123.

²²¹ Ibid., pp. 123-124.

²²² Edhem Eldem, An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds, p. 147.

artistic ideals interests, and made outstanding contributions to Ottoman art and culture. Having gained the confidence and support of the palace with his hard work and discipline as an Ottoman bureaucrat allowed Osman Hamdi to proceed positively in all duties and tasks he assumed.

3.2.2 Upbringing of Osman Hamdi Bey and First Sparks of Art in His Life

Osman Hamdi was born on 30 December 1842, as the first son of İbrahim Edhem Paşa.²²³ He started primary school in Beşiktaş, İstanbul and from 1856 on, continued his education in Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliye (the School of Judicial Education) where his ability to paint caught the attention of his teachers and family²²⁴ whereas the charcoal drawings of his earlier years were self-cherished.²²⁵ As a matter of fact Cenân Şarc, Osman Hamdi Bey's grandson, mentioned a yellow drawing book in their home with the inscription "My First Drawing Book" on the cover, consisting of Osman Hamdi's childhood paintings.²²⁶

Archaeologist and museologist Aziz Ogan, in one of his articles explained that Edhem Paşa took his son Osman Hamdi with him when he was missioned to Belgrade as an inspector. Therein, he sent Osman Hamdi to Vienna where he had the opportunity to visit different museums and to view a variety of artifacts.²²⁷ Returning from Vienna, with new visions, Osman Hamdi tried to persuade his father to send him to France for education. Since İbrahim Edhem himself was raised with Western education, he wanted his son to benefit from Western culture as well. Although he relatively delayed, deciding for Osman Hamdi's education in France, he eventually sent his son to Paris for law education.²²⁸

²²³Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Vakfı, 1995, p. 207.

²²⁴ Ibid., pp. 207-208.

²²⁵ Ibid, p. 208.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 208.

²²⁷ Ibid., p. 208.

²²⁸ Ibid., pp. 208-209.

Osman Hamdi was about 18 years old when his father finally decided for his prospective education. It must be kept in mind that İbrahim Edhem was only 12 years old when he went abroad and 18 was an advanced age to start education in a foreign land. Although the exact reasons of this delay is unknown, it can be assumed that Edhem Paşa either wanted to guarantee a prestigious official position for his son first, or he might have realized his son's ability and interest in fine arts and worried that this might be preventive for a regular formal education in Paris. Another assumption for his reluctance can be that İbrahim Edhem pre-calculated possible criticisms of Ottoman bureaucrats and his opponents regarding the lifestyle Osman Hamdi would lead in Paris and later, at home.

Nevertheless, the decision was finally made and Osman Hamdi left İstanbul at the end of March 1860 in the company of Louis Gardney an old friend and teacher of Edhem Paşa, who gave French lessons to sultan's sons in the palace.²²⁹ Gardney was responsible from conceding Osman Hamdi to the Ottoman ambassador in France, Ahmet Vefik Paşa.²³⁰ Osman Hamdi and Louis Gardney arrived to Paris on the 11th April after brief stops at Naples and Rome. Although it was initially decided that Osman Hamdi would attend the Ottoman School operating in Paris,²³¹ he enrolled at the Barbet Institute since the former was full.²³² Jean François Barbet, recalling Edhem Paşa's rewarding fruitful youth, eagerly undertook the responsibility of Osman Hamdi's education and observed this responsibility with heart and soul.²³³ Over his suggestion Osman Hamdi enrolled in the boarding school proctored by a history teacher, Ernest Dupré, where he could attend literature and language lectures while taking science courses at the Barbet Institute.²³⁴ Barbet also arranged for his son in-law, A. Capitan to assist Osman Hamdi for his needs and problems in Paris. Encountering a different environment and culture, first semester in Paris was not

²²⁹ Eldem, Osman Hamdi Bey, p. 85.

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 86.

²³¹ *Mekteb-i Osmani* (the School of Ottoman) was opened in Paris to educate the Ottoman students as military officers, engineers, and civil administrators in 1857.

²³² Eldem, Osman Hamdi Sözlüğü, p. 431.

²³³ Ibid., p. 431.

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 431.

easy for Osman Hamdi. However, he rapidly got accustomed to his new life and continued his education without serious problems.

İbrahim Edhem Paşa was concerned about Osman Hamdi's Parisian life and wished him to remain committed to his Ottoman identity.²³⁵ Therefore he followed closely his son's education, progress and changing attitude through Ernest Dupré, A. Capitan, or the Ottoman ambassadors in France and the embassy personnel. Correspondences such as the below lines from Capitan clearly justified his concerns:

Your Excellency, I promise I will remind this young man often: that he is a Muslim and an Ottoman. I entirely agree with you that before anything else, one has to belong to his country and religion ... There is nothing more logical and useful than to absorb from another society, whatever good it may offer; but the educational formation of a man should preserve religious beliefs and political principles of his country. If not, one finds only disorder and scepticism.²³⁶

In a similar vein, Osman Hamdi Bey's Parisian tutor, Ernest Dupré expressed his concern about the changes Osman Hamdi underwent through the example of young man's clothing in his letter to Edhem Paşa dated September 1861:

The extreme heat of the summer months explains Osman Hamdi's replacement of his national headgear with a hat or a cap, since Parisians never resort to sunshades. I made some remarks to Hamdi on this matter, but he replied that he did not think you would blame him for this, and that, at any rate, he never visited the ambassador or compatriots without wearing his national costume; he also added that he wore the French headgear only when he went to his classes.²³⁷

Returning to Osman Hamdi's preparatory education, it should be underlined that according to his mentor Dupré, he displayed very good performance in learning French but his pronunciation was similar to Gascons, who were the inhabitants of southwest France.²³⁸ Notwithstanding Osman Hamdi's curiosity, intelligence and linguistic skill, Duprey underlined his lack of concentration on some courses he underestimated as they were determined by his teachers.²³⁹ Duprey attributed the difficulties Osman Hamdi had in adapting to French education system and acquiring

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 431.

²³⁶ Edhem Eldem, *An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds*, pp. 124-125.

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 125.

²³⁸ Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*, p. 431.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 431.

studying habits it called to his late advent to France,²⁴⁰ Barbet was also dissatisfied with Hamdi's undisciplined, untidy manners and low performance that he thought as very mediocre in comparison with that of his father.²⁴¹ Nevertheless in all that time, Osman Hamdi probably was busy exploring the fascinating and colourful life; cultural and art activities in Paris.

On the other hand, İbrahim Edhem Paşa kept up his expectations for his son and scheduled Osman Hamdi's entire preparatory and higher education with his assistants like his father, he would complete his initial training in the Barbet School and later study for the accreditation certificate which would carry him higher education in the Paris Law School.²⁴² While Osman Hamdi continued his studies in compliance with his father's expectation and desires concerning his education and career, he came to realize that he could not resist his interest and curiosity for painting.²⁴³ Hence, 1862 was a painful year for Osman Hamdi, due to the dilemma stemming from his desires and obligations. The following two years, Osman tried to acquire accreditation certificate which he eventually did at the end of 1863; then, matriculated the faculty of law on January 14, 1864.²⁴⁴ However, his passion and determination to advance his skill in painting and fine arts continued throughout his higher education so that he took considerable steps to this effect: he registered in the Association of Painters and Artists paying a hundred francs.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, he informed his father of his irresistible attraction of painting and art, writing to him sincerely as:

My dear Father, beloved benefactor; please do not be angry with me for my paintings. I cannot resist painting. I registered remarkable progress over such a brief time. People have already noted this and remark on it.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 432.

²⁴¹ Eldem, İbrahim Edhem Paşa,

²⁴² Eldem, Osman Hamdi Bey Sözüğü, p. 432.

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 432.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 432.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 432.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 432.

This letter displayed that Osman Hamdi spent most of his time and energy in painting. On the other hand, his grades started to drop in his law courses; he failed the exams and did not make any observable progress in his education.²⁴⁷

Another important matter of Osman Hamdi's life in Paris apart from the above indicated, was his fascination in the Parisian bourgeois life and entertainments which led him to lavishing expenditures and almost to imprisonment due to the subsequent serious debts.²⁴⁸

In 1865 there was important developments Osman Hamdi's life which made that year a turning point in his painting career. While Osman Hamdi attended the courses of Jean-Léon Gérôme and Gustave Boulanger who were famous French painters and orientalists, he, with the help of his master Gustave Boulanger had the chance to enter Salon of 1865 École des Beaux-Arts (Academy of Fine Arts), as a model for the painting which later was renown as *Portrait de Hamdy Bey*.²⁴⁹ From then on he completely focused on painting and artistic activities through the rest of his life in Paris. He reached the first significant success of his artistic career the next year when his painting *Femme Turque* (Türk Kadını), was numbered (906) and displayed in an exhibit in the Salon of 1866.²⁵⁰ This painting, which is currently lost, was evaluated as the challenge of Ottoman Muslim to Islamic rules. This caused excitement and astonishment in painting circles and stirred up the public opinion.²⁵¹ Nevertheless, this painting was the precursor of Osman Hamdi's art style and renovativeness in many fields.

Osman Hamdi displayed three paintings at the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle among the twenty seven at Ottoman State section.²⁵² His paintings were

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 432.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 432.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 432. Salon or Salon de Paris referred the official art exhibition of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris. It was the most important annual or biannual art event especially painting in the Western world in between 1748–1890. Many important artists and students' works were displayed the Salon.

²⁵⁰ Edhem, p. 433. The different halls where paintings were displayed were referred to as Salons, indicated by the year of the artwork presented.

²⁵¹ Ibid., p. 432.

²⁵² Ibid., p. 432.

the *Rest of the Gypsies* (Çingenelerin Molası), *Black Sea Soldier Lying in Wait* (Pusuda Zeybek) and *Death of the Soldier* (Zeybeğin Ölümü) reflecting typical Orientalist characteristic inspired by Gérôme and Boulanger paintings.²⁵³ Osman Hamdi was also awarded with a medal for his paintings and contributions to this international exhibition²⁵⁴ which also enabled him to display his art to a large number of art connoisseurs.

However, the firm steps Osman Hamdi took to advance in art weakened his connection to law studentship. Consequently, his and his father's wishes become irreconcilable and by 1868 took the shape of a dispute (friction) between father and son.²⁵⁵ Edhem Paşa came to the conclusion that Osman Hamdi's stay in Paris was an unnecessary and sumptuous (costly) endeavour since his son would not bring a law diploma²⁵⁶ and increased his pressure for his son's return to İstanbul.²⁵⁷

Under these circumstances, Osman Hamdi suffered the difficulty of deciding for his future. Exhibiting his two paintings in the Salon of 1868 enlarged the uncertainty he had on what to do. Despite his father's persistence, he tried to think of ways to staying in Paris or elsewhere in Europe and to continue his artistic works.²⁵⁸ On the other hand he persisted on trying to persuade his father to this matter. In a letter to his father, he reported "My paintings were accepted."²⁵⁹ But Osman Hamdi's desperate efforts did not bring to a successful conclusion; İbrahim Edhem Pasha had made the final decision for his son's return. Osman Hamdi's desperation and frustration over this decision is displayed clearly the following lines:

For the moment, I shall be content with telling you, my dear father, that I leave Paris with the firm intention of returning by any possible means, not because life here should seem better than there, but certainly because there is something binding to me

²⁵³ Wendy Shaw, p. 98.

²⁵⁴ Cezar, p. 210.

²⁵⁵ Edhem, p. 433.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 433.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 433.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 433.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 433.

here: as I told you more than once, I do not wish to abandon painting at any cost, as one does not learn it through books but has to see the ancient and modern masters, and Constantinople is not where I shall find all this.²⁶⁰

This was the end of Osman Hamdi's Parisian life which significantly affected his personality, worldview and artistic as well as official career. He had to return his country with the exact order of his father in the summer of 1868.

3.2.3. Official Career of Osman Hamdi Bey

After returning from Paris, Osman Hamdi Bey spent some time without any official duties. In early 1869, he was assigned to the Vilayeti Umur-u Ecnebiye Müdürlüğü (the Office of the Provincial Directorate of Foreign Affairs) in Baghdad, his first official employment in the retinue of Midhat Paşa, who was recently appointed as the Governor.²⁶¹ In fact, Osman Hamdi's official entrance to Ottoman governmental service traced back to 1860 when, before his departure to Paris for education, Edhem Paşa, like most of the bureaucrats, registered his son as an official in the Translation Office in order to provide partial governmental coverage for his school expenses.²⁶² As for Osman Hamdi's appointment to Baghdad, it can be assumed that İbrahim Edhem Paşa organized this so that under the guidance of his close friend, Midhat Paşa his son would develop consciousness about the realities of Ottoman State whereas another assumption could be that he wanted to punish his son for his idleness.²⁶³ Yet, Edhem Eldem claims that appointing Osman Hamdi to such a distant and remote post was Mehmed Emin Ali Paşa's way of avenging Edhem Paşa.²⁶⁴ Osman Hamdi's duty in his new post was to carry out correspondences and coordinate relations with the European counterparts of his office.²⁶⁵ The two-year Baghdad mission and Midhat Paşa had significant impact on

²⁶⁰ Eldem, *An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds*, p. 126.

²⁶¹ Cezar, p. 210.

²⁶² Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*, p. 379.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

²⁶⁴ Cezar, p. 212.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

Osman Hamdi's personality and political views. Observing and learning about geographic, political, and socio-economic conditions of his country while becoming acquainted with Midhat Paşa's political views, and civilizing, reformatory stance about Ottoman modernization, affected his entire life.²⁶⁶ In the years following this mission, politically, "he was a 'Midhatist', that is, a partisan of the father figure of Ottoman constitutionalism; like Midhat Pasha, a staunch opponent of Hamidian despotism."²⁶⁷ Moreover, the same mission gave Osman Hamdi the opportunity to compare the East and West; his observations and feelings even pleas are reflected explicitly in an April 1870 letter to his father in:

With the exception of my beloved family and a few others, please, Dear Father, just look around you! What do you see in families? Nothing but corruption, depravation, fights, divorces. They are infested by slavery and lose their morality to odalisques. The wife does not submit to her husband's will, and the husband fails to respect his wife. He goes his way, as she goes hers. They have never held hands. They have never formed a family. The children are abandoned. The mother has never thought of them. Entrusted to a slave who thinks s/he is movable property, these poor children are left to vegetate, while the mother goes to the Sweet Waters to dirty and roll in the mud a name she carries but hates. And all of this happens just because a ridiculous convention in our degenerate customs requires that a man should close his eyes before taking a wife; a convention which requires that marriage should not result from the free will of a man and a woman, but rather from an agreement between their parents.

Please note, my Dear Father, that by demolishing in such a way our customs, which are no longer those of the Muslim, I am not praising European customs either. I have many objections to them, too, but nevertheless, I must say that I prefer them if only because they are generally depraved, corrupt and immoral only outside the marriage. The rich do not keep alongside their wives a stream of young slave girls, and if they do have illegitimate and illegal affairs, it is in the street with free women labeled as prostitutes, and therefore outside of the realm of law.

Please note that I am speaking only of the powerful, of the rich, and not of the people, of the artisans. Bourgeois families are all more or less irreproachable, especially in Germany.

Just go to the mosque on a Friday, and look at the artisan, at the bourgeois, the only source of wealth of a country. He is nothing but a wretch dressed in rags, a shadow that only inspires pity. No industry, no trade, nothing! Just a patient form of fatalism! Everything is God's making. He goes to a half-ruined hut he calls a shop and finds it robbed: it is God's making. He returns to a shanty he calls home and finds it in flames: it is again God's making. And never the administration's fault!

²⁶⁶ Eldem, *An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds*, p. 127.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

There you have the artisan; there you have the taxpayer; there you have the people.²⁶⁸

The sharp contrast in Osman Hamdi's life in Paris and Baghdad in the line of civilization and standard of living well explains his changes and acquisitions whereas his confrontation with political and socio-economic context in Ottoman Iraq developed his patriotism albeit his continuing allegiance to western culture and lifestyle.²⁶⁹

After returning from Baghdad in 1871, Osman Hamdi Bey was assigned as the Teşrifat-ı Hariciye Müdür Muavinliği (Assistant Director for the Directorate of Foreign Protocol) a position in conformity with his ability in French and excellency in communicating with foreigners.²⁷⁰ His new official duty was to conduct the protocol affairs of the foreign ambassadors.²⁷¹ However, he concentrated in the preparation of 1873 Vienna International Exhibition rather than his new duty.²⁷² Osman Hamdi Bey was elected as the superintendent (imperial commissary) in the Ottoman section of this exhibition which was headed by his father.²⁷³ He was given the responsibility of preparing the artifacts to be transported to Vienna, as well making the arrangements of the exhibition pavilions.²⁷⁴ Hamdi Bey completed his mission which included transporting precious and valuable objects from the treasury successfully, without any damages; he also ensured their security in the course of the exhibiting.²⁷⁵ Moreover, he made important contributions to the preparation of two books *L'architecture Ottomane* as a redactor and *Les Costumes Populaire de la*

²⁶⁸ Eldem, Edhem, What's in a Name? Osman Hamdi Bey's Genesis, in: *Archaeologists & Travelers in Ottoman Lands*.

<http://www.ottomanlands.com/sites/default/files/pdf/EldemEssay_0.pdf>

²⁶⁹ Eldem, *An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds*, p. 128.

²⁷⁰ Cezar, p. 212. This official task is equivalent to the present deputy manager of Department of Foreign Affairs office of protocol.

²⁷¹ Atlıman, p. 60.

²⁷² Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*, p. 380.

²⁷³ Cezar, p. 213.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 214

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

Turquie en 1873 as a text writer.²⁷⁶ Needless to say, the experiences he gained from this exhibit were immense contributions to his future practices.

After his return to İstanbul, Osman Hamdi became the General Secretary in the Foreign Affairs Ministry where he served under Ahmed Arifi Paşa's from mid-1874 to March 1875.²⁷⁷ In 1875, he was appointed to Hariciye Umur-ı Ecnebiye Müdüriyeti (the head of the Bureau of Foreigners at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). There he dealt with correspondences and negotiations with foreign consulates and problems with foreigners. The Following year, he was appointed to the Matbuat-ı Ecnebiye Müdürlüğü (the Bureau of Foreign Press) where he was responsible from viewing Ottoman journals published in foreign language.²⁷⁸ In the meantime, he was also a part of the investigation commission established to examine the violent Bulgarian events in Filibe and Pazarçık.²⁷⁹ Subsequently, he was employed in the Beyoğlu Altıncı Daire Belediye Müdürlüğü (the Mayor of the Sixth Municipal District of Pera and Galata) in 1877 and he remained in this office until the end of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878.²⁸⁰

Apart from these duties, Osman Hamdi had some additional employments as well. In 1887 he was appointed as the Ottoman representative to the department of the Düyun-u Umumiye (Public Debt Administration) which consisted of seven members representing British, Dutch, German, Austro-Hungarian, Italian, and Ottoman²⁸¹ and also he remained this duty was renewed at regular intervals; in 1892, 1896, 1902 and 1906 until the end of his life.²⁸² Moreover, he was served as the

²⁷⁶ Cezar, pp. 215-216.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 216.

²⁷⁸ Eldem, p. 381.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 381.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 381.

²⁸¹ Belgin Demirsar, Osman Hamdi Tablolarında Gerçekle İlişkiler, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, İstanbul, 1987, pp. 7-8.

²⁸² Eldem, Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü p. 381.

chairman and associate in Tütün Rejisi (Tobacco Reggie) and in some Ottoman banks.²⁸³

Eventually, Hamdi Bey resigned voluntarily from and his public service so that he could devote himself completely to painting and fine arts.²⁸⁴ His resignation was the significant indication that Osman Hamdi Bey was not satisfied with his progresses in art albeit the uninterrupted paintings he did since his years in Paris.

Three years after his resignation, upon the decease of the museum director Anton Dethier on 4 September 1881 Osman Hamdi Bey was assigned to direct the Müze-i Hümayun (the Directorship of the Imperial Museum).²⁸⁵ The reasons for Osman Hamdi Bey's appointment appeared to be the idea that new curator ought to be a Turks (testifying a Turk for new museum directorate). Undoubtedly, Osman Hamdi's education, proficiency in French and interest in fine arts, made him the appropriate person Münir Paşa, the Minister of Protocol and a friend of Osman Hamdi from the Paris sought for this position.²⁸⁶

3.2.4. Osman Hamdi Bey as a Painter

Osman Hamdi Bey had a genuine interest in painting since his primary school days. His interest become a passion while he was a student in Paris and subsequently took the place of the law education scheduled for him. Osman Hamdi, unable to resist the temptation he had for fine arts, took important steps in painting there and started to study at the workshops of Gerome and Boulanger who were the famous painters of the time; adopting their style until he developed his own. Progressing rapidly and remarkably in art, he dreamed of working in the Ottoman legation in Florence as a secretary if only for the sake of his passion.²⁸⁷ However, his father did not allow this ambition to materialize.

²⁸³ Demirsar, p. 17.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁸⁵ Eldem, p. 381.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 381.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 381.

An important factor affecting Osman Hamdi in choosing the themes for his paintings was the two books he prepared during the Vienna exposition of 1873, namely *Mimari Osmani* and *Elbise-i Osmani*. While *Mimar-i Osmani* become the source of inspiration for the themes and backgrounds of many of his paintings in the subsequent years, *Elbise-i Osmani* served as a valuable guide for the attires displayed.²⁸⁸ On the other hand, Osman Hamdi's assignment as the museum manager at the Imperial Museum in Istanbul as well as his archaeologist identity brought him face to face with the rich material, artifacts and accessories in the Tiled Kiosk (*Çinili köşk*) which served to enrich the themes of his paintings.²⁸⁹ For example the *Genesis*, the *Miraculous Fountain* and the *Girl Reading Kor'an* were painted with inspirations of *Çinili Köşk*.

Osman Hamdi adopted the orientalist style in his paintings which was the fad at that time in Paris. As Edhem Eldem stated, as a representative of the East, Osman Hamdi believed that reflecting orientalism in his works would differentiate him from his western counterparts and by doing so; he offered the Europeans the Orientalist theme they desired to see in paintings.²⁹⁰ Consequently, as an easterner, he mobilized all his efforts and ability to create a reasonable, refined and elaborated "Orient" in his works.²⁹¹

Most of Osman Hamdi's productions were figurative compositions, portraits and less landscape.²⁹² The men and women, in his paintings were scholars, musicians, merchants; people praying, washing, or socializing, dressed in historical costumes and presented in an oriental architectural environments: "in many of his paintings, scenes appear to show slices of life, snapshots of distant and indeterminate

²⁸⁸ Emine Fetvacı, "The Art of Osman Hamdi Bey," in *Archaeologists and Travelers in Ottoman Lands: An Exhibition at Penn Museum* (www. Ottomanlands.com), October 2010. <http://www.ottomanlands.com/sites/default/files/pdf/Fetvacı_Essay.pdf>

²⁸⁹ Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*, p. 147.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

²⁹² İsmail Tunalı, "Batılılaşma Sürecimizin Doruk Noktalarından Biri", in *I. Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi, Bildiriler*, İstanbul, 1992, p. 165.

times.”²⁹³ Osman Hamdi in a sense, created a fictional world in his works by placing different locations, settings, costumes, accessories and historical elements in the same painting without questioning their reality. Despite using fictional elements, he portrayed the figures in a very realistic way. Furthermore, similar to his western colleagues, he drew his figures close to the realism of the twentieth century in art which, with the help of photographs, developed around details.²⁹⁴ As for models in his paintings, Osman Hamdi generally used himself, his children, close relatives and his inner circle in different places and different types.

The objects he frequently used included: the Koran and nonreligious books, Koran stands, calligraphic inscriptions, wall-tiles, candles, carpets, jugs and inlaid quilts, weapons (swords, muskets), shoes, musical instruments, dogs and birds, mosque courtyards, tombs, incense burners flowers and vases, all Ottoman. Thus, as a Muslim Ottoman, he was a painter of the East and the Easterners, Osman Hamdi displayed similarities with the leading Orientalist painters such as Gerome and Boulanger, although his stylistic and instrumental orientalism reflected his sense of art, which differed from that of the two.²⁹⁵ Contrary to western Orientalists who depicted particularly the East in desolation, backwardness, and poverty, typically featuring scenes from battles, bazaars, harems, public baths and streets as exotic, erotic, mysterious violent and timeless, Osman Hamdi displayed the richness of the eastern culture and art; promoting Ottoman/Turks by using mosques, tombs and mansions which were the most beautiful examples the Turkish (Ottoman) architecture and decorative arts.²⁹⁶ Osman Hamdi’s friend and a staunch admirer of his works Adolphe Thalasso explained his orientalism and vision of art with the following lines:

Hamdi Bey was well known in Turkey, and even in the New World. He had a great number of admirers in Paris. As an Ottoman artist he sent several productions to Le Salon des Artistes Français (the Exhibition of French Artists) each year. In my

²⁹³ Wendy Shaw, p. 102.

²⁹⁴ İpek Duben, *Türk Resmi ve Eleştirisi, 1880-1950*, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007, pp. 37-39.

²⁹⁵ Cezar, p. 367. It must be pointed out that orient which is a term symbolizing the Far East in our day was significant for the middle or near east at that time and orientalism meant reflections from these areas.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 367.

opinion, the adornments of the East have not been displayed anywhere as in Hamdi Bey's productions. This already is the main characteristic of his work. He transformed detailed stretches from poems to art working delicately on every detail. He was persistent on displaying Muslim Turks in his works. He was inspired by and reflected Eastern Turkey in every piece of his art work. He preferred to integrate his themes particular to Turkey rather than external decors that barely reminded of Turkey. His paintings inspired by such aesthetic are completely Turkish and gave the impression that they could be produced only by a Turkish artist.²⁹⁷

In a sense, Osman Hamdi's paintings with his realistic reflections of a glorified Ottoman past were a response and even subversion to Western orientalism.²⁹⁸

As for the women in Osman Hamdi's paintings, unlike Western orientalist who depicted the Oriental women erotically, exotically or as sexual objects in different settings such as bath, harems, palaces and slave markets, Osman Hamdi portrayed them in their everyday environment including bazaar, tour, graveyard and tomb visit, and mostly indoors.²⁹⁹ The women in his paintings appeared in various ways, such as woman reading the Koran and books, playing musical instruments, or women who modeled barefoot and unscarved in their home for a painter.³⁰⁰ Moreover, he described feminine beauty with tight-fitting dresses in his paintings such as "Haremden", "Ressam Çalışırken", "Türbe Ziyaretinde", "Vazo Yerleştiren Kız", "İftardan Sonra", "Saçlarını Tarayan Kız", "Okuyan Kız", "Kahve Getiren Kız", "Mihrab".³⁰¹ Mustafa Cezar claims about the Mihrap (Genesis) which was the most unusual and interesting of these paintings that:

It seems that with this interesting painting, the most meaningful and intriguing of all his works, Osman Hamdi Bey, by placing a young woman in the midst of objects of great value to mankind, wanted to symbolize the privileged status of love and affection. As to the incense burner and its smoke, they indicate the warmth of these feelings and by pointing in their direction they give greater clarity to the painting's meaning. Apart from having been treated with a rather bold symbolism for its time, this painting reveals the artist's tolerant attitude toward religious matters... This painting, which tries to explain the most powerful feeling shared by all mankind,

²⁹⁷ Cezar, p. 354.

²⁹⁸ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2010. p. 68.

²⁹⁹ Cezar, p. 370.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 370.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 370.

and, from the perspective of men, the place of women in the world of the sublime at the center of these feelings.³⁰²

Thus, Osman Hamdi, with his realistic world view and determination to end traditional and accustomed paintings of the Ottoman society put the Ottoman women forward as individuals.³⁰³

Finally, we can assert that Osman Hamdi Bey carved his marks in Ottoman painting at home and abroad. His many paintings were on display in Ottoman and especially European painting exhibitions. The most famous and popular ones displayed in Europe were “Kaplumbağalı Adam” (Man with Tortoises) which was popularly named “Kaplumbağa Terbiyecisi” (Tortoise Trainer) in Paris (1902), the “Yaradılış” (Genesis) which was popularly named Mihrap in London (1903), the “Kılıcın Keskin Ucu” (Cutting Edge of the Scimitar) in Paris (1908), in Berlin (1909), the “Tesbih Çeken Mümin” (Believer Counting his Rosary) in Paris (1905), the “Okuyan Genç Emir” (Young Emir Reading) in Paris (1905), in London and in Liverpool (1906), the “Ab-ı Hayat Çeşmesi” (Miraculous Fountain) in Paris (1904), the “Çocuklar Türbesinde Derviş” (Dervish at the Children’s Tomb) in Paris (1903), in London (1909), the” İlahiyatçı” (Theologian), in Paris (1902), in London (1909).³⁰⁴

3.2.5. Osman Hamdi Bey as an Archaeologist and Museologist

Osman Hamdi Bey did not have formal education on archaeology nor did he hold a post related to this discipline or museology until he, while heading the Sixth Municipality, was appointed as the Director to the Imperial Museum in İstanbul. Infact, his only affiliation to museums until this appointment was his membership in the museum commission which was established in 1877 to enable “the complete repairs of the Tiled Pavilion that was being made a museum, provide the undamaged transportation of the antiquities and coins already in the collection to their new places, to conserve antiquities outside of the museum in their present state, to make a

³⁰² Eldem, What’s In A Name? Osman Hamdi Bey’s Genesis,

³⁰³ Duben, p. 29.

³⁰⁴ Eldem, What’s In A Name? Osman Hamdi Bey’s Genesis,

path for excavation and research, to make the museum a place that would attract everybody's attention, and to categorize and organize the existing works."³⁰⁵ However, he was closely associated with all branches of arts thanks to his educational background and relations with the world of arts and sciences. Therefore, the origin of Hamdi's involvement in archaeology and museology was a necessity invited by the above-mentioned appointment. In the position he occupied, to start with, he decided to eliminate deficiency) in both fields. So by resorting to the mediation of the French Ambassador Tissou, he invited Salomon Reinach who was young and bright archaeologist and museologist at the French School at Athens³⁰⁶ and learned from him the techniques and knows how each field required.³⁰⁷ In one of his letters to Reinach Osman Hamdi Bey expressed his gratitude with the following lines: "When you were in İstanbul, maybe subconsciously, you were the one who formed my archaeological knowledge."³⁰⁸ Apart from Reinach, two famous German scholars, Carl Humann and Alexander Conze also contributed to the development of Osman Hamdi's archaeology and museology career. Over multiple occasions he orally or in writing referred to their assistance as: "I learned excavating from Humann. Conze was as happy from my success as if it was his own. He denoted this many times both orally and written; and he always encouraged me to make further attempts."³⁰⁹ With helps and supports of his colleagues, Osman Hamdi Bey performed his own excavations in various vicinities within the country.

It should be mentioned before exploring Osman Hamdi's performances in the fields of museology and archaeology that his active role in each progressed through four different stages. The first was researching, publishing and participating in excavations as an archeologist. The second was his promotion to the position corresponding to Eski Eserler Genel Müdürlüğü today where he controlled and supervised Ottoman excavation sites, as well as the workers doing the diggings and

³⁰⁵ Wendy K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, p. 92; Cezar, p. 251.

³⁰⁶ Eldem, *An Ottoman Archeologist*, p. 130.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³⁰⁸ Cezar, pp. 282-314. v. 1; Atlıman, p. 72.

³⁰⁹ Arif Müfid Mansel, "Osman Hamdi Bey", *Bellekten*, vol. XXIV, 1960, pp. 295-296; Atlıman, p. 72.

restorations. The third, related with the former, was his significant role in the preparation of regulations and legislations regarding the use of excavations sites and the historical remains. The last was his personal contributions enabling the development classification of archaeology as a science in the Ottoman Empire and his role in establishing and directing archaeology museums in a modern sense.³¹⁰ Immediately after his appointment as the museum director Osman Hamdi drew a road map in line with the two major concepts that he aimed to accomplish as an archaeologist and museologist: he firstly “aimed at placing the Empire though the Imperial Museum and himself on the modern archaeology map, surpassing regards upon the concerned areas only as an excavation sites and source of antiquities. For this purpose, the museum had to be transformed from its previous role of a warehouse for archaeological finds into an institution capable of competing with the Europeans” not only on the basis of collection, but also as a participant in scientific organization.”³¹¹ The second was assuming “the protection of Ottoman archaeological sites and finds, as logical and necessary corollary of the first concept. If the Imperial Museum in İstanbul was to become a centre of western archaeology, it would need to exert its hold over major potential assets, the produce of excavations on Ottoman soil and the knowledge and information that could be derived from it. In other words, it had to interfere with, and disrupt the previously established pattern of western archaeology in the Empire by forcing the whole process to be directed towards the Ottoman capital.”³¹² Observing such considerations Reinach, was charged by Hamdi Bey with the preparation of the first official inventory of the Imperial Museum collections as well as with the reparation and restoration of the museum building.³¹³

Once the preparatory step including the creation of an excavation team and obtaining governmental support for funding were accomplished, Osman Hamdi in 1883 made a research trip with Osgan Efendi who was a sculpture teacher in the

³¹⁰ Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*, p. 44.

³¹¹ Eldem, *An Ottoman Archeologist*, p. 129.

³¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

School of Fine Arts in İstanbul to the Nemrud Mountain.³¹⁴ Osman Hamdi conducted his first excavation there while the duo photographed and made plaster casts of King Antiochus's tomb and the other immovable archaeological ruins, they took to İstanbul to display. When they returned to İstanbul before the end of the year, they published *Le tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh* the source book which preserved its reputation for a long time as the most valuable source about the Nemrud tumulus and its historical artifacts.³¹⁵ The book and the excavation in Nemrud tumulus brought fame and international recognition to Osman Hamdi Bey and the Imperial Museum: "Osman Hamdi gained reputation throughout the international scientific world; and the Ottoman Empire gained a generator and creative position in the archaeological researches. Moreover, Osman Hamdi claimed the right on this archaeological site on behalf of his country and the Imperial Museum of the Empire. The next step was generalizing state right for all the ancient sites within the Ottoman territories:"³¹⁶ This legal measure was made public in 1884 with the *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* (Regulations of Ancient Monuments) consisting of seven chapter and thirty seven clauses passed by the Meclis-i Mahsus-ı Vükela (the Cabinet Council)

This regulation, which was also referred to as the Antiquities Law of 1884, was the product of Osman Hamdi's and the Imperial Museum administrators' efforts to terminate artifact smugglings by foreign states and archaeologists, and preserve valuable archaeological and historical monuments. What was to be understood from "antiquities and ancient monuments" was defined in the act precisely as:³¹⁷

All of the artifacts left by the ancient peoples who inhabited the Ottoman Empire, that is, gold and silver; various old and historical coins; signs engraved with informative writings; carved pictures; decoration; objects and containers made of stone and clay and various media; weapons; tools; idols; ring stones; temples and palaces, and old game areas called circuses; theatres, fortifications, bridges and aqueducts; corpses, buried objects, and hills appropriate for examination; mausolea,

³¹⁴ Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*, p. 47.

³¹⁵ Ferruh Gerçek, *Türk Müzeciliği*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999, p. 113; Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*, p. 47.

³¹⁶ Atlıman, p. 74; Eldem, *An Ottoman Archeologist*, p. 131.

³¹⁷ Cezar, p. 297; Emre Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler, 1800-1950*, Ankara, ODTÜ: Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşbirliği, 2002, p. 41.

obelisks, memorial objects, old buildings, statues and every type of carved stone are among antiquities.³¹⁸

Accordingly, the regulation confirmed that “all types of antiquities visible, extant or found during the excavation, including those in lakes, rivers, streams, or creeks,” completely belonged to the state and their removal, destruction, modification and transportation were prohibited by the state.³¹⁹ Furthermore it specified that “individuals and groups do not have the right to destroy and move antiquities under their own land or spaces”³²⁰ and that those who attempt to do so would be subjected to monetary or imprisonment penalties.³²¹ Thus hitherto, both portable and stationary antiquities and archaeological objects were considered as state property, under the possession of Ottoman subject living within the Ottoman frontiers.³²²

To sum up, Osman Hamdi’s strenuous efforts served not only to originate and promote archaeology and museology studies in the Empire but also to install state consciousness for its wealth’s and international recognition of reputable measures thus adopted.

3.2.6. Osman Hamdi Bey as an Educator

Auhorative positions pertaining to archaeology and museology were not Osman Hamdi’s Hamdi’s sole engagements in bureaucracy. Infact, they were vessels carrying him to educational duties and responsibilities

The opening of İstanbul Sanayi Nefise Mektebi with the efforts of Mehmed Raif Efendi in 1881 had become one of the major issues of the time for being the first of the kind and Osman Hamdi Bey was appointed as the head of this institution when

³¹⁸Wendy Shaw, p. 111.

³¹⁹ Ibid., p. 111.

³²⁰ Ibid., p. 112.

³²¹ Feridun Akozan, *Türkiye’de Tarihi Anıtları Koruma Teşkilatı ve Kanunlar*, İstanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yayını, No: 47, 1977, p. 28.

³²² Wendy Shaw, p. 112.

it started operate on January 2nd, 1882.³²³ The reasons and logic of establishment show parallelism with Osman Hamdi's thoughts on fine arts and education in his official letter to the Sultan in Osman Ergin in his renown book, *Maarif Tarihi* justified this appointment by building bridges between Osman Hamdi's thoughts and recommendations on fine arts and the opening of Sanayi Nefise Mektebi with the below lines:

“According to Osman Hamdi, art life of a state was demonstrative of its wealth and strength; constitution and artwork provided its rise and prosperity. He asserted that the history of a country could not be comprehended by the oncoming generations in the absence of artistic works. However, he argued that his generation, who were the descendants of brilliant artists, had come to the point of not being able to even safeguard artifacts, let alone produce them. Questioning what became of the artists, he claimed that works of art were being destructed rather than protected and restored and that a special institution to equip the concerned with ample knowledge about fine arts ought to be established.”³²⁴

The Academy began its educational activities in 1883. Taking the Paris School of Fine Arts, as a model, the institution was established with three main departments: painting, sculpture and architecture. Osman Hamdi Bey became the principal and Yervant Oskar, teacher of sculpture, Salvator Valeri, of painting, Joseph Varnia-Zarzecki of charcoal drawings; Alexandre Valluri and Philippe Bello taught architecture.³²⁵ Many foreign journalists and writers over the occasion of the opening of the school called attention to negative, even prohibitive Islamic approach to painting and defined the Sanayi Nefise Mektebi and admittance of Muslim students as a small revolution. Nevertheless, the teachers had to cope with difficulties concerning the continuing restrictions. For example, since it was both difficult and almost impossible to use live models, statues from the museum or moulages were utilized as a solution in this school.³²⁶

³²³ Eldem, Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü, p. 455.

³²⁴ Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, vol. 3-4, İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1977, pp. 1119-1122; Selin Atlıman, p. 86.

³²⁵ Eldem, Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü, p. 455.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

The number of students was an important indication for the institution's success. The institution started with only twenty students and this number doubled in a short period of time, reaching 135 students in 1889, 200 in 1895.³²⁷

Besides offering formal education in the Sanayi Nefise Mektebi, Osman Hamdi Bey played a prominent role in educating and training the Ottoman society in many other aspects. The following evaluation of Osman Hamdi's *the Tortoise Trainer* painting by an art historian Wendy Shaw is an indicative the referred educational mission:

In *The Tortoise Trainer* he depicts himself as an educator frustrated by the systems around him. He stands near the upper-story window of an Ottoman public building, body bowed, watching his pupils eat the leaves he has fed them. In one hand he holds a flute with which to instruct them. Around his neck hangs a leather prong with which to punish them. Unfortunately, his pupils lack ears with which to hear his flute and have hard shells protecting them from any leather whip. Although this painting bears no explicit references to the museum, it may serve as an allegorical reference to Osman Hamdi's role as an educator in Ottoman society. He has the tools with which to teach, but the pupils available to him are not capable of receiving his instruction. He stands as the patient father of frustration, watching his minions do all that they can without learning anything at all. It was at this moment of frustration that a new system of legislation had to step in to turn the tortoises into appreciative subjects of cultural education, or at the very least into sentient and responsible administrators willing to build enforceable laws.³²⁸

As in many other areas, the key to Osman Hamdi's success lies in his commitment to working. In addition to his sedulity and ability to direct others to productive works, it is of utmost importance to mention Osman Hamdi's competency as an organizer.³²⁹ The substantial progress of the museum, excavations performed on its the behalf, legislations developed for and the establishment of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi are in fact are some displays of his organizational administrative skills. While performing these skills, he paid special attention to promoting other works and ideas. More importantly, he produced outcomes that were both new and open to improvement.³³⁰

³²⁷ Ibid., p. 456.

³²⁸ Wendy Shaw, p. 124.

³²⁹ Cezar, p. 472.

³³⁰ Ibid., p. 472.

3.2.7 General Survey of Osman Hamdi's Contribution

Osman Hamdi Bey's significant contributions to Ottoman westernization accumulated around promoting fine arts, mainly painting, museology and archaeology. Thanks to Hamdi Bey, Ottoman state and society was introduced to western style and standards in these fields. Additionally, he ensured the continuity his bringing by institutionalizing and standardizing them, moreso, by establishing the means of education and training expertise each of these fields called for.

3.2.7.1 Fine arts and Painting

A closer observation of Osman Hamdi's contributions brings forth that initially, he installed a significant turning point in Ottoman painting as to subject and methodology. He was the first Ottoman painter using western forms, techniques and practices in his artistic works. Furthermore, he was first in handling (taking up) women as subject and theme in Ottoman/Turkish paintings³³¹ with his contribution of his representation of women figures on a monumental scale.³³² By doing so, Osman Hamdi Bey made Ottoman women a part of everyday life and Ottoman society as a primary component even if only in his artistic productions.

Another important contribution of Osman Hamdi Bey through painting and artistry was acquiring self and state prestige within the international art community (arena). Osman Hamdi, with his orientalist style, became a regular participant of the most important European and American exhibitions in Paris, London, Berlin, Vienna and Chicago and his artworks were sought and purchased by famous museums and art fans. In this way, he caught the chance to display veracious side of his people, country, historical, cultural values and texture which contrasted with the imaginary and prejudicial images his western contemporary colleagues presented about the Ottoman and Eastern world. Particularly in the last years of his life, Osman Hamdi was followed by a considerable number of western audience, connoisseurs and

³³¹ Cezar, p. 370.

³³² Günsel Renda, "Ottoman Painting and Sculpture", *Ottoman Civilization* vol. 2, ed. Halil İnalçık and Günsel Renda, Ankara: Ministry Of Culture, 2002, p. 953.

reviewers; his paintings had wide press coverage in prominent journals such as *the Times*, *the Speaker* and *the Academy* by the medium of detailed descriptions and critics.³³³ Moreover, he was awarded with honorary diplomas, medals, and gold medals. at multiple international art exhibitions and world expositions such as the Rome International Art Exhibition of 1886, the Paris Universal Exposition of 1889, the Berlin International Art Exhibition of 1891, the Chicago Universal Exposition of 1893 and the Munich International Art Exhibition of 1909,³³⁴ As the consequence of his international artistic performance, he not only proved his painting skill but manifested great strides in Ottoman painting which progressed in contrast with, but actually converting the western fixed, stereotype ideas about the Ottoman state, people and society. It is also important to note that Osman Hamdi Bey used his painting to resist against imperialist powers and imperialism:

Osman Hamdi appeared profession and painterly expression, the more his activities aimed to counterbalance the cultural effects of European dominance over the interpretation of antiquities in their historical and nationalist context. The similarity between his multifarious professional activities and those of the European institutions designed to present the orient as territory in need of colonial expansion camouflaged his subversive anti-imperialist and Ottoman gaze allowed Osman Hamdi to use his paintings as expressions of the political motivations and frustration behind his activities as the Director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum.³³⁵

Secondly, Osman Hamdi Bey within the frame work of Westernization process, contributed substantially to Ottoman culture and fine arts, particularly in painting with regards to its improvement through diffusion of fine arts education. It was when he directed the Academy of Fine Arts that, Ottoman state discontinued sending students abroad for art education and started to bring up artists and performer in a “national” sense. Thus, under the roof of a vociferous building and an educational institution Ottoman arts as well as the western origin thrived in the custody of scholars, artists and experts in their fields in a continuity that stretched from the late Ottoman to early republican period.

³³³ Eldem, What’s In A Name? Osman Hamdi Bey’s Genesis,

³³⁴ Cezar, p. 496; Eldem, Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü, p. 418. According to historian Edhem Eldem, Osman Hamdi was awarded with second class medal at the Munich International Art Exhibition of 1909.

³³⁵ Eldem, An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds, p. 123.

3.2.7.2 Museology and Archaeology

Osman Hamdi's equally important contributions to Ottoman museology and archaeology through systematic, scientific and comprehensive approaches marked the opening of a new era in both fields. According to Alpay Pasinli, Osman Hamdi Bey initiated museology studies in Turkey with the hitherto continuing systemization as he pioneered in the world in establishing an archaeology museum within a building planned and constructed exclusively for this purpose.³³⁶ Pasinli also pointed out that:

Uncertainties concerning the transportation of a work of art to a museum, or its registration were all clarified by Osman Hamdi Bey. For example, registering objects according to province and repertoire was one of the perfect systems he installed. Currently, museological activities in Turkey are still based on these systems which have undergone only minor changes.³³⁷

Likewise, Osman Hamdi by founding an archaeological library in the upper floor of the Imperial Museum contributed to its classification as an educational and scientific place. This library consisted of 15 thousand books and scientific journals which were handed to Osman Hamdi Bey by his friend's foreign associates and institutions either as presents or donations.³³⁸ Presenting such a collection to public in a library displayed his "awareness on the importance of contributions to the museums, he regarded as important acknowledgment centers of education and research."³³⁹ Osman Hamdi Bey carried museological activities out of the boundaries İstanbul as well with the regional city museums he opened in Thessalonica, Sivas, Bursa and Konya to protect, shelter and display old artifacts.³⁴⁰ Furthermore, he sought the assistance of foreign museologists and archaeologists such as Salomon Reinach and Gustave Mendel for the mapping and cataloging of cultural and historical treasures to

³³⁶ Alpay Pasinli, "Bugün Bile Çağdaş Olabilen Çok Yönlü Bir Kişilik" in *Hürriyet Gösteri*, vol: 119, Ekim, 1990, p. 26.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27; Atlıman, p. 70.

³³⁸ Afife Batur, "Arkeoloji Müzeleri Binaları", *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayımları, 1993, p. 309.

³³⁹ Atlıman, p. 71.

³⁴⁰ Batur, p. 309.

guarantee their perpetuation. This enabled Ottoman and later, Turkish republican governments to lay claims on artifacts cases of adverse attempts.

Another contribution of Osman Hamdi Bey to systematization of the area was engaging cadres with expertise so that the forthcoming generations would pursue similarly meticulous researches and administration. Halil Edhem Bey, a keen numismatics expert, who, following his decease succeeded Osman Hamdi as the director of the Imperial Museum sets a fine example in this line. Osman Hamdi also brought up other important personalities of Ottoman archeology such as Aziz Bey who conducted the Ephesus excavations; another was Tahsin Öz who for sometime served as the curator of the Topkapı Museum.³⁴¹

Similar to bringing museology forth, Osman Hamdi Bey's contributions made archaeology a respected scientific and professional discipline in the Ottoman Empire whereas the previous viewpoint of even top state officials pertaining to the discipline were best expressed by Abdülhamid II as: "I can fool some of the European ambassadors with Osman Hamdi's broken marble and plaster pieces."³⁴² However, thanks to the determination and efforts of Osman Hamdi, conductor of the first "national" archaeological excavations, archaeology and ancients monuments climbed to be a topic of interest for the Ottoman government and people. Moreover, Ottoman press followed issues about archaeology and archaeological excavations closely publicised them extensively. Osman Hamdi with his instructive identity helped to change perceptions on archaeology from old stones to historical artifacts of aesthetic and material value. Interviews with Osman Hamdi published in prominent journals further raised awareness of public awareness and possession of the relics, for which Osman Hamdi did not omit taking preventive measures for against foreign lootings.

It was through Osman Hamdi Bey's individualistic efforts that the state resorted to strict laws and regulations to safeguard the priceless archaeological remains and historical artifacts of many ancient Anatolian and Mesopotamian civilizations Ottoman territories were enriched with. Thanks to his care and attention,

³⁴¹ İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı'yı Yeniden Keşfetmek*, İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2005, p. 167; Atlıman, p. 97.

³⁴² Burçak Madran, Şebnem Önal, "Yerellikten Küreselliğe Uzanan Çizgide Tarihin Çok Paylaşımli Vitrinleri: Müzeler ve Sunumları", in *Müzecilikte Yeni Yaklaşımlar: Küreselleşme ve Yerelleşme*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2000, p. 177.

many ancient were saved from destruction or being smuggled to foreign countries. Infact, he was able to intensify his personal and corporate (institutional) efforts as the Director of the *Müze-i Hümayun* when European powers, namely France, Germany and England started to conduct illegal excavations and to plunder archaeological findings. In other words, it is therefore possible to claim that Turkey would probably have much less archaeological possessions had a responsible authority with Osman Hamdi's mentality emerged in 1920's instead of 1880.

For concluding remarks on the topic, it should be added that Osman Hamdi Bey's national and international achievements in promoting museology and archaeology were so highly appreciated by his foreign colleagues that he was awarded for his contributions to the both fields. He was gifted with medals by the Athenian French School in 1898, by the Berlin Friedrich Museum in 1904, and by Oviedo University of Spain in 1908. Additionally, he received honorary degrees from the universities of Oxford and Pennsylvania;³⁴³ and was awarded with the gold medal of "Science and Art" of the Bavaria Kingdom before he passed away in 1908. Osman Hamdi was affiliated to many foreign institutions as well, such as Institute de France, the Institutes of the Science of Old artifacts in Berlin, London, Vienna, Boston and Philadelphia; he was the honorary member of the British Architecture Academy; and correspondent member of the Museum of Fine arts in Vienna.³⁴⁴ Numerous telegrams sent by of European scientists and institutions to congratulate the 25th anniversary of his directorship of the Imperial Museum were infact tokens of appreciation he received for his achievements in and contributions to archaeology and museology.³⁴⁵ This worldwide recognition which was the product of hard work, extensive research, and unceasing desire for betterment of his country made Osman Hamdi one of the monumental figures of Ottoman cultural history as well as a role model for future generations.

³⁴³ Refik Epikman, *Osman Hamdi (1842-1910)*, İstanbul: M.E.B. Yayınları, 1967, p. 8.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁴⁵ Cezar, p. 492.

CHAPTER IV

AHMED CEVDET PAŞA (1822-1895) AND FATMA ALİYE HANIM (1862-1936)

4.1. AHMED CEVDET PAŞA (1822-1895)

4.1.1. Introducing Ahmed Cevdet Paşa

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa was one of the leading statesmen and historians, as well as a jurist, a prolific author and a respected intellectual of the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. These qualifications fortified with his extended career and profound influence made him a unique and unequalled personality of his time. He was the product of Ottoman reform era, yet held within him a synthesis of pre-Tanzimat politics and culture; he was a good scholar (müderris) and a faithful servant of Mustafa Reşid Paşa. In fact, Cevdet Paşa was the Tanzimat author who presented, explained and defended Reşid Paşa's understanding and mission most competently by means of his extraordinary intellectual capacity and accumulation.³⁴⁶

Ahmed Cevdet's intelligence reflected through his eyes,³⁴⁷ he had, great appetite for learning and his wide knowledge in many different of areas surpassed the borders of İlmiye class and carried him to his place in the civil service (mülkiye/kalemiye sınıfı), although with some delay: He was theoretically and

³⁴⁶ Christoph K. Neumann, "Tanzimat Bağlamında Ahmed Cevdet Paşa'nın Siyasi Düşünceleri." *Cumhuriyete Devreden Düşünce Mirası: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi* in Modern Türkiye'de Siyasî Düşünce; vol. 1, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2001, p. 85.

³⁴⁷ Richard L. Chambers, The Education of a Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Alim, Ahmed Cevdet Pasa, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, IV, 1973, p. 462.

professionally acquainted with Islam and law; had conduct of foreign languages, widely informed of the world developments in conjunction with his curiosity and intelligence; and management and statesmanship skills he gained thanks to Reşid, Ali and Fuat Paşas.

During Tanzimat years when the Ottoman-Islamic political, intellectual and legal realms defined as ‘the old’ coexisted and collided with those of the Western-Christian, defined as ‘the new’ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, was one of the top ranking Ottoman intellectuals who with his knowledge and experience could evaluate and compare them. In this sense, Cevdet Paşa was an advocate of measured westernization and modernization. He sought to build a bridge between the traditionalist-conservative reformists and promoters of western influences, including reconciliation of a scientific advancement with Islamic teachings. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa believed that political unity and ruling institutions of the Ottoman Empire, including the caliphate and sultanate were the most essential concepts for the state. Concordantly, “while he consistently advocated the greater enlightenment of Ottoman society and fiercely condemned any manifestation of ignorance, bigotry any self-seeking in the ruling class and the erroneous beliefs prevalent among the people, his outlook was fundamentally shaped by his early medrese education.”³⁴⁸ *Tarih-i Cevdet* and *Mecelle* (the Ottoman Legal Code), which were the *magnum opera* of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, were the peek displays of his such credentials. Both of these colossal works were meticulous and attentive syntheses of Ottoman values and Western civilization, which was a major characteristic of Tanzimat era. Authors and literature historians, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar explained his view of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and what he represented as follows:

He is an institutor, constructor and a reconciler of the Tanzimat era. He is an admirer of Europe and believes in progress (terakki). Bifurcations and contradictions of Tanzimat era are apparent throughout his life. Ironically legal stances against madrasah and Bab-1 Meşihat were established by him. He is the first Minister of Justice (Adliye Nazırı), first director of Darümuallimin and the starter of law school. It is possible to assert that he implanted restrictions and limited the life-vision and status of the class he emerged from. By distributing Fıkıh (law) into daily lives where it ought to be, he decreased the functions of individuals and institutions observing it practically to nothing. Application of laws and regulations in daily life as it ought to be through Mecelle served to diminish the credibility and functions of those observing it for centuries? Installation of Fıkıh into daily lives as it ought to be through Mecelle

³⁴⁸ Harold Bowen, 'Ahmad Djewdet Pasha', EI, vol. 1, p. 285.

diminished the credibility and functions of individuals and institutions dominating it for hundreds of years to practically nothing.³⁴⁹

Last but not least, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa was actively involved in aforementioned fields with his hard work, rapid learning and ability to adapt himself to conditions situations. As a competent Ottoman bureaucrat rendering successful services in the uppermost positions in multiple official duties he occupied, he became indispensable in many missions. In fact, he was the only person who could handle and assume responsibility for some of these duties. “Most of the things accomplished in the country from 1850 to 1895 were his contributions. Institutionalization of the ministries of Justice, Education Commerce, Internal Affairs and Pious Foundations were completed during his ministry. Most of the new legislations, particularly the Mecelle were prepared by him. Ottoman Criminal, Commercial and Land Laws were the products of his receptive intelligence. In addition to his fundamental and tiresome services in *Meclis-i Maarif*, *Meclis-i Vala* and *Şuray-ı Devlet*, he also penned history and other equally difficult masterpieces while attending these duties.”³⁵⁰

4.1.2. Upbringing of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa

Ahmed Cevdet was born in Lofça (Lovec), in northern Bulgaria in 1822. His father Hacı İsmail Ağa was from the notable Yularkıranoğlu family and his mother Ayşe Sünbül Hanım, was from a local notable family, the Topuzoğlu.³⁵¹ Ahmed Cevdet's family traditionally served the Ottoman dynasty as local officials and religious functionaries. Training and education Ahmed Cevdet had under the supervision of his grandfather Hacı Ali Efendi, was to guide him to his career in the *İlmiye* (The Learned Institution).³⁵²

Ahmed received his primary education in a Lofça school (mekteb) from the local ulema. Private tutoring he received from the ulema included Arabic grammar

³⁴⁹ A. H. Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006, p. 158.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³⁵¹ Cevdet Paşa, Tezakir, ed. Cavid Baysun, Ankara, 1953-67, vol. IV, p. 3; Ahmet Şimşirgil ve Ekrem Buğra Ekinci, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Mecelle*, İstanbul, 2008, p. 3.

³⁵² Chambers, p. 441.

taught by Hafız Ömer Efendi, the müftü (jurisconsult) of Lofça and Islamic sciences, by Hacı Eşref Efendi who was Midhat Paşa's father, the deputy judge (hakim naibi) of Lofça.³⁵³ He also studied rhetoric and logic with Hafız Mehmed Efendi who replaced Hafız Ömer as müftü. Although, Lofça offered a better educational opportunity than many provincial cities, Ahmed Cevdet's extraordinary intelligence and diligence surpassed the provided so in 1839, his grandfather and family decided to send Ahmed to İstanbul for better and more advanced religious education in compliance with his brilliance eagerness to learn.³⁵⁴

Ahmed Efendi's medrese education continued from 1839 until 1844 when he received his diploma (icazet) from Birgevi Şakir Efendi at the Dülgeroğlu Mosque, where he received education from some of the prominent ulema of the time. During the same time span he studied literature, namely Persian and Mesnevi at the Murad Molla Tekke with Hafız Tevfik Efendi and Mehmed Murad Molla while he spent time at the mansion of the famous poet Süleyman Fehim Efendi in the Karagümrük district.³⁵⁵ He thus became acquainted with many important people of the time and was gradually included into literary spheres and official elite.³⁵⁶ Moreover, in accordance with Ahmed's talents, Fehim Efendi proposed a pseudonym (mahlas), Cevdet, for his favorite student, meaning goodness, superiority and generosity. Thenceforth, young Ahmed Efendi became known as Ahmed Cevdet.³⁵⁷

Ahmed Cevdet was not satisfied with the medrese education offering religious sciences. He even stated in his memoirs that the curriculum of upper classes of the medreses were less attractive for him than philosophical and literary subjects.³⁵⁸ His daughter Fatma Aliye Hanım later expressed in the biography she wrote of her father entitled *Cevdet Paşa ve Zamanı* that: "not being content with the

³⁵³ Recep Çiğdem, 'Ahmed Cevdet Pasha: A scholar and A statesman', *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 6, 2005, p. 78.

³⁵⁴ Chambers, p. 443.

³⁵⁵ Çiğdem, p. 80.

³⁵⁶ Chambers, p. 457.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

sciences which were taught in the medreses, Ahmed Efendi began studying with private instructors his masters' topics which were not available in the medreses."³⁵⁹

Mathematics and astronomy, for instance, interested Ahmed Efendi, but because these subjects "had been forsaken and neglected in the medreses"³⁶⁰ He was obliged to study them on his own as time and opportunity permitted.³⁶¹ During the holidays he read many works on arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and astronomy which were once given but in the course of time, had been removed from the medreses. He made arrangements with a teacher from the Imperial Military Engineering School (Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun), Nuri Bey to instructed him in modern mathematics, read with him engineering journals, a treatise on the octant, and İshak Efendi's works on mathematics.³⁶² In return for lessons in arithmetic, algebra, logarithms, and geometry, Ahmed Efendi read Kazımîr with Colonel Nuri Bey and gave him lessons in eloquence.³⁶³ "When he encountered mathematical problems which he could not solve, Ahmed often went to Chief Astrologer (Müneccimbaşı) Osman Said Efendi for assistance. Infact, interest in mathematics and astronomy was unusual among medrese students. Ahmed Efendi's exceptional fascination in these matters led him to compose a treatise titled *Tarif ül-İrtifa* (Definition of the Height), aiming to determine (fixing) the altitude of the heavenly bodies for time telling purposes."³⁶⁴

Ahmed Cevdet's superior intelligence, ambition to work and extraordinary curiosity guided him to complete his schooling in five years which was about half the normal time it took to complete a degree. In 1844 he passed the qualification exam required for judiciary ranks (tarik-i kaza) and was appointed to his first post among the ulema as the kadı of Premedi in Yanya (Janina) with the rank of çanat.³⁶⁵

³⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 455.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 455.

³⁶¹ Ibid., p. 455.

³⁶² Hulusi Yavuz, "Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and the Ulema of His Time" *İslam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* 7, no. 3-4 1979, pp. 181-182.

³⁶³ Ibid., pp. 181-182.

³⁶⁴ Chambers, p. 456.

³⁶⁵ Çanat rank was the lowest rank in the İlmiyye class hierarchy.

However, he did not go to this nominal post; hiring a substitute for himself; he chose to become an instructor.³⁶⁶

4.1.3 A Chronologic View of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's Official Career

In June of 1845, Cevdet refraining from becoming a kadı, took a job as a müderris at the lowest rank of iptida-i hariç where he earned his diploma to teach (rüüs).³⁶⁷ He continued his teaching career for about a year and then entered into a relationship with Arif Hikmet Efendi that moved him to the upper ranks of the Ottoman bureaucracy, becoming one of the greatest men of the Tanzimat.³⁶⁸ Stanford Shaw with the below lines explains this relationship and how it became a turning point for Ahmed Cevdet Efendi:

Ahmed Cevdet actually graduated from the medrese and received a diploma (icaze) that qualified him to serve in an İlmiye position. But at this point he made a contact that was to alter fundamentally the rest of his career. Mustafa Reşid was about to enter his first term as Grand Vezir and was anxious to find a member of the ulema to teach him enough about the Islamic religious law so that he could avoid open conflict with it when introducing reforms. He wanted a learned man but one who was open-minded and willing to discuss problems. Ahmed Cevdet was the obvious answer. Cevdet thereafter lived in Mustafa Reşid's house, tutored him and his children as well as a number of his protégés, remaining there until the master's death in 1858. Cevdet now received what he later called his "second education" in the techniques of state administration and politics under the guidance of the old master, becoming the latter's personal scribe and adviser and at times working closely with Fuat and Ali.³⁶⁹

In 1846, through the patronage of Şeyhülislam Arif Hikmet Efendi and at the request of Mustafa Reşid Paşa, Ahmed Cevdet an excellent connoisseur of Sheriat was guided into *Bab-ı Meşihat* (the Şeyhülislam's Office) the drafting of the new laws and regulations.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁶ Çiğdem, p. 81.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 81.

³⁶⁸ Shaw, pp. 58-69.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 64-65.

³⁷⁰ Çiğdem, p. 81.

It was probably with Reşid's influence that Cevdet developed an interest in language reform while he discreetly started to learn French (elsine-i efrenciyye)³⁷¹ because “at that time, learning languages was seen incompatible with being an alim.”³⁷² Thereafter, with the recommendation of Reşid Paşa, Cevdet Efendi was charged with administrative and political duties enabling him to comprehend the importance of reforms required to fortify the Ottoman Empire.³⁷³

Considering Ahmed Cevdet's official duties, achievements, historical studies, the *Mecelle* and many other books he authored in different fields, his absence from the Ottoman court probably would have been one of the greatest losses of Ottoman bureaucracy and intellectual sphere too. In this respect, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa could be regarded as Reşid Paşa's gift in the general sense to the Tanzimat era, and more specifically to Ottoman intellectual life.

Cevdet Efendi's relation with Mustafa Reşid Paşa did not only accelerate his professional progress, but also it changed his career path.³⁷⁴ However, between April and August of 1848, he was displaced from of the government by reactionaries who pushed the dismissal of his patron, Reşid Paşa from the Grand Vezir office; nevertheless he continued to receive promotions in different ranks of the İlmiye. In March of 1849, by imperial order he was raised to Hareket-i Hariç. At the end of 1849, he was assigned to an important political mission for the first time in order to solve the Hungarian refugees' question and was secretly sent to Bucharest with Fuad Efendi was to obviate this problem.³⁷⁵ Trespassing Lofça for this appointment made Ahmed Cevdet comprehend that his aspirations for the future world would no longer be restricted to Rumelia alone.³⁷⁶

³⁷¹ Cevdet Paşa, Tezakir, vol. IV, p. 21.

³⁷² Ibid., p. 21.

³⁷³ Shaw, pp. 64-65; Çiğdem, p. 81.

³⁷⁴ Christoph K. Neumann, Araç Tarih, Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet'in Siyasi Anlamı, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p. 19.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

³⁷⁶ Tezakir vol. IV, pp. 26-28.

In August of 1850, Cevdet Efendi was appointed Director of the newly founded *Darülmüallimin* (teachers' training school for men), by the *Mecilis-i Maarif Umumiye* (Council of Public Instruction).³⁷⁷ “His job at the teachers' training school lasted only about a year, but in that period he was able to make advances in the admission to where and training of future teachers. Nevertheless, caught up in the reform movement and left in the center of politics, Ahmed Cevdet would never be free again to pursue the path of scholarship and teaching he and his grandfather had envisioned so many years ago.”³⁷⁸

Ahmed Cevdet not only worked with Mustafa Reşid Paşa, but Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa and Keçecizade Mehmet Fuad Paşa as well; both of whom rotated with Reşid for the posts of Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister between 1839 and 1871.³⁷⁹ He acted as an intermediary between them after they had drifted apart due to conflicts on state matters. It was with Fuad, who later become an important patron, that he spent the autumn of 1850 with in Bursa where they worked on writing a grammar book titled *Kavaid-i Osmaniye* (the Rules of Ottoman Turkish) and prepared regulations for the *Şirketi Hayriye* which was the first steamship company on the Bosphorus to operate ferries.³⁸⁰

Cevdet returned to Istanbul and began working at his new position. He penned new regulations for the teachers' training schools and was elected as reporter (muharrir) for the education council. He played a major role in the foundation of the *Encümen-i Daniş* (Academy of Knowledge).³⁸¹ The sultan, impressed with Cevdet's work, ordered his promotion and accordingly he was brought to the rank of Hareket-i Altmışlı by Arif Hikmet Efendi in the same year.³⁸²

³⁷⁷ Bowen, p. 284

³⁷⁸ Robert Charles Bond, “The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian or Vak’anüvis, 1714–1922.” Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of California, 2004, p. 229.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

³⁸¹ Shaw, pp. 109-110; Yavuz, p. 184.

³⁸² Bond, p. 230; Chambers, p. 449.

Shortly after Cevdet started to work at *Encümen-i Daniş* he was asked to write a new history of the Ottoman Empire as a part of the publication program of the covering the period beginning from the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca to the destruction of the Janissary Corps (1774-1826). He agreed and the three volume book was published under the Academy's auspices in 1854, following their approval by the sultan, laid the ground for his appointment as the vakanüvis as well as to his promotion to the rank of Süleymaniye the highest position in the medrese system.³⁸³

In March, 1852 Cevdet and Fuad Paşa traveled to Egypt on a research-investigation tour to solve inheritance problems concerning Muhammed Ali's descendants. The matters were solved and the two men returned to Istanbul by June 1852.³⁸⁴

Few years after the Egyptian trip, in 1855, Cevdet was appointed as vakanüvist (state chronicler) over the death of Nail Bey. According to Cevdet this gave him access to most confidential and reliable state documents to use in history writing. He occupied this post until 1866 and in the meanwhile, for a brief period in 1855 he served on a commission to enact legal reform in the empire.³⁸⁵

In February 1856 Ahmed Cevdet Efendi was transferred from müderris to a judge when he accepted the post of kadı of Galata. This was the lowest level (mahrec) of the great mollaships but only ten months later he was promoted to kadı of Mecca or Mekke payesi. This promotion was arranged by his patron Reşid Paşa who was reappointed the Grand Vizier in November of 1856.³⁸⁶

It was also during Reşid Paşa's grand vizierate that Cevdet, in February 1857 was appointed to Meclis-i Ali Tanzimat, High Council of Reform. Shortly after, he was appointed as the chairman of Arazi-i Seniye Komisyonu, to codify Ottoman land law.³⁸⁷ In 1860 Ahmed Cevdet accompanied the new grand vizier Kıbrıslı Mehmet

³⁸³ Bond, p. 230.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 230.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 230.

³⁸⁶ Bowen, p. 284; Çiğdem, p. 82.

³⁸⁷ Bond, p. 231; Bowen, pp. 284-285.

Emin Paşa on an inspection tour of Bosnia and Niş to solve the unrest and overcome threats of European intervention.³⁸⁸ Cevdet provided Mehmet Emin with valuable advice during the trip, and on their return the Grand Vizier rewarded Cevdet with a promotion to the Istanbul rank of the İlmiye. The promotion was confirmed by an imperial ferman in January 1861.³⁸⁹

In June of 1861, Abdülmecid died and his brother Abdülaziz succeeded to the throne. Six months later Mehmet Emin Paşa was replaced by Ali Paşa. The next decade of the Tanzimat was to be dominated by Ali and Fuad Paşas.³⁹⁰ One of their primary tasks was to reorganize the reform movement within the government and as the first step; Ali Paşa abolished Council of Tanzimat transferring its duties to the newly organized *Meclis-i Valay-i Ahkam-i Adliye*. Cevdet became a member of this new council.³⁹¹

In September of 1861, Ahmed Cevdet was sent on a special mission to the province of İşkodra (Scutari) in Albania to quell a revolt there. As a commissioner he was given additional authorization to solve military and civilian affairs to restore order which he rapidly did and returned to Istanbul before the end of the year.³⁹² He was appointed the next year to a special office within the Bab-ı Ali which examined inspection reports from Rumelia and Anatolia. This was followed by his promotion to the rank of Kazasker of Anatolia in 1863 when he was considered for the position of Şeyhülislam by some reformists. The promotion brought him the Bosnia mission he was appointed as the inspector to overcome the unrest and enact reforms.³⁹³ Ahmed Cevdet passed the summer in Mostar and the winter in Bosnasaray (Sarajevo) successfully ending the revolt and creating a regional military force for which he was awarded with the second class Order of Osmani, given only to the

³⁸⁸ Bond, pp. 231-232.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 232.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 232.

³⁹¹ Ibid., p. 232; Bowen, p. 285.

³⁹² Çiğdem, p. 82; Bowen, p. 285.

³⁹³ Bond, p. 233.

ulema.³⁹⁴ “When Fuad became Grand Vezir the second time, it was rumored that Cevdet would reach his greatest ambition by becoming Şeyhülislam, but this was denied to him due to the strong opposition of many ulema who resented his enlightened and liberal interpretation of religious matters. He therefore became the Inspector General in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1863-1864), extending the Tanzimat reforms there despite the opposition of the Habsburgs, who wanted the area for themselves, as well as of the Slavic national groups. He now was identified as a leading provincial trouble shooter.”³⁹⁵

Consequently, Fuad Paşa, transferred Ahmed Cevdet Efendi from his rank as kazasker in the ilmiye to the rank of Vezir with Sultan Abdülaziz’s permission.³⁹⁶ Thus, Ahmed Cevdet’s “Efendi” became a “Paşa” in January 1866. It should be noted that in the Ottoman Empire Cevdet was the only person who ascended from the rank of kazasker to that of vezir.³⁹⁷ However, “whatever his title or rank, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, in the final decades of his life, remained essentially the transitional figure who had studied in two schools which were the medrese and the circle of Reşid Paşa, and never forgot the lessons he had learned in either of them.”³⁹⁸

In March of 1866 Ahmed Cevdet Paşa was appointed as the Governor of Halep (Aleppo). This appointment which required intense official work obliged him to give up his position as vakanüvis. He remained the as governor of Aleppo until February of 1868, when he was recalled to İstanbul to become president of the Divan-ı Ahkam-ı Adliye (the supreme council).³⁹⁹ Stanford J. Shaw made the following remark about this appointment such that:

It is ironic that Ahmed Cevdet's greatest contributions to the fields of law and justice were made after he left the İlmiye. In 1868, when the Supreme Council was divided into separate legislative and judicial bodies, Cevdet was made chairman of the latter, subsequently becoming the first minister of justice and writing the major pieces of legislation that established the beginnings of a secular court system in the empire for

³⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 233.

³⁹⁵ Stanford Shaw, p. 65.

³⁹⁶ Bond, p. 234; Chambers, p. 464.

³⁹⁷ Chambers, p. 464.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 464.

³⁹⁹ Çiğdem, p. 82; Bowen, p. 285.

the first time. He also led a number of ministers and members of the ulema who opposed Ali's desire to introduce an entirely secular, French-inspired corpus of civil law for these courts, instead convincing the sultan that the new civil law code should be based on principles derived from Islamic law, modernized to meet current realities. Cevdet served as chairman of the commission established to draw up the new law code, to which the simple name Mecelle (Law Collection) was given, a task that occupied him until the last volume was published in 1876.⁴⁰⁰

Under Cevdet's presidency, the Ottoman legal system changed radically. He constituted the mixed court system (Nizamiye Mahkemeleri) in 1869, which secularized the court system and allowed the participation of non-Muslims in judicial affairs.⁴⁰¹ Cevdet also was nominated as the first Justice Minister in 1870 when the Ministry of Justice (Adliye nezareti) was established. Meanwhile he reorganized classes to better educate judges in proper procedure and he began work on composing Mecelle, the legal code based on Hanefi regulations.⁴⁰²

He remained as the Justice Minister until April of 1870 when he was appointed as the governor of Bursa, although for a short time. He did not have a governmental duty until August 1871, when he was reappointed as the President (Mecelle Cemiyeti Reisi) of the Legal Code Commission on the Mecelle, while he remained committed the Presidency of the Council of State (Şurayı Devlet). Cevdet Paşa supervised the writing of the Mecelle until the publication of the final volume in 1876.⁴⁰³

In January of 1873 he was re-appointed to the Council of State again and in April, became Minister of Education (Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti). This position enabled him to make immense contributions to reforming of the primary schools for boys (Sibyan Mektepleri), composing the curricula for more advanced schools, and reorganizing the Darülmualimin.⁴⁰⁴ In April of 1874, Cevdet was appointed as assistant to the President of the Council of State (Şura-i Devlet Reis Muavini). In November of 1874, he was dismissed from his post and appointed as Vali of Yanya (Janina) by the Grand Vezir Hüseyin Avni Paşa who, with the anticipation of

⁴⁰⁰ Shaw, pp. 65-66.

⁴⁰¹ Çiğdem, pp. 85-87; Bowen, p. 285.

⁴⁰² Çiğdem, pp. 85-87; Bowen, p. 285; Bond, p. 235.

⁴⁰³ Bond, p. 235.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 235.

deposing Abdülaziz, wanted Cevdet to be away from the Capital. Nevertheless in November 1875, he was appointed as Justice Minister for the second time.⁴⁰⁵

Cevdet expressed his incursion to the Grand Vezirate of Mahmud Nedim Paşa by opposing concessions in custom duties so he was sent on an inspection trip of Rumelia in March of 1876.⁴⁰⁶ On his return he was removed from the Ministry of Justice and when Nedim fell from power and subsequently, he became Minister of Education for the third time.⁴⁰⁷

After the fall of Abdülaziz and the brief reign of Murad V, Abdülhamid II succeeded to the throne in August of 1876, reappointing Ahmed Cevdet first as Minister of Justice in November than as the Minister of Interior he held for most of 1877, before he was made the Minister of Pious Foundations. The last was a brief duty for him before he was appointed by the Porte, as the Governor of Syria in February, 1878, again, to keep him out of İstanbul.⁴⁰⁸

His post as governor of Syria lasted about nine months until he was replaced by Midhat Paşa. While on duty, Cevdet tried to reorganize the provincial government and overcome a revolt in Kozan. He returned to İstanbul in December of 1878 and was appointed to Ministry of Commerce.⁴⁰⁹ He acted as the President of the Council of Ministers (Meclis-i Vükela) for ten days upon the dismissal of Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa in October of 1879, until Küçük Said Paşa replaced him. Subsequently, he was reappointed as the Minister of Justice, where he served for three years.⁴¹⁰

Cevdet official obligations for a few years; his last official appointment came in June of 1886 when he was reappointed to the same position for the fifth time and served four years.⁴¹¹ In the meanwhile he also presided over a commission that

⁴⁰⁵ Çiğdem, p. 83; Bowen, p. 285.

⁴⁰⁶ Çiğdem, p. 84.

⁴⁰⁷ Bond, p. 236.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 236; Bowen, p. 285.

⁴⁰⁹ Çiğdem, p. 84.

⁴¹⁰ Bond, p. 237.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., p. 237.

modified the regulations for governing Girit (Crete) after the rebellion there in 1889. He resigned from this post in May of 1890 due to political disagreements with the Grand Vezir Mehmed Kamil Paşa.⁴¹²

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa returned his literature and history studies during last few years of his life in retirement, worked on the last volumes of the *Tarih*, organizing the records that he had collected while he was the court historian as he spent time with his two daughters, Fatma Aliye and Emine Semiye. He concentrated especially on Fatma Aliye Hanım's intellectual developments transmitting his knowledge, experiences and values as much as he could, to improve her mental development, reasoning, analytical ability and knowledge on Islamic and Ottoman history, law, religious sciences, Islamic and western philosophy. Ahmed Cevdet died on the 25th of May 1895 at his mansion in Bebek.⁴¹³

4.1.4 The Historian Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and His Publications

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa was one of the most important Ottomanist historians of the nineteenth century. He was also the transitional figure of Ottoman historiography between the traditional Ottoman and western history writing by synthesizing old and new. As a matter of fact, this was his consistent and holistic intellectual stance which was reflected upon his and conduct in *Mecelle*, as well as other studies and state services.

His career as a historian began when he was appointed to write the history of Ottoman Empire (*Tarih-i Vakayi-i Devleti Aliyye*) covering the years between 1774 and 1826 by *Encümen-i Daniş*.⁴¹⁴ The first three volumes of the *Tarih-i Vakayi-i Devlet-i Aliye* was published during the Crimean War (1853- 1856) Cevdet Paşa

⁴¹² Çiğdem, p. 84; Bond, p. 237.

⁴¹³ Bowen, p. 286.

⁴¹⁴ Zeki Arıkan, "Cevdet Paşa'nın Tarihinde Kullandığı Kaynaklar ve Terimler," *Ahmet Cevdet Paşa Semineri, 27-28 Mayıs, Bildiriler*, İstanbul, İÜBF Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 1986, p. 174.

completed his monumental twelve volume *Tarih-i Cevdet*⁴¹⁵ which was a pace-setter in many aspects in Ottoman-Turkish Historiography and historians' craft in 1885.

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's *History* titled as *Tarih-i Cevdet* in later additions, embodied important links between traditional and the new history writing in line with characteristics of the Tanzimat era, his personality and world view. Firstly, as a historian, he was deeply influenced by İbn Haldun's *Muqaddimah* which added a sociological dimension to his understanding of history. The following lines his student Selim Sabit, quoted from Ahmed Cevdet Paşa serve as explanatory data to clarify the development of the historian in him: "the written works of Michelet, Taine, İbn Teymiyye, İbn Haldun and Zehebi were very influential on me while establishing my thoughts, and I benefited immensely from Hammer's, Buckle and Montesquieu's historical studies."⁴¹⁶ In doing so, Cevdet Paşa, as a historian, "achieved to synthesize scientific historiography with literary historiography."⁴¹⁷

Secondly, like other vakanüvists, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa also followed the classical pattern of recording the events year by year; however, he covered different topics in a specific unity and examined each within itself.⁴¹⁸ For instance, he wrote about the political events concerning the Empire by analyzing the institutions of the time.

Thirdly, when writing history Ahmed Cevdet Paşa did not remain limited to domestic events but observed and wrote about foreign developments as well.⁴¹⁹ Furthermore, he had a good grasp on European socio-economic and institutional history; this enabled him to analyze history of Europe and make chronological socio-economic and intellectual comparisons between the Ottoman State and the West. Accordingly he used western historical terms and understanding masterfully. His deep knowledge of both cultures allowed him this scientific approach. For example, he analyzed political, economic, social and technical developments of Europe

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., p. 174.

⁴¹⁶ Bekir Kütükoğlu, Tarihçi Cevdet Paşa, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa Semineri*, p. 114.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., p. 111; Arıkan, p. 178.

⁴¹⁸ Arıkan, p. 178.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., p. 179.

starting from feudal times to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, paying special attention to the French Revolution.⁴²⁰

Synchronizing Ottoman and European history was one of the most distinguishing characteristics of Cevdet Paşa's history writing. This led him to diagnosing the influences European developments had over the Ottoman state.⁴²¹ For example, he pinpointed the importance of the French Revolution, and the new epoch its direct influences over the Ottoman Empire opened in terms of international relations. In this respect, he underlined that references to European events was suitable and necessary. In addition, he perceived the European events "as the consequences of the steps that developed in a sequence and in an interconnecting manner."⁴²² He also inserted that "narration of the events without explaining the causes is insufficient to provide the comprehension of the reality whereas it is in this respect that the past and the future of Europe will be explained all together."⁴²³ Thus, "even before the rise of outright nationalistic discourse, Cevdet's *Tarih-i Cevdet* treated Ottoman history as part and parcel of a world history which had Europe as its centre."⁴²⁴

Lastly, Cevdet Paşa gave importance to the causality of the historical events and criticizing, interpreting the sources. Accordingly, he believed and emphasized that historical events were not the consequences of unique causes but were results of the consecutive events.⁴²⁵ In this respect, he expressed his thoughts as: "aim of writing history could not be composing of the accumulated data about past and analysing the actual causes of the events but also required the organizing of data in conceivable and simple way for the use of people."⁴²⁶ At this point, he criticized the

⁴²⁰ Ibid., p. 179.

⁴²¹ İlber Ortaylı, "Cevdet Paşa ve Osmanlı Tarihi," *Ahmet Cevdet Paşa Semineri. 27-28 Mayıs 1985. Bildiriler*. İstanbul, İÜEF Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 1986, p. 163.

⁴²² Ahmet Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet, Osmanlı Tarihi, 1&6*, İstanbul, Üçdal Neşriyat, 1972, p. 147.

⁴²³ Ibid., p. 147.

⁴²⁴ Cemal Kafadar and Hakan T. Karateke, "Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing" ed, Stuart Macintyre et al. *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800-1914, Oxford, 2011, p. 566.

⁴²⁵ Arıkan, p. 177.

⁴²⁶ *Tarih-i Cevdet, Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.1, p.13.

official chroniclers of using pompous language with sharp words and stated that evaluating such works required extensive corrections and arrangements. In his own words “most of the Ottoman chroniclers changed the subject of history writing and made it a journal of poetry and dreams.”⁴²⁷ For example, notwithstanding he frequently resorted to Edib’s History, he considered it unfair, drudge and flattering in some respects. He criticized Enveri for recording all details and ending up with controversial statements. Cevdet Paşa also criticized Vasıf’s history for its discourtesy to Grand Vezir Halil Hamid Paşa and described his narrated assessment against the Grand Vezir Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Paşa as “rotten words.”⁴²⁸ Briefly stated, as a vigilant and truth-seeking chronicler and historian, Cevdet Paşa did not tolerate unreasonable explanations and exaggerations in history writing. Whereas previous vakarıvists also published some sources such as imperial decrees and edicts without revealing their causes and results or evaluating them,⁴²⁹ Cevdet Paşa not only evaluated such archival sources substantially but also attached full texts at the end of the work.⁴³⁰ Furthermore, in order to diversify his sources and reach the historical truth, he resorted to reflecting the views of eyewitnesses as a historical source making comparisons and pointing out the contrasts of his written and oral sources.⁴³¹

As for Cevdet Paşa’s historical methodology and conception, understanding of history and past, he expressed his historiographical principles, methods and approaches of his *Tarih* in the introduction, which is worthy of a closer look: To start with, he defined the *İlm-i Tarih* (science of history) as follows: "history does not only consist of gathering accurate information about the events; the duty of a historian is to acknowledge people about the actual causes of the events as well for

⁴²⁷ *Tarihi Cevdet*, v.1, p. 279; Sait Yavuz, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and Islamic Modernism, p. 17.

⁴²⁸ Bekir Kütükođlu, p. 112; M. Sait Yavuz, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and Islamic Modernism, p. 17.

⁴²⁹ Yücel Özkaya, “Ahmet Cevdet Paşa’nın Tarih’inde Arşiv Belgelerini Kullanış ve Deđerlendirishi,” *Ahmet Cevdet Paşa Semineri. 27-28 Mayıs 1985. Bildiriler*. İstanbul, İÜEF Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 1986, p. 145.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁴³¹ Mücteba İlgürel, “Cevdet Paşa Tarihi’nin Kaynaklarından Vasıf Tarihi”, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa Semineri, p.115; Sait Yavuz, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and Islamic Modernism, p. 17.

people to take lessons."⁴³² While identifying historian's duty, Cevdet criticized the former vakanüvists who recorded the events by using .literary genres. For this reason he asserts that "the previous historians, who have written in such manner have not been useful for history. Their works only served the *Fenn-i İnşa*, (literary science and arts) which means literary composition including metaphors and assonances."⁴³³ Cevdet Paşa believed that *Fenn-i İnşa* was incompatible with *Fenn-i Tarih*, as it was obstructing the understanding of the historical events and devoid of historical value.⁴³⁴ Secondly, Cevdet Paşa stated that he omitted the annually repeated and ordinary events and only focused on those which contained appropriate information efficiently explanatory for the causes of historical events to the detriment of "event-writing" and descriptive Ottoman historiographical tradition.⁴³⁵ Thirdly, Ahmed Cevdet manifested his objectivity and impartiality as a historian and advised historians to adhere to these principles with the following words: "I have tried to investigate the events and their causes without taking a side."⁴³⁶ Cevdet gave on impartiality of historians was to keep away from partisanship and opportunism.⁴³⁷

Regarding Ahmed Cevdet's aim and perception of writing history, were his revelations that history as a science was full of advantages for both the public and the statesmen and that it was useful in bringing the past events into light so as to inspire the statesmen the essentiality of discreetness. He indicated that history (past) taught what people could not learn through their entire life by experiencing.⁴³⁸ He described history as a device to meet natural curiosity of mankind and claimed that it met their lust for learning about the past and predicting for the future.⁴³⁹ Additionally, he stressed vehemently the usefulness of history for statesmen. He claimed, "the

⁴³² *Tarihi Cevdet*, p. 23.

⁴³³ Neumann, p. 20.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴³⁵ *Tarihi Cevdet*, p. 23; Neumann, p. 20.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

statesmen should to take lessons from the failures and mistakes of the previous generation.”⁴⁴⁰ His view was that importance of history originated from the fact that it was a necessary device for finding proper measures to prevent and obviate the decline of the Empire decline and its institution.⁴⁴¹

Last to note is the explanations of historian Christoph K. Neumann in his book, *Araç Tarih, Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet'in Siyasi Anlamı*, about the purpose and function of writing of *Tarih-i Cevdet* claiming that “as one of the architects of the Tanzimat,” Cevdet Paşa penned to envisage his *Tarih* to defend and justify the Tanzimat’s programme, reforms and values and Mustafa Reşid Paşa’s politics.⁴⁴²

Apart from *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa wrote other important books on historic topics as memoir and autobiography. Cevdet Paşa penned most of these works in last years of his life when his official duties were minimized. Another comprehensive and voluminous history project after his monumental *Tarih* was the *Kıyas-ı Enbiya ve Tevârih-i Hulefa* (Retaliation of the Prophets and the History of the Caliphs). In this book, he narrated lives of all of the prophets from Adam to Muhammad and his book on Islamic history ending with Sultan Murad II. This work, composed of six volumes, gained great popularity, mostly due to its articulate and uncomplicated language.⁴⁴³

Kırım ve Kafkas Tarihçesi (Crimean and Caucasian History), based largely on the *Gülbün-i Hanan* of Halim Giray was another book Cevdet wrote after retirement ⁴⁴⁴ in which he concentrated considerably on the lives of the Crimean Khans and political events between the beginning the Ottoman domination in Crimea and its independence.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁴¹ Neumann, pp. 217-221.

⁴⁴² Ibid., pp. 217-221.

⁴⁴³ Kafadar and Karateke, p. 566.

⁴⁴⁴ Neumann, p. 54.

Tezâkir (Memoirs) covering the years between 1839 and 1890 was Cevdet's important and well known book that bore similarities with the works of chroniclers, and was not written for publication.⁴⁴⁵ It consisted of all of the records, observation and notes on current events, that Cevdet started to compile while a vakanüvist in order to transfer them to Ahmed Lütfi Efendi his successor as the official historian.⁴⁴⁶

Another book of extreme pertinence was *Mâruzât* (Reports) covering the events that took place in between 1839-1876. Cevdet Paşa prepared it narrating a long series of observations in order to submit the sultan Abdülhamid II, who requested from Cevdet Paşa the evaluation of events that took place between 1839 and 1876.⁴⁴⁷ *Tezakir* and *Maruzat* included social and ethnical structure of the Tanzimat period, Cevdet's experiences, during his travels to Albania, Bosnia and Kozan, this observations on social and cultural life of these regions and additionally his poems and *layiha*'s including his projects or memorandums on specific issues.⁴⁴⁸ Completion of these books brought his *Tarih* to cover until the 1890s which means that with his book his works on history covered one hundred and twenty years between 1774 and 1890 of Ottoman history reflecting a very important period which included the radical transformations and extensive reform movements of the Ottoman Empire. For a concluding remark, it should be asserted that one of the methods guiding Cevdet Paşa to success was becoming well acquainted with the existing conditions and sorting out the essentials meticulously before writing, which was a resolution similar to the methodology his idol, Reşid Paşa resorted to in his political life.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁵ Neumann, p. 22.

⁴⁴⁶ Shaw, p. 66.

⁴⁴⁷ Shaw, p. 66.

⁴⁴⁸ Yavuz, p. 15.

⁴⁴⁹ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Edebiyat Üzerine Makaleler*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 2000, p. 119.

4.1.5 Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's Contributions to Ottoman State and Culture

Ahmed Cevdet Pasha directly, indirectly and faithfully served the Ottoman state, particularly with his important contributions to Tanzimat reforms and institutions. His extensive knowledge in Islamic sciences and full command over the codes of the Learned and Scribal institutions as well as his experiences enabled him to assume important responsibilities in newly established ministries, councils, administrative and educational institutions. While many Tanzimat bureaucrats hesitated to overtaking tasks, Ahmed Cevdet persistently was entrusted with offices and duties which he assumed wholeheartedly. He played pertinent roles in the structuring of the judicial, legislative, executive, educational and scientific or scholarly Tanzimat institutions and carved founding marks on many of the major laws, regulations, rules prepared during the Tanzimat period such as the Penal, Land, Laws and the Civil Code.

Cevdet Paşa was the first Ottoman intellectual to reconcile Islam with Western ideas. He confronted Ulema's notorious criticisms and attacks against Tanzimat reforms and reformers for the sake of adopting Western-oriented and secular visions. He was able to accomplish this with, extensive knowledge in religious sciences, law and his open-minded personality. However, it has to be borne in mind that the virtue of his İlmîyye affiliation made him the most authoritative amongst the Ulema so what he voiced could prevent or minimize objections. In fact, no one but him could have better performed the legal reform which required a meticulous consolidation of the old and new carefully camouflaging reforms with the traditionals. The below lines are explicit in this regard:

In order to persuade the ulema that founding commercial and penal courts and applying secular codes were within the limits of the sharia, Cevdet translated an article by Celaleddin Devvani, who was a leading philosopher, theologian, and jurist of the fifteenth century Iran. He recorded the summary of this article, in *Tezakir*, stressing that a ruler should have such rights in order to suppress the people, so that justice could come to the light. Cevdet gave examples from the lives of the Prophet and his companions, great jurists as well as famous Caliphs. He concluded in the end that the statutory courts rather than Sharia courts, was not only within the limits of Islamic law, but was also essentials since commercial and secular issues (muamelat) had increased.

Cevdet argued that secular courts were not only compatible with Islam but were also necessary to it.⁴⁵⁰

Mecelle, prepared by a commission headed by Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, was the best example of the mentioned diverse application.

Cevdet Paşa's contributions to Ottoman state and culture can be reflected under three main categories: Ottoman education and Ottoman-Turkish Language; Ottoman and Islamic Law, jurisprudence; and Ottoman/Turkish Historiography.

His significant contributions to Ottoman education and Ottoman-Turkish Language were by means of his official duties and writing books in a plain, simple, understandable language. His contributions to education and training were focused on three points: opening and institutionalizing of new educational and cultural institutions; increasing publications of new textbooks for all levels; and simplifying Ottoman-Turkish by introducing the Turkish language.⁴⁵¹

Firstly, concerning Ottoman educational renovations Ahmed Cevdet took active roles in basic educational institutions as a teacher, director, minister and had memberships in *Encümen-i Daniş*, and the *Meclis-i Maarif*. He served to rearrange Ottoman education by reforming primary and secondary schools; prepared new curricula for the existing established educational councils to organize the scheduling to open new schools and discuss the efficiency of the curricula in public schools while he was the Minister of Education.⁴⁵² He stressed in the official report, he presented at the end of the general council held in 1882 that the essence of progress lied in starting scientific studies in the Empire.⁴⁵³

Secondly, new books on natural sciences were written and published under the guidance of the Ministry when he was in charge. Moreover, Cevdet established a commission of education to compose a new curriculum for the recently established modern schools, and various scholars were proposed to write specific books in

⁴⁵⁰ Yavuz, p. 49.

⁴⁵¹ Mustafa Gündüz, *Eğitimci Yönüyle Ahmed Cevdet Paşa*, Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2012, p. 95.

⁴⁵² Bowen, p. 286.

⁴⁵³ Yavuz, p. 39.

accordance the new curriculum.⁴⁵⁴ He also led the installation of Turkish grammar courses into the curriculums.⁴⁵⁵ Moreso, he personally authored three of which “measures that necessitated the composition of new manuals of instruction;”⁴⁵⁶ *Kavaid-i Türki*, *Miyar-ı Sedad* and *Adab-ı Sedad* involving the Turkish grammar, logic and literature.⁴⁵⁷

Lastly, Cevdet Paşa contributed to Ottoman language by writing his grammar and eloquence books, in simple and understandable language. His monumental works such as *Cevdet-i Tarih*, *Kıyası Enbiya* and *Mecelle* as well as popular books *Kavaid-i Osmaniyye*, *Medhal-i Kavaid*, *Kavaid-i Türkiyye*, *Belagat-i Osmaniyye*, *Tertib-i Cedid Kavaid-i Osmaniyye* serve as examples to his simplicity. Additionally, in his book *Medhal-i Kavaid* Ahmed Cevdet Paşa for the first time mooted the idea that improving the Arabic alphabet to establish a suitable structure to Turkish by some additional punctuation marks would facilitate writing and reading.⁴⁵⁸ His suggestion was applied to some textbooks in the school year 1863-1864.⁴⁵⁹ Cevdet also determined the Turkish equivalents to some frequently used foreign words and terms such as *Buhran* for crisis or *crisé* and *evrak-ı mevkute* for *périodique*.⁴⁶⁰ By such application Cevdet actually aimed to make the Turkish a universal language of communication⁴⁶¹ and science.⁴⁶² His efforts did give fruit; Cevdet succeed in

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 39.

⁴⁵⁵ Enver Ziya Karal, "*Osmanlı Tarihinde Türk Dili Sorunu*", *Bilim Kültür ve Öğretim Dili Olarak Türkçe*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara, 1994, pp. 58-59.

⁴⁵⁶ Bowen, p. 286.

⁴⁵⁷ Şimşirgil and Ekinci, p. 26.

⁴⁵⁸ Nevzat Özkan, *Ahmet Cevdet Paşa Medhal-i Kavâ'id*, TDK yay., Ankara, 2000, pp. 3-5.

⁴⁵⁹ M. Şakir Ülkitaşır, *Atatürk ve Harf Devrimi*, TDK yay., Ankara, 1981, p. 20.

⁴⁶⁰ Cavid Baysun, *Ahmet Cevdet Paşa Tezâkir-i Cevdet*, 40-Tetimme, TTK, Ankara, 1986, pp. 103-104.

⁴⁶¹ Ebul'ula Mardin, 1996, *Medenî Hukuk Cephesinden Ahmet Cevdet Paşa*, TDV Yay., 1996, Ankara, p. 36.

⁴⁶² David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908*, London. N.J., 1977, pp. 58-59.

gaining appreciation for many of his goals especially with his style and language to the degree that the newspapers started to imitate and adopt Paşa's linguistic style.⁴⁶³

Ahmed Cevdet with his writing technique, method and irreplaceable historical studies Paşa made important contributions to Ottoman-Turkish Historiography and historian's crafts. Firstly, Cevdet Paşa went beyond limits of traditional Ottoman historiography through his analyses, using and criticising sources; as mentioned above, giving great importance to historical causality and impartiality. Unlike previous Ottoman historians, he built and adopted universal and interconnecting historical narrative embracing the Ottoman Empire and world around it instead of remaining chronologically in a linear, one dimensional pattern in dynastic, Islamic and political history writing. In this sense, historian Bernard Lewis points out that "history of the Ottoman Empire must rank as one of the greatest achievements of Ottoman historiography."⁴⁶⁴ Historian İlber Ortaylı asserted, that Cevdet contributed to Ottoman history writing by including in his work the following: Firstly, Cevdet Paşa made strong synchronizations in his works: On the one hand he approached events chronologically; on the other hand he tried to formulate the relationship between different events of different times. Secondly, he comprehended the significance of French Revolution in European social and political life and foresaw that it would create a new system of international relations. Lastly, he gave much significance to the progress in Russia coinciding with the decline of the Ottoman Empire by making comparisons between the modernization processes of the two Empires.⁴⁶⁵

Finally, Cevdet Paşa has contributed outstandingly to Ottoman Empire and the Islamic law through statutory and legal regulations; foremost among them was the *Mecelle* (the Ottoman Civil Code) "first attempt by an Islamic state to codify, and to enact as law of the state, part of the sharia law."⁴⁶⁶ Cevdet was the founding father and main contributor of the *Mecelle*, the first and last Ottoman civil code.

⁴⁶³ Fatma Aliye Hanım, *Ahmet Cevdet Paşa ve Zamanı*, Bedir Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1995, p. 104.

⁴⁶⁴ Lewis, p. 64.

⁴⁶⁵ İlber Ortaylı, *Cevdet Paşa ve Avrupa Tarihi*, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa Semineri, İÜEF Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul, 1986, p. 166; Yavuz, p. 19.

⁴⁶⁶ Schacht, p. 92.

Supervising the *Mecelle-i Ahkam-ı Adliyye* commission preparing the *Mecelle*, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, with the awareness of the nature of the Ottoman State and people he was well acquainted with, assured that the document would be modern in form and presentation as it remained within the Islamic tradition, firmly based on the *Şeriat*. He and his committee had their way; the result of their endeavours was a digest rather than a code of *şeriat* law of the Hanafi school. Ottoman law in one respect became secularized and nationalized with the *Mecelle* which was applied to all Ottoman subjects without distinction of religion and ethnicity.⁴⁶⁷

It ranked as one of the great achievements of Turkish jurisprudence and still forms the basis of the legal systems of several once Ottoman Islamic states in Asia⁴⁶⁸ and Europe. It was effective in Bosnia-Herzegovina until after the Austrian occupation of 1878, in Albania until 1928. In the Middle East, the *Mecelle* was not changed by new civil codes until 1932 in Lebanon, 1949 in Syria, and 1953 in Iraq, where many elements of it survived in the new civil code of that year. The *Mecelle* has remained basic to the civil code in Israel and Jordan.⁴⁶⁹ It also continued to serve as the civil law of Kuwait and in Cyprus at least into the 1960s.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁷ Hıfzı Veldet (Velidedeoğlu), “Kanunlaştırma Hareketleri ve Tanzimat,” Tanzimat I, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul 1999, pp. 190-191.

⁴⁶⁸ Lewis, p. 123.

⁴⁶⁹ Herbert J. Liebesny, *The Law of the Near and Middle East: Readings, Cases, and Materials*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975, pp. 93-109; Schacht, p. 93.

⁴⁷⁰ Schacht, p. 93.

4.2. FATMA ALİYE HANIM (1862-1936)

4.2.1. Introduction

Only a few women were able to register their names in literature during the intensive westernization movement of the nineteenth century. Fatma Aliye was one of these women. Pioneering as a novelist and translator, influential as an intellectual, “feminist” and columnist, she was the first of the internationally recognized Ottoman woman novelists.⁴⁷¹

Fatma Aliye was the daughter of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, the eminent statesman, historian, jurist and intellectual in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. She was a follower of his father in many ways. Like Ahmed Cevdet Paşa she adopted eclecticism between Islam and the West as a holistic perspective that led the leading motives in her own life and intellectual, literary studies.

As for Fatma Aliye’s feminist aspect, she rejected the patriarchal structure, and expended her energy and times for the sake of Ottoman women’s rights. The concentration point of almost all of her writings was the improvement and exaltation of the status of women in Ottoman society. Her daughter Zübeyde İsmet Faik Topuz identified Fatma Aliye Hanım with the following comment in a letter written to historian Carter Findley:

Fatma Aliye was not pleased with priests and rabbis. She was aspiring to freedom which was unrealized in Turkey yet. Nevertheless, she was loyal to tradition weirdly. As for me, on the one hand she was under the influence coming from his father to whom she was close, on the other hand under that of Ahmet Midhat...To tell the truth, she was inholding two value systems which could not exist together. She wanted to be a pioneer as well as to stick to tradition...Even if she wrote novels; she did this to spread the ideas which always kept busy her: Gender equality and struggle to gain this. I never understood how ever she reconciled advanced ideas with loyalty to tradition which, before anything else, was implying established order and restriction.”

⁴⁷¹ Zafer Hanım was the first Ottoman woman to write a novel, but *Aşk-ı Vatan* (Love of the Fatherland) which was published in 1877; remained as her only work. Thus, Fatma Aliye Hanım was accepted as the first woman novelist due to her continuity and effectiveness in Ottoman literature.

That was not common at all. As far as I understood, she wanted people to evolve deeply and slowly, not an immediate revolution, to reach the freedom.⁴⁷²

In a similar vein, feminist journalist Grace Ellison who was Fatma Aliye's friend, commented on Aliye's attempts to reconcile change and tradition in her book of *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* as:

Fâtima Alié is a feminist. She is strongly in favour of women leading an active, useful life, and working at a profession if necessary, but she is decidedly opposed to the adoption of European fashions in literary style, as well as in clothing and furniture. To her the picturesque stuffs of Broussa are worth more than all the wares in shops of Paris put together, and to her neat compromise between a dressing-gown and a dress which covers her uncorseted form and to her easy, if not elegant, slippers, she will remain faithful to the end of her days.⁴⁷³

4.2.2. Fatma Aliye Hanım's Upbringing and First Sparks of Literature in Her Life

Fatma Aliye was born on 26 October 1862 in İstanbul. Her father was the reknown Ahmed Cevdet Paşa; her mother was Advıye Rabia Hanım.⁴⁷⁴ Fatma Aliye was raised by her wet nurse until the age of three in accordance with the of the Ottoman upper class application often resorted to in cases mothers could not nurse the child.⁴⁷⁵

Best information about Fatma Aliye's childhood and adolescence can be reached in Ahmed Midhat Efendi's biographic work on Fatma Aliye Hanım, *Fatma Aliye Hanım yahut Bir Muharrire-i Osmaniyenin Neşeti*, (The Birth of An Ottoman Woman Writer).⁴⁷⁶ In the preface of the book, the author clarified that his purpose

⁴⁷² Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Fatma Aliye Hanım: Osmanlı Kadınının Sesi; Fatma Aliye Hanım yahut Bir Muharrire-i Osmaniyenin Neşeti*, ed. Müge Galin, trans. Lynda Goodsell Blake, İsis Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1998, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁷³ Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*. London: Methuen, 1915, pp. 109-110.

⁴⁷⁴ Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarın Doğuşu*, trans and ed. Bedia Ermat, Sel Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1994, p.31; Serpil Çakır, "Fatma Aliye: 1862-1936", in *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Francisca de Haan et al, Central European University Press, Budapest, 2006, p.21; Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Fatma Aliye Hanım yahut Bir Muharrire-i Osmaniyenin Neşeti* ed. Müge Galin, trans. Lynda Goodsell Blake, İsis Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1998, p. 16.

⁴⁷⁵ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Fatma Aliye Hanım yahut Bir Muharrire-i Osmaniyenin Neşeti*, p. 39.

⁴⁷⁶ Ahmet Mithat, *Fatma Aliye Hanım yahut Bir Muharrire-i Osmaniyenin Neşeti*, Kırkambar Matbaası, İstanbul, 1311 (1893-1894).

for writing a biography on Fatma Aliye Hanım whom he referred to as his moral or spiritual daughter, was not to introduce publicly Fatma Aliye Hanım but that he aimed to convey how an Ottoman woman writer and intellectual emerged under the existing circumstances in the Ottoman realm.⁴⁷⁷

Fatma Aliye's interest in reading and learning began at an early age. In this respect, she as a child was different from her matches; she did not like playing with toys and other children. She had a curiosity for; books and was a compulsive reader, she examined the books she came across and took more pleasure from leafing through their pages than anything else.⁴⁷⁸ This curiosity and eagerness to learning was a harbinger of her future compassion for literature and science.

Fatma Aliye was five years old when she began to participate in private lessons tutored to her brother, Ali Sedat Bey. This was when she read the entire the *Mushaf-ı Şerif* (the Koran), *Mevlid-i Şerif*,⁴⁷⁹ *Mızraklı İlm-i Hal*⁴⁸⁰ and other basic texts.⁴⁸¹

With her perseverance and curiosity, Fatma Aliye progressed expeditiously in reading and learning. When seven years of age, she could easily read and understanding heroic tales and sagas such as the *Battal Gazi*, *Kan Kalesi*, *Muhayyemat-ı Aziz Efendi* and *Elfüleyle* (Tales from The Thousand and One Nights) and ask for the words and sentences she could not understand to those around until she was satisfied with the answer.⁴⁸² Additionally, Fatma Aliye did not only learn the meaning of these words and concepts but tried to learn their usages as well.⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁷ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Fatma Aliye Hanım yahut Bir Muharrir-i Osmaniye'nin Neşeti* pp. 34-35. "Fatma Aliye Hanımefendi Hazretlerine: Sevgili Kızım! Altı yedi senedir seninle manevi peder ve duhteriz. Sana henüz hiçbir hediye takdim etmemişimdir. Zihni saygısızlık, değil mi? Düşündüm taşındım, sana hediye olarak yine senden başkasını bulamadım. İşte bu kitap senin kızım! Seni sana takdim ediyorum. Kabul etmemelik edemezsin ya."

⁴⁷⁸ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Fatma Aliye Hanım*, p. 45.

⁴⁷⁹ Religious poetry was written by Süleyman Çelebi for celebrating the birth of Prophet Muhammed.

⁴⁸⁰ At that time, the book is a Catechism a concise manual of Islamic faith, worship and ethics.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

In the meanwhile Fatma Aliye Hanım assumed the responsibility for her mother's correspondences almost as her private secretary, writing with letters with her small hands when only seven years old.⁴⁸⁴ By eagerly reading her the newspapers and magazines, she acquired reading and writing habits to the point that she could not do without.⁴⁸⁵

Fatma Aliye Hanım was not sent to school for primary and secondary education institutions including Sıbyan, *Rüştiye*, *İdadi Mektebi* and the *Dârülmualimât* (the Teacher Training College for Girls) schools. However she received private education from the best and most famous teachers who were her father's friends. Thanks to her father's open-mindedness and his commitment to education and science even during her adolescence years, her private lessons from prominent men teachers were continued. One of the most important teachers who taught her between the ages of ten and thirteen was Hoca Mustafa Efendi, who made a significant contribution to her basic education and intellectual development.⁴⁸⁶ Fatma Aliye expressed her feelings about him, with the following sentences:

He was a progressive person who was competent on reformist ideas. He tried to wipe off the some superstitious beliefs and old wives' tale which were degenerate image of wisdom of Islam from my mind. Since he was able to relate such good and accurate knowledge in children's level, I enjoyed it much. Even my father admired his knowledge, virtue, wisdom and understanding. I was seven when he started his tutoring which lasted three years, until his life ended. I learned by heart the regulations of Ottoman Turkish fairly well and geography perfectly during this time. Viewing a map for geographical conditions of a certain area, he inculcated it with history as well even if in summary. We started astronomy studies after geography. I learned all cycles, motions of the earth and heavenly bodies, and planets. Now, I do not see any geography instruction given anywhere as I have been instructed. I was able to talk about densities of summers, winters, nights, and daytimes. For the good expression in Ottoman Turkish, he taught me so good that to what extent we should benefit from Arabic and Persian without showing the basic rules, grammar of Persian and Arabic that even those who were educated with perfect grammar and syntax could afford barely this much. Had the poor man not died, I could have benefited more from him. His death hurt me. He was a very serious person. Still, he did not accustom to reprimand.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 47.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 48.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 48.

⁴⁸⁷ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, p.49. "...Efkâr-ı müceddede erbabından terakkiperver bir zattı. Bana *Dürr-ü Yekta* dahi okuttu. Ama kendi tertibince bana okutturulması lazım gelen yerleri okuttu. Hatta talimat-ı diniyesi hususunda *Dürr-ü Yekta* yalnız bir zemin teşkil ederek kendisiyse talimat-ı lazimeyi asıl şifâhen verirdi. Birtakım kocakarı masallarını ve Şeriat ü hikmet-i İslamiyeye mugayir hurafat-ı batılayı zihninden silmeye çalışıyordu. Bu güzel ve dakik şeyleri bir çocuğa anlatabilecek sade lisanla

An important stimulation shaping Fatma Aliye's future life and literary, intellectual careers was the insatiable desire she developed for learning French at the age of ten. She explained how she learned French which she could understand and talk better than most men who learned it as a second language as:⁴⁸⁸

I discovered my desire to learn French when I was only ten. Yet, was it possible to fulfill this desire? At that time teaching girls French was not much observed. Only one or two Muslim families complied with the idea and my family was not like them. My mother would think I had changed my religion had she learned I spoke and read French, and it was obvious that she would not refrain from preventing it. We were well associated with a family with some French speaking women. We used to spend much time with the two ladies from this family whom I observed and envied for reading French, painting, playing piano. I could not make my family understand the extent my desire to read French grew in my heart I was looking at the French newspapers with enthusiasm, and with reviewing shapes of the letters as if I would eat them to register in my memory. This desire turned into a compassion occupying my dreams. With the awareness that not realizing my dream would turn me crazy, I convinced to my foster to buy me an alphabet warning him to keep it a secret. Two days or three later, the old man brought me a fine, illustrated alphabet. From that day on, not revealing anyone that I started to review the first chapter of the book, I looked at this chapter constantly for four days without understanding anything. Is not such a determination and tenacity unusual without understanding anything?⁴⁸⁹

söylediğinden bıkip usanmadıktan başka pek de mahzuz oluyordum. İlm ü fazlını, hikmet ü irfanını pederim dahi tahsin ederdi. İşte yedi yaşımıdayken bu zatın derslerinden istifadeye başladım. Tedris, tederrüs üç sene sürdü. Ziyadesine ömrü vefa etmedi. Bu müddette *Kavaid-i Osmaniye*'yi pek güzel belletti. Coğrafyayı mükemmel olarak tamam ettirdi. Hatta tarihi dahi coğrafyaya mezc ederek talim ederdi. Haritaya baktırarak bir yerin ahval-i coğrafiyesini takrir eylediği sırada hulasa-ı ahval-i tarihiyesini dahi bana hikaye eylerdi. Coğrafyadan sonra heyete dahi intikal eyledik. Artık ben küre-i arzın ve ecram-ı semaviyyenin devirlerini, hareketlerini, sevabit ü seyyaratı hep öğrendim. Coğrafya ve heyetin bana okutulduğu gibi hiçbir yerde okutulduğunu şimdi görmüyorum. Yazların, kışların teakubu, gecelerin, gündüzlerin imtidatları, şiddetleri filanları ne surette olduklarını hep söyleyebilirdim. Osmanlı lisanıyla ifade-i meram için Arabi ve Farisi'den ne surette istiane edeceğimizi emsile ve bina ve kavaid-i Farisiye filan göstermeksizin hoca efendi bana o kadar güzel belletti ki muntazam sarf u nahiv görenler dahi tul-ü müddet-i iştigalleri nihayetinde ancak bu kadar istifade edebilirler. Adamcağız vefat etmeseydi kendisinden daha ziyade istifade edecektim. Vefatına pek ziyade acıdım. Çok ciddi adamdı. Benimle hiç latife etmezdi. Fakat tekdir dahi etmezdi.”

⁴⁸⁸ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, p. 51.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 51. "Fransızca'ya hevesim daha on yaşlarımdaken hasıl olmuştu. Lakin bu hevesimi meydana koymak kabil mi? O zamanlar kız çocuklara Fransızca öğretmek henüz müteammim değildi. Yalnız bir iki familyadan başka Müslüman familyalardan hiçbirisi bunu kabul etmemişlerdi. Bizim familya dahi bu hilafgirandan olup ezümle validem bile benim Fransızca okuduğumu görecek anlayacak olsa maazallahutaala dinimi tebdil etmişim kadar işe ehemmiyet vererek ona göre mümanaat içinden elinden geleni icradan geri durmayacağı derkardı. Ailelerin aza-yı inası meyanına dahi Fransızca'yı idhal etmiş olan familyalardan birisiyle muarefemiz, münasebetimiz vardı. Bu aileden iki hemşireyle pek iyi görüştüğümüzden bunların Fransızca okumalarını, resim yapmalarını, piyano meşketmelerini imrenerek görür ve kendileriyle vakit geçirmekten hoşlanırdım. Bu gidişle Fransızca okumak hevesi kalbimde o kadar büyüdü ki artık kendi kendime meram anlatamaz bir hale geldim. Elime geçen Fransızca gazetelere kemal-i iştiyakla bakıyor ve eşkal-i hurufu yiyecekmişim gibi gözden geçirerek zihnime nakşediyordum. Bir hale geldim ki hurufun kaffesiyle muarefe peyda ederek bunları zihnimde sınıf sınıf ayırmakta ve mesela "a" harfine benzeyenleri hep bulup tayin

One day she was caught to her father, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, when she was passing through the hall of their mansion with the alphabet in her hand. Fatma Aliye Hanım related the story below:

There was no time to hide the book in my bosom. I tried to hide it in my skirt. But it was too late. My father saw that I was trying to hide something. I stood as still as a statue when he came near me and asked what it was. He repeated the question. I showed the book without replying. My astonishment raised when he asked me where I found it and of course, what was I doing with this book? It was something which could be found on a person who read French. Part of the book which stayed open was the page consisting of short letters. I started to read them upon my father's order. My father was astonished. Although, not knowing what to do, I stared at his face as if a man ready for his punishment, he said that: "Well, you should read French!" I couldn't believe my ears. When my mother conducted my father's order to respective people, we understood how my father was serious in his decision. It seems that my fears were meaningless.⁴⁹⁰

On this occasion, İlyas Matar Efendi, who had diplomas in the field of law, medicine and acquired fame (or earning reputation) with his many useful, helpful books and studies, was entrusted with teaching French to Fatma Aliye Hanım by Ahmed Cevdet Paşa.⁴⁹¹ İlyas Efendi taught her French for three years. During this time, Fatma Aliye did not only learn French, but also benefited from this education

eylemektediysem de bunların henüz ne isimlerini ne mahiyetlerini bilmemekteydim. Kalbimdeki bu heves adeta bir aşk derecesini buldu. Bu arzuya nail olamazsam hakikaten çıldıracağımı nlayarak ne olursa olsun göze alıncı keyfiyeti süt babaya söyledim. Hiçbir kimseye duyurmamasını yalvara yakar ekiden tekiden tembih ederek alfabeyi almaya ihtiyarı irza edebildim. İki üç gün sonra resimli bir güzel alfabe getirdi. O günden bedle odama kapanıp kimseye göstermeksizin kitabın birinci dersini gözden geçirmeye başladım. Fakat mübalağaya hamledilmemeli ki dört gün mütemediyen hem de hiçbir şey anlamaksızın bu sahifeye baktım. Hiçbir şey anlamaksızın bu kadar sebat ve inad garip değil midir? Bir kimseye bir harf sormaya korkuyordum. Bu ziyansız şey için acaba neden korkuyordum. Besbelli çocukluk hali!"

⁴⁹⁰ Ahmed Mithat Efendi, pp. 52-53. "...Bir de günün birisinde bahçede dersimi yaptıktan sonra kitabı koynuma koymayı unutarak elimde olduğu halde ekseriya تنها olan bir salondan geçeren peder karşıma çıkıvermez mi? Aman ya Rab! Ben şimdi ne yapayım? Kitabı koynuma koymaya vakit yok. Elimi yanı başıma sallandırıp kitabı entarimin etekleri kıvrımlarının arasında gizlemeye çalıştım. Fakat iş işten geçmiş. Peder bir şey gizlemeye çalıştığımı görmüş anlamış. Yanıma doğru gelerek "Nedir o?" sualini irat eylediği zaman put gibi dondum kaldım. Peder sualini tekrar eyledi. Hiçbir cevap vermeksizin kitabı çıkarıp gösterdim. Onu nereden bulduğumu sual edince bendeki şaşkınlık arttı. Öyle ya, bu kitabın bende ne işi var? Olsa olsa bir Fransızca okuyanda bulunabilecek bir şey. Artık her şeyi itiraf lazım geldi. Kitabın açık olan mahalli, en kısa hecalerin matbu olduğu sahifelerdi. Pederin verdiği emir üzerine bunları okumaya başladım. Peder taaccüp etti. Ne yapacağımı bilmeyerek verilecek hükme muntazır bulunan canı gibi yüzüne bakakaldığım halde bir de "Öyleyse sana Fransızca da okutsunlar!" demesin mi? Kulaklarıma inanamayacağım geliyordu. Fakat pederin bu emri pek ciddi olduğunu ertesi gün validemin dahi o emri lazım gelenlere tebliğ etmesiyle sabit oldu. Meğer bizim o kadar korkular ne vahi şeylermiş!"

⁴⁹¹ Ahmet Midhat, p. 53.

with regards to developing her comprehension skills.⁴⁹² After checking his student's ability for French language, İlyas Matar Efendi began immediately teaching her reading and writing.⁴⁹³ Henceforward, İlyas Matar Efendi lived at Cevdet Paşa's mansion; he went school to teach in the daytime and returned to the mansion in the evenings to teach Cevdet Paşa's children, Ali Sedat, Fatma Aliye and Emine Semiye Hanım. Thanks to her effort and great enthusiasm, Fatma Aliye started to speak French in four or five months and could translate short and easy paragraphs to Turkish with the help of a French dictionary.⁴⁹⁴

Mademoiselle Alpha was another influential figure who had a lasting impact on Fatma Aliye's education and general worldview opening her window to western culture and literature. There were so many contributions of Mademoiselle Alpha, Hakkı Efendi's daughter and Monsieur Faber, in the Fatma Aliye's improvement of French. Alpha, whose father was French and mother, English, instructed Fatma Aliye not only French but also taught her about Europe, Paris and conditions of Europe at that time.⁴⁹⁵ Mademoiselle Alpha's father was wise and literate and her mother was open-minded, foreseeing; Alpha was a brilliant and talented girl who was raised with their supervision.⁴⁹⁶ She read most of the European classics and studied and internalized the ideas of the modern writers, and became a companion for Fatma Aliye as well as a teacher. Friendship with Mademoiselle Alpha was really noteworthy for Aliye Hanım in the sense that through her she learned European literature and expanded her knowledge about the west.⁴⁹⁷ She read most of the works of major and famous novelists such as Alexandre Dumas, (Éugene Sue) etc. giving importance to the historical and political events and philosophical and scientific ideas in them rather than the reflecting love affairs.⁴⁹⁸ Moreover, as she expressed in some

⁴⁹² Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 61.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 61.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 67.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 67.

of her letters, although novels she read could have awakened interest in her about love and sex, they frightened her about men and marriage.⁴⁹⁹

At the age of fourteen, she was criticizing books of Ahmed Midhat Efendi which had basically historical topics such as *Hasan Mellah*, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, *Hüseyin Fellah*, *Süleyman Musuli* etc. Her evaluations were not only literary, but historical and philosophical as well. She used primary sources as references for her work, therefore considering first hand data was often unavailable in many of the sources, it can be asserted that she read historical and scientific novels as if she was exploring and researching history and science.⁵⁰⁰ By 1879, when she turned 16, she had already developed an intellectual mind which surpassed many men of the same age.⁵⁰¹

At the beginnings of the same year Cevdet Paşa was appointed the governor of Syria, so the whole family accompanied him to Damascus⁵⁰² where Fatma Aliye had to give a pause to her studies and researches.⁵⁰³

We accepted and enjoyed the visits of English or American travelers' wives and even benefited from them. The ladies were both surprised and glad to see a French speaking girl in the house of an Ottoman Paşa. In their repeated visits the lady who knew Arabic, spoke in this language with my father and in French with me. Thus, acquainting these ladies with the rich women of Damascus was given to me. One of them who were a painter wanted to buy my charcoal drawings.⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 67.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., p.67.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., p. 67.

⁵⁰² Ibid., p.67.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., p. 67.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 68. “Şam’da bazı kere İngiliz ve Amerikalı seyyahların kadınları tarafından verilen vizitaları kabulle mütelezziz ve müstefit olurduk. Bunlar meyânında meşhur bir leydiye tesadif eyledik ki kocasıyla beraber ta çöller derununu seyahatten avdet ediyorlardı. Şimdiden haber vereyim ki bilahare İstanbul’a geldiğimizde bunların matbu seyahatnamesini de gördük. Kitabın baş tarafında kadının maşlah giymiş olduğu halde hayvanıyla beraber resmi vardı. Bunlar Şam’dabirkaç gün çadırlarını kurup oturdular. Bize ilk gelişlerinde bir Osmanlı paşasının haremindedir Fransızca söyler bir kız bulunduğu hem şaşmış hem memnun olmuştu. Ondandır birkaç defa daha geldiler. Kendisi Arapça bildiğinden pederle Arapça benimle Fransızca söyleşiyordu. Fransızca derece-i tahsilimi pek beğendiğinden söyleşecek kimse bulunmaktan dolayı lisan-ı mezkuru unutursam yazık olacağını beyan ve bu lisanı unutmamak için pek çok kitap okumaklığımı tavsiye ediyordu. Şam kibarının konaklarını gezdirip haremle leydiyi görüştürmek vazifesi bana tahmil olundu. Kendisi ressam olduğundan karakalemle resmimi almayı çok arzu eyledi ve ben de bunun derece-i ehemmiyetini takdir edemediğimden muhalefet göstermedimse de nasılsa telaşa gelerek resmi alamadı. Şimdi düşünüyorum ki almadığı isabet olmuş. Zira yazdığı seyahatnameye bunu da ilave ederdi.”

Nine months later, Paşa was called back to İstanbul; however, since the season was winter, he left his family in Beirut.⁵⁰⁵

Fatma Aliye's conversations with an old, wise, music lover naval doctor in the ship when she was returning to İstanbul with her family were very beneficial to her. This talkative man was pleased to meet a sophisticated Muslim lady speaking a foreign language. They talked about philosophy and even religious philosophy at length. This chance made Aliye Hanım very happy. Yet, she was upset for not being able to learn more over the last year so as she could have benefited more from the opportunity to speak with a sophisticated foreigner.⁵⁰⁶

The following year, at the age of seventeen, Fatma Aliye married Mehmet Faik Bey, one of the *aide-de-camps* of Abdülhamid II. The marriage upon her father's request was not based on love; Aliye's husband was intellectually far less qualified and enthusiastic than she was. He forbid her to write, translate, or even read novels believing that reading novels and similar books were morally detrimental for a woman.⁵⁰⁷ Therefore contrary to her expectations she even abstained from her intellectual pursuits.⁵⁰⁸ This prohibition continued for eight years and ended when Fatma Aliye when giving birth to her second child caught a serious disease as Faik Paşa left home Konya to attend appointments to find remedies for the great 1885-1886 famine in Anatolia in.⁵⁰⁹ After Fatma Aliye recovered, Faik Paşa's attitude towards her readings changed suddenly. Although she could not spend as much time with her studies as she wanted to, she was allowed to read novels.⁵¹⁰ After a couple of years, Fatma Aliye wanted to translate Georges Ohnet's novel *Volonte*, which impressed both Faik Paşa as well, from French into Turkish. This, her husband allowed, possibly due to his concern over Farma's serious illness or due to Cevdet's pressure for his daughter's release, so she translated the novel which she titled as

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 69.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 69.

⁵⁰⁷ Ahmet Midhat, p. 70.

⁵⁰⁸ Çakır, p. 21.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 71.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., p. 71.

Meram and published it under the pseudonym "Bir Kadın" (A Woman) in Ahmed Midhat Efendi's the *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (The Interpreter of Real) newspaper.⁵¹¹

The *Meram* translation was a good start, not only for her appearance in the publication sphere, but also for learning the many things that she did not know just from his father Cevdet Paşa's broad knowledge.⁵¹² Let's read this part of the story from her own sentences:

I read *Volonté* from George Ohnet after Faik Paşa returned from Konya since my health was so good. I admired this book. I appreciated state of Emil (Émilie) so much. I got an itch to translate it. One day as r we were sitting. I told my husband I wished to translate the book. He said "do it!" I asked whether he would permit the publication of it. "For sure!" he said. I was so delighted. With this stimulation, I did a rapid translation. I translated two or three fascicle of it when one day, my father came to our room to say something to his son in law He asked what the writings in sight were and was told that I was translating a novel. I got excited! "Let me see!" said my father. He took the papers to his room, soon returned and said "wonderful! This girl was already writing with style but I was not aware of it. How did you hide your talent until now?" I was astounded without understanding the seriousness and validity of his sentences. Although I did not expect it he was praising my understanding of French. Otherwise, little did I think that writings that I wrote in Turkish were good? I pleaded Faik Paşa to read, correct and improve my translation. When we mentioned this to father, He said "Don't you dare! This should not be touched" I looked at his face for his help to correct them. "I would not touch them even if you beg me" he said, I wondered if I was dreaming.⁵¹³

Fatma Aliye's work was harshly criticized by the public. Journals debated sensationally whether the translation was really her work or was it done by her father or brother Ali Sedat because "it was considered improbable that a woman could have

⁵¹¹ Ahmet Midhat, p. 72.

⁵¹² Ahmet Midhat, p. 73.

⁵¹³ Ibid., pp. 71-72. "Faik Paşa Konya'dan geldikten üç sene sonraydı ki sıhhatim pek iyi olduğu halde Jorj One'nin *Volonte*'sini okudum. Bu romanı pek beğendim. Emili'nin halini çok takdir ettim. Bunu tercüme etmek hevesine düştüm. Bir gün oturuyorduk. Zevcime 'Ah ne olur, bunu tercüme etsem,' dedim. Haydi 'Tercüme et,' dedi. 'Neşrettirmeye müsaade eder misin' dedim. 'Hay hay!' dedi. Pek sevindim. O hevesle pek çabuk tercüme ediyordum. İki üç formalık kadar bir parçayı tercüme etmişim. Bir gün peder, damadına bir şey söylemek üzere bizim odaya girdi. Ortadaki yazıların ne olduğunu sordu. Aldı beni bir halecan! Peder 'bakayım göreyim, dedi. Kağıtları alıp odasına götürdü. Bir müddet sonar tekrar odamıza gelip 'Aman bu ne ala? Bu kız böyle yazabiliyormuş da benim haberim yokmuş ha? Sen şimdiye kadar bu iktidarını nasıl gizledin?' dedi. Ben bu sözün sıhhat ü cemiyesini anlamayarak hayrette kaldım. Kendimden bir ümidim varsa o da Fransızca'yı anlayabilmekten ibaretti. Yoksa Türkçe yazdığım şeylerin iyi olabilecekleri hatırımdan bile geçmiyordu. Yaptığım tercümenin Türkçesini Faik Paşa'nın tashih ve tezyin eyleyeceği ricasında'yım. Bunu pedere dahi söyledik. Peder, 'Sakin ha! Buna el sürülmez' dedi. Kendisinin tashihe inayetini rica tavrıyla yüzüne baktım. 'Bana da yalvarsan ben de buna kalem karıştırmam,' dedi. Tuhaf şey, rüya mı görüyorum diye düşünüyordum."

really completed such an impressive translation.”⁵¹⁴ In fact at first even Ahmed Cevdet Paşa doubted that a woman could write even if in her mother tongue. When he saw Aliye’s translation George Ohnet’s *Volonté* he suspected that her idol Ahmed Midhat Efendi was the actual translator.⁵¹⁵ He doubted her talent in writing and proficiency in French until Fatma Aliye proved herself as renowned writer and intellectual.⁵¹⁶

After this success, the relation between Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and Fatma Aliye changed. Cevdet Paşa decided to focus on her daughter's intellectual development as a mentor. He firstly took up elevating his daughter's general knowledge and intellectual capacity. He did not only teach her history but had long conversations with her about philosophy and Islamic Sciences which lasted for many hours through these conversations and the cumulative study program, the Islamic and Western dimensions of history, philosophy, law and literature that Fatma Aliye acquired were much functional upon the development of her intellectual and literary careers. “Through which the transmission of wisdom from and older generation to a younger generation could be observed, adding most importantly the emergence of a woman intellectual to it.”⁵¹⁷ During the tutoring, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa confessed to Ahmed Midhat Efendi her daughter intelligence as: “This girl amazes me... If she had been a man and had a regular education, she would have been a genius.”⁵¹⁸

4.2.3. Fatma Aliye Hanım as a Littérateur or Novelist

Fatma Aliye Hanım started her career as a novelist writing with Ahmed Midhat Efendi as the co-author. *Hayal ve Hakikat* (Dream and Reality) which she signed as “a woman”⁵¹⁹ The novel was published as a serial in the *Tercüman-ı*

⁵¹⁴ Ibid, p. 73; Çakır, p. 22.

⁵¹⁵ Ahmet Midhat, p. 74.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 73-74.

⁵¹⁷ Karakaya, p. 36.

⁵¹⁸ Ahmet Midhat, p. 75; Elizabeth Marvel, "Ottoman Feminism and Republican Reform: Fatma Aliye's Nisvân-ı İslâm." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 2011, pp. 31-32.

⁵¹⁹ Mübeccel Kızıltan, *Öncü Bir Kadın Yazar: Fatma Aliye Hanım*, Journal of Turkish Studies: Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları Fahir İz Armağanı I, c. XIV, 1990, 1991, p. 285.

Hakikat (the Interpreter of Truth) newspaper between the years 1891 and 1892 and after was published in a book format by the same newspaper's printing house in 1892.⁵²⁰ Written by two authors, therefore narrating two different perspectives and styles to Ottoman readers at a time when novels were not a familiar type of literary work, *Hayal ve Hakikat* was met with intensive debates on reality and fancy.⁵²¹ Yet the support and encouragement of her literary protector had guided Fatma Aliye to take the first daring step into fiction, proving herself as a novelist and a woman intellectual able to express her thoughts in writing.

In the novel composed of two parts, Vedad who was the heroine was voiced in the first part by Fatma Aliye, while Vefa who was hero, was introduced in the second part by Ahmed Midhat. While, Fatma Aliye's protagonist represented dream and imagination, Ahmed Midhat's symbolized reality and truth novel a hopeless love affair between Vefa and Vedad causing Vedad to catch tuberculosis and lose her life whereas Vefa continued his life.⁵²² At the end of the novel, Vefa articulates the main idea with cautionary and exemplary phrase "our time is the age of reality and progress; it is not the time for dream and fancy."⁵²³ Hülya Adak points out an important matter about the two contradictory characters of the novel as follows:

Hayal ve Hakikat operates in a dichotomous gendered space, where the emotional, hallucinatory, and hysterical space of woman (which draws fuzzy boundaries between the female narrator and the female protagonist) is corrected, organised, edited, re-written and dismissed and diagnosed as sick and hysterical by the rational, scientific space of male protagonist and male narrator. The female narrator describes Vedad in the third person, but the empathetic and pitying tone and the constant shifts between the first person and third obfuscate the line between Vedad and the female narrator. Not only Vedad's, but the female narrator's account needs to be corrected by the fictional character Vefa who claims to disown all that has been assumed about him by the character Vedad and by the female narrator. Thus Vefa's account is corrective; his rationality and credibility triumph over the hallucinatory and unreliable account of Vedad. The psychoanalyst Midhat enters the text in the epilogue, stamping Vedad hysterical, siding with Vefa's account of the story and giving a scientific discussion of means of preventing hysteria. The signature of "a woman" to signal Aliye's part in

⁵²⁰ Ibid., p. 285.

⁵²¹ Hülya Yıldız, "Literature as Public Sphere: Gender and Sexuality in Ottoman Turkish Novels and Journals," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2008, p.161; Mübeccel Kızıltan, p. 285.

⁵²² Kızıltan, p. 285.

⁵²³ Ibid., p. 286.

the novel, who cannot participate in name-giving, further underlines the performance of anonymous womanhood, i.e. unanimous hysteria and unreliability, female insanity in confrontation with scientific male rationality.⁵²⁴

4.2.3.1. *Muhadarat*: First Solo Novel

After *Hayal ve Hakikat*, Fatma Aliye Hanım wrote her second and first single-handed novel, *Muhadarat* (the Stories to Remember), in 1892.⁵²⁵ It was published with her name revealing for the first time her true identity in Ottoman intellectual and literature sphere.⁵²⁶

Fazıla, the well-trained brought up daughter of a wealthy family, and the befalling events in her life were made the subject in Fatma Aliye's *Muhadarat*. The novel focused on Fazıla, her father, Sai Efendi, her stepmother, Calibe, her pretentiously polite first husband Remzi and his sweetheart, and later her second husband, Şebib. Hülya Yıldız, an expert in Ottoman and Turkish literature and culture, made the following comment about the subject and heroes of the novel: "A rich and elite young woman, Fazıla, is coerced into an undesired marriage by the manipulations of her step-mother, Calibe, who has gained a vicious influence over her father. Fazıla's husband, Remzi Bey, betrays her trust to the point where Fazıla can't live with him, yet, due to the influence of Calibe cannot return to her father's mansion. She is then sold as a *cariye*, a domestic slave, to an elite Ottoman household in Beirut, where she earns her living as a governess and housekeeper and meets a more suitable mate, Şebib, the son of the household, whom she marries (after Remzi's death) in a love match. The novel ends with the news of their having a son."⁵²⁷

The novel generally concentrated on marriage and family affairs and chronic problems of both, and how they reflected upon the Ottoman society and women of the time.

⁵²⁴ Hülya Adak, Gendering Biography: Ahmet Mithat (On Fatma Aliye) or the Canonization of an Ottoman Male Writer", *Querelles, Vol. Band 10*, pp. 200-201.

⁵²⁵ Kızıltan, p. 287.

⁵²⁶ Yıldız, p. 168.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

Unlike Tanzimat novels written by men, Fatma Aliye's novel presented emotions, thoughts and depictions to the readers from a woman's perspective, and sensitivity. The beginning with the wedding ceremony as narrated below presents a fine example of this assertion: "What a ceremony! (What chaos!) The guests are wearing their heaviest attire and jewelry. The skirts are trampled upon, the tulle and the laces are all torn up, but no one cares! This is the wedding home!... If you are curious, if you enter every room, then these things can happen. The bigger the home is, the more publicity the wedding will receive."⁵²⁸ Fatma Aliye thus introduced skillfully the feminine perception, spirit and aesthetics to Ottoman Turkish novel furthermore, *Muhadarat* was the first detailed presentation of the upper class Ottoman household and domestic manners in Ottoman Turkish fiction as well making it probably the pioneer of the private lives presented to public.⁵²⁹

As for the main theme and messages of the novel, Fatma Aliye Hanım drew attention to traditional marriages including the close inspection of the bride to be in an arranged marriage discluding love and affection, which was a debated topic among Ottoman women and intellectuals at that time. In this way, Fatma Aliye aimed to unfold the misery and victimization of many women and the couple that stemmed from such traditional marriages. Hülya Yıldız analysed this novel as a didactic project from the point of gender and social hierarchy as follows:

Muhadarat reflects this didactic project by dramatizing the unreal expectations of certain young women about the nature of married life. While aiming to depict a "realistic" portrayal of marriage, she also clearly presents her readers with "right" and "wrong" types of heroines, so she is both reinforcing and challenging the domestic ideology of marriage and proper womanhood in upper-middle-class Ottoman society. Similarly, Fatma Aliye, in *Muhadarat*, produces a specific understanding of marriage and women's ability to choose a spouse in Ottoman society. While the novel seems to conform to the patriarchal codes governing elite Ottoman households, where the father's role as the ultimate decision maker for his daughter's marriage partner is unquestioned, the depiction of the tragic results in one such marriage, Fazıla's first marriage, casts doubt on the assumptions of this system and subverts it. The fact that Fazıla's second marriage is successful is significant: it is a marriage that Fazıla decided on her own without any pressure from her father or family.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ Fatma Âliye Hanım, *Muhadarat*, ed. H. Emel Aşa, Enderun Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1996, pp. 19-20; Elif Akşit, "Fatma Aliye's Stories: Ottoman Marriages beyond the Harem", *Journal of Family History* 35/3, 2010, p. 212.

⁵²⁹ Yıldız, pp. 179-180.

⁵³⁰ Yıldız, pp. 178-179.

After *Muhadarat* met with readers, Fatma Aliye Hanım started to become a spokeswoman for women's public and personal issues. As she continued her novelist career with plotted diversification and elaboration of her protagonists other figures.

4.2.3.2. Refet: Manifesto for Women's Education and Working life

Refet was first presented as a serial in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* between 1896 and 1897 and published as a book in 1898 after the Minister of Education's permission.⁵³¹ Unlike the Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat novels including her own, Fatma Aliye took up women's rights for education and working in this novel, which was one of her the most important and sensational novels of the time. In this novel, instead of focusing on love affairs and marriage, she concentrated on issues such as women's education as a requirement for self-sufficiency and standing on their own feet without owing gratitude to men for their support. In the preface as "Takriz Makamında İki Söz" Ahmed Midhat Efendi in order to emphasise the realism in the novel and the realistic presentation of the protagonist remarked "this is not a novel; this is a description," which is "directly from real life"⁵³² so that those who read it would think deeply and then upon would imitate Refet and her proud, honourable struggle.⁵³³ This was because, Ahmed Midhat wanted to draw the readers' attention to the importance of both the novel and its didactic quality. Correspondingly, "Fatma Aliye in the opening paragraphs of the novel wrote that the main character was real, but the name was changed."⁵³⁴

The book revolved around Refet, the heroine and her mother, Binnaz compelled to struggle for survival and Refet's education at the *Darülmualimat* (the Teacher Training School for Women and her mother's work as a charwoman. Refet and she lost their house were after the death of the father, were left without any income but despite all difficulties they had to endure; Refet pursued her education

⁵³¹ Fatma Aliye Hanım, *Refet*, ed. Şahika Karaca, Kesit Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 13.

⁵³² Fatma Aliye Hanım, *Refet*, p. 27.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵³⁴ *Refet*, p. 31.

and became a teacher. Then, she was able to go to the rescue of the women who supported her during times of hardship. In this novel, which was Refet's success story Fatma Aliye describes her as smart and weak, kind and ugly, in a striking manner with the following words: "There is poverty. There is necessity. There is no health. There is no beauty."⁵³⁵

The main theme Fatma Aliye aimed to put forth with the novel were the essentials of social welfare for Ottoman women: economically, socially independent, who earns her own living in spite of all difficulties.⁵³⁶ Refet represented women's solidarity well-educated, well-informed women graduates of public schools reaching the level of male counterparts is materialized by Refet. Additionally, throughout the novel, Fatma Aliye Hanım inculcated "a new ideal of a woman who is rational and educated, who can make important decisions for her life, and who is equipped to carry the responsibilities of living in public without sacrificing her reputation, honor, and decency in society."⁵³⁷ By doing so, Fatma Aliye wished to create a new type of Ottoman woman, climbing towards acceptance in society and participation in public sphere although on individual basis. One of the novel's most striking and impressive dialogues was the one between Refet and her mother about her wish to attend *Darülmuallimat*, illustrating as below the effect of education on lower and middle class women:

"Binnaz: Darülmuallimat? What is that?

Refet: You know our teachers, right? It is the school that they graduated from.

Binnaz: What is it to you then?

Refet: What do you mean? Can one become a teacher without graduating from there?

Binnaz: Teaching? Do you think that they would let poor people like us do that?

Refet: Mother, they would allow it to whoever studies hard.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., p. 63.

⁵³⁶ Yıldız, p. 186.

⁵³⁷ Ibid., p. 194.

Binnaz was surprised by these words.

Refet, half smiling: And only the poor like us become teachers. The rich do not go to school to become teachers. They go there to get knowledge.”⁵³⁸

It can be inferred in the conversation that right for education was presented to the reader as an opportunity and economic device to socially elevate the desperate lower class women and provide them with the means to pursue their lives without dependency on men. When this conversation is examined carefully, it can be seen that Fatma Aliye like an active agent provoked women readers and public for girls’ education and participation in professional life. Similarly, in another part of the novel, Fatma Aliye conveys messages that teaching and its yields were the key to secure and happy life by following sentences:

Refet came first in her class in secondary school and went on her studies in the school for teachers. Now she had only four years before she gained her teaching diploma. When she thought of the day she would get her diploma and start getting her salary and thus be able to feed her mother who would no longer have to work, she felt the sweetest sensation. Refet was now nineteen years old. Her mindset was not like the poetic worldview of girls her age. She was going to earn a living, look after the home, make her mother comfortable, and have a role to play in the education of many children of the homeland. All these children would respect and love her and call her ‘Our teacher’! This was the sum of all Refet’s dreams. Sometimes she would take it further. To save enough money for a house, to have their own space, and then to buy various furnishings for the house as she earned more money. She would go even further to imagine a garden where she would tend to the lawn and flowers, and then have a cup of coffee with her mother on summer evenings when she got back from school, after that eat dinner that has been prepared by the maid who looks both after the cooking and the cleaning, overlooking that very garden. These are the limits that her dreams reached.⁵³⁹

In this passage, Refet's future plans including her mother and prospective profession does not comprise marriage and having a child which were essential values and routines in the socio-cultural pattern at that time. Thus, the writer offers an alternative life without marriage for her the Ottoman girls and women: Her claim is that an independent life, marriage and children are not ultimate goals and necessity

⁵³⁸ *Refet*, pp. 57-58; Yıldız, p. 194.

⁵³⁹ *Refet*, pp. 104-105; Ayşe Demir, Women Transforming Space And Communicating a Message through Use Of Space: The Case of Fatma Aliye International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic Volume 8/1 Winter 2013, p. 1224.

for women with vocational careers and economic liberty. Towards the end of the novel, Fatma Aliye emphasizes clearly Refet's refusal of marriage proposal from a distant relative, Mucip:

One morning, after her mother's death, a man comes to visit Refet at the house where she is staying as a lodger. He is a distant cousin, to whom Refet and her mother once went to ask for financial help and were insulted. So, when Refet sees the man after her mother's death, she meets him with anger and disgust. After a while, it becomes clear that the man, Mucip, has come to make a marriage proposal to Refet. While this proposal is a surprise both to Refet and to the readers, it is explained as follows: Mucip needs a wife who can not only be a housewife but also keep accounts for his business, a skill which he assumes Refet learned at the *Darülmualimat*, where they teach girls to keep accounts and other management skills. Refet, being poor, would be a great choice, Mucip thinks, as he wouldn't need to spend too much money on her, but would make money on her business skills. Hearing that her mother had died, he decides to take advantage of Refet's loss of support as a business opportunity, seeing in her not a wife but as an *irad* (revenue) that would bring him 800 or 1000 *kuruş* every month. Given Ottoman cultural presuppositions, he is sure that his marriage proposal will be accepted. Of course, Refet rejects the offer because they are not equivalent due to his ignorance. Then, he makes an offer to her best friend, Şule; she also rejects it.⁵⁴⁰

This scene had a great symbolic significance regarding women and their status in Ottoman society: "Refet's potential economic autonomy, which represents the opportunities for women that are derived from modernity, but also a further, existential aspect of that autonomy, which is emotional independence. The refusal to accept the marriage bond on any but the appropriate passionate grounds in other words, as a love match, goes hand in hand with economic independence."⁵⁴¹ Fatma Aliye presents education as a new criterion or measure for equality of women and men to the detriment of unilateral and unequal gender relations within the traditional Ottoman values. In this way, she wants to discard gender, the only determinant of men and women relations in male-dominant society.

At the end of the novel, Refet graduated from the *Darülmualimat* as the top ranking student and then she was appointed to her father's hometown as a teacher.⁵⁴² In the last scene in the dialogue between Refet and Şule, when Refet talked about her future plans saying that she was going to stand against her father's relatives who held back her father's heritage from her mother causing them great misery and

⁵⁴⁰ Yıldız, pp. 197-198; *Refet*, pp. 192-208.

⁵⁴¹ Yıldız, p. 198.

⁵⁴² *Refet*, p. 209.

hopelessness. She said she would voice their ignorance to their face as she did to Mucip with great pleasure. Thus, Refet would take revenge from her relatives.⁵⁴³ In the last part of the novel, Fatma Aliye's very important findings and messages are hidden between the lines, while concluding Refet's story with happy ending. When reading them carefully one can discern that Refet challenged men in the personality of her relatives, father and Mucip for the patriarchal socio-economic order and those who raised their daughters and sisters passively, fatalistically and vulnerable to hardships, dangers and risks of life for the Ottoman women like Refet, Binnaz, Şule and Fatma Aliye Hanım.

4.2.4 Fatma Aliye Hanım as a Columnist, Feminist and Activist For Women's Rights

After publishing and publicizing the *Muhadarat*, Fatma Aliye Hanım with Ahmed Midhat's encouragements and support, started writing in newspapers and magazines.⁵⁴⁴ Between 1895 and 1908 she wrote various articles on women and women's issues in journals such as the *Tercüman-i Hakikat* (the Interpreter of Reality), the *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (the Ladies' Own Gazette), the *Mehasin*, *Ümmet* (the Muslim Community) and *İnkılap* (the Reform).⁵⁴⁵ During the same time, she also wrote the editorials of the *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, giving advices on popular debates such as marriage, women's participation in education and public spheres with other influential women figures of the time like, Fatma Fahrünnisa, Gülistan İsmet, Nigar Osman, Leyla Saz and her sister, Emine Semiye.⁵⁴⁶

Similar to her novels, Fatma Aliye struggled for women's basic rights related to their social status, marriage, education and their visibility in society and public realm. Her main concern was to establish the idea of regarding "the ordinary family women as the driving force of civilization through their roles as mothers, emphasizing the need for their education, raising the problem of women's suffrage giving those responsibilities in the family and in society, and demanding rights for

⁵⁴³ Ibid., p. 210.

⁵⁴⁵ Çakır, p.22.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., p.22.

women within these prescribed boundaries.”⁵⁴⁷ For this purpose her reference in many articles and columns published in different journals was Islam and Islamic rules and history. For example, she mentioned the problems that faced Ottoman women in civil life such as the strict dressing codes stemming from social practises and traditions not from Islam itself.⁵⁴⁸ She stated that: “If we believe that Islam has universally valid principles, we ought to declare that the monogamous marriage is the one enjoyed by Islam and that the verse of the Kur’an enjoining man to remain with one wife is in accordance with civilization. It is only then that we can justify our position.”⁵⁴⁹ In a similar vein, in an article about the place of women in the society, Fatma Aliye asserted:

To be treated as high as the earlier women in Islam, women should be like those women. Together with education, about knowledge and sciences, a serious attitude should be acquired. Affection should be exclusive in the wife-husband relationship. Just as the menfolk, which the most honourable of all animals are not bulls or roosters, the women are not milk cows or clucking hens. They should pull themselves away from pink dreams and elevate their position in the world of Islam and humanity.⁵⁵⁰

As observed in the above quotation, Fatma Aliye Hanım criticized severely Ottoman men and tradition for the on-going approaches to women again with reference to Islam and Islamic anecdotes and important figures. Considering the political and cultural circumstances of the era, there was no choice in Islam for corroborating and persuasive means. About this issue, Historian Alan Duben and Cem Behar maintain that: “During the Hamidian years, when political oppression and censorship did not permit political analysis, the family became instrumental for discharging frustrations and anger felt by many about society at large.”⁵⁵¹ This strategy that prevailed in almost all Muslim women's rights. was not advocated only by Fatma Aliye. Aynur Demirdirek explained the reason for this situation as:

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., p.22

⁵⁴⁸ Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Nezihe Muhiddin, An Ottoman Turkish Rights Defender*, (Master Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1998), p. 41.

⁵⁴⁹ Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2004) p. 61.

⁵⁵⁰ Mübeccel Kızıltan and Tülay Gençtürk, *Atatürk Kitaplığı Fatma Aliye Hanım Evrakı Kataloğu I*, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, İstanbul, 1993, p. 89.

⁵⁵¹ Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility 1880-1940*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, p. 194.

“Ottoman women’s demands were parallel to the struggle for women’s rights in the West. They followed women’s emancipation movements around the world but underlined the fact that living in an Islamic society set different conditions for them. When they discussed their requests within the framework of Islam, they provided supportive examples from “Asr-ı Saadet,” the “undistorted” days of Islam, but they refused to compromise.”⁵⁵² Besides these reasons, Fatma Aliye was related to the Palace through her father and husband so criticizing the Ottoman state and its institutions was more difficult for her.⁵⁵³

Fatma Aliye gave primary importance to education for Muslim women’s subordination to men in her articles and books. Her approach to education can be classified under three claims. She firstly claimed that, women’s education improved mothers and wives in their role in raising children. Her second claim was that, the only way to guide a woman to honor and respectability was education. Thirdly, she claimed that education a right which had emancipatory function for social status of women. This right, which is withheld, should be re-acquired by women in order to be respected in the male-dominated Ottoman society.⁵⁵⁴ Fatma Aliye explained her convictions on women's education in a striking way in an article which appeared in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* as follows:

It is observed that in the arts and sciences of the civilizing nations, it is first the men who progress, then women follows in their path. When men first gain awareness of this treasury they try to conceal its jewels treasury from them (women). They only appear as if they want to equate the right of being in the lead. This is one of those things, which has always been as so. But here, we only mean ‘they have done in this way’, otherwise how can men’s domination could withhold what the possessor of science and virtue, God, the Almighty, has bestowed upon his creatures, both men and women?⁵⁵⁵

Apart from her articles and essays on women, Fatma Aliye wrote two books about Muslim Otoman women to introduce them to domestic and international

⁵⁵² Aynur Demirdirek, *In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women’s Movement*, in Zehra F. Arat ed. *Deconstructing Images of the Turkish Woman*, Palgrave, New York, 1999, p. 79.

⁵⁵³ Marvel, p. 63.

⁵⁵⁴ Defne Karakaya, “Patriarchal Bargain”: Fatma Aliye's Strategies of Writing in Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time, p. 45.

⁵⁵⁵ Fatma Aliye, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 5 October 1895, pp. 2-3 quoted by Serpil Çakır, p. 29; Karakaya, p. 43.

readers. The first of the two was the *Nisvan-ı İslam* (the Women of Islam). This book was initially published as a serial in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* in 1891 and 1892.⁵⁵⁶ It also was translated into French in 1895 and Arabic in 1899.⁵⁵⁷ In 1893, Fatma Aliye asked to be display her book at the Woman's Library of the Chicago World's Fair.⁵⁵⁸ The *Nisvan-ı İslam* narrated European women travellers, who to the Palace to be acquainted with the subject of Ottoman women and their lives. Subsequently, Fatma Aliye Hanım having ties with the palace, her fluency in French and deep knowledge on Islam and Ottoman women was considered for a position to fulfill the informing duty⁵⁵⁹ Scholar Elizabeth Paulson Marvel's thoughts on this book are as follows:

Aliye questions the mendacious reports of the Ottomans that she has heard from distinguished European travelers. She maintains that the ability to remedy false perceptions lies within the people of the empire. Aliye desires men and women to meet with European travelers to contradict their false perceptions. She, however, censures the encounters that have occurred between French-speaking Istanbulites from Pera, a cosmopolitan and trendy district of the city, and foreigners. She writes that the denizens of Pera disseminate distorted images of Turkish women. Aliye urges women to have an extensive knowledge of both French and the precepts of Islamic law. By doing so, women could not only converse with their distinguished European visitors but also rectify their misperceptions about Islam's impact on women. The correction of misconceptions of Islam is a prominent leitmotif in Aliye's monograph. Aliye argues that since Europeans are unable to raise objections to the precepts of Islam, they instead turn their attention to Muslim women. They cite religiously defined modes of control such as veiling and polygyny as determinants behind women's subordination. *Nisvan-ı İslam* attempts to exonerate Islam as an oppressor of women.⁵⁶⁰

The second book was *Namdaran-ı Zenan-ı İslamiyan* (the Famous Muslim Women). This book was serialized in the journal *Malumat* between 1889 and 1901, and was published as book the same year.⁵⁶¹ Fatma Aliye was invited to the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900 in Paris.⁵⁶² She was listed among prominent Muslim and Ottoman women in the fields of politics, literature and art from the beginning of

⁵⁵⁶ Marvel, p. 36.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 38.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 37-38.

⁵⁶¹ Çakır, p. 23.

⁵⁶² Kızıltan, p. 303.

the Islam. Thus, Fatma Aliye “aimed to provide readers with examples of publicly active and intellectual the Eastern women performing socially valued roles. She sought how women could remain so unaware of their own history (a critical issue for women abroad, as well as in Turkey).”⁵⁶³ In doing, she tried to demonstrate that women in former Islamic and Ottoman societies were more visible and influential in society than those in her time.

4.2.5. Fatma Aliye’s Contributions to Ottoman Culture and Her Struggle For Ottoman Women's Rights

Fatma Aliye Hanım was one of the most influential women of the 19th century Ottoman Empire. She was the most prolific and sensational woman intellectual and writer, from 1890 to 1908, the year Second Constitutional Period started. Her remarkable contributions can be categorized in three main themes as Ottoman literature, women's movement and philanthropic and patriotic activities.

It should be indicated firstly that Fatma Aliye’s novels and her literary style and, perspective were important milestone in Ottoman Turkish literature and women literature. Apart from being the first Ottoman woman novelist, she was the first detailed and realistic examiner of women’s lives, problems. Famous writer and novelist Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar noted with surprise how little man writers of the era seemed to know about the female members of society until she described vivid women portraits during and post Tanzimat period in her novels.⁵⁶⁴ Tanpınar questioned, "Did these men not know at all the women, their mothers and sisters who sat with them at the table?"⁵⁶⁵ Women and their problems in her novels were not narrated through women heroines and characters as devilish (demonic) and malevolent figures devices or figurants as done so by man novelists. As important Turkish literary critic Berna Moran expressed, “in the first twenty-five years of

⁵⁶³ Çakır, p. 23.

⁵⁶⁴ Turkish Pioneer: 'Fatma Aliye Hanım' The first generation of Turkish female writers, *Today's Zaman*, 31 October 2008, http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?load=detay&link=157411, Accessed 14 October 2013.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.,

Turkish novels, the most prominent women characters were either victims and femme fatales or angels and devils. However, characters with more depth and individuality are those portrayed as evil, leading to the destruction of the male heroes, while the good mother or loyal wife figures could not transcend the level of a stock character.”⁵⁶⁶ In contrast to previous novels and novelists, Fatma Aliye introduced in Ottoman fiction prototypes as positive, ideal and exemplary women.⁵⁶⁷ She surpassed limits of existing literary understanding and clichés with her realism and placed inserted Ottoman women where they belong. Thanks to Fatma Aliye’s feminine perspective, impressive descriptions and dialogs in her novels, Ottoman women readers attained their voices and were represented in Ottoman literary scene veraciously. In this sense, Fatma Aliye Hanım was a pioneering woman writer and was an influential example of encouragement for the latter. Moreover “Fatma Aliye’s *Muhadarat*, *Refet* novels and other books were feminist landmarks, the first depictions of economically socially independent woman, supported by a community of women, who earned their own living despite the difficulties faced. They were also the first novels that caught that moment of modernity where the individual lived the shocks of the new economic and social system.”⁵⁶⁸ Accordingly, she documented Ottoman women’s daily lives, problems, perceptions, thoughts in her novels which historical, socio-cultural and ethnographic sources for subsequent and present researchers and social scientists.

Thirdly, apart from these contributions, she also played an important role in philanthropic and patriotic activities during the hardest times of the Ottoman state and its subjects. Fatma Aliye is known as the founder of the first women's association in the Ottoman Empire, the “*Nisvân-ı Osmaniye İmdad Cemiyeti*” (Ottoman Women’s Aid Society), established after the Greek war of 1897, to distribute blankets, bandages, and clothing to Ottoman troops⁵⁶⁹ and support to the

⁵⁶⁶ Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış*, İletişim Yayınları, vol.1, İstanbul, 1998, pp. 31-36; Hülya Yıldız, p. 93.

⁵⁶⁷ Firdevs Canbaz, *Fatma Aliye: Fatma Aliye'nin Eselerlerinde Kadın Sorunu*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, p. 36.

⁵⁶⁸ Yıldız, p. 186.

⁵⁶⁹ Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, p. 72.

families the martyrs and war veterans.⁵⁷⁰ As a result of these significant efforts, she was awarded imperial medal of honour by Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1899.⁵⁷¹ She was the first woman receiving this medal from the Sultan.⁵⁷² In addition to her abovementioned qualifications, she was active in women affairs and became the first president of the Cemiyeti-i İmdadiye, the Society of Help, which was the first organized womens' association to saw clothes for soldiers⁵⁷³ and the refugees of the Balkan Wars.⁵⁷⁴ She was amongst the first woman member of another charity organization *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti*, the Ottoman Red Crescent, a member of *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi* (the Women's Auxiliary of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society),⁵⁷⁵ as well as of the *Müdafaa-i Milliye Osmanlı Kadınlar Heyeti* (the National Defence Women's Committee), founded by women following the Tripoli and Balkan Wars of 1911 and 1912.⁵⁷⁶ As an active member in these philanthropic associations, Fatma Aliye Hanım helped veterans and martyr families in default of their husbands and fathers.⁵⁷⁷ In a letter to Carter Findley, Aliye's youngest daughter Zübeyde İsmet informed that her mother actively followed the Turkish War of Independence and welcomed the establishment of the new Republican Turkey.⁵⁷⁸

Secondly, Fatma Aliye is regarded as the first Ottoman feminist and women's rights advocate by many feminist authors and writers.⁵⁷⁹ She challenged the

⁵⁷⁰ Çakır, "Fatma Aliye: 1862-1936", p. 23.

⁵⁷¹ Karakaya, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁷² Ibid., p.16.

⁵⁷³ Seçil Karal Akgün and Murat Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a*, Kızılay Yay, Ankara, 2002, p. 146.

⁵⁷⁴ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1986, p. 223.

⁵⁷⁵ Yıldız, p. 164.

⁵⁷⁶ Çakır, "Fatma Aliye: 1862-1936", p. 23

⁵⁷⁷ Karakaya, p. 16.

⁵⁷⁸ Marvel, p. 36.

⁵⁷⁹ Kızıltan, p.283; Reina Lewis, *Oryantalizmi Yeniden Düşünmek*, trans. Beyhan Uygun Aytemiz and Şeyda Başlı, Kapı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, p. 76.

patriarchal Ottoman society and envisaged higher status for women in the public arena. She played an important role in establishing a feminist movement and discourse and in the late Ottoman period, as well as premeditating themes that were to become critical to the contention (a matter of debate) in the formation of the Republic. “It demonstrates how she helped lay the foundation for female voices to play a role in the decentralized, autonomous movement for women’s rights. Advocates of women’s rights owe an intellectual debt, one largely unacknowledged, to Fatma Aliye.”⁵⁸⁰ Particularly, Fatma Aliye's contributions to women's rights focused on two issues: women’s education and women’s role in society, and family. Fatma Aliye stressed that almost all studies accept women's right to education. “Fatma Aliye’s education understanding as an instrument for the advancement of underprivileged women refers to the initial steps of modernization efforts in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century.”⁵⁸¹ Moreover, Fatma Aliye struggled to give a new and more important role to Ottoman society and the family. Elif Akşit expressed Fatma Aliye’s contribution to this subject as follows: “Fatma Aliye redefined the family as a context where women could be an active part of public life. By developing a critical approach toward marriage and providing details of the Ottoman family, she also managed to reflect this family in transition and to provide new directions for such transformations.”⁵⁸² Finally, Elizabeth Paulson Marvel evaluates Fatma Aliye’s legacy to her predecessors as:

Aliye challenged the biases Ottoman society had towards women and demonstrated that women were intellectually capable of engaging in polemics and augmenting the public discourse. By first signing her translation “Bir Kadın” and later signing her name to her works, Fatma Aliye provided the prototype for other women to speak in public. Women who entered into the public theater of debate in the Second Constitutional Period were much indebted to her. The women whose public visibility increased in the Second Constitutional Period and into the early years of the Republic benefited from opportunities that had been denied to Aliye.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸⁰ Marvel, p. 10.

⁵⁸¹ Yıldız, p. 188.

⁵⁸² Akşit, pp. 214-215.

⁵⁸³ Marvel, p. 83.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Beginning with the Tulip Era and later the reign of Selim III, especially the reign of Mahmud II, western ideas, culture and technology penetrated to Ottoman administration and society through different channels including foreign advisers, embassies in Istanbul, Ottoman diplomatic legations sent to European capitals. The Translation Office, translations of books, domestic, foreign press, and students sent to European countries for education and of course, westernized education institutions were among the contributors. Through these mediums and opportunities, new Ottoman intellectual elite and a new bureaucratic understanding emerged. Some of these intellectuals for example those like Ahmed Cevdet Paşa were part of the renovations without being westernized differentiated from the society and between them due to the fact that tradition and religion were the main determinant factors influencing Ottoman state and society. Differentiation and diversity in their orientations (tendency) and stances were mostly determined by their ethnic and religious origin, family tradition and heritage, education, and official or career backgrounds. With the beginning of the Tanzimat era, and later the acceleration of the reform movement, new dynamics and parameters were added to aforesaid variation. More clearly, the scale, degree (dose, dosage) and *modus operandi* of reform movements and the resulting westernization deepened and complicated this matter of debate further and the differentiation evolved into (turn into) exact, irreconcilable and irreversible separations including different perspectives and ideologies. Findley expressed this process as follows:

Advocates of change who are in position on power, their role still defined and legitimized in basically traditional terms, tend to advocate change in spheres where they think can control it and use it to buttress the order which they are a part. Simultaneously, they try to restrict change in the fundamental, constitutive principles of the polity and to keep modernization from becoming a generalized process. As new ideas begin to spread through the society, however, this degree of control proves

impossible to maintain. Sooner or later there emerge rival reformist groups that oppose the established leadership and expound alternative concepts of change. While efforts of modernization in such societies display a split-up aspect in all these ways, the emergence of such a rival reformist intelligentsia, -thus, the split-up of the reformist leadership appear most clearly- is a phenomenon of particular significance. For in the opposition intelligentsia appear most clearly the pressures that force enlargement in scope of the political process, as the range and intensity of political controversy begin to go beyond the limits of the old factionalism of the ruling class, as a modern kind of issue-oriented political ideology emerges, and as politics and bureaucracy begin to become differentiated from each other.⁵⁸⁴

In the light of such acknowledgements, Ottoman bureaucracy and more generally Ottoman intelligentsia on the path to modernization during and post-Tanzimat period can be categorized under four main groups at least in the case of fathers and children examined in parallel with objective and subject of this study: The first category was Ottoman non-Muslim bureaucrats; the second was westernist Muslim officials; the third was the intermediaries or reconciler (moderator) between the traditionalist-conservative bureaucrats and the last one was the traditionalistic Muslims.

Firstly, father and son Musurus exemplified Ottoman non-Muslim bureaucrats. Kostaki Musurus and his son İstefanaki Musurus throughout their long careers and lives served the Ottoman state as loyal Ottoman subjects. For them and many other Ottoman non-Muslim officials, defending and serving the Ottoman Sultanate was synonymous with defending their family, both ideologically and literally, as their family livelihood very realistically depended on the survival of the Sultanate.⁵⁸⁵ Not only the Kostaki Musurus but also his predecessors (his father and grandfather) persistently repudiated to choose Greek nationality, they decided up as long as possible for an imperial identity (Ottomanness) up to the collapse of the state, then preferred broader European identity such as French, British, Italian and other European nationalities.⁵⁸⁶ The children of Anna Vogorides and Kostaki Musurus married Romanian, Italian, or British nationals, and one an Alexandrian Greek

⁵⁸⁴ Carter. V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789–1922*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1980, p. 149.

⁵⁸⁵ Christine Philliou, *The Paradox of Perceptions: Interpreting the Ottoman Past through the National Present*, p. 668.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 671.

(Egyptian), and most lived their last years in Paris until their last years which was about the time of the First World War.⁵⁸⁷

A prediction of Kostaki Musurus concerning the issue of Hungarian refugees was the Ottoman supportive stance which complied with the nationalistic policies of France and England, and this provided an advantage for Ottomans in European public opinion. Diplomatic representatives of the aforesaid countries in İstanbul expressed their approval for the policy of the Sublime Porte. Ottoman government announced with a published report that they would do what needed to be done for refugees in the name of humanitarian purposes. Their reports gained affection of the Europeans verifying this by pro-Ottoman demonstrations in England and France. Ottoman State gained prestige in England, France and the United States.⁵⁸⁸ It is ironic that Kostaki Musurus was the Ottoman non-Muslim diplomatic representative of this era of nationalism. Rumour has it that backwashes continued for some years, and that in London ambassador Kostaki Musurus was greeted him with affection in the streets, as young men, removing horses from his horse-drawn cart pulled it to embassy themselves. As observed in this matter, Kostaki Musurus often assumed the initiative to solve the problems through diplomatic channels by compromising. So did his son.⁵⁸⁹

The second duo as an important sample of westernist bureaucrats and intellectuals, who learned the West and western culture through their education in France, was İbrahim Edhem Paşa and his son Osman Hamdi Bey. Osman Hamdi Bey was almost a copy of his father in terms of his education and his commitment to the French culture and civilization. Edhem Paşa's commitment to the French culture effected Osman Hamdi Bey to the point that father and son corresponded only in French. Diverging from his father's occupation Osman Hamdi came to the forefront by his pioneering role and achievements in the fields of painting, archaeology and

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 671.

⁵⁸⁸ Şafak, p. 75.

⁵⁸⁹ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, Nizam-ı Cedid ve Tanzimat Devirleri (1789-1856)*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara 1999, vol.V, p. 217.

museology. He was enshrined in the world of Ottoman culture and art.⁵⁹⁰ Furthermore, he was one of the most distinct representatives of Ottoman cosmopolitanism. He was much influenced by his father who received western education without rejecting his Ottoman identity but reconciling it with the values that he took from Western culture. However Osman Hamdi developed to be quite marginal,⁵⁹¹ although his perspective and stance to western imperialism and foreign interventions were also absorbed from his father. As we can read below, it is interesting that the protective measures of Osman Hamdi Bey about “national” archaeology, Ottoman artifacts reflect that he was substantially impressed by his father Edhem Paşa:

The English archaeologist Hormuzd Rassam connected with Edhem Paşa and Grand Vizier to take the permit for getting back to the excavations in Mesopotamia which had previously been interrupted by the Crimean War. Edhem Paşa said that this permit completely depended on Sultan’s decision, and added that anyhow an Ottoman-English agreement needed to be compiled. According to Rassam, this agreement suggested by Edhem Paşa resembled the one signed between Germany and Greece. According to this agreement, the Imperial treasury had the right to protect all findings. On the other hand, English archaeologists would only have the right to take the copies of the artifacts; and both the English and Ottoman intellectuals would have the right of publication.⁵⁹²

Even though Edhem Paşa’s project was not realized, he gave inspiration to his son Osman Hamdi Bey for preparing the regulation of 1884.⁵⁹³ This example indicates the consistency of the similarity between father and son at the ideological and intellectual is of paramount importance. The importance of Edhem Paşa’s family and tradition was also stated by Mustafa Cezar:

The history of those who contributed to the development of civilization has long been studied. In time, the history of the families that provided a similar contribution will also be studied. Edhem Paşa and his family fit this description and it is worth to write novels on them. At the time, leading a European life was a privilege only available to very few. During the years of decadence, the right of protection of old artifacts as a privilege was given to Edhem Paşa and his family through implicit permit. In other

⁵⁹⁰ Edhem Eldem, “Batılılaşma, Modernleşme ve Kozmopolitizm: 19. Yüzyıl Sonu ve 20. Yüzyıl Başında İstanbul”, in Zeynep Rona (ed.) *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi*, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993, p. 16.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., p. 16.

⁵⁹² Atlıman, pp. 129-130.

⁵⁹³ Eldem, 2004, pp. 131-132; Nur Akın, “Osman Hamdi Bey, Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi ve Dönemin Koruma Anlayışı Üzerine”, in *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi/Sempozyum, 17-18 Aralık 1992*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993, pp. 233-239; Atlıman, pp. 129-130.

words, all the works regarding the old artifacts issue seemed to have been entrusted to that family.⁵⁹⁴

The third pair of the case studies is Ahmed Cevdet Paşa who struggled to reconcile the old and the new as well as Western and the Eastern values, and his daughter, Fatma Aliye Hanım.

Although Ahmed Cevdet Paşa recognized supremacy of the West; his understanding was confined to the material fields alone, namely science, technology and administrative apparatus. In his reknown book *Tarih-i Cevdet*, he wrote that European developments in administrative financial and military, educational fields provided the existing welfare of the continent and the adoption of European regulations in these fields could contribute to the recovery of the Ottoman Empire, provided that they were in conformity with Islamic laws and traditions.⁵⁹⁵ In other words, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa was not against transmission of some elements of the Western civilization as long as they complied with to basic Ottoman-Islamic tradition. This was due to his conviction that moral elements of civilization were the product of peculiar characteristics of a particular society and they were applicable only for that society.⁵⁹⁶ Similarly, he was against the imitation of European practices and superficial applications rather than their essence. He objected to their rapid adaptation as he advocated that gradual adoptions would ease social tensions.⁵⁹⁷

Additionally, at the same time Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and his family were also a determiner and model for the Ottoman middle class with their lifestyle and etiquette which became bridge between Ottoman and European lifestyles. “Ahmed Cevdet Paşa who grew up in the ulema, and his family, quite contrary to widespread belief, does not represent a culture completely submerged in the Ottoman mythos. This family follows Europe closely but gives priority to those aspects of modern etiquette that do not conflict with the existing culture of society. This in turn is the reflection in actual practice of a political platform based on the modernization of the

⁵⁹⁴ Cezar, p. 137; Atlıman, pp. 129-130.

⁵⁹⁵ *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Vol. 3, 51-52, quoted by Kuran, *Türkiye'nin Batılılaşması ve Milli Meseleler*, p. 144.

⁵⁹⁶ Neumann, pp. 145- 146.

⁵⁹⁷ *Tezakir*, Vol. 4, p. 220.

constructive middle class values in harmony with the contemporary conditions.”⁵⁹⁸

We learn that Ahmed Midhat Efendi, who authored the first Ottoman manual of modern etiquette in the 19th century, also evaluated the importance and function of Cevdet Paşa’s family in the Ottoman society as:⁵⁹⁹

Ahmed Midhat, who observed this basic characteristic in the family of Cevdet Paşa, tried to restore the structure of the Ottoman upper class family through the middle class values that represented the productive aspect of everyday life; he showed the aspect of the traditional family open to modern ideals in his support of Cevdet Paşa’s daughter Fatma Aliye Hanım, who was a defender of women’s rights.⁶⁰⁰

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa’s ideas and attitude about Western civilization and westernization were adopted and maintained by his daughter, Fatma Aliye Hanım. Her mediating and eclectic approach toward Islam and the West was the main arbiter in intellectual tendency of Fatma Aliye’s studies. As a matter of fact, her educational background and world of thought was an amalgamation of the Eastern and Western culture. About Fatma Aliye’s thoughts on western civilization and westernization, scholar Mübeccel Kızıltan states that “to reach the civilized level, it is necessary to benefit from the Western technique by defending intangible values of East is true when it comes to cultural world.”⁶⁰¹

Women characters in Fatma Aliye’s novels have full knowledge of Eastern and Western cultures for example they speak French, that they are teachers or students at the *Darülmüallimat* (the Teacher Training School), that they are acquainted with literate and philosophical works about East and West. In other words, heroines of Fatma Aliye in her novels were the synthesis of East-West in many respects such as education, cultural orientation and manner, etiquette, dressing. Additionally, she combined Koranic teachings with Western philosophy and science. This combination also stands out in her heroines’ manners and dressing styles as in different representations of Western and Islamic tastes.⁶⁰² To illustrate, comparisons of philosophies of the *Mesnevi* of Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Rumi, with the

⁵⁹⁸ Ekrem Işın, *Everyday Life in İstanbul: Social Historical Essays on People, Culture and Social Relations*, trans. by Virginia Taylor Saçlıoğlu, YapıKrediYayınları, İstanbul, 2001, p. 124.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 124.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 124.

⁶⁰¹ Kızıltan, *Fatma Aliye Hanım: Yaşamı*, p. 32.

⁶⁰² Akşit, p. 214.

Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun, Aristotle and Plato; comparing Ibn Rushd and Al-Ghazali with other Muslim philosophers, and mentioning names of thinkers and scientists like René Descartes, Baruch Spinoza, Auguste Comte and Charles Darwin are found in her novel *Refet* and other books constitute reading lists of the synthesis of West and East intended.

As for Cevdet Paşa's effect on his daughter, Islamic sciences, law and history which processed in her texts, underhanded in between the lines and come up in a critical point these were the subjects that constituted Cevdet Paşa's the area of specialization. They had the influential effect over the intellectual and educational life in the late Ottoman period. In fact, they were fruits of speeches and lectures given by Cevdet Paşa. They are observed as influences of Cevdet Paşa on almost all of Fatma Aliye's novels and her social efforts. For example, the *Isagoci*, a logic book including the curriculums of Ottoman medreses that Ahmed Cevdet Paşa mentioned in *Tezakir*, appears in *Refet*, which was one of the most important novels of Fatma Aliye. She, in the last part of her book, claims women's right of heritage held the basic objective of to protecting women as the idea that women had many rights as education, heritage, workout and marriage vested by Islamic law was— illustrated in Fatma Aliye's *Nisvan-ı İslam*—with the claim that they were abused due misapplication and ignorance. This displays parallelism with the opinions in his father's *Mecelle* and other books.

In conclusion, the enlightened fathers taken up in this study and their reformist siblings with their official careers and performances, scholarly, literary and artistic works and products left their unforgettable marks on the Ottoman state, society and culture. They also became role models and opened the way to profession legacies among some prominent Ottoman families who served to implant tradition for educational and cultural elevation of the society which can be claimed to have passed to republican Turkey.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Kurt
Adı : Eyüp Murat
Bölümü : Tarih

TEZİN ADI : Enlightened Fathers and Their Reformist Siblings

TEZİN TÜRÜ: Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
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TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: