Morality, Emotions, and Political Community in the Late Ottoman Empire (1878-1908)

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Translations from languages other than English were made by the author, if not otherwise stated. Quotes will appear in the original language as Endnotes. In rendering the Ottoman Turkish language into Latin script I tried to stay as close as possible to modern Turkish conventions regarding vocalizations and spelling variants. Words not in use anymore will be given according to the "New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary" (Istanbul, [12]1991). While transcription systems have the advantage of better representing the original Arabic script versions, they tend to lead to a *Verfremdungseffekt* for speakers of Modern Turkish, continuing an (in my view) fateful tradition of separating the Ottoman Empire from the Turkish Republic by means of language.

Single quotation marks indicate concepts, while double quotes are used for quotes and the names of books. Words and concepts from non-English languages will be rendered in Italic.

Sources from Ottoman Turkish will most often have (though not always) two dates in the bibliography, first the date printed on the document and in [brackets] a transfer of this date to the Gregorian calendar. When in doubt, I have consulted the catalog of the Atatürk library in Istanbul and the ÖZEGE Catalogue, which lists Turkish books published in Arabic script. Inconsistencies and some degree of vagueness are lamentably unavoidable here, as Ottoman printing houses rarely specified whether the date given referred to the *Hicri* or the *Rumi*-calender, both of which were in use. Furthermore, months or days are usually not specified, while years in *Hicri* or *Rumi* can often refer to either of two years in the Gregorian calendar.

Place names will usually be given in the form most current in the period (e.g. Smyrna instead of İzmir), except for some cases in which the form common to most secondary literature has been chosen, such as Salonica (instead of Selanik or Thessaloniki). Concerning proper names, the (modern) Turkish version will usually feature instead of an Arabic transcription, so Nasreddin Tusi instead of Nasr-ad Din al-Tusi. In well-known cases, the English version is used, so al-Ghazali instead of el-Gazzâlî and Ibn Khaldun instead of İbn-i Haldun.

Citations from the Koran will be rendered according to the English version of Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall (Hyderabad 1938).

Abbreviations:

AIO—Alliance Israélite Universelle

BIO—Banque Impériale Ottomane

BOA—Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi/The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office

IJMES—International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies

JESHO—Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

JOTSA—Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association

OPDA—Ottoman Public Debt Administration

REMMM—Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée

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Finally, I would like to thank Giulia for making my life wonderful.

1 Political Ideologies and the Late Ottoman Empire

In 1904, Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), a Tatar intellectual based at the time again in his native Kazan, published a series of articles in the Cairo-based Ottoman Turkish journal "Türk". The journal was one of the main print outlets of the group known as the 'Young Turks', a loosely affiliated coalition of intellectuals, medical doctors, and army officers, united in opposition against the autocratic regime of Sultan Abdülhamid II (reign 1876-1909).[1] Akçura's articles were based on his papers handed in at the Paris *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, where he had studied under Albert Sorel from 1899-1902. The articles were soon reprinted as a small booklet called "Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset" (Three Types of Policy), which included replies to his arguments by two fellow critics of the Hamidian regime in exile at the time of writing, Ali Kemal (1867-1922) and Ahmet Ferit Tek (1878-1971).[2]

In his essay, Akçura discusses the recent history of Ottoman political or ideological movements and assesses their relative merits and strategic implications. According to him, three main movements had emerged "since the desire of progress and gaining strength have been awoken in Ottoman lands under Western influence", each based on a different social group. The first "wants to unite the diverse nations present under Ottoman government to bring about an Ottoman nation". The second strives to "unite politically all Muslims under [Ottoman] rule (what the French call 'Panislamisme')". And third attempts to "form a political Turkish nation based on race".[3]

According to Akçura, the first of these—called 'Ottomanism' in the literature—had emerged in the period of Mahmud II (1808-1839) and was the most important ideology of the *Tanzimat*-era[4] under politicians such as Ali Pasha (1815-1871), Fuad Pasha (1814-1869), and Mithad Pasha (1822-1883). Said to be modeled on France, it was based on the political and legal equality of all citizens of the Ottoman state and in its territorial claims co-extensive with the area the Ottoman Empire already possessed. Due to the failure of this policy in the 1870s, the second—often called

1 Hanioğlu, Preparation for a Revolution; Ahmad, The Young Turks.

2 Karal, "Önsöz."

3 Akçura, Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset, 19; Ersoy, "Three Types of Politics," 222.

4 Literally 're-ordering', from the Arabic root n-z-m. In its most narrow sense, the period stretches from 1839-1876 and is characterized by three major texts: the Edict of Gülhane or *Tanzimat Fermanı* of 1839, the Reform Edict, or *Islahat Fermanı* of 1856, and the proclamation of the first Ottoman constitution, or *Kanun-ı Esası* of 1876.

"Islamism'—had emerged among the 'Young Ottoman' opposition writers and became official policy during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842–1918, reign 1876-1909). It strove to unite all the world's Muslims as the subject population for the Ottoman state. Surprisingly, it appears as a rather secular policy option, since Akçura emphasizes the bond between Muslims rather than their relationship to something divine. While the policy was ongoing, it had evoked strife and rebellion among the non-Muslims of the empire and was met with suspicion by the European powers. The third option—subsequently called 'Turkism', or 'Turkish nationalism' – had only recently attracted the interest of some intellectuals. Said to take up German influences, it professes to take as its basis the racial bond of all Turkish people, including those of Central Asia. In his discussion of the respective merits of the political movements, Akçura states that the goals of all of these movements would bring the state into conflict with the European imperial states. He tentatively proposes some combination of Turkism and Islamism within the limits of the existing Ottoman state, since the greatest part of the empire's subjects would be Muslim Turks.[5]

Akçura's text immediately drew a string of replies and comments. Its influence on the development of Turkish nationalism has been likened to that of the Communist Manifesto for Marxism.[6] Akçura himself went to become a prominent public intellectual, an ally of Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), and later a member of parliament for the newly founded Turkish Republic. His three-partition of political ideologies has also decidedly influenced historical understanding of the late Ottoman period. While it has been criticized in a number of ways in recent years, with scholars particularly noting the politically eclectic nature of the Hamidian regime or the Young Turk movement, or pointing out flaws in the ascription of a single ideology to certain political actors, the 'three types of policy' are often still used as analytical categories.[7]

The present dissertation wants to depart from this tradition and take the criticisms of Akçura's model seriously. Instead of three different ideologies tied to 'given' social groups, my research proposes to use morals and values as a vantage point from which to analyze conceptions of the

5 Akçura, Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset, 20–36; Wigen, "Interlingual and International Relations," 171–73; Hanioğlu, Preparation for a Revolution, 67; Berkes, Development of Secularism, 321–22; Ersoy, "Three Types of Politics," 218–22.

6 Hanioğlu, Preparation for a Revolution, 67.

7 Çiçek, "Mass Education in Nation-Building"; Hanioğlu, A Brief History; Neumann, "Bad Times and Better"; Findley, Turkey, Islam, Nationalism. "Hamidian' denotes here the period of Abdülhamid's reign, or more narrowly the time between the constitution's abolition in 1878 and its reinstitution in 1908.

political community in the late Ottoman period. Morality, understood as a system of values and norms that are in relationship with each other, can inform how people view social structures and how they conceive of stratification and hierarchies within these structures. As E.P. Thompson put it, a moral system can be taken as "a consistent…view of social norms and obligations, of the proper…functions of several parties within the community".[8] Moral systems inform the placing of different social groups (or individual members) as well as their interrelation and interaction. They also implicitly and explicitly draw boundaries, often between 'self' and the 'other'. Vices, as well as unmoral or deviant behavior, for example, can be understood as elements structuring social hierarchies, or as the "constitutive outside" of social structures.[9]

Morals and values emerge and are transformed within a decidedly social space. They refer to traditions, social practice, as well as circulating material and immaterial resources. In the late Ottoman Empire the formulation of values and norms could draw on a variety of sources offered by the empire´s past, as well as Islam, European notions of civilization, or Turkish central Asian roots. These morals were constantly (re-)affirmed and (re-)produced in order to remain valid, while in turn structuring human interaction understood as a chain of rituals.[10] Their relation to social practices is therefore twofold: social practices are legitimized by and based on morals and at the same time morals earn and gain validation through social practice.

My work will take a rather broad understanding of morality as a starting point, according to which morals, norms, and values are categories that differentiate social action according to evaluative patterns of "What is good?" and "What is right?".[11] Morality is thus for the purposes of this work not necessarily an analytical category, but rather a heuristic tool in order to find concepts, statements, and texts that evaluate, prescribe, and inform social action. In the period and place under study, this included concepts in Ottoman Turkish like morality itself (*ahlak*), customs (*adab*), happiness (*saadet*), compassion (*şefkat*), obedience (*itaat*), conscience (*vicdan*), zeal (*gayret*), or love (*sevda, aşk*). The idea of the dissertation is to look at discourses and genres in which these concepts

8 Thompson, "Moral Economy," 78–79.

9 Butler, Bodies That Matter, 8.

10 Collins, Interaction Ritual Chains, 3–46. I prefer this process-based and dynamic approach to a more static one that analyzes social interactions with the help of 'cultural maps'. The latter has been applied by some recent works in late Ottoman history. See Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 7–12; Çekiç, "Savoir Vivre Cosmopolite," 14–22.

11 Joas, Genesis of Values, 161–226.

were used, probe how they related to each other, and see how they related to an idea of the political community. This last was not necessarily always called the nation (*millet*), but could include more general notions, such as society (*cemiyet*).

Many writers of the period, especially Ottoman-Turkish authors, often argued their case within the framework of the existing Ottoman state. To my understanding it is this frame, and not the reference to an 'equality' between different ethno-religious groups, that allows conceptions of the political community in the late Ottoman period to be called 'Ottomanist', if need be.[12] The idea here is that late Ottoman politics should not be understood by a dichotomy between Empire, characterized by multiple modes of integration, and Nation-State, based on equality. Rather, the concept of the 'Imperial Nation' seems to fit best, which tries to overcome the dichotomy and has been used in recent research.[13]

The time-frame of the research is the reign of Abdülhamid II, more precisely the period between the suspension of the constitution in 1878 and its reinstitution in 1908. Traditionally, the period has been depicted as an autocratic and Islamic backlash to the Ottoman 'modernization' process, since Abdülhamid strengthened the religious character of the state by, among other things, again using the title of Caliph. Since the 1990s, however, the continuities of the period with its preceding *Tanzimat* and following Young Turk eras have been stressed. Further, the Hamidian period has increasingly been understood as embedded in a global context, which informed the varied reforms and developments of the empire in the period.[14] Within the empire, the project will take the

12 Neumann, "Bad Times and Better," 59. A recent re-appraisal of 'Ottomanism' in a special issue of the Journal "Die Welt des Islams" does this in broad lines. See Blumi, "Reorientating European Imperialism"; Talbot, "Jews, Be Ottomans!"; Taglia, "Feasibility of Ottomanism." A concept of citizenship entailing a degree of legal equality did exist in the late Ottoman Empire, first implicit in the *Gülhane* edict of 1856 and later explicitly affirmed in the citizenship law of 1869 and the constitution of 1876. Yet even if analyzed in a strictly legal framework, Ottoman nationality in the Hamidian period cannot be said to correspond to equality. Attempting to increase the Ottoman population, it privileged Ottoman Sunni Muslim men to a degree and might at best be understood as a method of delineation, "a dike or bank….that sought to hold a fluid population" in the confines of the imperial state. Deringil, Well-Protected Domains, 55, 68–69; Hanley, "Ottoman Nationality," 279. For a dissenting but not persuasive view, see Akcasu, "Migrants to Citizens."

13 See Barkey, Empire of Difference, for this differentiation. For the concept of the 'Imperial Nation', see Mestyan, "Music Theatres," 67; Moroni, "Une nation impériale," 433–56.

14 Selim Deringil's now classic work has decidedly contributed to this re-assessment. Deringil, Well-Protected Domains. For detailed discussions of recent changes in historiography, see Emrence, "Three Waves"; Özbek, "İkinci Abdülhamid Dönemi Tarihçiliği"; Faroqhi, "Post-Colonial Turn"; Kechriotis, "Postcolonial Criticism"; Türesay, "Postcolonial Studies." Although an argument can be made for a major

imperial center and in particular the city of Istanbul as its geographical focus, to highlight the diverse ways by which global intellectual and material resources were adapted and transformed in a space of intense social, political, and economic interaction. Istanbul can further serve to illustrate the inter-relatedness of different scales, from the local to the regional and international.[15]

The dissertation aims to contribute to the existing literature in three ways. First, in highlighting the highly idiosyncratic formulations of morality nonetheless embedded in a global framework, the thesis aims to overcome conceptual dichotomies, which drawing on Akçura's model have hindered understanding of the late Ottoman era. This includes the opposition between European 'modernity' and the Ottoman-Islamic 'tradition', which conceived an Ottoman-Turkish process of 'modernization' towards a secular, capitalist, and national state by taking over European institutions and social models.[16] Connected to this is also the binary between secular nationalism and political Islam, which colors political conflict and commentary in Turkey until this day.[17]

Secondly, the thesis proposes to take morality as both a delineating and stratifying element for political communities. In this, it wants to contribute to a better understanding of the highly hierarchical nature of conceptions of political communities in the Hamidian period. Classic theories of nationalism often implicitly or explicitly assume a social model that privileges the boundaries of the social unit, while internally stressing a certain homogeneity of members of the

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watershed within the Hamidian period around the years 1892-96, the thesis will continue convention in treating it as a whole. Major developments in these years were the escalation of ethnic strife with the large-scale massacres of Armenians 1894-96; the end of the global economic downturn in 1896; a significant change in the Young Turk opposition through an alliance with members of the religious establishment in 1896; an overhaul of police and security structures following the Bab-ı Ali demonstration in 1895 and the attack on the Ottoman Bank in 1896; and the establishment of the so-called 'New Literature" from 1892 onward. Der Matossian, "Armenian Genocide Historiography," 149; Kara, "Ulema as Opposition," 166; Yılmaz, "Security Perceptions," 3–4; Hanioğlu, A Brief History, 141; Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 296–97.

15 Emrence, "Imperial Paths, Big Comparisons"; Aslanian et al., "The Question of Scale."

16 Arsan, "Under the Influence?"; Baer, "Globalization, Cosmopolitanism"; Zürcher, "The Rise and Fall." In spite of his criticism of the dichotomy, Carter Findley still analyzes late Ottoman history in his recent textbook by recourse to two distinct social groups: "One approach generally favored faster change and was championed by central elites who were already comparatively highly organized; the other was a more conservative approach identified with propertied interests who were slower to coalesce and much more likely to find their cultural outlet in religious movements". Findley, Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, 122–23.

17 Eldem, "Kemalizm Öldü, Yaşasin Hamidizm." Coupled with a dichotomous division of society into a small, secular 'elite' and popular, religious 'masses', it plays a significant role in the self-legitimation of the current AKP-government (2002-), which further in self-representation increasingly alludes to the Ottoman tradition and especially the reign of Abdülhamid.

nation.[18] This focus on the internal homogeneity has made it rather difficult to account for differences within the national community. A prominent example here is the category of gender, which nationalism theory for a long time has either neglected or not been able to come to grips with.[19]

And finally, the study's focus on morality and the political community will also prominently include an appraisal of emotions. On the one hand, emotions and feelings are central to morality in that they are motivational forces and underlie, or destabilize, moral systems. Norms and values have to be felt in order for them to be enacted and followed. Emotions can also be themselves part of value systems as moral feelings.[20] And further, political communities are fundamentally imbued with feelings. Actors belonging to a community can share feelings with other members of the same community, whether these are personal emotions felt together, such as zeal; social emotions that bind the individuals together in interaction, such as love or compassion; and communal emotions that appear as goals, such as general 'happiness'. Political communities thus can also be seen as 'feeling communities'.[21]

1.1 **Theoretical Concerns**

In conceiving of values and norms as concepts, and morality as a system or net of such concepts, I want to draw on insights of conceptual history, which assumes that individual as well as collective meaning is embedded in concepts. They possess multiple understandings, which is why their meaning is always contested and subject to competition. Concepts are embedded in semantic relations, a semantic network, which approximates and gives special content to single concepts. These semantic nets also include counter-concepts, or antonyms, as well as concepts that have been similarly placed within the discursive structure or semantic field, i.e. different words that may have meant something similar at a previous date, or have competed for the same meaning.

18 Anderson, Imagined Communities; Gellner, Nations and Nationalism; Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism; Breuilly, Nationalism and the State; Smith, National Identity.

19 See the recent discussion on H-Nationalism on this problem https://networks.h-net.org/node/3911/discussions/129163/gender-and-nationalism-friendly-exchange

20 Prinz, Emotional Construction of Morals.

21 Pernau, "Feeling Communities."

Semantic nets and concepts change over time in relation to changing practices, institutions and materiality, as well as through networks of actors that promulgate them. They usually, however, retain layers of earlier meaning which are not necessarily lost through change and both mirror and inform social action.[22] In the Ottoman context, admirable scholarship has been produced to show how the supposedly European and secular reforms of the *Tanzimat* were grounded in a long indigenous political and religious history through the use of certain concepts.[23] I conceive that such an approach can also help the present work to bridge divides between categories of secularism and religion, as well as between social practice and discourse.

An analysis of the concepts tied to morality in the late Ottoman Empire thus needs to pay close attention to the diachronic development of the concepts under study. At the same time, it also synchronically has to situate the concepts in a positively global environment. In this, I want to draw on ideas of global history, which posit that towards the end of the 'long' 19th century production of political and social meaning was increasingly "cognitively and institutionally constituted by global circulations…mediated, in turn, by regional historical and cultural interactions".[24] This was especially salient regarding the formulation of concepts tied to political communities. Global theories of nationalism have in recent years investigated how, from the late 19th century onward, conceptions of political communities, especially in non-European regions, were produced by recourse to local tradition as well as globally circulating ideological and material resources. These conceptions cannot be classified as a 'derivate discourse' based primarily on European ideas, but rather as a production under the aegis of unequal global integration.[25] Nonetheless, European imperialism and Orientalism, which posited a perceived stasis of the 'Orient' as a foil to European dynamism and development during the 'long' 19th century, heavily influenced late Ottoman intellectuals and state officials.

At the same time, examples from other parts of the world also played a role to local Ottoman reasoning. Regionally, Egypt became, particularly because of exiled intellectuals, a constitutive

22 Koselleck, "Introduction 'Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe'"; Ifversen, "Key Concepts"; Pernau, "Whither Conceptual History?"; Jordheim, "Multiple Times"; Jordheim, "Against Periodization."
23 Abu-Manneh, "Gülhane Rescript"; Anscombe, "Age of Ottoman Reform."
24 Duara, "Global and Regional Constitution," 323.
25 Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought; Conrad, Globalisation and the Nation, 26–27; Conrad, What Is Global History?, 90–114; Manela, Wilsonian Moment; Hill, National History.

space for late Ottoman political thought. It also was an exemplary case of autocratic economic and military development and showed the dangers of European imperialism, while contact to Iran was still sporadic.[26] The Balkans were less important as an intellectual milieu, but remained an important political reference point. They were also biographically central for migrants from the region or the army officers employed there, many of which would figure prominently in Ottoman and Turkish-Republican politics after 1908.[27] The Caucasus prompted direct intellectual stimulation, be it through the education movement of 'Jadidism' or through the influx of (mostly Muslim) intellectuals into the empire. These latter had in turn been influenced by the Russian intellectual tradition, which for example showed in their unique blend of materialism with a strong anti-clerical outlook.[28] On a wider geographical scale, Africa was seen as a cautionary tale of imperialism, while Asia east of Iran figured in Pan-Asian, and the former Mughal-lands in Pan-Islamic thought. The latter was epitomized by Cemaleddin Afghani (1839-1897), who twice spent multiple years in Istanbul.[29] Japan became a model for a society seeking assimilation of Western knowledge to bolster military and economic development, while preserving traditional culture. Abdülhamid himself took a keen interest in Japan, as evidenced by the books in his personal library, and invited two Japanese delegations to visit Istanbul in 1880 and 1886. In 1891, an Ottoman mission was sent to Japan, yet perished on its return.[30]

The entanglement of morality, of norms and values with emotions further draws on insights from the History and Psychology of Emotions. At its most basic, the historical approach stipulates that emotions both have a history, in that they are historically contingent, and make history, in they are important factors of individual and collective action.[31] In cognitive studies and psychology

26 Mitchell, Colonising Egypt; Mestyan, "Music Theatres"; Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 142–49.
27 Blumi, "An Honorable Break"; Blumi, Ottoman Refugees, 1878-1939; Dikici, "Orientalism and the Male Subject"; Isyar, "Origins of Turkish"; Karpat, "Hijra from Russia."
28 Adanır and Bonwetsch, Osmanismus, Nationalismus; Richmond, Circassian Genocide; Strauss, "Olga Lebedeva"; Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalist"; Karakuş, "Mîzan Gazetesi"; Spannaus, "The Ur-Text of Jadidism"; DeWeese, "Intellectual History of Central Asia."
29 Aydin, The Politics of Anti-Westernism; Mishra, From the Ruins of Empire; Sever, "A Pan-Islamist in Istanbul:"; Landau, Politics of Pan-Islam.
30 Worringer, "Constructing Ottoman Modernity"; Esenbel, "Anguish of Civilized Behavior"; Esenbel, "Japan's Global Claim"; Ahmad, "Ottoman Perceptions," 10.
31 Plamper, Geschichte und Gefühl; Kagan, What Is Emotion?; Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions"; Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?"; Reddy, "Against Constructionism"; Frevert, "The History of Emotions"; Frevert, "Defining Emotions."

emotions further have been evoked as cultural scripts, concepts or interpretative processes that define human actions and striving. In these definitions emotions appear either as reactionary response to changes or as a means/mechanism for achieving a transformation.[32]

Monique Scheer's theory of "emotional practices"[33]—things that we do to have a certain emotion —opens up another way of thinking about emotions and change: emotions here appear as ultimate and social goals. Individual emotional practices can be seen as performed to achieve the goal of collective happiness and well-being. This perspective is particularly important to the present work as emotions are often only understood as responses to stimuli, cognitive appraisals of situations, or as means toward a non-emotional goal.[34] Positive emotions can also appear as powerful goals and future visions that motivate people to make and change history, particularly in the context of communities. Lamentably, there has been as yet very little research on concepts and notions of emotions in the context of the Ottoman Empire. Although Suraiya Faroqui already in 1985 published an introductory article on the History of Emotions in Turkish, which drew mainly on the works of Lucien Febvre, it elicited next to no response.[35] Only recently some authors have begun to engage with the topic, although few research deals with the late 19th century.[36]

1.2 Interactions in a Multi-lingual Society and Sources

One of the main problems in writing Ottoman history is the astonishing religious, ethnic, and linguistic diversity of the empire. Without going into details of the long-lasting historiographical question regarding the make-up and direction of the early Ottoman state,[37] its emergence in the borderlands with the Byzantine Empire only roughly 150 years after the beginning of larger

32 Ratner, "A Cultural-Psychological Analysis"; Menon, "Analyzing Emotions."
33 Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?"
34 Bagozzi and Pieters, "Goal-Directed Emotions"; Fisher et al., "Task Appraisals, Emotions." I sincerely thank Imke Rajamani for this idea.
35 Faroqhi, "Duyguların da bir Tarihçesi vardır."
36 Faroqhi, "Fear, Hatred, Suspicion"; Morack, "Fear and Loathing"; Andrews and Kalpaklı, Age of Beloveds; Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man"; Tekgül, "A Gate to the Emotional World"; Wishnitzer, Reading Clocks, Alla Turca; Afacan, "Of the Soul and Emotions."
37 The debate started in 1938 with Paul Wittek's famous Gaza-Thesis, which argued that the main thrust of the early Ottoman state was the spread of Islam. It has been ongoing since, also due to a considerable lack of sources. See for the main lines of argument Wittek, The Rise; Kafadar, Between Two Worlds; Lowry, Early Ottoman State.

Muslim settlement in Anatolia makes it a truism that from the beginning different religious and ethnic factions and groups were united under a common political umbrella. This diversity became only more pronounced with expansion and continued until the end of empire. Bound to this was a considerable number of both spoken and written languages. Ottoman Turkish had always been the main administrative language of the empire and the constitution of 1878 even named it as the state's 'official' language. Yet in 1911, the "Union of Ottoman Elements" (*Ittihad-i Anasır-ı Osmaniye*) still published a leaflet to its members in nine languages using six different scripts: Ottoman Turkish, Greek, Arabic, French, Armenian, Bulgarian, Ladino, Serbian, and Syriac.[38] Further, polyglotism was common among urban residents. A Ladino scholar recalls her mother stating that in early 20th century Istanbul "every young person of good Levantine family spoke at least six languages".[39] Nonetheless, Ottoman was the most important and wide-spread language of the empire. Consequently, works written in it will make up the largest part of used sources in this work. The thesis will attempt, however, to also at times refer to similar debates in the Greek and Ladino-press of the empire, by drawing on secondary literature. These side-glances are particularly important to show how similar values were articulated with reference to diverse religious frameworks. They further show how morals and values could allow for both convergence and divergence between communities.

Since Ottoman is no longer a spoken language, I want to sketch a few basic elements and its history to ease comprehension. It was based on the Anatolian Turkic dialect and written in the Perso-Arabic script. Through earlier contact and the expansion of the empire towards the east from the 15th century onward, it received a heavy overlay of Persian words and grammatical structures. Since Persian had itself in its time received a large admixture of Arabic, Arab words and structures also became commonplace in Ottoman.[40] This influx of the languages of religion and law (Arabic) and literature and poetry (Persian) respectively was so pervasive that texts from the so-called 'middle Ottoman' of the ~16th-18th century at times hardly contained any Turkish lexical

38 Hanioğlu, A Brief History, 33.

39 Cit. from Schlesinger, "Judeo-Spanish Folktales," n. 11; Strauss, "Linguistic Diversity"; Bouquet, "Compétences linguistiques." 'Levantine' was a rather broad concept in the period, mostly denoting the descendants of European immigrants to the lands of the Ottoman Empire.

40 I will from now use the term 'Ottoman' and 'Ottoman Turkish' interchangeably to refer to the same language. 'Ottoman-Turkish' will refer to the loosely defined ethno-religious group.

elements. At that time, Greek and Italian were other important sources for the import of words and concepts, particularly concerning trade and nautical issues. From the 1830s onward, new terms to form translation equivalents for European concepts were coined by translation institutions specifically set up for this purpose. Much of this translation work was carried out with regard to formal legal texts, such as the different imperial decrees which in the narrow sense define the *Tanzimat*. Since Arabic had for a long time been the language of jurisprudence and religion, these new terms were most often built on Arab lexical sources. A special role in this regard was played by the Arabic nisbah-suffix on–iyye and –iyyet (written –iye and –iyet in modern Turkish), which abstract the nouns to which they are added. This also affected political terms.[41] A quite similar process took place in the Arab world, to a great extent still part of the empire.[42] The same period further saw an increasing preoccupation of making the highly stylized state language and the literature more accessible to the general public by bringing it nearer to daily spoken Turkish. Taking up speed after 1908, it was to culminate in the top-down language reform from 1928 onward, which among other things adopted the Latin alphabet.[43]

While the Ottoman language in the big cities of the western part of the empire mainly addressed the local Muslim community, it cannot be stated that other religious communities were simply excluded by writings in the language. Especially the Armenian community was, at least language-wise, quite integrated. Many editors and owners of printing houses were of Armenian descent.[44] Further, in the Hamidian period 85% of Armenians and 77% of Greeks claimed proficiency in Ottoman. This was apparently different for the Jewish community. According to one account, it was impossible in 1897 to identify even 1.000 Ottoman Jews who spoke Turkish as well as French.[45] That said, there was a number of Jewish Ottomans who worked for the central bureaucracy and at times even published books in Ottoman Turkish.[46] The most prominent of these was the later chronicler of Ottoman-Jewish life, Abraham Galante (1873-1961).[47]

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41 Lewis, “The Strange Case of Ottoman”; Strauss, “Ottomanism et ‘ottomanité’”; Strauss, “The ‘Greater Millets.’”
42 Rebhan, Politische Termini im Arabischen.
43 Lewis, Turkish Language Reform.
44 Faroqhi, Kultur und Alltag, 290–91.
45 Issawi, “Introduction,” 7; Strauss, “Who Read What”; Stein, Making Jews Modern, 58.
46 See for example [Dal Mediko], Talim ve Terbiye.
47 Bali, “Galanti, Avram.”

The dissertation will draw on a wide variety of sources, since the topic of morality was not confined to a single genre—the central significance of morality to the Hamidian period lay precisely in its pervasive occurrence. The thesis will mainly draw on written and printed sources, although occasionally internal bureaucratic documents of the state will be referenced as well. Genres and their conventions will be taken into account. At the same time, the thesis does not want to isolate them, but rather bridge divides through the investigation of similar concepts and semantic networks. The Hamidian period was a time of great extension regarding the proliferation of printed texts. While the 1860s had seen the emergence of newspapers and periodicals in Ottoman, it was only from the late 1870s that books began to appear in sizable numbers.[48]

Schoolbooks came to be distributed from primary schools up to the institutions of higher education and will occupy a prominent place in the present work. The idea that education and especially schools are a prime location to investigate a societies' moral codes and values is not a new insight. Emile Durkheim had already pointed to the importance of schools in order in inoculate moral values that would serve to teach children the necessary skills to take their place in a complex society.[49] Later works following the lines of Michel Foucault have added to this the notion of schools as sites of hegemonic power, being disciplinary spaces of social control and of societal reproduction. Taking both of these approaches into consideration, I want to highlight the importance of schools for the study of morality both in theory—including curricula and schoolbooks—as well as social practice. Rather than just stressing the coercive character of the education institutions, however, I take them to also be sites of subjectivation, where a disciplinary character of top-down education did not preclude new possibilities of social action that came with the acquisition of knowledge in an evolving social and economic structure. In other words, rather than being sites of a "colonialisation of the lifeworld", in Habermasian terms, I conceive of schools as sites of "life-politics", as proposed by Anthony Giddens.[50]

The Ottoman education system greatly expanded in the second half of the 19th century, with the "General Edict on Education" from 1869 introducing a centralized and compulsory school-

48 Frierson, "Women," 144; Türesay, "An Almanac for Ottoman Women," 228; Strauss, "Printing and Publishing."
49 Durkheim, Education and Sociology.
50 Giddens, Modernity and Self-Identity, 231; Habermas, Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns, 2: 171-294.

system.[51] Despite this and other attempts at unification, the education sector was nonetheless characterized by a growing diversity. The Islamic *medrese*-system did not vanish but rather blossomed in terms of student numbers and continued to exist until the end of Empire.[52] New institutions of higher education, such as the imperial *Galatasaray* school or the *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* (School of Public Administration), formed a universe of their own, being breeding-grounds for the state elite.[53] The schools of the religious minorities also experienced a significant extension, as did the special schools of certain Muslim groups, such as the *Dönme*.[54] Western missionary schools were also thriving in the second half of the 19th century, becoming sites of constant preoccupation to the central government as well as causing on more than one occasion political friction with the Great Powers.[55] Numerically, the segmentation of the education system was significant: In 1894, for example, there were 36.097 non-Muslim students in Istanbul as opposed to 26.608 Muslim pupils with the largest part of non-Muslims being enrolled in foreign and minority schools.[56]

While printed materials proliferated in the late 19th century, they were also increasingly controlled. Nonetheless, the traditional characterization of the Hamidian period as a time of intense censorship, especially after 1888, has been modified by recent scholarship. The overlapping regulations of different press laws and minor regulations promulgated by competing ministries could in practice be quite flexible. Concrete practice was often unorthodox and *ad-hoc*, since it simply involved too many actors and interests. It also allowed for nepotistic selective punishment and/or promotion of certain journalists and publications.[57] As a last resort, publications published outside of the empire were not effectively hindered by state boundaries. The memories of most students in institutions of higher education from the period are replete with references to 'illegal' books and newspapers circulating widely among the student body—the most well-known of these

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51 Evered, Empire and Education, 1–3, 205–46.

52 Bein, Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic, 51–76.

53 Georgeon, "Le cas de Galatasaray." The *Galatasaray* was founded in 1868 as a school for the empire's elite. Its primary language of instruction was French.

54 The *Dönme* were adherents of the messianic mystic Shabbetay Ṣevi (1621–1676) who had followed his example by converting to Islam. It was not a term of self-description. Baer, "Dönme (Ma'aminim, Minim, Shabbetaim)."

55 Dağlar Macar, "Ottoman Greek Education"; Alkan, Terakki Vakfı; Rodrigue, French Jews, Turkish Jews.

56 Göçek, "Ethnic Segmentation," 524; Kirmizialtin, "Gender, Education and Modernization," n. 351.

57 Zürcher, Turkey: A Modern History, 78; Frierson, "Women," 145; Boyar, "The Press."

illicit readers being Kemal Atatürk.[58] There were, however, certainly limits imposed by censorship. The flourishing satirical magazines of the 1870s, for example, were shut down and could only resume publication in the wake of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.[59]

The numerical increase of printed matter also entailed an expansion of genres. New or revamped ones included travelogues, which were written in a tradition of the *rihla* and emphasized wondrous accounts, yet also were quite explicit about their educative and moralizing value.[60] Economic treatises proliferated, also in more popular forms.[61] Books on proper behavior mixed a tradition of advice-literature with European notions of civilized etiquette.[62] Fictional literature also saw a great extension during the period. Several classic novels of Turkish literature, such as "Araba Sevdası", "Aşk-i Memnu", or "Eylül" appeared around 1900. Besides the general usefulness of novels for descriptions of a period's life-world,[63] Hamidian novels are particularly interesting, since many writers used a highly pedagogic approach. Genre fiction, such as crime novels, also made their first appearances in the period.[64]

There is, however, a considerable dearth of personal, or ego-documents. Memoirs depicting life in the period were often written either after the reinstatement of the constitution in 1908, or even during the time of the Turkish republic. Both of these political structures very consciously saw the years between 1878-1908 as the autocratic (*istibdad*), reactionary, and even exotic foil against which the present was legitimized. Memoirs thus usually take a very critical stance towards nearly all aspects of life during these years. This makes them problematic sources, since they rather present information on sensibilities at the time of writing than on the time depicted.[65] That said, the thesis will make use of these narratives in order to gain insights into the period's life-world. To make up for the dearth of personal narratives, the thesis will further reference secondary literature of social

58 Hanioğlu, Atatürk, 65.
59 Brummett, Image and Imperialism, 113–48.
60 Palabıyık, "Travel, Civilization, and the East"; Herzog and Motika, "Ottoman Voyages."
61 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism; Mardin, Türkiyede İktisadî Düşünce.
62 Yaşar, "Late Ottoman Etiquette Literature"; Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man."
63 Novels have recently even been used to gather information on patterns of wealth inequality during the 19th century. Piketty, Capital.
64 Faroqhi, Kultur und Alltag, 279; Scharlipp, Türkische Kriminalliteratur.
65 Wirtz, "A Long Farewell," 59–61; Wirtz, "Presenting Ottoman Childhoods," 244–45; Faroqhi, Approaching Ottoman History, 166–67. The noted problems were only more pronounced in the case of autobiographies by late Ottoman political figures. Bouquet, "L'autobiographie par l'état." On the problems of memoirs as historical sources, see Trepp, Sanfte Männlichkeit, 7–38.

history to fathom social practice.

Additionally, the dissertation will include pictorial sources.[66] Although Islamic *doxa* often proscribed the depiction of sentient beings, a deep cultural tradition of painting can be traced throughout Ottoman history, especially connected to the court of the Sultan.[67] While photography had entered the Ottoman Empire in the mid-19th century and had already been used for representative portraits of the Sultan, a vivid market for both personal and landscape photography emerged in the Hamidian era. The comparatively low prices of photographs led to a broad consumption base, with little prohibitive rules in place.[68] Abdülhamid himself was known to be an avid collector of photographs, which he also used in the external representation of the empire. From a personal archive of more than 36.000 pictures a collection of about 2.000 photographs was curated, the famous "Albums of Abdülhamid II". They were sent out in 1893 to foreign heads of state in order to demonstrate the empire's civilizational pedigree.[69] Painting also witnessed major transformations, the most prominent exponent of which was Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910). Further, schoolbooks and all kinds of printed matter began to feature drawings. Postcards proliferated, illustrated magazines appeared, and advertisements also began to use pictures. Interestingly there was almost no resistance against the spread of pictorial representations, not even by conservative clerics.[70] Nonetheless, only recently researcher have developed an interest in pictures as sources for late Ottoman history, mostly confined to photography.[71]

The work will further look at examples from popular culture, especially theater and music. The entertainment sector of the large cities in the empire was booming at the end of the century. In music, the traditional *fasil*-suite of Ottoman court music had given way to more popular, short, and vocalized forms like the *şarkı* and the *kanto*. The popular musical entertainment areas of Istanbul were from the outset a multi-religious affair; the heavy involvement of Armenian, Jewish, and Orthodox musicians in composition and performance is well documented, as is the presence of

66 Brink, "Bildeffekte"; Rajamani, "Pictures, Emotions, Conceptual Change."
67 Faroqhi, Kultur und Alltag, 312–13.
68 Micklewright, "Personal, Public, and Political"; Landau, "Some Comments on Photography."
69 Waley, "Images of the Ottoman Empire"; Allen, "The Abdul Hamid II Collection"; Gavin, Imperial Self-Portrait.
70 Ersoy, "Ottoman Illustrated Journals"; Eldem, "Making Sense."
71 Eldem, "Powerful Images"; Ersoy, "Archiving Everyday Life"; Shaw, "Ottoman Photography."

non-Muslim female performers.[72] A renewed interest, together with considerable change in practice, was also noticeable in the traditional genre of the *Karagöz* shadow theater. Performers for the first time endeavored to publish pieces under their own name, while songs were added to the ensemble of shorter pieces that made up a *Karagöz* performance. *Karagöz* plays mostly took place in public spaces and women were also able to attend the shows, watching the performances seated in areas separated off from the male audience by latticework screens.[73] While the plays feature a great variety of characters, the pieces were usually framed with the dialogues of two protagonists: the idle Karagöz and the relatively educated and industrious Hacivat. Karagöz represents the popular public and often outdoes Hacivat's superior education with his wit.[74]

The present work wants to stress the multi-layered ways in which notions of morality were conceived, distributed and received, be it in imperial edict, novel, song, or everyday practice. It does not, however, aim to ignore the often crucial role of public intellectuals.[75] Particularly Ottoman-Turkish ones of the late 19th century occupied a somewhat hybrid role in the polity, as nearly all publishers and writers of the period were tied in one way or another to the state bureaucracy, often working for it.[76] They are thus crucially linked to one of the main questions of late Ottoman social history: the nature of the middle classes in the empire. Traditionally, the development of an Ottoman middle class has been portrayed as a bifurcation along ethno-religious lines, with Muslims entering the higher echelons of the state bureaucracy, while non-Muslims (and especially Christians) formed the commercial and economic elite of the empire.[77] This tendency has been repeated by most 20th century nationalist scholarship. Usually, the political oppression of the non-Muslim bourgeoisie and the economic frustration of the non-bourgeois Muslims were seen as two sides of the same coin, which lead, like a self-fulfilling prophecy, to the break-up of

72 Aksoy, "Writing Ottoman Musical History"; Erol, "Music and the Nation"; Hacıosmanoğlu, Osmanlı'da Çocuk Musikisi; Jackson, "Crossing Musical Worlds"; O'Connell, "Time of Alaturka"; Jäger, "Wandel der osmanischen Kunstmusik"; Prätor, "Musikiden mükemmel"; Stephanov, "Solemn Songs"; Khalapyan, "Theater as Career"; Duygulu and Ünlü, "Turkey's Musical Life."

73 Süßheim, "Die moderne Gestalt"; Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 276.

74 Balan, "Transience, Absurdity."

75 Boyer and Lomnitz, "Intellectuals and Nationalism"; Anderson, Imagined Communities, 67–82.

76 Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalist," 20–22. Even though Findley singles out Ahmed Midhat (1844–1912) as "One Ottoman intellectual who was not actually an official", Midhat did in fact also work for the bureaucracy, as a member of the "Council for Public Health" in Istanbul. Whitman, Turkish Memories, 27–28.

77 Keyder, State and Class in Turkey; Göçek, Rise of the Bourgeoisie.

the empire and the violence of the 1910s and 1920s.[78] As becomes apparent, this discourse had strong connections to Orientalist notions of diligent Christians and lazy or indifferent Muslims. In social terms, the ethnic division of the middle class cannot as easily be upheld.[79] I want to take up the initiative of recent research, which has considered understanding the middle classes in the Ottoman case not primarily by social and economic status in itself, but rather by the involvement within certain networks of circulation. This could mean investment or participation in networks of credit, a common reading of the books and journals in the new print capitalism, or a culture and life-style of consumption.[80] It could thus include groups like journalists, bureaucrats, teachers, professionals, small business owners, and wage employees of foreign and local companies.[81]

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The late 19th century saw a major preoccupation with 'failing' morals in most countries subjected to three large-scale processes: the formation of an imperialist political arena, a global economy, and rapid urbanization. This played out in Britain, where a "primacy of morality" in public cultural discourse has been observed;[82] in imperial Germany, where the state's preoccupation with the dangerous behavior of young adults in the "control gap between the school gate and the barracks"[83] became proverbial, or Japan, where the perceived need for morality to foster national boundaries stretched far beyond educational institutions.[84] It also became a central topic in the Ottoman Empire.[85]

There were several reasons and guidelines for this. Drawing on the influence of global developments I want to propose three interdependent frames, which guided the discussions in the

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78 Eldem, "Bourgeoisie of Istanbul," 164–66.
79 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 783, 837–40; Duben and Behar, Istanbul Households.
80 Eldem, "Bourgeoisie of Istanbul," 160–61; Abou-Hodeib, "Taste and Class," 476; Watenpaugh, Being Modern, 8; Findley, Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, 119–23; Karpat, Politicization of Islam, 89–91.
81 Abou-Hodeib, "Material Life," 585.
82 Collini, Public Moralists, 63.
83 Peukert, Grenzen der Sozialdisziplinierung, 310.
84 Gluck, Japan's Modern Myths; Reitan, Making a Moral Society.
85 Erdem, Sondevir Osmanlı Düşüncesinde Ahlak; Pehlivan Ağırakça, Ahlak Eğitim ve Öğretimi; Kaya, Osmanlı'da Ahlâk Eğitimi. This was also underlined by contemporaneous and early republic collections of morality writings. See Tahir, Ahlak Kitaplarımız; Ayni, Türk Ahlakçıları.

Ottoman context. These were the debate on civilized behavior and manners on an individual and societal level within the context of imperialism, a perceptibly needed new economic ethic for an Empire ever more integrated into an industrialized and globalized economy, and the preoccupation with public order in a rapidly growing urban space. The three spaces were related discursively by a focus on moral values bound to a political community, and by social practice. They were also connected in referencing similar global intellectual resources: particularly notions of civilization and progress, as well as a medical discourse embedded in a larger appeal to science.

Using this division as a starting point, I do not want to repeat a reduction of the Ottoman experience to a "derivative discourse",[86] or a mimicry of the European experience of modernity. Rather, the dissertation will emphasize the globally integrated yet local reasoning, as well as the agency of Ottoman intellectuals and statesmen within certain limits. This approach also draws on recent literature, which has characterized Abdülhamid's reign precisely by its engagement with contemporary world trends and a political situation of mounting internal and external pressure on the very existence of the empire.[87]

Leading questions of the thesis will be: What was a 'good Ottoman'? How was he to behave or to feel? Which virtues and norms were stressed, which vices abhorred? How were emotions conceptualized? Who articulated these moral and emotional notions, and where? Did they diverge between the ethno-religious communities? What was the relationship of the virtuous individual and the political community? Were the conceptions of the political community stable or did they differ according to space, genre, or institution? What role did globally circulating ideas like civilization and progress play in this? How did social practices relate to moral discourse?

To approach such questions, the three frames discussed above will structure the narrative. The first chapter discusses individual and social morality and manners in the context of civilization. In the context of an increasingly predatory international system of states, moral notions of civilized behavior played a decisive role in placing states, societies and groups of people hierarchically, while also determining the right to self-administration.[88] In internal discourse, such notions of civilized

86 Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought; Zürcher, "The Rise and Fall."
87 Faroqhi, "Post-Colonial Turn"; Deringil, Well-Protected Domains, 110; Hanioğlu, A Brief History, 109–49.
88 Duara, "Discourse of Civilization," 100-01; Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man," 107; Pernau and

manners and moral behavior featured most prominently in the education sector and schoolbooks. *Ahlak* (morality) became a proper subject, yet was also a cross-cutting issue. Virtues like *itaat* (obedience) and *riayet* (respect, esteem), which stressed hierarchies, were deemed most important. They formed the center of a moral system that was either organized in an Aristotelian 'golden mean', entailing a control of emotions, or stressed the role of virtuous feelings, like *vicdan* (conscience). Ostensibly a virtue ethic, morals also had a strong duty-character. Prescriptive texts dealt with all kinds of manners, with a special accent on questions of dress and a clear differentiation according to gender. The proper treatment and behavior of the body, be it through physical education or hygienic practice informed by a medical discourse, also entered these discussions on correct personal conduct. Drawing boundaries with European practice, an own hierarchical and stratified community emerged.

Scientific progress was deemed a central feature of 'civilization'. Science was not only seen as instrumentally beneficial but also as morally 'bettering' humans. While it was stridently advocated by some intellectuals, many also stressed the dangers of its metaphysical and social implications. Taking up cues from the scientific 'quest for knowledge', new forms, such as Psychology and psychological novels, also aimed to investigate the nature of the self. Writers drew on both classic Islamic texts and European writings to conceive a clear division of the body and soul. A control of the 'inner', or 'baser' self (*nefs*) was deemed necessary, but so were emotions as important driving forces. The ambiguous role of emotions in the hegemonic view of personal conduct also influenced violent social practice. The chapter closes with a discussion of the mass killings of Armenians by street bands in Istanbul in late August 1896. To avoid being blamed for the massacres, as European public opinion did, official Ottoman reports stressed the 'anger' of the participants. The state could present itself as a rational actor, moderating and controlling emotional individual actors, while individual actors could inscribe themselves in the political community.

The second chapter engages with the nexus of morality and the economy. The unequal integration of the Ottoman Empire into the emerging global economy prompted moral writings on work, spending, and entrepreneurship that intended to revitalize the empire's economy. Economists intervened, deeming economic growth to be needed to persevere as a state but also to increase

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Jordheim, "Introduction."

general happiness (*saadet*). Notions of industry, effort, and a duty to work were used to delineate boundaries of the political community, with lazy persons being excluded. But they also placed economic actors within the community. Three main economic roles emerged.

First, workers had to be industrious, yet also organize their lives according to linear and punctual time. This could in practice lead to increased social control but also open up new possibilities of action: workers employed concepts of regularity and due recompense in their struggles against factory owners. The second economic role was that of the entrepreneur. As circulation, money, and credit expanded, middle-class economic values of thrift and trust (*itimad*) were advocated, while the importance of capital and investment for the economic development of the community were stressed. The third economic role, that of the household manager engaging in reproductive work, was conceived as female. Women's education was stressed by recourse to notions of civilization and progress. Yet in practice many women had to engage in wage-labor, as domestics, in factories, or in auxiliary part-time work from home. Women also extended their economic role in the economic activity of consumption, which was characterized by the emergence of new media, such as advertisements, and new spaces, such as department stores. Consumption was imbued with moral categories: 'Buying Ottoman' was advocated to contribute to the 'welfare of the state', while shops appealed to a medical discourse on hygiene and health benefits. An emphasis on good prices aligned with an economic morality that advocated thrift, savings, and a rejection of 'useless' consumption. The emotional experience of consumption also featured prominently.

The third chapter will trace the connection of morality and urban space in the case of Istanbul. Migration, war, and famines had led to a significant growth of Ottoman urban centers. Istanbul, the capital as well as the largest city of the empire, received special attention. The increase of the population, together with a reform process on the ground and European notions of a civilized city-space, informed reforms of the city-space. The concept of *intizam* (order) was central. Guiding constructions of broader streets and reforms in administration, it linked the reforms to political tradition as well as discourses of progress and medical hygiene. Socio-economic processes differentiated the city space: The traditional neighborhood marked by religious spatial order transformed into a class-based system. Morality also contributed to the divisions of urban space: the countryside was ever stricter separated from the city and certain neighborhoods acquired a

distinct status. Particularly Beyoğlu, characterized by its large non-Ottoman population, came to be shorthand for European, non-Muslim, and indecent life. Yet it was also here that Ottoman 'claims of modernity' were most stridently formulated toward a diverse audience. Further, the city space was increasingly controlled in the name of the value of safety (*emniyet*), with deviant practices, like prostitution and begging, supervised and controlled by the rapidly increasing police forces. New government institutions, such as the *darülaceze* (poor-house) or *ıslahhane* (reform house) also addressed the city's lower classes.

The division between public and private space was drawn stricter and the inside of houses conceived of as a female space. The nuclear family became both the model for and the central unit of the political community. This entailed an emphasis of love and companionship within the still hierarchical family relationships, while household practices, like cleaning techniques or eating habits, were subject to demands of civilization and hygiene. These notions of civilization were in general closely tied to cities. Concerned with the decline of the empire, Historians drew on the writings of Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) to posit a dichotomy of civilized city-dwellers and barbaric nomads. Khaldun had argued that history proceeds in cycles and that the moral decadence of cities was the cause of their destruction by the hands of nomad invaders. Thus, Historians stressed the nomadic origins of the Ottomans and some even argued that nomadic virtues were again needed for the empire to survive. An internal *mission civilisatrice*, however, also served to legitimize forced settlements of in regions like Eastern Anatolia. While urban space was increasingly regulated and subject to a discourse of 'controlled' behavior, new spaces emerged that exhibited significantly different emotional structuration. The chapter closes with the discussion of one of these: the multiplying music venues of the period, where performances featured social practices exceeding norms regarding the display and experience of certain emotions. At the same time, music itself was transformed: Ottoman musicians and intellectuals developed an own 'national' music by recourse to traditional practice, European techniques of notation and tonal systems, as well as new technologies, such as Gramophones and Phonographs.

2 Morality, the Self, and the Community: Of Manners and Civilization

Notions of civilization, of inherent superiority according to a set of norms, values, and practices, are not necessarily a recent phenomenon. Nonetheless, civilization as a concept changed in the long 19th century. First formulated in the years around 1800 in several European states, notions of civilization departed from an understanding as a state of affairs to increasingly denote a historical and developmental process. Complimented by a dichotomous notion of barbarism, the processional quality of civilization served to rank people and states in a hierarchical and dynamic global space according to their civilizational progress. It was further applied on an unprecedented scale. The growing military and economic dominance of the Great Powers also led to civilization becoming a yardstick in the international and increasingly global system of states. While the moment and degree of integration of various components into this system was variable, the acceleration of contacts had coalesced by the 1880s to a point that it was practically impossible for states to isolate themselves from it. Also applied between European states and within European societies, notions of progress and civilization entailed the whole-sale transformation of almost all aspects of life.[89]

Great Power notions of civilization were internationally embedded in a legal framework, which presented itself in the various unequal treaties of the period. These usually demanded the existence of the institutions of the modern European states as well as its goals, values, and practices, ranging from the pursuit of material progress to civilized manners and clothing.[90] The 'need' to be seen as civilized was instrumental for states and people all over the globe to escape the increasing threat of imperialist annexation. In Japan, for example, the discourse of civilization engendered reforms from modifications in diet and hairstyles to changes in religiosity, from dress codes to the organization of labor and leisure.[91]

Changes were also deemed needed by Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals. Since the Ottoman Empire was *pro forma* an independent state, Ottoman statesmen had aimed to be recognized as a

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89 Conrad, What Is Global History?, 97; Osterhammel, Transformation of the World, 826–29; Fisch, "Zivilisation, Kultur."

90 Duara, "Discourse of Civilization," 100-01; Pernau and Jordheim, "Introduction."

91 Hill, "Conceptual Universalization," 137; Reitan, Making a Moral Society, i–xvi; Esenbel, "Anguish of Civilized Behavior."

member of the international order of states by the legal reforms of the *Tanzimat*. Aimed to secure external legitimacy for the Ottoman state, they partially succeeded: the empire formally became part of the Concert of Europe with the Treaty of Paris in 1856.[92] Ottoman concepts of and references to civilization, as present in the different legal frameworks of the *Tanzimat*, were, however, always embedded and adapted in the framework of traditional Ottoman and Islamic conceptions.[93]

Despite Ottoman efforts, the war with Russia in 1877-1878 and mounting imperialist policies of the European great powers, exemplified by the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, showed that even formal international recognition was precarious. This was underlined by an increasingly racialized tinge in European perceptions of Islam and the Ottomans, exemplified by William Gladstone's invective from the 1870s against the 'savage' Ottoman warfare in the Balkans and Ernest Renan's (1823-1892) arguments on the incompatibility of modernity with Islam. While these developments engendered an Ottoman critique of European conceptions and applications of civilization, this meant no rejection. As the eminent journalist and lexicographer Şemseddin Sami (1850-1904) wrote in an article from 1884: "There is no alternative [to civilization]".[94]

Yet what civilization exactly entailed, and whether there were multiple civilizations possible, was hotly debated in the Hamidian period. Like in many other countries of the world, the debates sometimes went hand in hand with a division between 'material' (*maddi*) and 'spiritual' (*manevi*) parts of civilization. As in other cases, like India, this division allowed for an acceptance of European predominance in material matters, while retaining some own superiority in spiritual issues.[95] To other Ottoman writers of the period, European practices of imperialism had thoroughly discredited 'European' civilization and led them to counter it with concepts of an 'Asian', 'Ottoman', or 'Islamic' civilization. Şemseddin Sami, for example, sometimes seemed to

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92 Aydin, The Politics of Anti-Westernism, 15–24; Adanır, "Turkey's Entry"; Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man," 98.

93 Even though no one translation equivalent for civilization existed in the Ottoman language, one of the most common *calques* used since the 1850s was *medeniyet*. It drew on the Arabic word for city, 'madina' and its root m-d-n, as well as conceptions by Ibn Khaldun. Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man," 107–12; Doganalp-Votzi and Römer, Politische Terminologie, 226–36; Abu-Manneh, "Gülhane Rescript"; Anscombe, "Age of Ottoman Reform."

94 Cit. from Kurzman, Modernist Islam, 1840-1940, 151.

95 Chatterjee, The Nation and Its Fragments, 217.

favor the concept of a separate ‘Islamic civilization’.[96]

Such divisions were articulated and continue their influence until this day. For the period under study, however, they underestimate the strategic appropriation of concepts of progress and civilization by Ottoman writers. Universal and developmental concepts like progress and civilization do not have an essence, but are always instrumental, political, and hybrid.[97] Ottoman engagements with concepts of civilization in the late 19th century were always political, in that they were references for actors to build, transform, and secure a legitimate political community, a common Ottoman ‘we’ in an unequal international space. Since societal and individual habits and institutions, encapsulated in norms, morals, and manners, determined the relative standing of peoples, they became prime sites of contention for this political project.[98] It is these Ottoman discussions on morals and manners, informed by notions of progress and civilization, rather than the Ottoman concepts of civilization, that will be investigated in the following. How exactly were morals and manners conceived of in the Hamidian period? What sources did they draw on? How were values transmitted? What was the relationship between the moral individual and the political community? Did civilized manners and morals entail a curtailing of emotions, similar to Norbert Elias’ famous thesis on the ‘Civilizing Process’?[99]

To answer these questions, the following sub-chapters will chart late Ottoman debates of manners and morality in a somewhat phenomenological fashion. First, the development of the concept of morality (*ahlak*) in the Ottoman context will be sketched. Two chapters will then look at social applications of moral values in the form of manners, with regard to dress, body, or hygienic practice. Afterwards, debates concerning the role of science will investigate how acceptable behavior was navigated in a context of overwhelming ‘European’ influence. The fifth chapter will examine Ottoman knowledge production on the self and its emotions, with a special focus on psychology and literature. The section will close with an analysis of mass violence against Ottoman Armenians in August 1896 in the light of collective anger.

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96 Aydin, The Politics of Anti-Westernism, 39–70; Aydin, “Globalizing Intellectual History”; Sami, Medeniyet-I İslamiye.

97 Moyn, “Nonglobalization of Ideas.”

98 Wigen, “Education of Ottoman Man,” 113–18.

99 Elias, Civilizing Process.

2.1 **Building Character or Conforming to Duties?**

Morality was deemed to have broken down in the late Ottoman Empire. Mehmed Arif Bey (1845-1897) wrote in a Hadis commentary, published after his death in 1901 in Cairo, that the state of Muslims was characterized by "a decline in morals, laziness, superstition, stupidity, a love of disgracefulness, suffering, discord and despotism".[100] A renewed focus on morality was seen as a means to form a new cohesion of society against both external pressure and internal secessionist movements. Yağlıkçızade Rıfat (?-1895) stated this quite directly in a book from 1892: "Reaching spiritual and material progress that we all desire for in a Muslim society can only be attained through the virtues of morality". Morality to him also included a strong focus on emotions: "The love [for the fatherland]… cannot be limited to where one lives, it extends to one's society".[101] Morality was not only a topic for the Muslims of the empire. A Sephardi etiquette book from 1871 said that its goal was to "heal the wound of ignorance and replace it with a desire for knowledge and civilization…Let us awaken from the sleep in which we have been made to live!". It professed to do so by "inculcating good feelings in our hearts [and eradicating] all those vices caused by a bad character or a savage nature".[102] And the orthodox journalist Leonidas Isigones wrote in a string of articles in Smyrna 1871 that the "regeneration" of the "Greek nation" was threatened by the lack of moral education.[103]

To most observers the primary institution for the instigation of this morality and feelings were the schools. The foundations of centralized state education had been formulated in the "General Edict on Education" of 1869. It had envisioned common schools for all Ottoman subjects, though still granting considerable autonomy to religious communities. Its implementation, however, was problematic, due to budget constraints and political pressure both from internal groups and missionaries. Nonetheless, the Hamidian era saw a great extension of the public education sector. The total number of schools built was probably in excess of 10.000, mainly secondary İdadi- and tertiary Rüşdiye-schools. All levels of schools as well as most of the curricula were covered by regular printed textbooks, which instructors were obliged to follow

100 Cit. from Cwiklinski, "Vom Osmanischen zum Russischen," 64.
101 Cit. from Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 57–58.
102 Cit. from Cohen and Stein, Sephardi Lives, pt. 18.
103 Cit. from Exertzoglou, "Metaphors of Change," 48.

closely. Statistical data was collected in yearbooks from 1901 onward, seeking to monitor as well as show the progress of the empire. Despite these measures, the missionary and community schools continued to expand their number of pupils, with the result that most institutions of education, apart from prestige schools like the *Galatasaray* and institutions of higher education, were ever more segregated along religious lines.[104]

Despite this segregation, I want to concentrate my discussion on the state schools, which were officially supra-religious yet in practice mostly taught Muslim students. The following pages will study the moral systems and their connections to emotions propagated in Ottoman Turkish schoolbooks of the Hamidian period. For this, I will first outline the ethic tradition pertinent to the Ottoman Empire, since the books explicitly posited themselves in this tradition. The second step will then consist in tracing the understanding of morality and emotions present in the schoolbooks, with a focus on particular prominent values. A third step will focus on the relationship and implementation of these morals and emotions in curricula and educational practice. As will become apparent, the moral systems advocated both departed from traditional ethics and served to delineate and stratify a community by reference to universal notions of progress and civilization. At the same time, emotions were integrated as motivational forces and prominent part as well as regulators of these moral systems.

Akhlaq, or Islamic ethics,[105] was quite a late-comer to Islamic philosophy, not established in full form before the 11th century. It presented an amalgamation of pre-Islamic Arabian tradition and Koranic teaching with Persian and Greek elements, embedded in a general Islamic structure. It was generally conceived to be part of practical philosophy and closely connected to the soul (*ruh, nefs*). *Akhlaq,* as the eminent Persian philosopher al-Ghazali (1058-1111) stated, was "defining the characteristics and moral constitutions of the soul and the method of moderating and controlling them".[106]

In the neo-Aristotelian tradition drawing on al-Farabi (872-951) and al-Ghazali, especially with

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104 Özil, "Greek Communal Schools," 274–75; Fortna, Imperial Classroom, 122–27.

105 Taking up Kamran Karimullah's suggestion, I will in the following use the Arabic transliteration *akhlaq* for the classic Islamic moral philosophy and the Ottoman Turkish transliteration *ahlak* for the Ottoman tradition. Karimullah, "Rival Moral Traditions."

106 Cit. from Gibbs and Walzer, "Akhlak."

Nasreddin Tusi's "Akhlaq-i Nasiri" from the 13th and Celaleddin Davvani's "Akhlaq-i Jalali" from the 15th century, *akhlaq* came to be an extensive genre. Its ethical theory encompassed three levels: the individual, the family, and society. In turn these were personal ethics and the faculties of the soul, household arrangements or more generally the household economy, and the components of society and methods of governance. This latter part included questions of politics and law, usually in the context of general welfare (*saadet/maslahat*) and placed great emphasis on the person of the ruler and the value of justice (*adalet*). The tradition was popularized among the Ottomans with Kınalızade Ali Çelebi's (1510-1572) "Ahlak-i Alai", who was the "first bestseller" of the Ottoman book market and remained immensely influential for over two centuries.[107] Concerning personal ethics, Kınalızade talked of the 'soul' or 'human reason' (*ruh, nefs-i natıka*), composed by three components already present in the Koran: the 'angel soul' (*nefs-i meleki*), the 'soul of passion' (*nefs-i şebui*) and the 'soul of lust' (*nefs-i behimi*). All had respective 'powers' or faculties. Moral qualities (*hulk*) were divided in virtues and vices (*fazilet* and *rezilet*), and a moderate usage (*itidal*) of the soul's powers resulted in virtue. This was very much an exercise of the self. While one was first taught the virtues, in the form of 'science of ethics' (*ilm-i ahlak*), the more important part was the individual instruction and training of one's nature.[108] From the 16th century onward, ethics were also differentiated into different genres, among them *adab* (personal moral advice literature), *nasihat* (institutional advice literature), and *fiqh* (traditional Islamic jurisprudence), all influencing each other.

This ethical tradition was taken up by Ottoman schoolbooks of the 19th century. Mehmed Said's "Ahlak-i Hamide", a morality schoolbook from 1892, sometimes classified as "compendium of Islamic ideas on ethics",[109] frequently cites the prophet and classic authors, among them Kınalızade and al-Ghazali. Even though Said developed a slightly different three-partition of the soul, the respective faculties nonetheless had to be kept in balance (*mutedil, itidal*). He also centered his work on the concept of 'character' or 'habit' (sg. *huy* in Turkish, sg. *hulk*, pl. *ahlak* in Arabic). To him, morality was "the changing from bad character to good character".[110] Another example was Sadık Rıfat Pasha's (1807-1857) "Risale-i Ahlak" from 1847, the most influential

107 Ahmed, What Is Islam?, 462–71; Sariyannis and Atiyas, Ottoman Political Thought, 29–42.
108 Sariyannis and Atiyas, A History of Ottoman, 90–95.
109 Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 191.
110 Somel, 191; Said, Ahlak-ı hamide, 2; Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 61.

Ottoman morality book of the mid-19th century—it was even translated into Ladino and used in Jewish schools. Rıfat was equally concerned with the nature of the character (*huy*) and placed great emphasis on education in young age, using a biological analogy:

> *"When the tree is young, however much it is bowed, straightening it is easy. With similar ease is a person made receptive to education/training (terbiye) in his childhood. Once the child has grown older, however, and especially when he has become accustomed to base and unseemly habits (huylar), it is considerably more difficult for him to begin to distinguish bad habits".*[111]

Both books ostensibly drew on a tradition of virtue ethics, in which virtues were understood as excellent traits of character, or rather dispositions well entrenched in its possessor.[112] Most schoolbooks of the Hamidian period followed this tradition and set out to teach good virtues and bad vices. These virtues and vices were diverse. In Ali İrfan's "Rehber-i Ahlak" from 1894 some of the values were religiosity (*diyanet*), effort (*mesai*), discipline (*riyazet*), patience (*sabr*), order (*intizam*), reform of the self (*islah-i nefs*), and love and brotherhood (*muhabbet ve uhuvvet*).[113] In Muallim Naci's (1850-1893) "Talim-i Kıraat", values were firmness (*metanet*), knowledge (*ilm*), work (*amele*), and soberness (*perhizkarlık*), while vices were selfishness (*hodbinlik*), lying (*kizb*), and gossiping (*gevezelik*).[114] Even though the schoolbooks consciously evoked the religious and moral tradition, it is difficult to infer so from most of the values themselves. The list of values compiled by Ebüzziya Tevfik (1849-1913) from Benjamin Franklin's "Poor Richard", for example, were nearly all also featured in the period's schoolbooks. Some of these were silence (*sükut*), order (*intizam*), frugality (*tasarruf*), moderation (*itidal*), cleanliness (*nezafet*), chastity (*iffet*), and humility (*tevazu*).[115] It becomes apparent that many of these values were traditionally used and may even be traced back to classic Greek ethics.[116]

The most prominent value in schoolbooks was *itaat* (obedience), while values with a similar semantic field, such as *riayet* (respect) and *hürmet* (veneration), were less frequently mentioned. The latter two had been central concepts in Ottoman political and moral discourse at least since the

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111 Rıf'at Paşa, Risale-i Ahlak, 3; Translation based on Karimullah, "Rival Moral Traditions," 20.
112 Hursthouse and Pettigrove, "Virtue Ethics."
113 Fortna, Imperial Classroom, 227.
114 Naci, Tehzib-i Ahlak.
115 Türesay, "An Almanac for Ottoman Women," 237.
116 Frede, "Plato's Ethics"; Kraut, "Aristotle's Ethics."

nizam-i cedid (new order) reforms of the late 18th and early 19th century. They entailed a reciprocal and conditional hierarchical relationship, in which the obedience of subjects was dependent on good government by the ruler. *İtaat*, against that, lessened the reciprocity and entailed notions of unconditional obedience. Although based on the obedience towards God (*ta'a*), it was not a prominent value of classic Islamic or Ottoman philosophy, nor was it present in Rıfat's "Risale-i Ahlak".[117] It had been used in Ottoman administrative texts until the mid-19th century as one among several terms to denote obedience to the state, usually in the context of paying taxes.[118] Its usage, however, would only become characteristic of texts, particularly schoolbooks, in the Hamidian era. Its role as probably the hegemonic value of the period highlights the significant hierarchical and delimited character of the political community envisioned, entailing a transformation of the relationship between the state and its population.

In schoolbooks, obedience was directed towards God, the parents, the teachers, the bureaucrats, the state, and generally people higher or older than oneself (*büyükler*). Thus kids had to obey their mothers, which in turn had to obey the male head (*reis*) of the family.[119] It also centrally included the Sultan, who was usually addressed as *padişah*. It is interesting that the title of Caliph (*halife*) was seldom used, as were derivatives like *emirülmüminin* (Commander of the Faithful). Although some books refer to Abdülhamid II as the Caliph in their introduction, very few do so in the context of obedience.[120] The external usage of the title of Caliph by Sultan Abdülhamid as imperial ideology to broaden the external legitimacy of Ottoman rule is well-known.[121] Internally, however, the usage of the title was far from uncontroversial. Some members of the *ulema*, the Muslim religious establishment, openly questioned its legitimacy. Some even re-interpreted the moral writings so that the value of obedience excluded Sultans and Caliphs.[122]

Obedience was to be repaid in compassion and mercy (*merhamet ve şefkat*) from those higher. While

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117 Topal, "Ottoman Concepts of Reform," 64–142; Sariyannis and Atiyas, A History of Ottoman; Rıf'at Paşa, Risale-i Ahlak.

118 Reinkowski, "Notions of Order," 202.

119 Hami Paşa, Vezaif-i Etfal, 7–8; Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 191–92; Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:40.

120 See for example Hamid, Çocuk, 10; Azmi Bey, İlk Kıraat Kitabi, 5, 10; Şeref, İlm-i Ahlak, 104; Hıfzı, Rehber-i Kıraat, 10–11. The exception is Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 2:15.

121 Landau, Politics of Pan-Islam, 9–72; Deringil, Well-Protected Domains, 44–67.

122 Kara, "Ulema as Opposition," 170–78.

compassion has been called the "basic social emotion" to bring about group cohesion, its direction towards those lower points to the significant social hierarchies espoused in Ottoman schoolbooks. Compassion was further gendered, in that it frequently appeared as a motherly quality.[123] Obedience also had an emotional character. As Mehmet Hazık wrote in a pedagogy-book for teachers from 1907: "It is respect and obedience (*itaat, hürmet*) that holds together people in the hearts and in the thoughts".[124] And despite being conceptualized as a virtue, obedience was increasingly understood as a duty in the education of children. A schoolbook used in secondary schools stated obedience to be a "child's first duty" and an article in the Journal "Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete" stated: "Obedience towards those higher is one's unquestionable duty (*vecibe-i zimmet*) and the basis of happiness (*saadet*)…..You must never forget this".[125] The counter-concept to obedience was a morally conceived disobedience, or 'sedition' (*fesad*), which acquired a distinct political meaning in the period.[126]

Another prominent, and relatively innovative, value was 'conscience' (*vicdan*). Sometimes said to be a late 19th century translation of the similar French concept, it had in fact a longer tradition in Sufi-thought. In Hamidian writings, its status was ambiguous between an 'inner court' that helped to judge actions and a moral feeling.[127] It was usually conceived as a faculty located in the heart (*kalb*), which could perform evaluative judgments of the self's actions in order to become more virtuous. This tradition became highly influential after 1908 and was, for example, central to the writings of Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924).[128] In schoolbooks, conscience was often understood as a moral feeling. One asked rhetorically: "Is not our school [equal to] the joyful conscience?"[129] Another defined *vicdan* as the "feeling (*hiss*) of our self", which nonetheless also could insert certain feelings: "When we do bad, it tells us, and makes us ashamed. When we do good, it tells us 'You have done good' and makes us happy".[130] *Vicdan* was further noticeable in the period's poetry and more generally in

123 Nussbaum, "Compassion"; Hazık, Terbiye, 164; Hami Paşa, Vezaif-i Etfal, 7. The Hamidian regime even established a state medal for women called *şefkat* (compassion). Hanioğlu, A Brief History, 126.
124 Hazık, Terbiye, 164.
125 Hami Paşa, Vezaif-i Etfal, 7; Hilmi, "Küçük Hikayelerden."
126 Yılmaz, "Fesad, Serseri, Anarşist"; Lévy Aksu, Ordre et désordres, 49–50; Apaydın and Kutluer, "Fesad."
127 Sami, Kamus-i Turki, 1486–87; Demir, "Vicdan." This ambiguity is also found in Immanuel Kant's concept of "Gewissen". Giubilini, "Conscience."
128 Hazık, Terbiye, 191–95; Topal, "Ziya Gökalp," 14.
129 Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 45.
130 Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 30.

writers tending towards the Sufi-tradition. Mehmet Hazik, for example, endows it with metaphysical qualities and links it the 'truth itself' (*hakikat*). "Oh conscience…..we sanctify you (*takdis*)! In short, conscience is in our lives the agent of truth".[131]

Despite the fact that the authors of Hamidian morality books related to the ethical tradition, they also departed from it in central aspects. One of these was the legitimization of the virtues. A virtue ethics usually refers to an external reference point or justification on which to base the virtues. Following Plato and Aristotle, this had classically involved some variation of *eudaimonia*, a moralized concept of general happiness.[132] In Islamic ethics, this justification had been deemed to either lie in the nature of the human soul, or, drawing on al-Farabi's adaptation of Koranic and Greek traditions, in a notion of happiness (*saadet*) that was both worldly and after-worldly.[133]

The Hamidian schoolbooks employed a wide variety of justifications. Abstract notions of 'humanity' (*insaniyet*), or civilization and progress were references, as were common sense notions of reason or appeals to religious authority. The last two often went together in the formula 'religiously and rationally' (*dince ve akılca*).[134] Particularly noticeable was, however, the employ of general happiness. Drawing on the ethical tradition, *Saadet* was a most prominent reference point for morals. It was, however, increasingly understood in a different way: It appeared as an ever more worldly happiness, and this worldly happiness was increasingly tied to the Ottoman state. Occurring at times even in formula like the "happiness of the country" (*memleketin saadeti*), particularly in economic contexts, it was further tied to the reign of Abdülhamid, called the "age of happiness" (*devr-i saadet*) in some texts. Held up as a reward for desired behavior, obedient children were presented as contributing to the country's *saadet* while at the same being able to participate in this happiness.[135]

Another departure from traditional Islamic ethics concerned the role of Emotions. Social control by the peer group, the parents, or society was often narrated as emotional. Ali Nazima details this

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131 Hazık, Terbiye, 192.
132 Hursthouse and Pettigrove, "Virtue Ethics."
133 Karimullah, "Rival Moral Traditions," 23–25; Çağrıcı, "Saadet," 320–21.
134 Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 62–64; Karimullah, "Rival Moral Traditions," 22.
135 Hami Paşa, Vezaif-i Etfal, 4; Naci, Tehzib-i Ahlak, 6; Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 37; Remzi, Hoca Hanım, 21; Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:59; Nail, İlm-i Servet, 1; Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 29, 33; Hazık, Terbiye, 164.

in a story from his 1904 schoolbook "Oku". Nesib is said to be the typical bad kid and does not learn in class. Thus his teacher is under obligation to punish him in front of the class. When he comes home, his mother also scolds him and when she gets very angry, she locks him in the wardrobe (*dolab*). He ends up in a class of younger children, who always laugh at him because he cannot read and write.[136] Another schoolbook similarly stated that children should not pass their time idle, for "otherwise they will be punished by the teacher and be ashamed among their friends".[137] It becomes apparent how the individual had to bear negative individual and social emotions, such as shame and anger, inflicted by its peers and its superiors in the absence of desired behavior.[138]

Nasib was contrasted to the good kid Arslan, who never receives punishment and is "loved" by his teacher.[139] This hints at the other side of the coin: desired behavior was presented as rewarded by social or communal love. The importance of love as the foundation of human social interaction built on a trans-religious philosophical tradition. Nasreddin Tusi's "Akhlaq-i Nasiri" had contained a chapter entitled "On the Virtue of Love, By Means of Which Societies Are Bound Together", and similar understandings were present in classic Greek philosophy, as well as the Jewish and Christian religious tradition.[140] Yet in the Hamidian period, a difference emerged: love was not personally given, but received. Good behavior was said to gain societal approval in the form of love, so that 'good' children were loved/liked (*sevmek/sevinmek*) by everyone.[141] 'Bad' behavior, conversely, could lead to the cessation of communal love. Stealing, for instance, was presented as resulting in "nobody loving" (*kimse sevmez*) the child, as were being "lazy" (*tenbel*) or "dirty" (*kirli*).[142] Of note is here that social love either received or denied became a motivational factor—quite a significant departure from the classical tradition apparent in Tusi, in which love and loving were located in the individual persons. At the same time, positive individual emotions were depicted as another reward for 'good' behavior. Well-behaved children were said to be happy (*bahtiyar*), joyful

136 Nazima, Oku, 6. Benjamin Fortna also cites the story in Fortna, Learning to Read, 96.
137 Rıfat, Hikayat-i Müntehabat, 30.
138 On shame as a social emotion tied to desired behavior see Frevert, "Piggy's Shame."
139 Nazima, Oku, 8.
140 Erdem, Sondevir Osmanlı Düşüncesinde Ahlak, 246; Ahmed, What Is Islam?, 40; Nirenberg, "The Politics of Love."
141 Nazima, Oku, 8; Rıfat, Hikayat-i Müntehabat, 68.
142 Şemseddin, Malumat-ı lazime, 31; Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 62; Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 32.

(*mesrur*), and feel pleasure (*zevk*). 'Bad' children, on the other hand, were presented as unhappy (*bedbaht*) or anxious (*rahatsız*).[143] Positive emotions, either individual or social, were thus depicted as the outcomes of desired behavior of the individual, while 'bad' behavior was rewarded with negative emotions, social or individual.

A third departure from the ethical tradition was the implementation of morals and values in the context of a state-centered education (*terbiye, maarif*) increasingly understood as a top-down instruction favoring disciplinary methods.[144] The Hamidian state had, as stated continued and intensified the extension and reform of the education sector begun by the *Tanzimat*.[145] This also played a role in imperial legitimization: schoolbooks often lauded the contemporary progress (*terakkiyat*) in education and attributed it to Abdülhamid, who frequently received the honorary title of "promoter of knowledge" (*maarifperver*).[146] Education was, however, also seen as the central institution strengthen the bonds of society. As Mehmed Hazik put it:

"The general harmony of the world (alemin ahenk-i umumiye) is dependent on education. If everyone knows the world, understands his relation to it, and acts accordingly, then harmony is brought about. Contrarily, if everyone retracts into different directions, the group of humans disperses and the harmony is destroyed".[147]

The contents and methods of education were, however, often seen as inadequate. In a memorandum written in 1888, Abdülhamid stated that "the curricula of our schools are not effective in sowing the seeds of love for religion, sultan, and motherland in the minds of our students. The evil tricks of our enemies prevent them from distinguishing good from evil".[148] The solution was seen in an emphasis on morality. Consequently, several curriculum reform commissions were set to work from 1885 on. The 1869 Education Edict had not yet included morality as a subject. This was tackled by a report from 1887. It recommended the inclusion of the "science of morals" (*ilm-i ahlak*) in the curriculum, since a state had to foster "the establishment of matters of belief and morality (*din ve ahlak*)". This in turn would "truly depend

143 Nazima, Oku, 4, 6; Hıfzı, Rehber-i Kıraat, 17; N., Elifba-ı Osmani, 29; Hamid, Çocuk, 9.
144 Fortna, Learning to Read.
145 Kieser, Nearest East, 55–62; Deringil, "Invention of Tradition," 13; Fortna, "Abdülhamid II," 51.
146 Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 19–34.
147 Hazık, Terbiye, 12.
148 Cit. from Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 150.

on being led on that path in the early stages of adolescence".[149] Soon, pupils of all state schools had to attend weekly mandatory classes in morality. This focus on moral instruction was also legitimized by reference to Europe. Mehmed Emin wrote in the introduction to his morality book: "Courses like the morality classes in the schools of the well-protected Domains, that have begun after much effort, can be found in all the programs of the European Schools".[150]

The centrality of morality to the educational system also becomes clear in a government memorandum from 1900. It stated that:

> *"students growing up in our primary schools should acquire science and knowledge (ilm ve fünun) that is necessitated by the contemporary progress of civilization. They also should be firm of thought, strong in religious faith, and endowed with good morals (hüsn-i ahlak). That the implementation of this has been lacking…will bring about spiritual and material harm".*[151]

Consequently, the importance of morality stretched beyond the lessons of the subject. Schoolbooks translated from foreign languages that did not conform to "national morality" (*ahlak-i milliye*) were forbidden. Teachers of all subjects were to make clear to their students to obey (*itaat*) and to respect, in the order of precedence, "our Sultan and his state", their parents, relatives, teachers and older persons. The teachers should also instruct the students to love their fatherland and the state (*vatan ve memlekete muhabbet*). The students, conversely, had to pray at the end of each school day for the sultan, the state, the nation (*millet*), and the Islamic community.[152]

Morality and manners were also used in disciplinary facility, where their broad semantics were probably intentional. The 'Agrarian High School' in Küçükçeşmece only accepted students that demonstrated "good morals" (*ahlak-i hasene*).[153] The Regulation for the primary schools stated that pupils who had committed a "serious offense against general manners (*adab*) and honor" would be removed from schools.[154] Ahmed Rasim (1865-1932), the journalist and composer, remembered from his schooldays how "morality meant sitting at a fixed place, with a firm self-control of the body". It involved also frequent public corporal punishment, by "reading out the student's

149 Cit. from Fortna, Imperial Classroom, 215.
150 Dağlar Macar, "Ottoman Greek Education," 813; Emin, Fezail-i Ahlak, 8.
151 Transcription in Yazıbaşı, "Osmanlı'da Ahlâk Eğitimi," 769; Fortna, Imperial Classroom, 219.
152 Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 182–84.
153 Albayrak and Şeker, Osmanlı Eğitiminde Modernleşme, 182.
154 Cevad, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, 352.

transgression and name in the great hall and then administering the beatings".[155] School assistants (*müdür yardımcısı*) were instructed to note down the "moral behavior" of students, which featured prominently at their year-end sheets.[156]

The teaching and enforcement of morality was of central importance to the Hamidian schools. Content-wise, many schoolbooks consciously invoked a traditional Islamic virtue ethic. At the same time, the understanding of morality departed significantly from this tradition. This was noticeable in the justifications of virtues, the emotional rewards for acting in a desired way, and the implementation in education institutions. Subjects no longer constituted themselves as persons of virtue through training, but were constituted, approved, and rewarded by society. Further, virtues acted out in a socially desired manner were depicted as contributing to a general happiness (*saadet*) increasingly understood in a worldly sense and identified with the Ottoman state. Although ostentatiously a virtue ethic, the morals in Hamidian schoolbooks increasingly assumed the form of duties towards the political community.

This did not imply a mere outward obedience: the duties also had to be felt by the individuals. The physician Hüseyin Remzi (1839-1896) summed this up succinctly, when he stated in a morality book for girls: "They call it morality, but it is rather the science of human duties…which does not only include actions but also desires and internal inclinations".[157] This nexus of morals, duties, and emotions, also was at times directly pronounced. A morality book for girls, for instance, stated that "personal honor (*haysiyet*) is a feeling of honor (*namus*), a duty, and a moral feeling".[158]

Emotions were further part and parcel of moral systems. Individually, pupils were admonished to subscribe to a value of balance (*itidal*). Strong individual emotions, like "anger" (*hiddet*) or "jealousy" (*kıskanma*), were deemed bad and in need of balance, since they would lead to remorseful actions.[159] Yet at the same time, strong positive emotions were intrinsically linked to good and moral behavior. Desired actions were rewarded by strong positive individual emotions, social approval in the form of love, and a societal increase in general happiness. 'Bad' behavior,

155 Cit. from Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 266.
156 Yazıbaşı, "Osmanlı'da Ahlâk Eğitimi," 771–72.
157 Karimullah, "Rival Moral Traditions," 66; Remzi, Hoca Hanım, 17.
158 Rıza, 2: 21-22.
159 These negative emotions were sometimes gendered, with girls said to have a weaker disposition towards them. Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:10, 17, 2:31.

conversely, was rewarded by individual shame and the cessation of communal love.

Despite the departures from a traditional virtue ethic, certain individual values were important. Unconditional obedience as the probably central value of Hamidian textbooks served to both delineate the political community from those not obedient and internally structured the community hierarchically in a way amenable to an authoritarian regime. Conscience as a virtue, on the other hand, allows to point towards a frequently overlooked facet of late Ottoman moral discussions: the Sufi tradition, which also gained political influence in the times of Abdülhamid. Important figures close to the state were Abu al-Huda al-Sayyadi (1850-1910) from Syria, who spent more than thirty years in the employ of the Sultan, and the Palestinian Qadiri Sufi, Yusuf al-Rabahani (1850-1932). Others did not exert political and social influence through direct contacts to the Sultan, but rather through their following in rural and even urban areas. Their political leanings also diverged. A thinker like Rıza Tevfik (1869-1949) could mix Sufism with Masonism and an allegiance to the Young Turk Movement. From the 1870s onward, Sufi printed texts also started to appear.[160]

But how were morals and virtues connected to such mundane things as dress or conversation? The next chapter will approach this enactment of values in the case of manners.

2.2 Educated Manners and Dress

The notion that humans are fundamentally social beings had been widespread throughout Ottoman history. An own version of the classic Islamic literature on proper social behavior (*edep,* pl. *adab*), however, had only emerged in the last decades of the 16th century. Concerned with the then seemingly stagnating or even declining situation of the empire, writers like Mustafa Ali (1541-1600) adapted a mostly Persian tradition of courtly advice literature to develop a genre of 'institutional advice'. It detailed behavioral codes for different levels of the state bureaucracy, from Sultans to army officers and lower bureaucrats. Detailing rules, descriptions, and advice on 'social gatherings', it also included norms for issues as diverse as rule, travel, and food. The more

160 Cevahiroğlu Ömür, "The Sufi Orders," 78–84; Green, Sufism, 207-08; Clayer, "Sufi Printed Matter," 354–56.

encompassing *Ahlak*-genre mentioned in the last chapter had also included some remarks on proper etiquette in social gatherings, with Kınalızade Ali for example detailing proper eating and drinking habits.[161] Yet what marked the *adab*-genre apart was that it generally ignored neo-Aristotelian and/or neo-Platonic traditions of a philosophical foundation of political society and rather focused on practical advice concerning social behavior.[162] Its notion of worldliness and practicality further marked it as an own genre, which soon became coupled with literature (*edebiyat*).[163]

While some vestiges of this tradition resonated throughout the 19th century, it was extensively re-interpreted. Faced with an international discourse of civilization and 'civilized' behavior, manners (*adab*) came to be a central concept with which the Ottoman 'own' was defined and legitimized. Coupled with notions of education (*terbiye*), they were conceived as the cultural, social, and practical application of morality, while at the same time appropriating European influences of 'civility' and 'civilized' behavior. The most pertinent genre in this regard was the emergence of etiquette literature, the so-called books on 'social manners' (*adab-i muaşeret*), which consciously drew on the similar European genre. But also other books and articles of the period included bountiful advice on how to walk, how to dress, how to behave in social settings, and how to eat.[164] These manners and codes of behavior structured social interaction, while serving to draw boundaries between the self and the 'other' and hierarchically structuring society. They were, like morals, not merely outward: Many etiquette books conceived of them equally as an expression of the inner 'spiritual' self and argued against a 'superficial' adaptation.[165]

A most prominent concept with regard to manners was *alafranga* (in the 'Frankish' way), used to qualify things from music to furniture, clothing to language use.[166] *Alafranga* had already become a

161 Samancı, "Sofra Adabı: Alaturka-Alafranga," 82–83.
162 Sariyannis and Atiyas, Ottoman Political Thought, 67–79.
163 Findley, Bureaucratic Reform, 9.
164 Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man," 115–19; Yaşar, "Adab-ı Muaşeret"; Meriç, Âdâb-ı Muâşeret, 1–29; Türesay, "Urbanisme et Civilisation," 11.
165 Abou-Hodeib, "Taste and Class," 480; Esenbel, "Anguish of Civilized Behavior"; Emin Yurdakul, Adab-ı Muaşeret, 19.
166 While sometimes coupled with its binary opposite *alaturka* (in the Turkish way), especially in music, this latter concept was not as prominent during the Hamidian period as it was to become after 1908. A creative appropriation of 'Oriental' manners and cultural forms, heavily influenced by Orientalism, can however be detected from the late 19th century. Cohen, "Ottoman Jews, Imperial Style"; Eldem, "Making Sense."

catchword during the *Tanzimat* era. Originally used by the elite of the 18th and early 19th centuries to refer to different styles in art or European or Ottoman objects, such as furniture, it later acquired an ever broader meaning. In the later 19th century, *alafranga* carried prodigious power.[167] For the overwhelming part, it was used as a rhetoric device that could confer instant rejection of an object or habit, epitomizing unwelcome changes in moral and cultural codes. As such, its meaning was opaque. The famous poet and journalist Namik Kemal (1840-1888) could write philippic after philippic against the 'Frankish way of life' while being dressed in a bow-tie and an impeccably tailored tail coat.[168] While not being useful as an analytical concept, it was a topos with which Ottomans delineated an 'own' way of life from Europe. It can further be argued that Ottoman writers and intellectuals were creating their own Occident *alafranga*, a hyperreal Europe in the sense of Dipesh Chakrabarty.[169]

These imagined European manners and behavior formed a central category to Ottoman writers to delineate an own community. In spite of its undeniable economic and technological development, Ottoman travelers to Europe during the 19th century often depicted the local situation as wanting in morality and manners. Young prostitutes roaming city streets and the huge numbers of deserted babies and foundlings in Vienna and Paris were described as major failures of European societies.[170] At home in Istanbul, the 'dandy' (*züppe*), said to simply ape European manners and fashions, became a staple of literature. He—and it was most often a 'he'—was ridiculed and served as a figure against which to differentiate 'good Ottoman' manners and behavior.[171]

While thus internally using *alafranga* as a common term for unwelcome behavior and manners, Ottoman authors had to externally defend own practice against a common European perception of the 'savage' and 'uncivilized' Oriental. These notions, which had developed alongside European Orientalism from the mid-18th century, could include a supposedly 'lurid' Ottoman treatment of sexual matters, as represented in the *Karagöz* shadow plays, or a distaste for Ottoman standards of

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167 Hanioğlu, A Brief History, 100.
168 Mardin, Genesis of Young Ottoman, 283–336.
169 Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe, 27–46. See for this 'Occidentalism' Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalist."
170 Ze'evi, Producing Desire, 169; Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man," 117–18.
171 Mardin, "Super Westernization." On the development of the 'sexually dangerous' westernized Women in the literature of the period, see Kandiyoti, "Images of Women."

hygiene, as well as eating and sleeping habits.[172] Since such views were directly tied to an unequal and increasingly predatory international system of states, they carried a very real threat.

The difficulty of navigating this uneven playing field may be exemplified by Ahmed Midhat's (1844–1912)[173] etiquette book "Avrupa Adab-i Muaşeret", the first of its genre in Ottoman. Organized as a story of an Ottoman-Muslim male's travel in European countries, it had essentially three goals: It set out to correct Ottoman 'misconceptions' about European manners, instruct its readers how to act and gain respect in contact with Europeans, and reform traditional Ottoman manners while preserving a fundamental difference from 'Europe'. Based in part on own travel experiences, Midhat constructed an own understanding of civilized manners, in which the importance of balance or moderation in social intercourse, especially of emotional expressions, was underlined. Claiming that in many ways Ottoman-Muslim lifestyles were comparable, analogous, and sometimes even superior to the manners of Europeans, Midhat further intended to delegitimize European hegemony by criticizing some European manners, for example duels, as 'unmoral'. Attempting to build an internationally legitimate 'Ottoman' way of life Midhat selectively and strategically adapted ways of the "savoir vivre cosmopolite", as the subtitle calls it.[174]

The navigation of manners with regard to different audiences and an emphasis on moderation can also be shown by the person of Abdülhamid. The Sultan took great care in presenting himself in a pious light, regularly having himself photographed on his way to the Friday prayer, and also in other self-representation intended to differentiate his manners from an emulation of 'European civilization'. Yet at the same time, he also professed a passion for European classical music and theater, which brought many European artists to perform at his palace. These included opera singers like the Belgian soprano Blanche Arral (1864-1945) and legendary actresses like Sarah Bernhardt (1844-1923).[175] Similarly, the eating habits in the royal palace were usually described as

172 Ze'evi, Producing Desire, 168; Whitman, Turkish Memories, 39.

173 Ahmed Mithad, often known as Ahmed Midhat Efendi to differentiate him from the statesman Ahmed Midhat Pasha, was one of the most prolific authors of the late Ottoman Empire, authoring some 150 books of several genres. He was also close to Abdülhamid and is classed as the "collaborator and publicist" of the Sultan. Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalist."

174 Midhat, Avrupa Adab-i Muaşeret; Çekiç, "Savoir Vivre Cosmopolite"; Yaşar, "Adab-ı Muaşeret"; Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man," 117–19.

175 Hanioğlu, A Brief History, 141; Akarlı, "Problems of Westernization," 355.

being European in style, with food served on plates and eaten with cutlery. Yet this was especially noticeable in dinners given to foreign ambassadors and journalists, who had in the early 19th century increasingly voiced their disdain at Ottoman dining practices. In more daily contexts Abdülhamid preferred local fare, as did the extended royal household.[176] The centrality of moderation or balance to Abdülhamid's navigation of manners also becomes clear in his political memoirs, where he states that "our country, our religion dictates moderation. That is why we should always choose what is simple, from clothing to food-stuffs. I myself try to be a good example [for my people] in this regard".[177]

This navigation of manners in the name of 'moderation' served to both legitimize and form an own political community. It was also employed in other contexts of the period, both to an internal and external audience. One schoolbook, for example, a translation from French, argued in its preamble against the view that translations from European languages were "against our national morality and manners" (*ahlak ve adab-i milliyemiz*).[178] Externally, manners were to ensure a 'civilized' representation, as well as the own coherence of the community. Thus the Ottoman government stipulated in its contracts for the Chicago world fair of 1893 that no actions "injurious to the country's honor and manners" (*haysiyet ve adab-i memlekete mugayir*) could be performed close to the Ottoman pavilion.[179] In practice, these manners were both rather ill-defined and could apply to a whole range of behavior, from aesthetic preferences to eating habits.[180] The following will particularly focus on two issues: social interaction or conversation and dress.

In social interaction and communication, most schoolbooks singled out children who talked too much or at the wrong time. Notions such as *gevezelik* (gossip, talking loudly) were often included as vices, and portrayed as subject to social disapproval.[181] Children talking too much were depicted as being reprimanded or shamed by their peers and punished by their teachers. Shame was avoided by 'educated' behavior equated with moderation. Even in spaces other than the classroom, for example in the household, an educated child was expected to not talk more than necessary.[182] The

176 Samancı, "A la table du Sultan," 340–41.
177 Cit. from Samancı, 342.
178 Brunot, Fatin, 3.
179 Cit. from Deringil, Well-Protected Domains, 155–56.
180 Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man," 118; Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 48.
181 Naci, Tehzib-i Ahlak; Nazima, Oku, 10.
182 Rıfat, Hikayat-i Müntehabat, 13.

importance of moderation also extended to adults. A series of articles in the newspaper "Malumat" from 1895 depicted a long list of 'good manners'. Many of them concerned social intercourse, among others refraining from interrupting people, not laughing too much, or not showing too much sentiment in expression.[183]

Despite the fact that talking too much was generally deemed bad behavior, there was a certain gendered aspect to conversation manners. In encounters in the streets, for example, girls were particularly reminded to talk little, even more so when in the company of unknown—meaning non-related—people.[184] This was not only an Ottoman-Muslim concern. Demure behavior for women was also esteemed in other religious communities. A proverb in the Ladino community of Salonica stated: "The most respectable woman is she who speaks little".[185] And a Greek-language article from 1871 linked female demure behavior to a true education of the emotions rather than a 'superficial' etiquette. It stated that a women should not speak without measure and above all be modest, something that "cannot be obtained through any imitation, but is born through true and gentle feelings".[186]

A central aspect of 'good manners' (*adab*) or being 'well-educated' (*terbiyeli*) in the Hamidian period was further language, especially the ability to read and write. It was deemed central to be able to continue a process of education or refinement (*terbiye*).[187] "Learning to read and to write are everyone's biggest duties", as one schoolbook put it, who further presented it as necessary to establish a communicative integration of the population.[188] Language, especially the codification of an 'official language' as the medium of social integration, also became a major issue to many intellectuals of the period. Particularly the simplification of the written language by recourse to the dialect spoken in the imperial center was advocated.[189] Nonetheless, the state bureaucracy continued to use highly formulaic templates (*inşa*) for official letters until the early 20th century, which were also published as books and taught in schools.[190]

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183 N., "Adab-ı zarafet-i şarkiyet"; Georgeon, "Rire dans l'Empire ottoman?," 98.
184 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:44.
185 Cit. from Hadar, "Jewish Tobacco Workers," 135.
186 Cit. from Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 218.
187 Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man," 118; Fortna, Learning to Read, 1–40.
188 Hamid, Çocuk, 6.
189 Lewis, Turkish Language Reform, 13.
190 Neumann, "Whom Did Ahmed Cevdet," 117–18.

Special case of communicative action were laughter and humor. As in the newspaper article mentioned above, they were often portrayed as dangerous habits for social cohesion. A schoolbook wrote that *mizah* (satire, humor) was a bad character-trait, resulting out of the disposition to feel better than other persons, liking nobody and consisting of ridiculing the other persons. It would cause anger and resentment in other persons: "This then is satire (*mizah*); it is such a bad habit that it ends with fighting and the shedding of blood".[191] Similarly, another morality book admonished children that "making fun of other persons with the tongue and the hands is against good education and manners (*mugayir-i adab*)". This notion of humor and laughter being 'against good manners' was also present in other schoolbooks.[192]

Consequently, satirical magazines were banned throughout the period, even though they proliferated before and after Abdülhamid's reign. Yet humor was by no means absent in the period's culture: *Karagöz* plays and *meddah*-stories gained a new popularity in the Hamidian period. While allowing for a certain undermining of social and political hierarchies, they were tied to certain places and times. Their creation of a temporal subversive community thus could in practice reaffirm a hegemonic hierarchical order.[193]

Nonetheless, humor also shows some of the idiosyncrasies of Hamidian conceptions of manners. As mentioned above, laughter and making fun of other persons were presented as 'normal' when expressed by a social group and occasioned by undesired behavior. It appears that certain behavior or manners depended on the narrative for legitimacy. They were reprimanded when arising out of an individual sense of superiority, or when engaged in a 'normal' conversation. Yet they appeared as legitimate social practice when occasioned by wrong individual behavior. Individuals had to employ balance and moderation, while social acts transgressing this moderation were frequently depicted, not condemned, and played an important part in the regulation of individual behavior.

Fashion and dress were another case of the Hamidian 'navigation of manners'. They were probably the most important material marker of manners and good behavior of the period. The industrial production of clothing had enabled fashion in a temporal as well as social sense and

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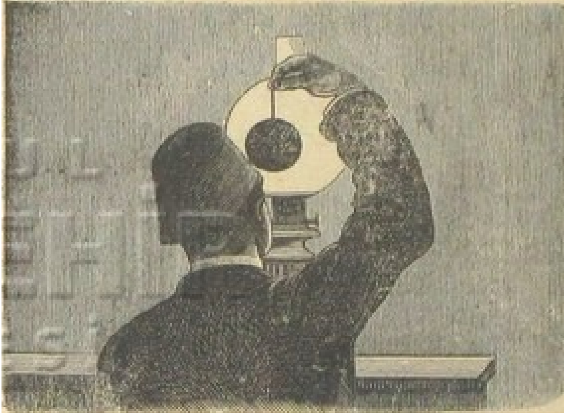
191 Şemseddin, Malumat-ı lazime, 26.
192 Cit. from Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:44–45; Hami Paşa, Vezaif-i Etfal, 62–63.
193 Brummett, Image and Imperialism; Georgeon, "Rire dans l'Empire ottoman?"

affected people on a much larger scale than ever before. While it met with local trajectories of cultural change, practices and codes of clothing changed considerably throughout the 19th century at least in the large cities of the empire, with an acceleration towards the *fin-de-siècle*.[194] Traditionally, Ottoman fashion had in its basic elements not distinguished between men and women, whose difference had been expressed exclusively in headgear and accessories. It was only in the 19th century that a fundamental difference between the clothing of the genders appeared, together with a system of mass fashion based on increased capabilities of production, distribution, and consumption.[195]

Clothing manners were directed at a diverse audience and were also closely intertwined with state policy. In 1829, Mahmud II had passed a regulation on the attire that the state required its servants to wear, specifying the clothing and headgear of the varying ranks of civil and religious officials. The regulation sought to replace ancient community ties and occupational signs of differentiation by dress with a homogenizing status marker—the *fez*—that placed the state at the center of Ottoman life as the sole arbiter of identity. At the same time, it sought to satisfy European standards of uniformity and 'civilized' appearance.[196] This transition towards a universal state dress did not work smoothly and many differences in clothing still persisted. Nonetheless, the *fez* came to be a strong marker of Ottoman identity, especially in the long run. Ottoman Jews could employ it prominently even in exile when they wanted to mark their 'Ottomanness', and the new Republic of Turkey soon replaced it with European-style hats because of the *fez's* identification with the empire.[197] The *fez* also featured in popular scientific books of the period to mark the pictured male individuals as Ottoman, through an addendum to what were most often European drawings.

194 Micklewright, "London, Paris, Istanbul"; Haller, "Mode Macht Körper," 188–89.
195 Jirousek, "Transition to Mass Fashion," 201-07; Os, "National Dress," 291–99.
196 Quataert, "Clothing Laws."
197 Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 303; Esenbel, "Anguish of Civilized Behavior," 169.



Experiment illustrating the movement of the Moon. From Cenabi 1314: 6.

"Lithography". From Şükrü 1322: 31.

The adoption of Western fashions, against that, was derided and served as a point of delineation. The mentioned *züppe*, the overly Westernized male individual, was characterized by its infatuation with European-style clothing. His fashion choices were directly linked to the financial ruin of individuals and even whole families.[198] The detrimental effects of European-style clothing were also discussed by non-Ottoman-Turkish writers. In 1871, a Greek-language newspaper wrote that 'fashion' were primarily a European trait, contradicting Hellenic traditions and culture. It stated that "this corrupting illness is not ours. Europe has given it to us".[199] Similarly, the Arab intellectual Isa Iskender Maluf (1869-1956) warned in a speech, delivered in 1902 in Beirut, against fashion and "adopting that which does not go with our taste and is not of the nature of our country", something that he described as 'Europeanization' (*tafarnuj*) and 'false civilization' (*al-tamaddun al-kadhib*).[200]

Despite this delineation against 'Europe', a practice of cultural navigation was often preferred to a simple insistence on native tradition, at least among Ottoman-Turkish authors addressing an internal audience. Ebüzziya Tevfik, the prominent publisher and journalist, dedicated a long article in his paper to the question of "Clothing Manners" (*adab-i telebbüs*) in 1897. He wrote that every people, just like the 'Ottoman people' (*akvam-i osmaniye*), had possessed their own tradition of clothing for a long time. In recent decades, however, this had changed. Different countries came to

198 Mardin, "Super Westernization"; Hazık, Terbiye, 25.
199 Cit. from Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 217.
200 Cit. from Abou-Hodeib, "Taste and Class," 481.

adopt a uniformity of dress, uniting all 'civilized people' (*akvam-i mütemeddin*). This also affected the Ottomans, since "we don't live in our own world anymore…We can be counted among the civilized societies and are therefore obliged to conform to certain dress codes". Ebüzziya stated that people will accuse him as *alafranga*, but that his goal was simply the 'safety' (*emniyet*) of the empire. He declared to not favor European dress, but rather qualified 'civilized' clothing by reference to its functionality, meaning keeping their wearer warm and allowing limb mobility.[201] This insistence on the practicality of clothing over its aesthetic quality in the name of 'civilization' united Ebüzziya with other writers of the period.[202]

While notions of proper clothing were addressed to both genders, they acquired a special character in the case of women. The evolution of fashion cuts had bound especially female bodies and fashion together, turning them into central sites of social differentiation and political competition in many countries of the later 19th century.[203] In the Ottoman Empire, a distinctly gendered discussion on fashion (*moda*) had emerged already in the 1870s. Discussions in the Hamidian times added some distinct medical aspects to it. Mehmet Hazik, for instance, stated that *moda* would bring all sorts of damages to the female body, spread microbes and illness in the household, and damage the family's wealth. He attributed these harmful fashions to Europeans and underlines the societal damage of fashion.[204] A similar discourse was also present somewhat earlier in the Greek-language press. Replies to the already cited article from 1871 argued with reference to a medical discourse that European fashion would impede Orthodox women both morally and bodily, to the degree that fashion would ease the spread of tuberculosis.[205]

The debate over female fashion was, at its core, a debate over morals, social order, and women's place within society.[206] Just like today, the question of female attire acquired a special quality in the Muslim community, where it also engaged women writers. Fatma Aliye (1862–1936), the daughter of the famous historian Ahmed Cevdet (1822-1895) and protege of Ahmed Midhat, discussed the issue of female clothing in Islam extensively in her book "Nisvan-i İslam" from 1892, later

201 Tevfik, "Adab-i Telebbüs."
202 Midhat, Sağlık, 21; Rasim, Küçük Hıfzıssıhha, 7–9.
203 Haller, "Mode Macht Körper," 201-04.
204 Hazık, Terbiye, 24–37.
205 Cit. from Exertzoglou, "Cultural Uses of Consumption," 92–93.
206 Brummett, Image and Imperialism, 252; Seni, "La Mode et Le Vêtement." See for this also Göle, The Forbidden Modern.

translated into French and Arabic. Set within a fictional conversation of three Ottoman-Muslim and three French women in Istanbul, Fatma Aliye openly critiques Orientalist notions of the 'suppressed Islamic women', yet nonetheless stresses differences between Ottoman and European attire.[207] Addressing both an internal and external audience, she resorted to a navigation of manners in the name of moderation:

> *"According to the Sharia, women are required to cover their hair but not to veil their faces. Some of our women, however, reverse this, veil their faces and do not cover their hair. In short, we have no middle. It is as if we do not know which side to take. Nevertheless, excess and deficiency in everything is bad. It is necessary to be moderate (itidal) in every circumstance".*[208]

Fatma Aliye's own position towards the veil was definitely more complicated—she had photographs taken of herself without it—yet her insistence on 'own' manners was also noticeable in other authors of the period. Even exiled opposition circles insisted on an Ottoman difference from European manners in their campaigns for women's rights and attire.[209] This idiosyncrasy can also be detected in Halit Ziya's (1866-1945) novel "Aşk-i Memnu", where the upper middle-class living style of the protagonist family is sometimes taken to show "how closely European tastes had penetrated into at least upper-class Istanbul society".[210] Yet at the same time, the novel features a prominent veiling scene of one protagonist and the detailed descriptions of female clothing betray a mixing of different styles according to situation.[211]

A somewhat eclectic style of clothing seems to have been present also in social practice. In spite of the perceived craze for *alafranga* clothing by bureaucrats, many used traditional types of jackets (*hırka*) together with European-style trousers.[212] Elite women preferred a similar syncretic style, with Ottoman-style gowns being embellished with a sleeve or collar according to European patterns. This syncretism was especially obvious in wedding gowns.[213] It is also noteworthy that the

207 Aliye, Nisvan-i Islam, 172–282.
208 Transcription from Demirhan, "Female Muslim Intellectuals," 12.
209 Os, "International Council of Women," 20–21. On the late Ottoman debate on veiling, see also Göle, The Forbidden Modern, 27–56.
210 Finn, The Early Turkish Novel, 156.
211 Seviner, "Burden of the White Shawl"; Heß, "Aufreizende Verbote."
212 Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 281.
213 Faroqhi, "Consumption and Elite Status," 52; Ramsay, Everyday Life in Turkey, 117; Micklewright, "Ottoman Wedding Costumes."

Hamidian period saw the emergence of distinctively new style in Muslim female clothing. The traditional *ferace*, a long coat that was worn together with a *yaşmak* covering the face and head, diversified in style and cuts. Since its newer forms were deemed to be against Islamic customs of female covering (*tesettür*), imperial decrees forbid the *ferace* and favored the *çarşaf*, a black one-piece covering both head and shoulders until the waist. Even the *çarşaf*, however, soon was adapted to newer cuts and fashions.[214]

Manners, concerning social interaction or clothing choices, were often understood as the practical application of morals and values. Engaging with a transnational discourse of 'civilization' and European disdain towards 'Oriental' manners, Ottoman writers of the Hamidian period favored a 'navigation of manners', often characterized by the value of 'moderation' (*itidal*). Adapting elements of 'civilized' behavior and in the process changing local practices, manners served to delineate the 'own' community from a hyperreal Europe, attain external legitimacy for an 'Ottoman way of life', and internally structure the own community by recourse to notions of 'good' or 'bad' behavior. As alluded to in the context of 'fashion' and dress, this also included the regulation of bodily practices by recourse to a medical discourse. The next chapter will take a closer look at this last point.

2.3 The Virtuous Body as a Healthy Body

The late 19th century saw the beginning of a rapid increase in the human life span, at least and at first in industrialized countries. It was one of the most significant processes of the century and is often attributed either to advances in medicine and sanitation, better nourishment, or new public health measures. Connected to the rise of medical and life sciences, it was also a global, albeit unequal phenomenon. Scientists like Robert Koch (1843-1910) or Louis Pasteur (1822-1895) were not only being widely read, but also influenced social practices in places from Nicaragua to the Ottoman Empire. They further were themselves actors in public health policies, often in colonial settings. Robert Koch influenced town planning in the German East African colonies, while the Pasteur institute, founded 1887 in Paris to spread its founder's microbe theory, soon opened up

214 Tezcan, "Ferace"; Türkoğlu, "Çarşaf"; Inal, "Women's Fashions in Transition," 269.

dependencies from Tunis to Saigon. Establishing cleanliness as the highest priority, the medical advances of the late 19th century created a *homo hygienicus* as its human model, which united body and self in a moral-medical framework.[215]

From the beginning of the 19th century, the professionalization and institutionalization of the medical disciplines also took root in the Ottoman Empire. Some of the first institutions of higher non-military education established by the state were medical schools, due to their military importance. Legal frameworks soon followed, delineating medicine from traditional forms of healing and regulating the numbers and certificates of physicians and pharmacists. Hygienic concerns over the spread of epidemics, especially in the context of pilgrimages, also led to the participation of Ottoman delegates at the "International Sanitary Conferences" from 1851 onward.[216] Hygiene further came to occupy a central role in public discourse and state policies, with an increased institutionalization from the 1880s. It involved not only Ottoman or state actors. After founding an own bacteriological institute in 1887, the Istanbul Cholera epidemic of 1893 led Abdülhamid to personally invite physicians from the Parisian Pasteur Institute to bolster public health in the empire.[217]

As elsewhere in the world throughout the 19th century, traditional Ottoman concepts of health, cleanliness, and hygiene were reconceptualized through contact with medical sciences. While abstracting the individual body somewhat from individual character, this did not mean a separation of health and hygiene from moral discourses. While good character did no longer engender health by itself, moral qualities and manners informed by medical discourses did, such as cleanliness and hygiene. Further, the framework for the individual healthy body was increasingly the hygienic collective of the political community.[218] State actions directed at public health were thus complemented by individual action, with the individual hygienic discipline contributing to the

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215 Conrad, German Colonialism, 129–30; Osterhammel, Transformation of the World, 170–77; Moulin, "La médecine ottomane"; Sarasin, "The Body as Medium." The primacy of the life sciences and medicine during the second half of the 19th century can also be grasped by the pervasive use of bodily metaphors in the period's social sciences. See Levine, "Organism Metaphor."

216 Ersoy, Gungor, and Akpinar, "International Sanitary Conferences"; Sarıyıldız, "Osmanlılar'da Hıfzıssıhha."

217 Rasimoğlu, "Physicians in the Nineteenth Century," 26–79; Moulin, "La médecine ottomane."

218 For the case of Egypt, see Fahmy, "Medicine and Power." For China, see Hu, "Travel and Transformation."

progress of the political community.[219]

The importance of hygiene and health in a moral framework with societal goals in the Hamidian period can, as usual, best be inferred from the period's schoolbooks. In a language primer from 1904, written by one Hamid, the readers are presented to the model student Arif,

> *"Everybody knows [Arif] at school. The teachers love him more than the other children. When Arif goes to the school every morning, he washes his face and brushes his clothes. By the time [he comes to school], he is very clean and his beautiful face is seen at the door of the school. Arif is the youngest of his class. Arif is hardworking. Every year, he is the first of his class and receives gilded books as a price. He handles his tasks/duties (vazife) with care....His father loves Arif very much. Together with working for his classes, at recess small Arif also chooses very well those games that are beneficial to his body. In the school, Arif is the best of those who do gymnastics. He feeds his body. He does not harm his money and his body by eating fast food. Dear children! You must also work to be like Arif, to be one with good character (huy)".*[220]

As becomes apparent in the story, the care of the body and cleanliness are interwoven with other duties and moral qualities of the person. Health and hygiene were thus included in a moral discourse that emphasized duties, implicitly and explicitly, to society. The discourse on health had further broad semantics, in that it not only included aversion of sickness, but also an encouragement of healthy practices. This included recommendations of certain foods and drinks, but also an emphasis on the strengthening of the body via gymnastics and sports. The health discourse was further interwoven with emotions. Especially telling is how bodily discipline and hygiene were linked to social emotional rewards, such as love from the family or the political community, the last exemplified in the case of Arif by his teachers. And finally, only partially included in the narrative above, notions of health were also gendered. While female health was seen as important primarily because of their capacity to bear children, women were also charged with the provision of a hygienic and healthy environment in the family household.

Cleanliness (*nezafet, tanzifat, taharet*), both moral and bodily, was and still is of course a central Islamic value and requirement before ritual prayer. Frequent and ritual washing further has social,

219 Mossensohn, "Health as a Social Agent"; Gilbert, "Public Medicine," 43; Rasimoğlu, "Physicians in the Nineteenth Century," 12–15; Fahmy, "Medicine and Power.".

220 Hamid, Çocuk, 15.

material, and spiritual elements to it.[221] This trajectory was consciously taken up by writings of the Hamidian period. A morality book for girls filed the admonition to "keep your body and your clothes clean" under "religious manners" (*adab-i diniye*). Books on hygiene also included ritual washing as healthy practices and used it to illustrate the importance of hygiene and health.[222] Yet the semantic net of the values of cleanliness changed. Hygiene and maintenance of health were increasingly conceptualized not so much as individual duties towards God, but duties that would benefit the progress and happiness (*saadet*) of society.[223] Further, the emotional rewards regarding cleanliness were decidedly social. The Koranic Surah 9:108 states that Allah "loves the purifiers". While this latter motivation was still somewhat present, in Hamidian schoolbooks a clean child was rather depicted as loved by its teachers and family and portrayed as a model for its peers, as in the example of Arif cited above.

Such models served to transmit the values of health and hygiene. They were especially directed at children. As Ahmed Midhat wrote in a book from 1887 simply called "Health" (Sağlık): "Everyone has to take care of their health, but children above all".[224] As so often, the schools were seen as a central place for learning such values. While the "General Edict on Education" of 1869 had not included hygiene as a subject to be taught in the empire's schools, later regulations of the Hamidian period featured it prominently. One from 1893 stated that schools were to instruct children in the "duties of people against themselves", which included to "look after your body (cleanliness, contentment, balance)".[225] Schoolbooks and popular scientific publications on health and hygiene multiplied during the period. Health thus entered the broader discourse on duties and virtues discussed above and was in most schoolbooks portrayed as an individual duty that "one must perform".[226]

As already expressed in the figure of Arif above, boys and girls were instructed to wash their head, face, and arms first thing in the morning. Only afterwards should they greet their parents, eat their

221 Çağrıcı, "Temizlik"; Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 59.
222 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 2:10.
223 Ömer, Hıfz-ı Sıhhat, 3–5; Fahri Paşa, Hıfzıssıhhat; Emin Yurdakul, Adab-ı Muaşeret, 10–11; Rıza, İlm-i Ahlak, 24; Mossensohn, "Health as a Social Agent," 170.
224 Midhat, Sağlık, 3.
225 Cevad, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, 247, 266; Albayrak and Şeker, Osmanlı Eğitiminde Modernleşme, 170; Ergin, Türkiye Maarif Tarihi, 1187.
226 Fahri Paşa, Hıfzıssıhhat, 2.

food, and then go to school. Some books also included instructions to open the windows in the morning to ease air circulation.[227] Keeping clean and healthy was connected to social approval and disapproval via emotions. As Ahmed Rasim wrote in a schoolbook: "Everyone hates a dirty kid, nobody loves him…Those who see you clean will love you".[228] Again, duties were not opposed to emotions, but ingrained with them. Hygienic discipline and bodily practices were not only rewarded by individual health, but were also a means to be integrated into a community by way of communal love.

To clean their whole body, children were often admonished to go to the *hamam* (public bath) at least once a week. Indoor *hamam* built in the early modern period were sometimes destroyed in the urban reform projects of the Ottoman cities in the mid-19th century, as they were seen as not sufficiently sanitary and 'civilized' by urban planners.[229] Yet the hygienic discourse of the Hamidian period again integrated them as acceptable sites of cleanliness, while somewhat transforming them in the process. The rising popularity of *deniz hamamları* (sea baths) in Istanbul was a good example for this. Consisting of wooden houses built up for the summer on the Bosporus, both public and private sea baths significantly increased in numbers towards the end of the 19th century. They were regulated by the state and had to differentiate according to gender as well as bar the entrance to drunk and 'vulgar' persons. They were extolled by medical writers and schoolbooks of the period for their health and moral benefits. Again, Sultan Abdülhamid was depicted as a model and said to frequent his private sea bath on the Bosporus daily.[230] Increasingly popular, also thanks to increases in public transportation, sea baths became a material site in which traditional institutions, modern medical discourses, and social practices met in the late 19th century.

Further, as mentioned in the story of Arif, health and hygiene had a rather wide semantic meaning. This was also noticeable in other schoolbooks, particularly those dealing with the subject of health (*hıfzısıhha*). One listed a wide array of practices as being beneficial, among them: "not finding

227 Şemseddin, Malumat-ı lazime, 3; Hamid, Çocuk, 14; Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:17; Azmi Bey, İlk Kıraat Kitabi, 4; Rasim, Küçük Hıfzıssıhha, 23–26. A strict hygienic routine, similar to the prescriptions in the books, was practiced at the Darülaceze, the Ottoman poor house founded in 1895 in Istanbul. Yıldırım, "Darülaceze'de Çocuk Bakımı," 27.

228 Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 32–33.

229 Ergin, "Modernity, Identity and the Turkish Bath."

230 Anastassiadou-Dumont, "Les bains de mer"; Cemal, Deniz Hamamı Risalesi; Kamil, Hıfzıssıhhat Dersleri, 25–32.

yourself in unsuitable relations to you parents, not eating this and that unnecessary or even harmful thing, going to sleep and getting up at its proper time, learning how to live orderly (*müntezim*), read and write, be cautious of vices (*fena huylar*)".[231] A frequent admonition was further that unmoral behavior, like laziness (*tenbellik*), lead to illness.[232] Health also included basic bodily practices. Children were advised to always sit and stand in a methodical and regular (*usullu*) way to stay healthy.[233]

Books on hygiene further included sections detailing issues of drink and food. It was usually seen as important to eat and drink regularly and at fixed times, a point stressed by several writers.[234] The connection of punctuality and food was also present in the Greek-language press. An article from 1871 stated that meals should always be served at the same time.[235] Ottoman Turkish books further included admonitions to not have dirty hands or a dirty mouth when eating, while others included rules on how to keep the table clean.[236] Hygienic instructions were also given regarding the preparation of food. Book sections informed how to sterilize or clean kitchen utensils and ingredients, how to make sure that the water did not included bacteria, or how to determine the edibility of eggs. Readers were often also instructed to keep a refrigerator or at least some ice in the house, in order to store food and keep it fresh.[237]

Concerning drink, most writers of the period extolled water. The notion that water was a "human's natural drink" was repeated in many books. Coffee and tea were also accepted as suitable drinks, especially in the morning, although their stimulative character made them somewhat suspicious.[238] The consumption of alcohol was wholeheartedly condemned. While some authors referenced the Islamic religious prohibition, the main argument usually relied on its damages to health. Some authors also referenced the European drinking customs, yet delegitimized them by stating that even European doctors would acknowledge the dangers of alcohol. A *hıfzısıhha* schoolbook, for

231 Fahri Paşa, Hıfzıssıhhat, 2.
232 Midhat, Sağlık, 28.
233 Azmi Bey, Elifba, 44; N., Elifba-ı Osmani, 22.
234 Hazık, Terbiye, 59–60; Midhat, Sağlık, 11–13.
235 Cit. from Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 216.
236 Midhat, Sağlık, 11–13; Rıfat, Tedbir-i Menzil, 30–33.
237 Fahri Paşa, Hıfzıssıhhat, 38–39, 62–63, 69; Rıfat, Tedbir-i Menzil, 84–86.
238 Fahri Paşa, Hıfzıssıhhat, 73; Midhat, Sağlık, 16. See for examples of the practice of drinking water in the Ottoman Empire Garnett, Home Life in Turkey, 15–16; Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 292.

example, mentioned European and American efforts to curb alcohol consumption and the restrictions put into effect in Sweden.[239] The problem of alcohol was also addressed in other genres of the period. An economics book, for example, included alcohol among its items of "harmful consumption" and stated at the end that staying away from intoxicating substances was an economic duty, since they would decrease productivity and work.[240] It is interesting to note how the evasion of alcohol was understood as a poly-semantic duty, while the religious prohibition was downplayed and the well-known Christian intake of alcohol delegitimized by appealing to a medical discourse.

Another important aspect of hygiene was good food intake. This both concerned the food selection and the manner of eating. In the story of Arif above, his laudable qualities also included good nurturing. Mehmet Hazik wrote that teachers should instruct children to always eat seasonal, "basic and natural" foods, for these foodstuffs would be "both delicious and cost little money". Eating bad things, or "junk food" (*abur cubur*) would lead to digestive problems and bodily harm. Some authors also stated the moral harm of sugary food.[241] Like alcohol, tobacco and other intoxicant substances were strongly condemned. According to Ahmed Midhat, tobacco was both for children and adults "the worst thing that exists". It was further said to ruin female beauty.[242]

As becomes apparent in the last citation, there were also gender differences with regard to health, even though many schoolbooks addressed both boys and girls. This concerned especially women's reproductive facilities, since the growth of population was one of the main Ottoman policy goals of the period.[243] Practically, medical care of mothers increased in the Hamidian period, with Besim Ömer (1862-1940), a medical doctor, founding the first Ottoman maternity clinic in 1892. He also published extensively on the process of birth and on female health.[244] These institutions were most concerned with the hygienic situation many women of the large cities faced in the period.[245]

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239 Rasim, Küçük Hıfzıssıhha, 6, 58–59; Fahri Paşa, Hıfzıssıhhat, 73–78.
240 Nazif Süruri, Gencine Servet, 117.
241 Hazık, Terbiye, 59–60; Emin Yurdakul, Adab-ı Muaşeret, 7.
242 Midhat, Sağlık, 17–18. See for the dangers of tobacco also Rasim, Küçük Hıfzıssıhha, 60–61; Hazık, Terbiye, 23–25. The dangers of Tobacco were even mentioned in schoolbooks for very young children. See N., Elifba-ı Osmani, 30.
243 Dursun, "Procreation, Family and 'Progress'"; Balsoy, Politics of Reproduction.
244 Ulman, "Besim Omer Akalin"; Maksudyan, "Ottoman Women's Organizations," 114.
245 See for initiatives concerning public health below, chapter 4.3 and 4.4.

Besides medical care, female self-care of a healthy body was a frequent topic of literature both in and outside of schools. In general, female standards of beauty seemed to favor 'healthy' and stout women. Ahmed Midhat, in his novel "Müşahedat", depicted a women he describes as the epitome of beauty. She is said to possess "taut wide hips and strong arms, which her dress was unable to cover".[246] Too much female care for the body was eyed with suspicion. Being too fond of one's body (*tenperverlik*) or 'adorning' (*süslenmek*) oneself too much were often presented as unhealthy vices. In the medical literature, upper-class women were further frequently presented as being guilty of *tenperverlik* and accused that because of this, they would not want to have children.[247]

Women were also singled out in a third way. In their roles as mothers and providers of reproductive work, they held a special responsibility in educating their children in manners of healthy living, caring for the sick, and in procuring healthy conditions in the household. The women's press was replete with articles on the etiology and treatments of diseases like smallpox and tuberculosis, references to proper washing of clothes and setting clean tables, as well securing clean conditions for small children in the household. Many of these articles and books clearly followed a then quite recent bacteriological approach.[248]

The moral discourse on health, linked by values like 'cleanliness', allowed for a significant hierarchy and stratification, especially for differences among the genders. This also held somewhat true for another aspect of health and hygiene. As in other societies of the later 19th century, particularly imperial Germany, the Ottoman Empire also saw a growing importance attached to the training of the body. This physical education was deemed to assist in the maintenance of health, as well as train productive facilities.[249] Nonetheless, physical education had a slow start in schools. The Education Edict of 1869 had stipulated that all middle schools should offer classes of *riyazet-i bedeniyye* (gymnastics). Yet this was initially little implemented outside of military and special

246 Midhat, Müşahedat, 14; Çolak, "Portraits of Women," 144. The novel is composed in an intriguing way: Midhat claims it to be a "naturalist" novel and to depict "real life" in his introduction. He even appears with his name as one of the protagonists. It is nonetheless just as pedagogic in the depiction of an "ideal" Ottoman Society as most of his other writings. Saraçoğlu, "Ahmed Midhat's Müşahedat," 33–37.

247 Demirci and Somel, "Women's Bodies," 390; Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:27. On *tenperverlik* as a vice prohibiting productive work, see also Nuri, Gayrete teşvik, 2; Zeki, Mukaddime-i gayret, 17–18.

248 Frierson, "State, Press, and Gender," 158; Altın, "Rationalizing Everyday Life," 83–94; Ömer, Hıfz-ı Sıhhat. See for a more thorough discussion of hygienic practices in the household chapter 4.4.

249 Dinçkal, "Arbeit, Leibesübungen und Rationalisierungskultur."

government schools, such as the *Galatasaray* and the *Darüşşafaka*. It became more widespread during the Hamidian period, with schoolbooks regularly referencing the benefits of physical educations.[250] It serves to recall that the model student Arif mentioned above was also notable for his prowess in physical education and strengthening his body.

Further, specialized books appeared, most often addressing boys and young men. An important figure was Ali Faik Bey (1858-1942), a teacher at the *Galatasaray* heavily influenced by the German tradition of *Leibesübungen*. He linked physical education to health, a betterment of morality, and increased happiness (*saadet, mesrur*) of its practitioners. The foreword to his book, written by a teacher at the Infantry college, further tied bodily exercises to the "progress" of working powers and military ability.[251] Economic writers concurred. Münif Pasha (1830-1910) wrote in a treatise on economics from 1884 that the body of persons should be well-treated, since it were the "mount" (*matiyya*) of the soul and the primary provider of power for work.[252] Physical education was also subject to hegemonic values: Rıza Tevfik wrote in an article from 1899 that the value of 'moderation' was also important in physical education.[253] Several books further connected physical education to religious practices, equating for example Muslim prayers with exercise and highlighting its health benefits.[254] Nonetheless, a medical and 'civilizational' frame was most pervasive. Schoolbooks featured illustrations of movements and contrasted trained to untrained bodies. Gymnastics were further included in the external representation of the empire: photographs of training students formed part of the albums of Abdülhamid sent out to foreign heads of state. The students of the photographs were, however, invariably male.

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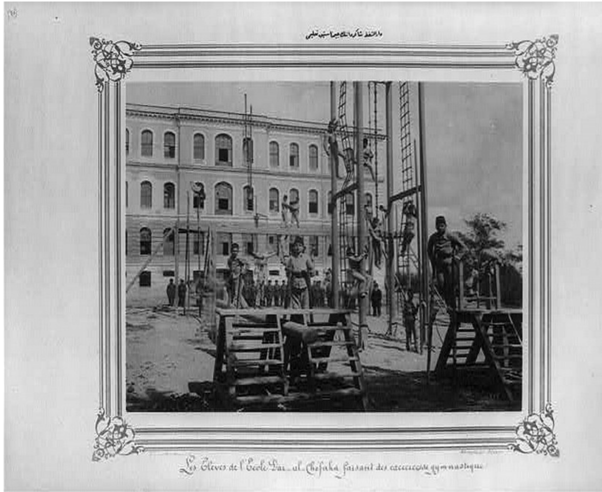
250 Cevad, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, 416; Dever, "Beden Eğitimi," 161–62; Hami Paşa, Vezaif-i Etfal, 41. There is no satisfactory history of physical education in the late Ottoman Empire yet. Most literature still ties it closely to the emergence of a narrowly understood Turkish nationalist movement after 1908, which is evidently not the case. Lüküslü and Dinçşahin, "Shaping Bodies Shaping Minds," 202; Berkes, Development of Secularism, 402; Alemdaroglu, "Politics of the Body," 64–65.

251 Faik, Jimnastik yahud, Riyaziyet-i bedeniye; Dever, "Beden Eğitimi," 161–62.

252 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 58.

253 Altın, "Rationalizing Everyday Life," 55–56.

254 Altın, 50–65.



Gymnastic exercises, Darüssafaka, Album of Abdülhamid II.

A smith's arm and the arm of a person not engaging in physical education. From Şükrü 1906/07: 218

From the 1890s onward, physical education was further extended to women, albeit with the different goal of enhancing their reproductive capabilities. In the press, articles admonished female city dwellers to engage in physical education, since they would engage in much less natural bodily activity than women in the countryside. The stated goal was healthy potential mothers.[255] Female morality books further came to advocate gymnastics as a way to prepare for female work in the household.[256] While Ottoman writings usually placed female gymnastics inside the house, this was different in some female missionary schools. Building on the Orientalist discourse that Eastern women's bodies were "fat, unhealthy, uncontrolled and in need of Western help", the American College for Girls (ACG) in Istanbul required from 1892 all students to take courses in calisthenics and exercise outside every day.[257]

The activation of the body present in the discourse on physical education was not total. The concepts of rest and ease (*rahat, istirahat*) could include an individual and social yet mostly metaphysical state of rest or ease, and had been often used in bureaucratic documents of the *Tanzimat* to denote an outcome and positive product of public order (*asayiş*).[258] Also mentioned as a goal of moral behavior in earlier morality books, such understandings were still present in texts

255 Nazim, "Kadınlar," 4.
256 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:25.
257 Kahlenberg, "Gospel of Health," 156–58.
258 Reinkowski, "Notions of Order," 200.

towards the end of the century.[259] Increasingly, however, rest acquired a more individual and bodily meaning in the schoolbooks of the Hamidian period. Humans were deemed to need rest since work or learning in school tired them. Hence, they needed a necessary period to recuperate the powers of learning and working, which led to rest becoming a central part of 'bodily education' (*terbiye-i bedeniye*) in some books.[260] It was further directly connected to a medical discourse, in that a person without rest was depicted as easily falling ill.[261] This medical and individual interpretation of rest also informed policies. From 1868 onward school days were organized in one hour blocks, with pupils allotted four hours of rest and recreation during the day. This was being legitimized by reference to both health concerns and educational success.[262]

The Hamidian period saw an increasing emphasis on practices and values referencing a medical discourse on health. Together with a rising preoccupation over public health, this encompassed a focus on individual healthy practices. Based on, as well as transforming traditional notions of cleanliness and hygiene, care of the body and values of hygiene were connected to other duties and moral qualities of the individual 'good' person. As exemplified by model individuals like the schoolboy Arif, broadly understood notions of health and hygiene thus formed part of a gendered moral discourse that emphasized individual duties, implicitly and explicitly to society. They were further rewarded by strong positive emotions and the integration into a 'feeling' political community.

At the same time, the increasing importance of medical and biological sciences for this discourse also included a societal vanguard role for physicians with regard to the elevation of this community and its moral fabric.[263] This was not singular to medicine. Scientific subjects, particularly the natural sciences, came to the forefront of Ottoman public debate in the course of the 19th century. This also included an increasing focus on the practitioners of the sciences, which, privileged by the empire's educational reforms, assumed an ever more visible and active role in public life.

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259 Rıf'at Paşa, Risale-i Ahlak, 13; Remzi, Hoca Hanım, 25; Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:10; Hamid, Çocuk, 9.

260 Hazık, Terbiye, 75; Hami Paşa, Vezaif-i Etfal, 5; Midhat, Sağlık, 26. See on the issue of rest in the context of work also below, chapter 3.2.

261 Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 58.

262 Güvenli, "Le temps de l'ècole," 324–26.

263 Mossensohn, "Health as a Social Agent"; Rasimoğlu, "Physicians in the Nineteenth Century."

2.4 Knowledge of the World: Science and Materialism

The increasing European economic, political, and military hegemony of the 19th century, its 'progress' and 'civilization', was deemed by many observers all over the world to be based on advances in science and technology.[264] Such notions were also widespread among Ottoman intellectuals and statesmen. Consequently, science and technology were on the forefront of Ottoman education reform projects since the early 19th century. A vanguard role was played by military applications, be it in medicine or engineering, which formed the basis of the first institutions of higher learning from the late 18th century onward. Further, some of the first journals appearing in the Ottoman language in the 1860s were devoted to the translation, transmission, and investigation of scientific knowledge.[265] Science and its education were, as Hoca Tahsin (1811-1881) proclaimed at the 1870 opening of the first Ottoman university, the *Darülfünun*, "the soul of civilization and the safeguard of the progress in general happiness".[266]

In many ways, the Hamidian era was a continuation of earlier 19th century developments. Nonetheless, some changes came to appear. While science and knowledge continued to be officially endorsed and widely disseminated in the schools and press, its connection to moral values came to be ever more present.. This encompassed particularly three areas. First, the value of knowledge (*ilim*) and its counterpart of ignorance (*cehalet*) were connected to the network of morals present in the period's schoolbooks, while the understanding of science was narrowed. Secondly, new debates emerged on the metaphysical implications of scientific knowledge in the form of popular materialism. And thirdly, the character of the practitioners of science came under scrutiny.

While debates sometimes made use of a divide between moral and material aspects of scientific progress, or postulated a division between religion and science, most authors in fact overcame such divisions by connecting notions of science, knowledge, and moral virtues. As will become

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264 Osterhammel, Transformation of the World, 808–11.
265 Aydin, The Politics of Anti-Westernism, 17; Aydin, "Medeniyet ve Bilim"; Ihsanoğlu, Science, Technology, and Learning.
266 Cit. from Ihsanoğlu, "Darülfünun Tarihçesine Giriş," 722.

apparent, science in the Hamidian era was narrowed in its meaning, seen as a means to achieve 'progress' of the empire, and was intimately connected to the formulation of a hierarchical and stratified Ottoman political community, particularly in debates on materialism.[267]

The value of knowledge (*ilim*) had a long history in the Islamic tradition, with sayings of the prophet elevating its pursuit to the rank of religious obligation (*farz*). It was further a central concept to the educational model of the *medrese*, the traditional religious institutions of learning, which continued an important role despite the growth of the empire's state schools.[268] It was additionally conceived of as a fundamental human trait, with knowledge seen as the outcome of reason and the ability to speak. As such, it was already linked to the education efforts of the *Tanzimat* period, as for example expressed by Sadık Rıfat.[269] Similar notions continued to be employed in the Hamidian period. This was best exemplified by the rather 'weak' hadith "seek knowledge (*ilim*) even unto China", often included in schoolbooks. Besides such clearly religious references, knowledge as a value was also in other contexts prominently included in the advocated system of morals.[270] Knowledge was in these contexts often seen as contributing to moral education. Ahmed Rasim wrote in a book for primary schoolchildren, in the question-answer format so common of the genre: "Do people become good in schools? Yes, they learn science (ilim) there. And science makes people good".[271]

The counter-concept to knowledge, ignorance (*cehalet*), similarly had a significant religious semantics. Its root was connected to *cahiliyet*, which denoted the period before the advent of Islam.[272] It acquired a decidedly social understanding in the Hamidian period. A common trope in schoolbooks was to compare 'ignorant' people (*cahil*) to trees that give no fruit, sometimes expressly stating that such people were not able to bring any profits to their people (*cins*). *Cahil* people were further excluded from the moral political community, since nobody would show them

267 Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 18–19; Yalçınkaya, "Muslim Contributions to Science," 272–73.
268 Terzioğlu, "Islamic Manuals of Religious Instruction"; Bein, "Religious Education."
269 Rıf'at Paşa, Risale-i Ahlak, 2–3.
270 See as an example Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:25; Davison, "Westernized Education," 289; Naci, Tehzib-i Ahlak; Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 44–47. I follow Nuri Doğan in (somewhat artificially) dividing the notions of science (ilm) from knowledge as a value (ilim). Both were written identically in Ottoman Turkish's Arabic script.
271 Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 59–60.
272 Fayda, "Cahiliye."

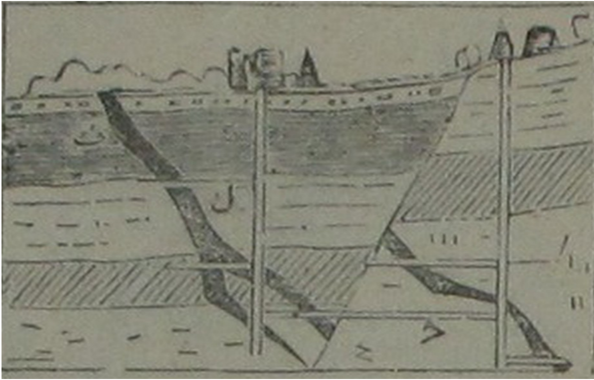
respect (*riayet*) or reverence (*hürmet*). They were also depicted as being frequently subject to shaming by their peers. Further, the vice of ignorance was also equated with the vice of laziness.[273] Learning and knowledge was against that presented as an individual duty that was emotionally rewarded by the peer group or society.[274]

Science and knowledge as concepts were, however, not a fixed entity in the Ottoman 19th century. This can be seen by the trajectory of the most used words for science, *ilm* and *fen,* often used interchangeably. The former often also denoted religious learning and connected knowledge to both morality and human relations, while the latter's semantics identified a more practical approach. Importantly, both could integrate knowledge and science into a moral-religious frame.[275] This was important for education institutions. Scientific education in mathematics and natural sciences had formed an important part of state school curricula since the *Tanzimat* reforms and continued to be emphasized. While schoolbooks in subjects such as history came under increased scrutiny in the Hamidian period, this was not so for scientific subjects. Scientific schoolbooks were deemed to not contain "anything which possibly could be in opposition to the principles of Islam", as the curriculum commission of 1880 stated.[276] Nonetheless, a debate on how and why to teach scientific subjects, as well as their exact content, increasingly changed the understanding of scientific knowledge in Hamidian schools. The perceived need for the education of future craftsmen and economic professionals led to an emphasis on practical uses of science. As a corollary, educators also came to favor the prominent inclusion of pictures and applications rather than the common instruction via texts.[277]

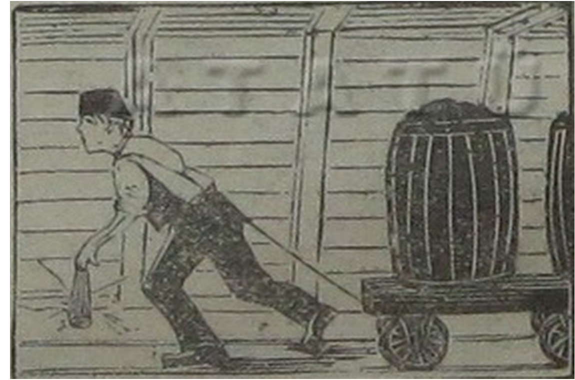
The schools followed suit. New courses, such as *malumat-ı nafia* (Useful Knowledge) or *ilm-i eşya* (Object Lessons), appeared on the curricula and came with special textbooks. These books mostly featured short texts with drawings, often of scientific knowledge next to their application in industry. While earlier books often simply taken over drawings from European sources, these were 'Ottomanized' through their attire. They also almost exclusively showed men. While special books

273 Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 45; N., Elifba-ı Osmani, 21. On laziness as a vice, see chapter 3.2.
274 Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 59–60.
275 Burçak, "Modernization, Science and Engineering," 69; Mardin, "The Just and the Unjust," 124; Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 13–14.
276 Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 173–85 Cit. 180; Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 153–54.
277 Emin Yurdakul, Adab-ı Muaşeret, 15–20.

were also published for use in female schools, these usually did not include practical applications in labor outside of the house.[278] The pictures and drawings led to a widening of the semantic network of science through pictorial representation, while at the same time narrowing its meaning. Scientific knowledge was appropriated in a gendered, 'practical', and 'Ottoman' manner within a framework of progress, civilization, and increased general happiness, as evident from the introduction of the book "Resimli İlm-i Eşya".[279]



Sediment Layers. From Şükrü 1322: 23.



Mine Worker. From Şükrü 1322: 23.

This 'Ottomanizing' and delineating was not as easy in more general discussions on science, particularly regarding the metaphysical and social implications of science. At stake was the question of what was to serve as a guiding principle for human life in general, but, more importantly, as the guiding principle for the Ottoman state and its population. Although Hamidian debates on science have often been framed as a conflict between implications drawn from the new natural sciences and established religion, most writers of the period in fact sought to fuse Islam with modern science. Writers such as Fatma Aliye or İsmail Hakkı (1869-1946), acknowledged the scientific superiority of 'Western' science, but nonetheless argued for (and constructed in the process) an own, often hybrid understanding of it.[280] Şemseddin Sami stated in 1883 that reconciling "religious texts with science writings" would be valuable. "Far from damaging religion, this would in fact greatly benefit it…The darkness of ignorance and fanaticism must be removed so that the light of knowledge and true religion may together illuminate and reinvigorate people's

278 Cenabi, İlm-i Eşya, birinci kısım; Cenabi, İlm-i Eşya, ikinci kısım; Cenabi, İlm-i Eşya, üçüncü kısım; Rıza, Malumat-ı Nafia: beşinci sene; Rıza, Malumat-ı Nafia: dördüncü sene; Şükrü, Resimli İlm-i Eşya.

279 Şükrü, Resimli İlm-i Eşya, 1–5.

280 Özervarlı, "Alternative Approaches."

minds and hearts".[281] A common trope of the period, also employed by Sami, was to show the compatibility of Islam and science by recourse to the blossoming of science in the Islamic 'Golden Age'.[282] It was also a transnational movement. Many Ottoman scientific authors were immigrants from Russian territories and analogous debates occurred in the Arab lands of the empire.[283] Debates on science can thus not be read along a dichotomy of 'religious' or 'secular', but as a site at which boundaries of the 'own' Ottoman community were drawn, often in moral terms. Particularly prominent here was the issue of Materialism.

The education reforms of the *Tanzimat* had also entailed sending students to study in Western European countries, particularly France, where they were exposed to local debates on materialism and positivism. Further, from the 1870s onward first translations of programmatic texts into Ottoman Turkish appeared, as well as articles critically assessing or refuting their propositions. Part of a wider interest in popular scientific literature on topics ranging from astronomy to the proper way of holding animals, the publishing of materialist literature gained traction in the Hamidian period.[284] A primary influence were German-language thinkers, especially Ludwig Büchner (1824-1899).[285] Büchner and other German-speaking materialists, nowadays best known through Marx's critique of their *Vulgärmaterialismus*, postulated the superior status of modern experimental science *vis-à-vis* metaphysical belief systems and a mechanistic reduction of mental phenomena to their chemical and anatomical basis.[286]

Yet despite their fame as moral nihilists, moral topics also featured in their writings. Büchner was a case in point. In his *magnum opus* "Kraft und Stoff", he stated: "The response to those questions [of morality] is quite directly bound to our scientific inquiry of natural philosophy and may be considered the keystone to all of it".[287] While mostly rejecting metaphysical legitimization of morality, his writings nonetheless engaged with metaphysical and moral statements. In a letter to a

281 Cit. from Kurzman, Modernist Islam, 1840-1940, 151; Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 194–97.
282 Akyiğitzade, Avrupa Medeniyeti; Kılınçoğlu, "Islamic Economics"; Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 163–65; Aydin, Idea of the Muslim World, 11.
283 Elshakry, Reading Darwin in Arabic.
284 Hanioğlu, A Brief History, 138; Hanioğlu, "Late Ottoman Materialists," 29; Mardin, "The Just and the Unjust," 124.
285 Utku and Köroğlu, "İlim ve İrade"; Maleckova, "Turkish Translations," 81–88.
286 Stoljar, "Physicalism."
287 Büchner, Kraft und Stoff, 192.

friend published in 1888, he wrote: "The goal [of our philosophy] has to be the bettering of the individual and the society in moral regard (…) and the establishment of a new religion of love and justice".[288]

Materialists like Büchner found their Ottoman readers especially among the students of institutions of higher education in Istanbul. These scientifically educated young men, be it in medicine or engineering, developed a self-conscious identity as a social vanguard that was informed by their readings. Yet they were also increasingly subject to scrutiny by more traditional Ottoman men and women of the pen. The 'materialist' man, who was brilliant in the new sciences but ignored the religion and values of his own society, came to accompany the *züppe* (fop) as a trope and an emblem of 'wrong Europeanization' in writings of the Hamidian period.[289] The connection of science and morality can be best illustrated by Beşir Fuad (1852-1887), decidedly influenced by Büchner and the poster-child of popular materialism among the Ottomans.

Fuad was born into a family of Caucasian refugees, and in his youth attended a Jesuit school in Aleppo. He finished his education in Istanbul and entered the army as an officer, where he stayed enlisted for several years, only beginning to write publicly after quitting the army in 1883. His output and impact within the last four years of his life were, however, quite remarkable. Most of his writings were dedicated to the dissemination of popular science, written on topics ranging from human anatomy to the solar system. They were frequently translations from European journals like "Science pour tous" and "Die Natur", while in other writings Fuad referenced thinkers such as Francis Galton (1822-1911) and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). His belief in the potential of sciences to raise the 'common welfare' of society led him to adopt a simple language for his writings and translations.[290] Similarly, the first issue of his journal "Güneş", founded in 1883, stated as its main goal to "acquaint the Ottoman youth to the usefulness of the sciences (*fevaid-i fünun*)".[291]

It was probably the mode of his death that made him most famous. In February 1887 he

288 Cit. from Hanioğlu, "Late Ottoman Materialists," 30.

289 Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 227; Strauss, "Printing and Publishing," 233; Martykánová, "Redefinition of Expert Identities"; Rasimoğlu, "Physicians in the Nineteenth Century," 203–22.

290 Maleckova, "Turkish Translations," 91; Arslan and Işıklar Koçak, "Agent of Change"; Hanioğlu, "Late Ottoman Materialists," 32–37. On his life, see Okay, "Beşir Fuad"; Okay, İlk Türk Positivist.

291 Fuad, "Mukaddime."

committed suicide in his house in Istanbul. Often said to have been planned in advance as a scientific experiment, it has also been claimed that he noted some signals of a beginning mental illness, which drove him to end his life on his own terms.[292] Whatever the reason, starting with the obituaries dedicated to him, he came to epitomize the confounded young scientist, whose death proved that over-zealous Europeanization, blind belief in science, and a disregard for religion and tradition led to death and destruction. While similar arguments interestingly persist to this day in the literature,[293] they contain a rather contestable reading of his arguments.

Fuad's ardent defenses of science should not be read as a direct attack on Islamic religion.[294] It was his journal "Güneş", in which Şemseddin Sami had published his text on the compatibility of science and religion cited above.[295] Just like Sami, Fuad also tended to regard science not as an end, but as a means. Far from rejecting all metaphysics, Fuad proclaimed scientific reasoning to be the basis for the ultimate goal: the knowledge of truth (*hakikat*). This truth attained in his writings a quasi-mystical and metaphysical character and clearly employed Sufi-terminology. In articles from 1886 he wrote that science investigated the truth, which "is a source of light, it resembles the sun", and that science would lead to both material and spiritual progress. He added that scientists, due to their comprehension of nature, were much closer than literati and religious scholars to a true understanding of "creative might".[296] He further conceptualized "love" directed at "truth" to be the main motivating factor for scientists. In a book on Voltaire, he praised Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Newton, Bacon, Descartes and Giordano Bruno as "lovers of truth" (*aşik-i hakikat*).[297] He also called himself a "lover" of science.[298]

This mystical understanding of science and truth was not lost on his contemporaries. The well-known Sufi-scholar Ahmed Hilmi (1865-1914) criticized Beşir Fuad for his misunderstanding of the true nature of the metaphysical truth, while Ahmed Hamdi Tanpinar (1901-1962), the great

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292 Hanioğlu, "Late Ottoman Materialists," 37; Poyraz, "Science versus Religion," 63–64.
293 Or, in light of the recent antagonism between many scientists and the Turkish government, maybe again seem to be needed in Turkey. See Oruç, "Beşir Fuad."
294 As does Poyraz, "Science versus Religion," 76–77.
295 Kurzman, Modernist Islam, 1840-1940, 149–51; Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 158–61.
296 Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 169–70.
297 Cit. from Poyraz, "Science versus Religion," 77.
298 Afacan, "Of the Soul and Emotions," 41.

historian of 19th century Ottoman literature, characterizes him in his magnum opus as a "mystic of science" (*ilim mistiği*).[299] It can be argued that rather than thinking in dualisms of religion and science, or material and spiritual aspects of civilization, Fuad combined such approaches within a metaphysical-spiritual framework. The goal of his writings was further clearly the progress of Ottoman society via an emphasis on scientific education leading to an elevation of public morality.[300] Connected to the rise of professional classes educated at the new state institutions of higher education, Fuad thus appears as an agent of change for these new social classes, adopting a vanguard role in the shaping of Ottoman society.

This did not sit well with many writers, literati, and classical bureaucratic elites of his day, something best exemplified by Ahmed Midhat's reaction depiction of Fuad. Even though he was a close friend and Fuad's farewell letter was addressed to him, Midhat soon portrayed Fuad as a 'lost soul', which had considerable talent but took it to unwelcome extremes. In his book published as a memoir in 1887, he wrote that "senseless (*bihude yere*) he led himself to rage and anger (*galeyan*)", whereas a true author should avoid writing texts that agitate the youth. Patriotism, according to Midhat, was best served by authors who simply provided sound information to young generations. An author should be a "hard worker of the world, a pursuer of religion, a lover of his country, grateful to his nation, and a servant of his state". Only this way his efforts would be beneficial for state and nation.[301] The question was hence for Midhat not necessarily a topical, but a personal one. Fuad was accused to fail in two of the most important tenets of orthodox morality in the Hamidian times: obedience and moderation.

Regarding the importance of scientific knowledge itself, there was little difference between Midhat and Fuad. Midhat had himself been accused as irreligious in the 1870s and actually been sent into exile in 1873 because of his Lamarckian biological writings. By the late 1870s, however, he returned and came to enjoy personal patronage of the new Sultan Abdülhamid, combining science and Islam in his writings.[302] When Midhat translated John William Draper's (1811-1882) "History

299 Poyraz, "Science versus Religion," 142–46; Tanpınar, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, 300.

300 Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 170–74; Poyraz, "Science versus Religion," 83; Cankara, "Ahmet Mithat Efendi," 94; Arslan and Işıklar Koçak, "Agent of Change," 52; Fuad, Beşer, 3–11.

301 Midhat, Beşir Fuad, 13–15; Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 172–73.

302 Strauss, "Printing and Publishing," 240; Okay, "Ahmed Midhat Efendi."

of the Conflict between Religion and Science" between 1895-1900, for instance, he portrayed it as solely targeting Christianity. In Midhat´s 'Ottomanized' Draper, it became almost inevitable for Christian scientists to denounce their religion, since the faith of their religion was marked by intellectual imprisonment. Islam against that was totally opposite and its tenets easily allowed for modern science; he relied here on some comments by Draper on the difference between Christianity and Islam. He added to this the mentioned topos of the many achievements of Muslim scholars in the Middle Ages, and claiming them to be the basis of contemporary European developments.[303] The book thus served multiple purposes. It realigned science and Islam. It proved the superiority of Islam over Christianity, through which it came to form a weapon against Christian missionary activity in the empire. But centrally, it served Midhat's project to delineate an own Ottoman community against a hyperreal Europe.[304] Summing this project up in an article in 1898, Midhat wrote: "If we try to Europeanize only for the sake of becoming European, we shall lose our own character. If we, on the other hand, add the European civilization to our own character, we shall not only preserve, perpetuate, and maintain our character but also fortify and refine it".[305]

At stake for Midhat in the debates on science was the metaphysical influence of science on personal manners and behavior and, as a corollary, the bond of the Ottoman political community. This can also be seen in his essay "Refutation of Materialist Philosophy", probably occasioned by the translation of part of Büchner's "Kraft und Stoff" in 1891 by Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932).[306] Midhat stated that Materialism, which is "easily taught to the ignorant (*cühela*)", would subsume all things, both natural (*tabiat*) and spiritual (*manevi*) to materiality. He relates that such a subsumption would reduce humans to the state of "a gang of dogs" or "wolves" and destroy all natural relationships, motherly, fatherly, filial and brotherly between humans. Probably worse, since even animals would have feelings (*hiss*) towards each other, which help them to form groups to ensure safety and prosperity (*selamet ve saadet*). Because of the absence of interpersonal feelings and

303 Yalçınkaya, "Science as an Ally of Religion," 178–81.
304 Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalist"
305 Cit. from Berkes, Development of Secularism, 285.
306 Büchner, Fizyolocya-yı Tefekkür; Midhat, Ben neyim? Abdullah Cevdet, before 1908 mostly known as a poet and political activist, was later to become a most influential 'materialist' thinker during the Young Turk era.

relations in materialism, materialist ideas would destroy human society:

> *"For afterwards, would human and civilized (medeni) relationships, such as friendship and community, remain? Will humans observe civil and natural laws in their interaction? Could there remain any order or discipline in the civilized social institutions? That is why wherever this philosophy spreads there is also a rise in crime and murder and suicides".*[307]

In short, the materialists would be "a hostile villain even towards themselves" and engender the destruction of political communities: "Where the sinful and rebellious nature of materialism gains ground, a vile and wretched people are the result".[308] It becomes clear that to Midhat the feelings of people towards each other were the basis of society. In their absence, identified with Materialism, human societies would break down. Midhat was not alone in this fear. Cemaleddin Afghani, the well-traveled Islamic activist who spent his last years (1892-97) in Istanbul as a guest of Sultan Abdülhamid, similarly espoused science while pointing to Materialism as destroying morality and interpersonal relations.[309]

Hamidian debates on science and materialism were ultimately about the right personal and social values and emotions that the empire needed to survive.[310] This dynamic can be well observed by the conflict between Beşir Fuad and Ahmed Midhat, with three implications standing out. First, the debate on science was intimately tied to the question of who was to lead the Ottoman political community on its way to progress. Scientific knowledge enabled the young scientists, soldiers, and professionals of the Hamidian period, graduates of Ottoman institutions of higher education, to imagine themselves in a role not unlike that of a physician and cure the social organism. This vanguard role was rejected by Hamidian literati, bureaucrats and journalists, who in holding up hierarchical values and morals insisted on their own importance and could count on state support for this. It was no coincidence that most of the support for the nascent Young Turk opposition movement came from the ranks of the young Hamidian men of science.[311]

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307 Midhat, Ben neyim?, 3–4,

308 Midhat, 11.

309 Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 179; Sever, "A Pan-Islamist in Istanbul:"; Mishra, From the Ruins of Empire, 46–123.

310 Yalçınkaya, Learned Patriots, 207–34.

311 Yalçınkaya, 182–84; Martykánová, "Redefinition of Expert Identities"; Rasimoğlu, "Physicians in the Nineteenth Century," 202–32; Hanioğlu, The Young Turks in Opposition; Ahmad, The Young Turks.

Secondly, while both Midhat and Fuad insisted on science being a means towards the achievement of progress for Ottoman society, they differed in their reading of this goal. For Fuad, science was also a means to achieve knowledge of the (metaphysical) truth, while to Midhat science was rather an instrumental means for the safeguarding of a hierarchical social and moral order, identified with values such as obedience, moderation, and hard work. The adaptation of scientific knowledge embedded in a moral framework was to be a central instrument to form good "lovers of their country" and a prosperous Ottoman community. This integration of science and the value of knowledge within a gendered Ottoman framework of moral values that prominently included obedience can also be inferred from the period's schoolbooks.

And third, emotions were conceived by Ahmed Midhat as fundamentally social and an integral part of social integration.[312] While socially needed, they had to be personally controlled and could further be dangerous. If emotions were individually employed in excess, like in Beşir Fuad, they led to death and suicide; if employed not at all, like with the materialists, this led to societal chaos. Only if personally moderated by an educated intellect and socially connected to the perseverance and progress of the Ottoman feeling community were they deemed legitimate.

Ottoman debates on science and Materialism were not primarily about science itself but rather about its practitioners and the influence of science on society. Particularly the question of its practitioner's character touches on questions regarding the nature of the self and its emotions. In the following, I want to discuss the emergence of a specialized science in this regard, Psychology, as well as their treatment in the rapidly developing prose literature of the period.

2.5 Knowledge of the Self: Psychology and Literature

The knowledge of the soul and of the intellect had been a traditional component of Islamic philosophy. Knowledge of the self provided a framework within which the mechanics and nature of sensations and thoughts could be explained and integrated. It offered the epistemological foundation for other fields of inquiry.[313] Being part of larger developments, however, the late 19th

312 For similar notions expressed in texts written by Northern Indian Muslims, see Pernau, "Love and Compassion."

313 Ivry, "Arabic and Islamic Psychology."

century also saw the development of new ways of thinking about the self among Ottoman intellectuals and journalists.

Building on the philosophical and theological tradition, European technologies, such as the developing science of Psychology and the novel, were adapted to investigate the inner workings of human beings.[314] Ottoman psychological works, in applying scientific methods and insights to the self, transcended and reformulated boundaries between the spiritual and the material. While developing a theory of the malleability of the soul amenable to the education efforts of the Hamidian state, psychological works often emphasized a classic three-tier model of the soul in which the intellect and will had to control the passions and emotions arising out of lower faculties. In mostly studying atomic persons, however, the Ottoman psychological literature of the period also ascribed to a somewhat different model of the self and its emotions than both the Islamic philosophical tradition and the schoolbooks discussed in earlier chapters. At the same time, Ottoman literary works were written to contribute to the education of individual's soul, while emphasizing the pervasive and decidedly social nature of emotions.

For most of Ottoman history, questions of the self, of the soul, its movements and passions had been debated within multiple frameworks, be it art, theology or philosophy. Central concepts for this were *ruh* and *nefs*, both Koranic terms referring to the soul. Decidedly influenced by al-Ghazali and based on Aristotle, *nefs* was often understood as the lower qualities and desires of the human soul, which had to be disciplined by the intellect (*akl*) in the interests of ethics. This disciplining was to be attained via training or education (*maarif, terbiye*). *Ruh* on the other hand was often seen as the incorporeal yet materially bound spirit, in which both perception and intellect resided.[315] This view was still influential in late Ottoman times, being echoed, for instance, in Şemseddin Sami's "Turkish Dictionary", which defined *ruh* as "the living matter in both humans and Animals, the spirit which leaves the body at death", while *nefs* was the "natural inclination to basic needs".[316] Yet there were also other readings possible. In Sufi-traditions, *ruh* referred mostly to the material body, or the togetherness of body and soul, while the term *nefs* was used positively and closer to

314 On the novel as "technical means for 're-presenting'", see Anderson, Imagined Communities, 24–34. Victoria Holbrooke has stated that the novel "was aggressively appropriated by late-nineteenth century Ottomans as a kind of technology for describing modem reality". Holbrook, The Unreadable Shores, 21.

315 Calverley and Netton, "Nafs"; Griffel, "Al Ghazali"; Schimmel, Sufismus, 18–19.

316 Sami, Kamus-i Turki, 466, 673, 1466.

morality, a view heavily influenced by Platonism. The soul here—for instance in the writings of Al-Razi (865-925)—was conceived of as a three-tier entity, composed of a rational or divine one enlisting an animal soul to control the base appetites of the vegetative soul. In ethics, these different elements had to be combined and climbed up as a ladder to achieve spiritual enlightenment.[317] Yet another strand, that of Ibn Sina (980–1037), was also influenced by Neo-platonism and sometimes said to be close to Sufism. It posited an absolute immaterial soul as well as a rather individualistic view on education and growth of perceptive capabilities.[318]

In the later 19th century, Psychology as a scientific subject was added to these traditions of investigating the human self. The 1869 "General Edict on Education" mentions a course on the "Science of the States of the Soul" (*ilm-i ahval-i nefs*) to be taught at the University in Istanbul.[319] It appears, however, that because of a lack of resources this class was never taught. From 1890 onward a class called *ilm-i ahval-i ruh* was held by Selim Sabit Efendi (1829-1910), the great education reformer, at the Pedagogical University (*Darülmuallimin*). An announcement of Psychology courses at the *Darülfünun* was repeated in the "University Regulation" of 1900.[320] Significant here is that while Psychology as a subject did attain a certain independence, it was usually grouped in a moral framework, as may be evidenced by the fact that Selim Sabit taught his above-mentioned class one week as *ilm-i ahlak* and one week as *ilm-i ahval-i ruh*.[321]

At the same time, the first original Ottoman works were published on the subject. While taking up the moniker of Psychology, these works often explicitly combined traditional writings on the subject of the soul with findings and concepts from medical or biological sciences.[322] Their

317 Uludağ, "Nefis"; El Shakry, "The Arabic Freud," 98.
318 Ivry, "Arabic and Islamic Psychology."
319 Albayrak and Şeker, Osmanlı Eğitiminde Modernleşme, 113.
320 Kılıç, "Türkiye'de Modern Psikoloji," 23–24; Batur, "Türkiye'de Psikoloji Tarihi," 4–5.
321 Turan, "İlk modern psikoloji kitapları," 16.
322 Starting from the 1870s, these were Hoca Tahsin Efendi´s "Psikoloji yahut İlm-i Ruh" (Psychology, or Science of the Soul) (1873/1892), Yusuf Kemal Efendi´s "Gayetü'l-beyan fi hakikati'l-insan yahud İlm-i Ahval-i Ruh" (The latest Explanation of the Nature of Men, or Science of the States of the Soul) (1878), Ahmed Midhat`s "İlhamat ve Tağlitat. Psikoloji yani Fen-i Menafi' er-Ruha dair bazı Mülahazat" (The Psychology of Inspirations and Errors, that is some observations of the beneficial Science of the Soul) (1884), and Mehmed Emin´s "İlm-i Ahval-i Ruh ve Usul-i Tefekkür" (Science of the Nature of the Soul and Mode of Thought) (1893). While all of these books drew on European sources, they may be listed apart from books which were translations, though often abbreviated and amended. As usual they were mainly French in origin. In the period before 1908, some of these were Mustafa Refik´s 1891 version (İnsan ve Hayvanat üzerinde Musikinin Tesiri) of Louis-Casimir Colomb´s 1878 book on musical

scientific approach still was mostly bound to a philosophical-religious cosmology, which embedded discussions on human faculties, perceptions, and emotions in a common framework.[323] As will become apparent, this meant that conceptualizations of emotions as being a set of bodily, non-cognitive and involuntary feelings can be observed in Ottoman writings of the Hamidian period. Yet it also means that in the Ottoman case this did not happen within a secular framework, nor did it necessarily entail a disentanglement of morality and the emotions.[324] While emotions were sometimes conceptualized as an important link between the self and society and linked to morality, they were usually discussed with reference to the atomic person, thus departing from the Aristotelian tradition of conceptualizing the self.

Yusuf Kemal's (1849-?) 1878 book "Gayetü´l beyan" is often said to have been the "first Ottoman book on Psychology".[325] Stating that his work were based on the latest findings by "contemporary/modern philosophers" (*hükema-yi müteahhirin*), his indebtedness toward the Ottoman tradition and writers like Kınalızade Ali becomes particularly apparent in his use of concepts. Kemal propagates a Cartesian worldview. Man consists of a physical nature, for whose investigation the medical sciences are responsible, and a spiritual nature, for whose study psychology is in authority. Psychology to him is the starting point of all other sciences, since knowledge of the self (*ene)* precedes knowledge of the outside world. His Cartesian influence becomes even clearer when he closes this argument with the statement "I think therefore I am".[326] While he uses *ruh* in his title, he employs *nefs-i natika* (human reason) as a synonym, but also highlights the fact that *nefs* comes to mean a lower class of desires and drives, which shows his indebtedness to the Koranic tradition, as well as Ghazali and Kınalızade.

While he does not conceive of Psychology as an experimental science, he firmly tries to establish

psychology "La musique"; Ahmet Mithat`s 1902 version (Çocuk: Melekat-ı Uzviye ve Ruhiyesi) of G. Compayre´s book on child psychology "L'Évolution intellectuelle et morale de l'enfant" (1893), as well as Ahmet Cevdet´s 1907 in exile in Cairo published version (Ruh al-akvam) of Gustave Le Bon´s 1895 "Les Lois psychologiques de l'évolution des peoples".

323 Kılıç, "Türkiye'de Modern Psikoloji," 35.

324 These are the factors that Thomas Dixon has identified in his seminal work on the category of emotions in late 19th century British psychology. Dixon, From Passions to Emotions, 2–4. A significant entanglement of Islam and Psychology exists to this day. See Sayar, Sufi Psikolojisi; Batur, "Türkiye'de Psikoloji Tarihi," 3.

325 At least that is the subtitle of a recent edition of his book. See Kemal, İlm-i Ahvâl-i Rûh. I drew for my translations on its transliteration.

326 Kemal, Gayetü'l-beyan, 12.

Psychology both as a new science and as a sub-division of Philosophy, dividing it from theology. At the same time, the subject matter of his Psychology clearly is the individual person. This differentiates it from morality, which would speak of "the binding between souls, their relationships, rules (*hukuk*), and duties (*vazife*)".[327] Individual emotions can be engendered by external stimuli perceived by the classical five senses, or by the soul alone. Both external stimuli and internal sensations are interpreted and evaluated in a positive or negative way, according to joy (*haz*) and pain (*elem*).[328] This evaluation then leads to higher elated emotions: "Life, inclination and affection/love (*muhabbet*) all flow in joy; while the sudden fire of anger and hatred (*infial ve nefret*) erupts from pain".[329] Although base desires (*nefs-i müştehiyat*) can confound both intellect (*idrak*) and will (*irade*) and drive a person to "actions that the mind had rejected", in general the will can control the sensations while the intellect can strengthen or soften the impact of sensations. This, however, is based on knowledge of the self. Employing traditional ethical terminology, he states that if "humans use their power in excess (*mertebe-i ifrat*), they fall into fury (*tehevvür*) or cowardice (*cebanet*)." But if they use it with will and knowledge, and here he departs from tradition, it enables "the exercise of freedom (*icra-yı hürriyet*)".[330] He also puts a strong emphasis on education: As an infant, one has only sensations to go by at the beginning, while the intellect and will are both acquired faculties.[331]

A somewhat different psychological approach was presented by Hoca Tahsin, published only after his death in 1893. Tahsin, one of the foremost Ottoman scholars of the 19th century in the areas of astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy, was the first rector of the Darülfünun in 1870 and a close associate of Cemaleddin Afgani.[332] In Tahsin's book, *nefs* does not have any negative implications and is a central unit of analysis. He conceptualizes the body and the soul as being one (*mücerred*) via the life-soul (*nefs*). While this brings him clearly in touch with the Sufi-tradition outlined above, he still posits the lower feelings to be in need of control by the moral feeling of

327 Kemal.

328 It seems fitting to draw here an analogy to Williams James´ theory of emotions, which also proposes a sensual experience prior to emotions. James, "What Is an Emotion?"

329 Kemal, Gayetü'l-beyan, 20–21.

330 Kemal, 7.

331 Kemal, 22.

332 The book is an amended compendium of several articles, written probably after 1873. It was only published as part of his four-volume collected works in 1891-1892. See Akün, "Hoca Tahsin," 203–4; Demir and Yurtoğlu, "Unutulmuş bir Osmanlı Düşünürü."

conscience (*vicdan*) as well as human reason (*nefs-i natika*).[333] He nonetheless links this tradition to contemporary physiological findings. He particularly locates processes of thought in certain areas of the brain, where he also places deficiencies of the soul (*afat-ı ruhaniye-i hakime*), such as melancholy or overambition.

While Tahsin accords an important part of his analysis to the individual person, he also binds it to society. First, humans are fundamentally social. An understanding of this fact leads to the emergence of morality, while living in society leads to civilization.[334] Secondly, human comprehension is based on language and concepts (*mefhumat*), whose development is decidedly social or communal. Language further allows material and spiritual progress, and even structures moral behavior: "If we would not have….clarifying words in morality, in what tyrannical darkness (*zülmet*) would we stay".[335]

The unavoidable Ahmed Midhat also contributed a book on Psychology, "İlhamat ve Tağlitat". It presents humans as torn between two main motivations—positive inspirations (*ilhamat*) and negative errors (*tağlitat*)—the latter of which is perceived as coming from the *nefs*, understood as the lower self. While humans were naturally disposed to mildness (*hilm*) and compassion (*şefkat*), certain sense perceptions could drive them into a temporary strong emotional states, like hate. Midhat spends a large part of the book explaining to his readers how the knowledge, morality, and education (*maarif*) of the self could help humans to better control these movements of the baser soul, avoid falling into negative states, come to a better understanding of God, and also attain a better understanding and navigation of social interactions. He makes the argument that positive inspirations come mainly from God, hence religious observance would help in educating the soul. The prominent place for learning the right manner to control the own *nefs* clearly ties it to the pedagogic notions present in most of Midhat's texts from the period.[336]

Another book on the "States of the Soul" was published by Mehmed Emin in 1894.[337] He

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333 Tahsin, Psikoloji, 14–15, 32–34; Akgün, "Felsefi Akımlar," 483; Afacan, "Of the Soul and Emotions," 86.

334 Tahsin, Psikoloji, 15.

335 Cit. from Tahsin, 25.

336 Midhat, İlhamat ve Tağlitat, 36–176; Afacan, "Of the Soul and Emotions," 85–86; Kılıç, "Türkiye'de Modern Psikoloji," 30–31.

337 Emin, İlm-i Ahval-i Ruh. The book, however, lacks the second part promised in the title, i.e. the section of logic and reason. Further, little is known about his person.

presents his work as being solely a "transmission" (*ihtisar*) of older Islamic philosophy and prominently cites the Koran and authors like Kınalızade. Nonetheless, his indebtedness to physiological and scientific literature also becomes apparent. While differentiating the body from the soul and stating the body to be a "machine (*makine*) that is created by Allah", the physical body is also understood as the basis for mental processes. Body and soul thus are interrelated.[338] The soul is partitioned into three elements: intellect (*idrak*), senses/feelings (*hiss*), and will (*irade*). These three elements are inclined: the intellect towards truth (*hakikat*), the feelings towards pleasantry and beauty (*latife ve hoş*), and the will towards good things (*hayırlı şeyler*).[339] Senses/feelings not only transmit sensory information, be it internal or external, but also evaluate and push the soul to acquire things and behave in a distinct, not always moral manner. This always affects the will, which tries to exercises moderation (*itidal*) and thus guide towards good things, and the intellect, which deliberates the course of action. To achieve this necessary moderation, it is necessary to have manners (*adab*), good behavior (*hüsn-i muaşeret*), and education (*terbiye*).[340] Such qualities are acquired through education, conceived as a social yet top-down process and guided by teachers, especially religious authorities.[341]

Ottoman writers in the field of Psychology produced a productive synthesis of the Ottoman-Islamic tradition based on Greek Philosophy, and Western scientific influences. While revealed religion played a great role to many authors, most writings explicitly posited Psychology to be a contemporary science. Denoting their writings as *ilm* or *fen,* they integrated Psychology into a religious-moral framework also present in other scientific debates detailed in chapter 2.4 above. While most authors articulated a dichotomy between the body and the soul, they often stressed the interrelatedness of the two entities. Incorporating physiological findings of the 19th century on human perception, the senses, nerves, and the brain, many concepts and ideas from the Ottoman tradition were also taken up, such as the three-tier conception of the human soul. The psychology books of the Hamidian period differed at times greatly in their conceptions of the self and

338 Emin, 35; Emin, Fezail-i Ahlak, 31–32.

339 Emin, İlm-i Ahval-i Ruh, 25. This role of truth brings to mind the inclination of the soul towards the truth in Sufism. Ahmed, What Is Islam?, 286–89. His strict three-tier make-up of the soul, on the other hand, resembles the contemporary theory of William James. James, "What Is an Emotion?"; Dixon, From Passions to Emotions, 204–30.

340 Emin, İlm-i Ahval-i Ruh, 25.

341 Emin, 18.

especially regarding the nature of emotions. Concerning the latter, the difference of passions or emotions from sense perceptions are at times difficult to ascertain. While senses were often conceptualized as *hasse* and feelings as *hisse*, the words were sometimes used interchangeably, as in the case of Mehmed Emin.[342]

Despite the differences, some commonalities can be detected. Many authors prominently discuss the role of conscience (*vicdan*) as a moral feeling and an inner court for human behavior.[343] This echoes similar discussions taking place in the schoolbooks on morality discussed above. While the books further explicitly built on the Islamic philosophical tradition, they also departed from it in significant ways. In delineating 'good' from 'bad' emotions, some authors, like Ahmed Midhat, shifted the traditional understanding of balance and excess towards a moral and evaluating understanding of 'movements of the soul'. Further, several writers argued prominently for the need of education. The necessary perfection of knowledge of the self was now primarily seen as a social endeavor—sometimes guided—with a clear societal goal. This becomes clear with Mehmed Emin, who frames his work in the foreword as contributing to "the most virtuous endeavor", the advancement of education in the "homeland" (*vatan*).[344]

Yet despite this social character of education, most of the writers were primarily concerned with the soul and the passions of the individual. Even though the psychological works of the Hamidian period frequently referenced the religious and classic tradition and cited authors like Kınalızade, they nonetheless separated persons from their connection to the social units of the household and larger society—an essential component of Ottoman-Islamic and Greek tradition of morality and ethics.[345] This emphasis on the individual person, already present in writings of the Hamidian period, was only to become more pronounced after 1908.[346] This marks the psychological writings somewhat apart from the morality books and schoolbooks discussed above, which prominently featured social emotions. This social and interpersonal role of emotions was, however, also a main topic in another genre of the period aiming to investigate the nature of the self, namely literature and particularly the novel.

342 Turan, "İlk modern psikoloji kitapları," 93–95.
343 Turan, 99–100; Tahsin, Psikoloji, 6; Kemal, Gayetü'l-beyan, 12–16; Emin, İlm-i Ahval-i Ruh, 36–38.
344 Emin, İlm-i Ahval-i Ruh, 4.
345 Sariyannis and Atiyas, Ottoman Political Thought, 29–30; Kraut, "Aristotle's Ethics."
346 Afacan, "Of the Soul and Emotions."

Literature in the late Ottoman period was a major site in which issues of own tradition and foreign influence, the nature of social relations, and desired or undesired behavior were debated. From the late 1870s, several compilations of Ottoman literature, be it prose or poetry, were published to explicitly codify an 'own' Ottoman literary tradition.[347] Literature also served as a main means of social mobilization for reform projects. The normative role of literature regarding the nature of the self and its emotions was articulated quite succinctly in an article written by the intellectual Mehmed Murad (?-1917), an influential newspaper editor originally from the Caucasus and later a prominent member of the Young Turks.[348] In the article, Murad attributes to literature a decisive educational quality for the Ottoman nation by presenting exemplary morality. According the Murad, literature should provide "the examples that promote the noble national emotions" by drawing on examples "that everybody witnesses daily either in themselves or in their neighbors". He also distinguishes between a literature tied to "real emotions" (*hissiyat*) and one based on "superficial pleasantries" (*letafet-i sathiye*)".[349]

Aside from this very normative framework, writers of the Hamidian period often ascribed a prominent place to emotions in their works. Most important here was the 'New Literature' (*edebiyat-i cedide*), centered around the journal "Servet-i Fünun". Sometimes read as the Ottoman equivalent of the *L'art pour l'art*-movement, the highly emotional and personal works produced by its authors can also be read as allegorical discussions of decidedly political issues.[350] This political factor was also sometimes implicitly acknowledged. Abdullah Cevdet, a contemporary of the 'New Literature', wrote in the introduction of his second book of poetry that "These [poems] are not written to have been written, they are written to be felt (*hiss olunmak*). Feelings are life's music, but my life's music and joy-inducing melodies…are currently almost non-existing".[351] Discussions of

347 Berk, Translation and Westernisation, 89–91; Maleckova, "Turkish Translations"; Findley, Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, 2–3. For compilations published in the period, see Memduh, Tarih-i Edebiyat-i Osmaniyye; Ekrem, Talim-i edebiyat; Ziya Paşa, Harabat; Reşid, Muharrerat-ı Nisvan. The most famous of these was probably the one prepared by Ebüzziya Tevfik, which still forms the basis of many Ottoman-language introductions today. Tevfik, Numune-I Edebiyat; Kreutel, Osmanisch-Türkische Chrestomathie.

348 On him and his newspaper 'Mizan' (Balance), see Karakuş, "Mîzan Gazetesi."

349 Murad, "Edebiyatımızın Numune-i Imtisalle."

350 Maleckova, "Turkish Translations," 89; Seviner, "Burden of the White Shawl." "Servet-i Fünun" (The Wealth of the Sciences) was one of the most prominent journals of the late Ottoman Empire. Famous for its popular reporting on scientific 'progress', it was also an important for its literary contributions. Parlatır, "Servet-I Fünun."

351 Cevdet, Masumiyet, 4.

emotions, particularly love, also pervade two of the first Ottoman 'psychological novels', Halid Ziya's "Aşk-ı Memnu" from 1900 and Mehmed Rauf's (1875-1931) "Eylül" from 1901.

In "Eylül", the protagonist Necib falls in love with Suat Hanım, who is married to Süreyya. The experience leaves Necib in a health-debilitating state and the forbidden love ends in a catastrophe: A fire in Suat's house causes Necib to try to save her and both die in the end. Through extensive use of inner monologues, Rauf portrays the inner thoughts of his figures. Particularly love is extensively meditated upon, with individual or one-sided love being portrayed as debilitating and joint or two-sided love being a, albeit fated, state of bliss. The forbidden love as the main topic of the novel served to show how the dominant morality of the period negatively affected the individual and inter-personal psychological development. Rauf himself stated later that he initially wanted to write a more explicit book detailing the oppressive influence of Hamidian morality on social relations and the self, yet because of fear for censorship he was not able to land it with a journal.[352]

Halit Ziya's novel, whose title translates as "Forbidden Love", treats similar subjects. An upper middle-class mansion on the Bosporus is the site for a variety of adulterous, thwarted, and betrayed relationships between the characters Adnan, Nihal, Bihter, Bihter's mother, and Behlül. Sometimes said to be a mere sentimentalist novel, with hardly any attachment to the social realities of *fin-de-siècle* Istanbul, it is in fact a richly detailed study of contemporary topics, from dress to individual and social feelings and desires.[353] Its topic of 'Forbidden Love', the tragic ending of all emotional relationships at the end, and its implicit criticism of individual emotional control leading to the necessity of 'fake' expressions in social relationships, constituted an allegory on the decline of the empire,[354]

The trope of unrequited love certainly had a long history in Ottoman literature.[355] It may, however, also be read in a time-specific manner. Drawing on the idea to read the psychological novels of the

352 Rauf, Eylül; Çıkla, "Halit Ziya ve Mehmet Rauf"; Özdemir, "Mehmet Rauf Romanlarında Kadın," 39–41.
353 Uşaklıgil, Aşk-ı Memnu; Heß, "Aufreizende Verbote"; Seviner, "Burden of the White Shawl." Some years before the novel, Halid Ziya had published a physiological study on expressions and emotions. Developing a theory of 'natural' expressions of emotions, Ziya explicitly warned readers against people using 'fake' expressions. Uşaklıgil, İlm-i Sima.
354 Hanioğlu, A Brief History, 141.
355 Andrews and Kalpaklı, Age of Beloveds.

period as parables on the state of the Ottoman society and the decline of the empire, it can be argued that the central topic of 'forbidden' or 'thwarted' love in these novels expressed a critique of the censorship and autocracy of the Hamidian era in psychological and emotional terms.[356] The implicit inability of meaningful emotional and social relationships under the Hamidian regime was also to become a topic in the months after the constitutional revolution of 1908, where recent research has shown how the "intoxication of freedom" produced a decidedly emotional discourse replete with notions of "love" and "brotherhood".[357]

Psychological works and novels show the broad range of understandings of the self and its relationship to emotions available to readers in the late Ottoman period. The genres also produced somewhat different takes on the social character of emotions than discussed in earlier chapters. While psychological literature mostly focused on the emotional states of the individual, the 'sentimentalist' literature of the period mostly detailed the social prohibition and danger of inter-personal love. Yet strong social emotions also appeared in other places and were not always positive. The chapter will close with a discussion of communal anger (*galeyan*) in the highly violent events surrounding the occupation of the 'Ottoman Imperial Bank' in Istanbul in August 1896 by Armenian political activists.

2.6 Mass Violence against Istanbul Armenians in August 1896

The years 1894-97 saw a sequence of violence directed at Christians in the Ottoman Empire, most of them Armenians, that took about 100.000 lives. The events were geographically spread throughout the empire, but mostly occurred in the so-called 'six provinces' of strong Armenian settlement in Central Eastern Anatolia. Scholars have often identified three distinct phases of these massacres.[358] The first took place in the region of Sasun east of Lake Van, where in summer 1894 a local anti-tax revolt by Armenians was bloodily repressed by the Ottoman army and Kurdish irregular troops, the so-called *Hamidiye*-Regiments.[359] This prompted European governments to

356 For a similar reading of forbidden love as a "romantic rebellion, which challenges the traditional and customary values of Ottoman Islamic society", analyzing İbrahim Şinasi's (1826-1871) 1860 novel "The Poet's Wedding", see Mignon, "Bir Rasyonalistin Romantik Isyanı."

357 Der Matossian, Shattered Dreams of Revolution; Georgeon, L'Ivresse de la liberté.

358 Bloxham, Great Game of Genocide, 51; Riedler, "Massacres of Armenians in Istanbul," 166.

359 The Hamidiye were founded as irregular cavalry units in 1891, were directly bound to the Sultan, and

exert pressure on the Ottomans to prepare an official investigation, which was carried out during the following winter. The British government, with French and Russian backing, afterwards issued a memorandum directed at the Ottoman government in May 1895, which called for a reform of regional governance to give Armenians a larger say in local administration. It was largely based on Article 61 of the Berlin treaty of 1878, which had in similarly vague terms referenced "reforms to be carried out in the provinces populated by the Armenians". After the Sultan acquiesced to these demands on October 17, 1895, a second wave of violence broke out all over the Eastern provinces from October to December. Heavy casualties were counted in the larger cities, with events in Dıyarbekir, Urfa, and Maraş each claiming probably over 1.000 lives. The massacres usually arose out of local small-scale conflicts and in the cities were often triggered by congregations at the Friday-prayer, after which large groups of local Muslims began to attack the Armenian quarters. Although in some places Armenian groups would mount an armed response to these attacks, they were in most cases completely outnumbered. Claiming tens of thousands of lives, this phase was the heaviest in terms of casualties. After a more quiet winter of 1895/96, smaller incidents continued throughout the spring of 1896. Another wave of violence occurred in the summer. In June an armed struggle in the city of Van led to Ottoman army casualties and in late August 1896 an attack on the semi-autonomous 'Ottoman Imperial Bank' in Istanbul was carried out by militants of the socialist 'Armenian Revolutionary Federation' (*Dashnaktsutyun*). Both incidents again triggered large-scale killings of Armenians. By the end of the year, the violence receded. While some smaller incidents continued into 1897, mass-killings of Armenians on a similar scale stopped to occur until 1909.[360]

The massacres of 1894-96 created a political outcry in European public opinion not even surpassed by the genocide of 1915-17. Political allies like Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany openly advocated for the removal of Sultan Abdülhamid, afterwards know as *Le Sultan rouge* in the international press.[361] The events led to a reinforcement of missionary activity in the region, with

mostly operated in the east of the empire. The units mainly consisted of Sunni Kurdish fighters, but also had Turkish, Yürük, Türkmen, and Arab members. Duguid, "Politics of Unity," 145–46; Kasaba, A Moveable Empire, 266; Deringil, "Ottoman to Turk," 222–23.

360 Rathberger, "Botschafterkonferenz von Konstantinopel," 72; Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 291–95; Deringil, "Mass Conversions of Armenians"; Numbers in Verheij, "Die Armenischen Massaker," 85–86, 90, 126.

361 Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 300-03; Lepsius, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and Thimme, Diplomatische Akten

new organizations such as the *Deutsche Orient-Mission* being founded in response. This transnational reaction has been called a veritable "human rights movement", with American missionaries playing a central role.[362] Historical scholarship, however, has seldom followed this contemporary interest. This has been due to the massacres being seen as only a prelude to the later genocide.[363] The remoteness of the area further accounted for a dearth of reliable source material, especially concerning the second phase in late 1895.[364] The events nonetheless marked the greatest internal disturbance in Ottoman lands between the suppression of the Janissaries in 1826 and the First World War and constituted a watershed in the reign of Abdülhamid.[365] As with all topics touching the subject of Armenians in the late Ottoman Empire, they are a highly politicized issue, dividing scholars into two inimical camps: a Turkish nationalist and an Armenian-Western.

The acts of violence in Istanbul following the occupation of the 'Ottoman Imperial Bank' in August 1896 were in many ways particular. They also have been extensively covered by scholarship in recent years. Many of these works start out by addressing the elephant in the room: Were Ottoman state institutions involved in the violence, or did they even outright plan a massacre? This question of responsibility was already a point of controversial contemporary discussion, with most European observers assuming an official involvement of Ottoman state institutions.[366] While scholarly articles differ in their interpretation, the argument that Ottoman security forces were at least complicit by tolerating group violence, once broken out, is widely held.[367] While the question cannot be entirely set aside, I want to depart from it in the following pages.

The aim is to investigate two interrelated questions: How did the Ottoman state interpret and legitimize violent acts by one part of its population against another, both internally and to the outside world? And what could have been the motivational force for the perpetrators, mostly lower-class Muslims, to kill their neighbors and co-workers? A quick glance at internal documents

des Auswärtigen Amtes, 10: 20-28.

362 Kieser, Nearest East, 60–61; Anderson, "'Down in Turkey, Far Away.'"

363 Donald Bloxham, for example, allots them a mere seven pages in his influential study. Bloxham, Great Game of Genocide, 51–57.

364 Verheij, "Die Armenischen Massaker," 69.

365 Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 304-09.

366 As an example, see N., "News of the Week."

367 Dinçer, "Armenian Massacre in Istanbul," 38–40; Riedler, "Massacres of Armenians in Istanbul," 172; Eldem, "1896 'Ermeni Olayları,'" 144–46; Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 293–95.

shows that the main argument employed by Ottoman bureaucratic institutions was that the situation simply got out of hand. Police and army units in the city had been unable to calm and control the "people's anger and exaltation (*galeyan ve heyecan*)", whose collective emotional state had been caused by the Armenian insurrection.[368] This narrative both exculpated state actors and the perpetrators themselves. In its insistence on the role of anger, it is also somewhat surprising. The hegemonic moral and emotional discourse of the Hamidian period was characterized by values, such as obedience (*itaat*) or a balance of emotions (*itidal*), and elevated these values to societal duties. They were further increasingly enforced throughout the period in and by expanding government institutions, such as schools and police, and were employed to regulate issues ranging from labor disputes to dress codes and behavior in urban space.[369]

Anger offers itself as one vantage point from which to analyze the mass violence in Istanbul in August 1896. In this, I want to look at anger not as naturally given, but historically constituted, legitimized, and directed at an audience.[370] It can be understood as a script, available both to official and private actors in late Ottoman Istanbul. Anger as a value or emotion in need of control was certainly included in the period's writings on morality.[371] Yet at the same time, strong emotions, such as anger, love, or hate, came to appear as legitimate when they were social outcomes of and occasioned by good or bad behavior exhibited by other actors. Further, desired individual actions were portrayed as resulting in general and individual happiness (*saadet, mesrur*). Strong collective emotions were a central part of a political 'feeling community' and served to delineate communal boundaries.[372]

On an international level, Ottoman bureaucrats were faced both with an imperial discourse of civility that emphasized emotional constraint in the name of civilization and European Orientalist notions of the 'savage' Turk. At the same time, however, anger and violence in the face of

368 Eldem, "1896 'Ermeni Olayları,'" 132. Ottoman bureaucrats also initially tried to argue that most Armenians victims had been killed by the Armenian revolutionaries. This narrative was soon dropped, probably because the claim was too unrealistic.

369 Karimullah, "Rival Moral Traditions"; Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work"; Lévy Aksu, Ordre et désordres; Somel, Modernization of Public Education; Demirci and Somel, "Women's Bodies."

370 Pernau, "Anger, Hurt and Enthusiasm"; Mazzarella, "Myth of the Multitude." For recent works on the political dimension of anger and rage as well as their connection to violence, see further Mishra, Age of Anger; Spencer, "'Like a Raging Lion.'"

371 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 2:32.

372 See chapters 2.1 and 2.5 above.

(colonial) insubordination and insurrections also increasingly came to appear as legitimate to European political discourse in the late 19th century.[373] Anger thus was not simply a private and natural emotion, but a highly complex concept, debated on several levels of discourse. In the following, the mass killings of summer 1896 in Istanbul and its representation will be read as a performance of anger. This performance, as will be argued, both allowed for an external legitimation of the Hamidian state and permitted local perpetrators to inscribe themselves into the Ottoman political community.

The following will mainly draw on Ottoman bureaucratic sources, for which the two-volumes "History of the Armenian Events", compiled by the Police major Hüseyin Nazım Pasha (1854-1927) and presented to Sultan Abdülhamid in early 1897, is the most detailed.[374] Another important source is the report of the 'General Army Commission' (*teftiş-i umumi-i askeri komisyonu*), handed in on October 27, 1896.[375] The commission had been created for this purpose by the Sultan under European pressure and its report was also presented to the European powers.[376] Drawing on these internal documents has been the favorite *modus operandi* of progressive scholarship, for they are often the only sources Turkish nationalist historiography will accept.[377] Like the official Ottoman sources, testimonies of European observers have to be taken with a grain of salt. Yet not only do they offer an indication of the international framework of civility and Orientalism to which the events were subjected on the international stage, but they also

373 Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man"; Pernau, "Anger, Hurt and Enthusiasm"; Cooper and Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony."

374 Just to illustrate the politicized nature of the events, the introduction of a recent edition prepared by the Turkish state archives states that "those who will have read this book called 'A History of Armenian Events' will not be able to deny the following fact. The Turkish people has never oppressed other nations and has throughout its honourable history protected nations being oppressed. Although the Turkish people have been subject to unhumane behavior of the Armenians who have deceived the Ottomans and who aim to deceive the world's public opinion by acting as being oppressed in which they are successful, the Turkish people has not been able to express their suffer in this subject" (sic!). Nazım Paşa, Ermeni olayları, xii.

375 It also has been recently edited and included in a larger edition again seeking to prove Ottoman actions towards Armenians as legitimate, since caused by insurrection. Karacakaya, Ermeni isyanları (1895-1896), 2:3–45.

376 The Commission was controversial in that nearly all non-Ottoman members—that is foreign subjects employed by the Ottoman army—resigned because of political pressure to paint the events in a positive light. See Kamphövener Pasha to von Hohenlohe, October 19, 1896 in Lepsius, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and Thimme, Diplomatische Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes, 10: 30-37.

377 Eldem, "1896 'Ermeni Olayları,'" 118–20; Der Matossian, "Armenian Genocide Historiography," 144.

constitute an important micro perspective. There is no doubt that some of the writers could observe killings firsthand from their windows or while traversing the city. Lamentably, as so often, there are few Ottoman-Muslim ego-documents of the massacres, while members of the Jewish and Orthodox communities were cautious in describing the events.[378] Local newspapers and journals did not publish anything on the subject apart from official declarations.[379]

But first, a more detailed version of the events. On Wednesday, August 8, 1896 at about 1 pm a group of twenty-eight armed men and women forced their entry into the Ottoman Bank building in Galata by shooting two guardsmen and wounding two more. The attackers were mainly Russian-born and –educated members of the socialist-nationalist *Dashnaktsutyun*. At about the same time, a feint attack was carried out on the police station in Samatya, located at the Marmara shoreline just outside of the old city walls. There, the attackers retreated after a short time into a local Armenian school.[380] In the bank, the attackers took control of the building and amply equipped it with bombs and explosives. While the general manager of the bank could flee, about 140 employees remained as hostages. The police soon surrounded the building and a shootout ensued, in which the hostage-takers used firearms and small bombs to defend themselves. It failed to change the general situation. The assailants now read out their demands, which they had sent out shortly before the attack to European embassies: The Armenian patriarch was to resign, thorough administrative reforms in the Eastern provinces referred to as *Armenistan* were to be enacted, and an amnesty for the attackers demanded. The Ottoman state did not acquiesce and at about 4 pm a Bank employee was sent to *Yıldız* Palace, the seat of the Sultan, to treat personally with Abdülhamid. With decisive help of the Russian embassy employee Maximov, the Sultan was persuaded to grant retreat and exile to the attackers. The bank employee returned and after some waiting time to convince the attackers of the Ottoman government's good intentions, they were escorted at 1:15 am of the next day to the nearby harbor and brought aboard a ship heading towards Marseille.[381]

378 Both—especially the Jews—had to address accusations voiced by European observers that they had participated in or at least profited from the murder of the Armenians. They thus faced the classic Jewish dilemma of defending their own actions without accusing the state or mainstream society. Cohen, "Jewish Imperial Citizenship," 240–44; Hassiotis, "Greeks and the Armenian Massacres."

379 See for example the issues of the newspaper 'İkdam' from August 27—September 15, 1896.

380 Dinçer, "The Armenian Massacre in Istanbul 1896," 25.

381 Eldem, "1896 'Ermeni Olayları,'" 116–17; Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 299–300.

Already one or two hours after the occupation of the bank, small groups armed with metal and wooden sticks (*sopa*) began to gather in several places close to the bank building. They were usually small groups of lower-class Muslim men, mostly recent work immigrants who were working at the nearby harbor and factories. Some sources single out Kurds and Lazes from Eastern Anatolia as the main ethnic group.[382] The groups began to hunt down Armenians on the streets, often killing them on the spot. They also broke open stores said to be owned by Armenians and attacked *Khans* in the area.[383] The most heavily targeted areas were neighborhoods located along the shore of the Golden Horn, more or less close to the Bank's building. On the northern side, these were Hasköy, Kasımpaşa, Fındıklı, Bademlik, Yeşildirek, and Galata; on the southern side Balat and Fener. Samatya, the site of the aforementioned diversionary attack, was also heavily affected.[384] All of these areas were working class neighborhoods with a diverse ethno-religious population, many of which young men recently migrated to the city.

The police apparently mostly stood by and did little to prevent the violence. In some instances, they tried to stop the looting of shops. The army units, in the city for the celebrations of the Sultans throne jubilee on September 1st, reacted in a similar manner. Even though some are said to have participated in the killings, there is little evidence for on-duty soldiers participating. The *Hamidiye* troops, infamous for their role in the earlier massacres in Eastern Anatolia, were stationed just outside of Eyüp to the north-west of the city and were not implicated by any eyewitness account.[385] The short time which elapsed between the occupation of the Bank and the beginning of the massacre has sometimes been used as an argument in favor of planning by the authorities.[386] This must not necessarily have been the case. The Bank building was located in the city's center of commercial activity, dominated the view of the Galata peninsula and could be seen by anyone happening to be close to the shoreline of the Golden Horn. The gun fighting and explosion of

382 Riedler, "Massacres of Armenians in Istanbul," 171.

383 "Khans were multifunctional buildings constituting the city's economic backbone by serving as warehouses, shops and workers' residences; they were located mainly in the business areas of Galata and on Istanbul's historical peninsula. For many Armenian migrant workers they were workplaces as well as homes in the city. Moreover, many khans had Armenian proprietors or managers". Riedler, 174; Tamdoğan-Abel, "Les Han."

384 Dinçer, "Armenian Massacre in Istanbul," 26–27; Cohen and Stein, Sephardi Lives, 134–39.

385 Dinçer, "Armenian Massacre in Istanbul," 41–42. Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Aug 30 and Sep 1, 1896.

386 Washburn, Recollections, 246.

several bombs at 1 pm were probably heard in a wide radius.[387]

The targets of the armed groups were mostly lower-class Armenian men working and living in the area of the Golden Horn, many of which had also recently migrated into the city from Eastern Anatolia.[388] Although there were some personal attacks on upper class Armenians in their residential areas on top of the Galata hill and on the shore north along the Bosporus, these were smaller events and are reported to have occurred later.[389] Churches were not targeted, nor was the seat of the Armenian patriarchate in Kumkapı harmed. However, Armenian property throughout the city was sacked, even in places like Üsküdar and Kandılı on the other side of the Bosporus. Few Orthodox and hardly any Jews were killed, the former probably because they were sometimes mistaken for Armenians. As for foreign citizens, nearly all European observers describe the respectful demeanor shown to them by police and army officials and the indifference of the armed groups.[390]

The question of how the attackers singled out their victims can probably not be satisfactorily answered. Sidney Williams, correspondent of the New York Herald, echoed this in his recollections: "The most extraordinary feature of this popular rising against the Armenians…was the discrimination exercised by the mob in seeking their victims…How the unlettered crowd… were able to exercise such discrimination still remains a mystery to me".[391] Lemec Saad, working at the quarantine station at the docks, states that while reporting to work during the massacre, he took off his *fez* and wore a hat, "so as not to be thought an Armenian".[392] This is surprising, since the *fez* was specifically introduced in 1829 to promote outward homogeneity of the (bureaucratic) population and was by the end of the century the most common marker of Ottoman state employees. At least regarding headgear, there apparently was also no difference between Muslim and non-Muslim workers at the end of the 19th century.[393] That said, there were certain elements

387 Steininger, "Building of the Ottoman Imperial Bank"; Troshine, "Slaughter of Armenians," 52.
388 Even inimical European observers pointed out that "very few Women or children were killed, and these only in certain quarters where the houses were attacked and looted". Washburn, Recollections, 247.
389 It has to be admitted, however, that Ottoman sources tried to downplay and divide them from the incidents happening along the Golden Horn.
390 Dinçer, "Armenian Massacre in Istanbul," 27; Riedler, "Massacres of Armenians in Istanbul," 173; Saad, Sechzehn Jahre als Quarantänearzt, 334; Washburn, Recollections, 247–48.
391 Whitman, Turkish Memories, 20–12.
392 Saad, Sechzehn Jahre als Quarantänearzt, 332; Quataert, "Clothing Laws."
393 Quataert, "Clothing Laws," 417–19.

of dress which marked the different religious communities apart, especially in rural areas and among urban lower classes.[394] This difference had prominently featured in the "Elbise-i Osmaniye", an album of Ottoman dresses prepared for the Vienna World Exposition of 1873. It had, however, celebrated the cultural differences of Ottoman society in a spirit of diversity and creatively appropriated orientalist notions of the 'East'.[395]

"A Kurd, a Christian and a Muslim", from the Elbise-i Osmaniye. Ersoy 2003: 200.

In the end, it is most probable that the attackers singled out their victims by relying on local knowledge of dress and living quarters, something that was also insinuated by some European witnesses.[396] While segregation in neighborhoods according to religion had been declining throughout the 19th century in the city, smaller pockets clustered around places of worship continued to exist.[397]

The killings continued throughout Wednesday night, particularly in the still mainly Jewish neighborhood of Hasköy. Here, members of the Ottoman navy took an active part.[398] On Thursday morning, the police issued an official statement (*ilan-i resmi*), which was published in all

394 Ramsay, Everyday Life in Turkey, 32–33; 38; Crawford, Constantinople, 15; Vardağlı, "Female Tobacco Workers," 53.

395 Ersoy, "Elbise-i Osmaniyye."

396 Saad, Sechzehn Jahre als Quarantänearzt, 335; Troshine, "Slaughter of Armenians," 56.

397 See for example the maps in Eldem, "Galata'nın Etnik Yapısı."

398 As usual, this was legitimized by Armenian revolutionaries opening the fire. Karacakaya, Ermeni isyanları (1896-1909), 3:43–45.

major Ottoman languages in the respective newspapers. It stated that anyone who employed violence against any other group would be apprehended. This wording targeted quite clearly the Muslim groups.[399] Nonetheless, the violence continued throughout the day. Only towards the evening did police and army finally begin to disperse and disarm groups of perpetrators. In the afternoon, the Ambassadors of the Great Powers in a rare act of unison had visited the Sultan together and demanded an end to the bloodshed, threatening the Sultan with an embankment of the British Mediterranean fleet. Whether or not this was the sole reason, major incidents stopped on Thursday night. Some deadly episodes still occurred on Friday, where the rumor of an attack on the *selamlik* triggered sporadic crowd action.[400]

There is little consensus about the total number of casualties. The Ottoman report of September 1, 1896, listed 1.015 dead and 116 wounded Armenians. It also counted thirty dead and seventy-two wounded Muslims. While the numbers counted by European bystanders go as high as 14.000, even the not too partial British embassy estimated 5.-6.000.[401] It may be reasonably assumed that the sum was much higher than the official ~1.000. The numbers are almost impossible to qualify, since many dead were quickly interred—both Muslims and Christians—or thrown into the sea. Most of the victims also were recent, not always official immigrants into the city and did not appear in any official statistic.[402] Finally, the events prompted thousands of Armenians to flee from Istanbul to other countries.[403]

The events following the occupation of the Ottoman Bank were in important ways different from the other episodes of the period between 1894-96. They were spatially removed from the main zone in the east and marked the end of the wave of violence. Lasting only two days yet causing a high number of casualties, they happened right under the eyes of numerous international and

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399 Eldem, "1896 'Ermeni Olayları,'" 125.

400 Rathberger, "Botschafterkonferenz von Konstantinopel," 185; Saad, Sechzehn Jahre als Quarantänearzt, 332.

401 Eldem, "1896 'Ermeni Olayları,'" 134; Dinçer, "Armenian Massacre in Istanbul," 26.

402 Riedler, "Massacres of Armenians in Istanbul," 173; Dinçer, "Armenian Massacre in Istanbul," 29–32.

403 Thus making any 'before' and 'after' comparisons moot. Hovannisian, "The Armenian Question," 226; Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 305. The Armenian share of the Istanbul population dropped from 17.12% in the census of 1885 to 7.14% in the census of 1906. Behar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu, 74.On the other hand, Eastern Anatolia saw widespread and often forced conversion of Armenians to Islam. Deringil, "Mass Conversions of Armenians."

national observers, making front pages almost instantly in newspapers worldwide.[404] This last part was very much intentional. The leader of the Armenian group, Armen Garo (or Garegin Pasdermadjian) (1872-1923), stated in his memoirs that the plan had been to stage a terrorist attack in Istanbul in order to trigger a bloody repression from the state. The European presence in the city would then have engendered an international public outcry prompting the Great Powers to intervene in favor of the Armenians. It is in this regard that the occupation of the Bank has been called the first act of "modern political terrorism".[405]

Up to a certain point, this plan was successful. The initial international solidarity with the Ottomans, who were attacked by the well-known bogey-man of the anarchist "black international", soon gave way to disgust at the reports of mass killings.[406] But the hoped-for European intervention never materialized and the promise made earlier by the Sultan regarding a reform in administration was never carried out. This was mostly due to diverging interests of the Great Powers, soon to clash in the Cretan crisis of 1897. The internal outcome was a weakening of the Armenian political movement and a significant decrease of Istanbul's Armenian population. Further, many perpetrators probably profited economically. Observers noted that Kurdish and Muslim workers had soon taken over the jobs of the killed or fled Armenians in the area of the Golden Horn. While facing an increasingly hostile international environment and loosing the allegiance of many, especially Arabic, Christian subjects, the reign of Abdülhamid was secured until 1908.[407]

Yet how could a state legitimize the mass killings of some of his citizens by other subjects? As stated, it was framed by the Ottoman bureaucracy as a legitimate popular reaction to an insurgent attack and directed at the supporters of this insurgency. The notion of anger was central to this argument, both for external and internal argumentation of the state bureaucracy and—albeit in a different way—for the perpetrators.

Anger (*galeyan*) was not universally seen as legitimate, but retained significant negative semantics in

404 See for instance Volkszeitung Berlin, August 27, 1896 and The New York Times, August 29, 1896.
405 Dinçer, "Armenian Massacre in Istanbul," 34–38; Riedler, "Massacres of Armenians in Istanbul," 169.
406 Eldem, "1896 'Ermeni Olayları,'" 140–41; Yılmaz, "Security Perceptions."
407 Eldem, "1896 'Ermeni Olayları,'" 140–41; Rathberger, "Botschafterkonferenz von Konstantinopel"; Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 300-08; Fortna, "Abdülhamid II," 38–39.

Ottoman bureaucratic documents. A police report sent to the Interior Ministry on June 16, 1895 reported on Armenian political activity in the European states:

"Tracks of anger (asar-i galeyan) can be observed among a majority of Armenians which is due to the slanderous lies and rumors published by the press in London. The latter write that due to the unity of the three powers (England, France, Russia) and English demand, an independent state named 'Armenia' may yet be formed by bringing together those royal provinces in which Armenians live. They think to have revenge on Kurds and Turks. (....) They[408] work in the [Ottoman Armenian] schools to bring the thoughts of the whole Armenian population under the influence of anger (duçar-ı galeyan). (...) The main goal of the Armenian and English committees in London is to (...) have European public opinion in constant anger (galeyan-i daimi)".[409]

Another testimony from the same year reports on the activity of Armenian revolutionaries in London:

"[They] form companies to spread the Armenian insurrection in London and publish letters in the press to turn European popular opinion to anger (galeyana getirmek) against the [Ottoman] government".[410]

Anger was also employed in a negative manner with regard to looting during the massacres, even when it targeted Armenians. The "General Army Report" listed an individual incident:

"In Hocapaşa in the Tram-street on the second day of the riots (iğtişaş), the Coffee-traders Kemahlı Haçik and Vartan, who also live in their shop which has no [street]number, wanted to close their shop. Because of that, some drifters came to anger (galeyana gelen serseriler), killed them and stole some of their things."[411]

It becomes apparent that it was not so much the anger itself which was important for legitimacy, but rather the narrative in which it was embedded.[412] Anger thus was not legitimate if it occurred

408 The "rebellious men", or erbab-I fesad , was used in the documents for the Revolutionary Armenians. It was a generic term, which could in other contexts also be employed for anyone threatening the political and social order of the state. See 2.1. and Wishnitzer, "Outdoor Illumination," 69; Yılmaz, "Fesad, Serseri, Anarşist."

409 Nazım Paşa, Ermeni olayları, 65.

410 Nazım Paşa, 60–61.

411 Karacakaya, Ermeni isyanları (1896-1909), 3:36. Vartan is an Armenian name.

412 In this case, narratives might be more appropriate to an understanding of anger than conceptual history. For emotions can also be understood as blends of different emotional states embedded in a narrative. These blends are coherent and not combinations of elementary states. I thank Edgar Cabanas Diaz for

unprovoked, was long-lasting or was the outcome of agitation, if it was accompanied by unmoral acts like stealing, or if it was shown by unmoral persons. The apparent narrative of subversive agents working on an otherwise good population was widespread also in other genres and contexts of the Hamidian era.[413]

Anger was legitimate, on the other hand, if it was provoked by an attack of seditious persons on state institutions, or on a group of people, came out of self-defense, and was shown by the people (*ahali*) or Muslim people (*ahali-yi islamiyye*). There was thus a rather large difference between anger evolving out of survival instincts or as a reaction to illegitimate behavior, and anger resulting from malicious political and premeditated intent. This can be shown in instances of legitimate anger:

> *"On Wednesday at about 7 pm in Eminönü (...) Armenian insurgents attacked the Customs station (Rüsumat) and the people (ahali) in the surroundings, so that the latter were brought to anger (galeyan). Everyone was concerned with fighting for their own lives with everything they could, sticks and so forth, which they continued until the army and Gendarmerie arrived. (...) Fourteen Armenians were dead and five wounded, of the Muslims two wounded."*[414]

It was also possible for non-Muslim minority groups to be inscribed within this narrative:

> *"The local Armenians joined the insurgents (erbab-i fesad) in Hasköy and first attacked Jewish khans, killing and wounding five to six people. This brought the Jewish people (ahali-yi Musevi) to anger and compelled them to join the Muslims (ahali-yi müslimeyi), who had been subjected to bombs and bullet-fire, in the fight."*[415]

Even Armenians could be included, when they were not part of the insurgents:

> *"On the mentioned day [Wednesday] in Balıkpazarı, three Armenian insurgents, concealed (muhtefi)*[416] *in a coffee-shop connected to a bakery, threw two bombs on the people. The people came to anger and killed two and injured one of the mentioned persons. In this tumult, one Greek (rum) and one Armenian belonging to the people (ahaliden) were injured".*[417]

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the suggestion to think along these lines. Kagan, What Is Emotion?, 9.

413 Deringil, Well-Protected Domains, 40–41.

414 Karacakaya, Ermeni isyanları (1896-1909), 3:32.

415 Nazım Paşa, Ermeni olayları, 355.

416 That the insurgents concealed and hid themselves in the crowd to better carry out their attacks, even sometimes wearing women's clothing, is a much-repeated trope in the Ottoman documents.

417 Karacakaya, Ermeni isyanları (1895-1896), 2:34–35.

And finally, as already mentioned, the narrative of legitimate anger served as an excuse for Ottoman executive forces to answer questions why they had not stopped the massacres:

> *"It was not possible to calm the people´s (ahali) anger and exaltation (heyecan ve galeyan). The police, military and the Gendarmerie were exposed to attacks and fighting and had to defend themselves. Neither the state nor the time was convenient for the calming of the people's exaltation (heyecan). They attacked the Armenian population and, at the same time, some from the unorganized groups attacked Armenian stores and began to plunder. There were now no soldiers left in the barracks; all were trying to calm the tumultuous situation".*[418]

The reports were not only for internal purposes, but also published and presented to the European powers. They were not written in a vacuum. As noted earlier, the Ottomans were subjected to a European framework of civilization in the international arena that emphasized emotional control.[419] As 'Orientals', they often ranked poorly in this regard, something that many contemporary European observers ascribed to. The journalist Yvan Troshine reports a nervous atmosphere in the city prior to the events, in which it was feared that "some small band of men would commit some outrage so heinous as to arouse the worst passions of the Turks, relying on the Turkish principle…to produce some fiendish outburst".[420] On the other hand, colonial encounters also had led to a re-evaluation of anger in Europe. In the case of India, emotional control shown by British subjects in face of insubordinate and rebellious colonial subjects threatened to engender a loss of prestige and power. As can be seen from court cases, violence against members of the colonial powers was seen as a major threat, triggering and legitimizing anger of a visceral quality. This anger and violence did not, however, contradict the civility discourse. In light of fundamental hierarchy, it can be said to have almost formed its basis.[421]

As can be seen in the initial reaction in Western newspapers, this meant that some violent response to the Armenian attack on the state's central bank was entirely expected and even seen as legitimate. The "New York Times", for example, wrote that the attack would surely occasion some bloodshed, but a not too harsh response to the attacks would "greatly enhance the international

418 Cit. from Eldem, "1896 'Ermeni Olayları,'" 136.
419 Pernau and Jordheim, "Introduction"; Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man."
420 Troshine, "Slaughter of Armenians," 50.
421 Pernau, "Anger, Hurt and Enthusiasm."

standing of the Sultan".[422] This held also true for politicians and heads of state, who initially showed acceptance of retaliation. Wilhelm II, for instance, noted on an early embassy report talking of killed Armenians in the streets of Istanbul: "Those poor devils! But what were they thinking?".[423] It is in this way that the narrative of anger as a legitimization for the massacres has to be read, which featured most prominently in the report of the military commission presented to the European powers.

This framing of the actions as a direct and emotional popular reaction to seditious and violent activity by small bands of revolutionary and nationalist Armenians further allowed for a privatization of state ideology. Perpetrators could not really be held accountable for their actions, since they acted out transitory and legitimate emotional states. Against that, the state could present itself as a rational and enduring actor that moderated and controlled emotions. The emotional states of the perpetrators further legitimized initial state inaction.[424] This argumentation, in turn, led European actors trying to delegitimize the Ottoman state to emphasize the, difficult to prove, theory that the state had known in advance of the Armenian plot, let it occur, and then carried out a planned response.[425] Some observers directly implicated state institutions and Armenians were said to have been escorted to police and army posts, where they were murdered in organized fashion.[426] It also led authors to de-emphasize the emotional excitement of the armed groups. Yvan Troshine, for example, curiously contradicted his statements a few pages earlier on the highly emotional "nature of the Turks", when he wrote: "Whatever those men expected to do, they would do in cold blood, with the fullest calculation of risks and possible gains. It was anything but an excited mob…(and) a characteristic snap-shot [of behavior by the groups]".[427]

Anger further allowed for an internal censuring of acts that were committed out of illegitimate anger or non-emotional motivations, such as economic profit. After the events, Ottoman courts

422 Cit. from Eldem, "1896 'Ermeni Olayları,'" 141. Similar notions were expressed in the Berliner Börsenzeitung, August 30, 1896.

423 Lepsius, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and Thimme, Diplomatische Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes, 21–22.

424 I would like to thank Yaara Benger for this idea. See Illouz, "How Therapy Became"; Illouz, Cold Intimacies.

425 "Who originated this plot I do not know, but it is certain that the Turkish government knew all about it many days before, even to the exact time when the bank was to be entered". Washburn, Recollections, 246.

426 Kalopothakes, "The Constantinople Massacres."

427 Troshine, "Slaughter of Armenians," 59.

summoned mostly Armenians, who were accused of violent acts committed in insurgency. The courts, however, also charged Muslims and non-Armenians accused of plunder or possession of stolen goods.[428] The insistence on anger as the cause of attacks on Armenians, prompted by an attack on the state and carried out by 'insurgents', also allowed to de-emphasize the religious component. Minorities and even Armenians not part of the insurgency could thus be integrated into the state's community, as evident from the documents cited above.

Whether or not the perpetrators themselves had initiated their acts because of 'anger', as expressed and understood in official documents, is difficult to ascertain. While the state did at least not prevent the killings and some government actors took an active part, local inhabitants of the affected areas at least significantly participated in the violence. This also held true for other incidents of 1894-96 and the events in Adana 1909.[429] In the case of Istanbul, historians have identified economic motives as a possible motivation, supported by the fact that subsequently local Muslims and Kurds took over formerly Armenian jobs.[430] In Eastern Anatolia, Muslim fear and rumors of the establishment of an Armenian state, in light of the forced migration of millions of Muslims from the Balkans and the Caucasus in previous decades, also have been mentioned as a possible motivation.[431] Large-scale migrations from Eastern Anatolia to Istanbul in the 1890s provided a link between the two spaces. While the large presence of Muslim refugees from the former Balkan and the Caucasus-regions (many of which had experiences of sectarian violence) may have had an impact on the inter-communal situation in Istanbul, acts of violence must not be seen as a necessary consequence of it.[432]

The narrative of anger can, however, also hint at another potentially important facet. Collective anger or other strong emotions directed at moral or immoral behavior were a frequent topic of the period's writings, from schoolbooks to economics literature. They formed a significant part of the

428 Riedler, "Massacres of Armenians in Istanbul," 174; Dinçer, "Armenian Massacre in Istanbul," 39.
429 Der Matossian, "Armenian Genocide Historiography"; Suny, They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else, 105–93.
430 Riedler, "Massacres of Armenians in Istanbul," 176.
431 Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 291–308. On the importance of rumors in similar episodes of violent mass action in Ottoman history, see Dağlı, "Rumor and Regicide."
432 For this argument, see Deal, "War Refugees and Violence," 179–80. Isa Blumi has convincingly argued against simply equating an increase in the number of refugees with an increase in nationalist and sectarian violence in the late Ottoman Empire. Blumi, Ottoman Refugees, 1878-1939.

system of moral values at that time and contributed to the formation of a hierarchical and stratified political community. Violent collective action was also sometimes sanctioned by the state. In labor struggles between workers and tobacco merchants, many of which were non-Muslim or foreigners, the state often appeared as an arbitrator, sanctioning worker's direct action and the "anger they felt toward tobacco merchants".[433] Further, violent acts by local Muslims towards an Armenian political demonstration in Istanbul on October 1, 1895 had also been framed by the Ottoman institutions as arising out of popular anger at a perceived 'Armenian insurrection'. The actions of non-Armenians had subsequently not been punished.[434] Taken together with the lower-class and non-Turkish ethnic background of many perpetrators of August 1896, it may be argued that the frame of anger in the face of insurgence allowed the perpetrators to inscribe themselves into an Ottoman political community whose dominant value was obedience and which presented the violent acts against Armenians as legitimate in official documents.

The prominent role of anger in the events of August 1896 may also point towards the so-far neglected role of emotions in acts of mass violence in the late Ottoman Empire. The years of 1895-96 mark a shift in this regard, since descriptions of earlier riots and acts of violence had not employed notions of emotional motivation as prominently.[435] In the following years, it was to be used again in legitimizing subsequent violent actions of Ottoman Muslims against Armenians, though interestingly not in the documents edited for the years of the First World War and the Armenian genocide.[436] This change in the narrative and usage of anger, together with the accompanying privatization of ideology, may points towards some lines of inquiry. The events in Istanbul thus may be said to have also worked in other ways as a 'template' for future responses to real or imagined insurrections against the Ottoman state than has often been argued for.[437]

433 Nacar, "Labor Activism," 543. See also below, chapter 3.3.

434 Nazım Paşa, Ermeni olayları, 77–79; Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 291–92; Riedler, "Massacres of Armenians in Istanbul," 168–69.

435 Karacakaya, Ermeni isyanları (1878-1895).

436 Karacakaya, Ermeni isyanları (1909-1916); Sarınay, Katliam Belgeleri. The Turkish state and nationalist historiography deny a genocide. It is acknowledged that deportations of Armenians from Eastern Anatolia were carried out by the Ottoman state. These were and are legitimized by a rational threat of potential Armenian alliances with the advancing Russian army. Armenian deaths are usually attributed to armed resistance against the Ottoman state, or framed as accidental deaths in the wake of forced deportations. There is so far no work on emotions and the genocide. Der Matossian, "Armenian Genocide Historiography."

437 Several scholars, most prominently Vahakn Dadrian, have contended that the *impunity* of the massacres in

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Morality, manners, and emotions were at the forefront of debates in the Hamidian period. Notions of a 'broken' morality dominated the period's journals, newspapers, and books, while proper behavior informed topics from personal hygiene to the acquisition of scientific knowledge. Critically engaging with both an own tradition of morality (*ahlak*) and universalizing notions of civilization, Ottoman writers and intellectuals proposed a strengthening of morality and manners—understood as the practical and social application of morals—via education as a panacea to the ills of Empire. While traditional moral values were thus often advocated for, their point of reference was transformed: Morals and manners, from cleanliness (*nezafet*) to obedience (*itaat*), were increasingly understood as individual duties towards the larger political society and the state. Articulated by reference to universal or particular notions of civilization and progress, morals and manners thus served to delineate and stratify a particular and hierarchical community that was mostly coexistent with the Ottoman state. To transmit morals and manners, a special role was reserved for education. Proper individual behavior received and enacted was thought to strengthen the bonds between different parts of the population, as well as between the state and the population.[438] This also entailed a critical engagement with emotions: While they were usually seen as important and natural, a hegemonic discourse also perceived individual emotions as dangerous and thus deemed them to be in need of 'balance' (*itidal*). Yet at the same time, desired behavior occasioned received social emotions, such as communal love; individual positive emotion, such as 'joy' (*mesrur*); and an increase in societal 'happiness' (*saadet*), in which the virtuous individuals could partake. Emotions were thus not only means, but also individual and social goals of individual actions, contributing to the emergence of a 'feeling community'.[439] This community could also be performed through strong negative emotions like anger in the face of perceived insurrection.

1894-96 served as a template for the Ottoman state to dare carry out the Armenian genocide in 1915-6. Dadrian, History of the Armenian Genocide.

438 Fortna, Imperial Classroom, 202–47; Erdem, Sondevir Osmanlı Düşüncesinde Ahlak.

439 Pernau, "Feeling Communities."

3 Morality and the Economy

The world of the late 19th century was increasingly connected by economic ties of production, trade, and consumption Although they came to affect most regions of the world, economic relations were nonetheless fundamentally unequal; while British hegemony somewhat lessened, the bulk of particularly industrial production and means of transport was still concentrated in few hands in few regions of few countries. Additionally, despite a rapid economic expansion in absolute terms, the period of 1873-96 saw a global depression of prices, profits, and interest rates. The inequality and expansion, exacerbated by the depression—the last acutely felt by contemporaries, though somewhat qualified by historians—contributed to a keen sense of global economic dynamics. The workings of the economy, the role of trade, concern over the relative share for own products, all came to the forefront of public debate. This by no means only concerned 'less developed' societies. The English isles, still the center of the world economy in many ways, were rocked by debates on the danger of products 'Made in Germany', while individual and social 'efficiency' became central concepts in public and scientific discourse towards the last years of the century.[440]

Economic concerns were equally on the forefront of public debate in the late Ottoman period, although under somewhat different auspices. The forced liberalization of the empire's economy, often attributed to the Anglo-Ottoman trade agreement of 1838 but also due to internal reforms, monetized the local economy, weakened guild monopolies, and led to Ottoman agriculture and manufacture becoming integrated with world markets.[441] The 1870s then are often presented as years of crisis for the Ottoman economy. In 1873 Anatolia suffered the most severe famine of the 19th century, which led to a decrease in agricultural production and large-scale migration into the big cities of the empire. The wars on the Balkans and the treaty of San Stefano in 1878 saw the empire losing some of its most economically advanced and most populous parts.[442] The global

440 Osterhammel, Transformation of the World, 667–72; Hobsbawm, Age of Empire, 34–55; Searle, The Quest for National Efficiency.

441 Under the agreement, imports had a custom tax of 5%, while exports were taxed with 12%. Genç, Devlet ve Ekonomi, 89; Geyikdagi, "Economic Views," 535–36; Ahmad, "Ottoman Perceptions," 4–5; Özveren, "Ottoman Economic Thought."

442 Ottoman per-capita income in 1913 was 20% of that in the post-Ottoman successor states of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. In terms of population density the relations were about the same. Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 775; 779-81.

economic depression of 1873-96 worsened the terms of trade for agricultural products and increased international competition. As a result the relative share of Ottoman trade in the world declined, while the growth of absolute external trade slowed down significantly.[443] And finally, when international financial markets broke down after the crash of 1873, banks and investors demanded the repayment of loans, on which the Ottoman state budget had relied since the Crimean War (1854-56). In 1876 the empire defaulted on its obligations, which led to the establishment of an 'Ottoman Public Debt Administration' (OPDA, or *Duyun-i Umumiye*) by the European powers in 1881, which controlled large parts of the empire's budget. Despite its relative success at generating income, the state nonetheless still had to rely on external financing, exacerbating its financial situation.[444]

It was against the backdrop of global integration and local developments that Ottoman debates on economics and economic policy intensified from the 1880s onward. Economic development further became a focus point for the Hamidian regime to provide legitimacy for a regime that kept political participation to a minimum and suppressed opposition.[445] In this respect, economic education and popularization of 'economic thinking' for a socioeconomic transformation—through changing popular economic mentality and work ethic—played an increasingly important role.[446] The prominent literati and editor of "Servet-i Fünun", Ahmed İhsan Tokgöz (1868-1942) would note in his memoirs later in life that the intellectuals of his day, just like the teachers of economics at the Hamidian schools, taught their students that the power of a nation depended on its people's labor and effort. He added that these teachings helped the Ottoman population to get rid of a traditional and fatalist "old mentality".[447] This interpretation brings to mind the orientalist framework of its day. To many European observers of the 19th century, the *homo levanticus* of the Ottoman Empire was the opposite of the European *homo oeconomicus*. Ottoman economic actors were envisioned as prototypes of vice and scolded by European observers for their corruption,

443 Quataert, 774.

444 Pamuk, A Monetary History, 186–87; Birdal, Ottoman Public Debt, 103–80; Endres, Die Türkei, 140; Tunçer, Sovereign Debt, 53–78; Özbek, "Vergi Sistemi," 27.

445 Mardin, Türkiyede İktisadî Düşünce, 49; Akarlı, "Problems of Westernization," 358; Fortna, "Abdülhamid II," 49–54.

446 I want to underline this point, as until recently historians did not see economic concerns as being high on the late Ottoman intellectual agenda. See Neumann, "Review: Benjamin C. Fortna. Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic."

447 Cit. from Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 62–63.

laziness, and of course, their 'fatalistic' and indifferent attitude towards profit.[448]

The transformation of economic morality in the late Ottoman Empire was certainly more complex than a simple transfer of European models and ideas. Even in translations, Ottoman authors usually critically engaged with an own conceptual tradition. This became particularly noticeable in writings dealing with economic issues within a decidedly moral framework, like schoolbooks. The following pages will take such writings prominently into account, challenging a separation of economics and morality, or interests and moral deliberation.[449]

Besides connecting economic writings thus to larger debates on morals and manners, this also links economic debates to conceptions of the political community. As formulated by Ahmed İhsan, economic issues were conceived in most writings of the Hamidian period as contributing to the power and 'happiness' of the Ottoman nation or society. This link between economics and the political community was no Ottoman idiosyncrasy. As Ernest Gellner has argued, economic activity was a decisive factor both in the subjectivation of individuals and the forming of a national community.[450] Capitalist and industrial economic development and activity, as well as education to work, create individual economic subjects, which act by reference to a certain set of moral values, duties, or interests. At the same time, they also form a political community with special interests into which these actors are integrated, by and through acting on these moral qualities.[451] The individual actor's actions are socially framed by values pertaining to a wider social structure, i.e. a group that is larger than the extended family or kinship. In the Ottoman case, these values could be 'happiness' or 'wealth' of a community equal to the existing political structure of the empire or,

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448 Tunçer, Sovereign Debt, 68; Whitman, Turkish Memories, 234; Özveren, "Advent of 'Homo Oeconomicus,'" 20.

449 By way of reference, this means taking Adam Smith seriously as both the author of the "Wealth of Nations" and the "Theory of Moral Sentiments". See Thompson, "The Moral Economy Reviewed"; Scott, The Moral Economy of the Peasant.

450 I reject, however, Gellner's notion that the industrial and capitalist economy necessarily produces "a certain type of egalitarianism…because it is mobile" and in a state of perpetual growth. Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, 19–38 cit. 24-25. Recent works in Economic history have stressed the compatibility of fundamental hierarchies with capitalist modes of production, such as slavery, as well as the tendency of 'normal' capitalist development to produce widening inequality in societies. Beckert, "Slavery and Capitalism"; Piketty, Capital; Scheidel, The Great Leveller.

451 I draw in this on Nakano, "Theorising Economic Nationalism." For the classic discussion of "private vice and public good" and the transformation of individual "passions into interests", see Hirschman, Passions and Interests.

more abstractly, universal notions of progress and civilization. This meant, however, no lessening in the importance of religion as a referent. Yet how was the political community understood in Ottoman economic writings? Which values and norms of work were advocated for? How did this work ethic relate to an emerging standardized system of time? Which economic roles were seen as important, for both men and women? How were individual economic activities linked to the social unit?

The following pages aim to investigate these questions by first surveying the field of economic writings in the Hamidian period. In a second step, the morals and norms attached to work will be studied, followed by an inspection of the relationship between a new temporal regime and practices of work. The fourth sub-chapter will then discuss the eminent economic role of the entrepreneur as well as issues of capital and credit. Subsequently, the economic role of women will be considered, which normatively at least was often conceptualized as reproductive work in the household. The chapter will close with an inspection of forms of consumption and the emergence of advertisements in the Ottoman press of the period.

3.1 Economic Thought and Public Policy

Economic writings centrally influence the way economic processes play out. They do so not only through their influence on state policy, but also constitute part of the material conditions and technologies that bring about the workings of specific markets. Recent research in economic history has highlighted the diverse interactions between material and discursive elements in the process of economic transformations.[452] While earlier genres, such as advice literature (*nasihatname*), diplomatic reports, or travelogues, had also addressed economic concerns, explicitly economic writings arose in the Ottoman context, like so many new genres, in the first decades of the 19th century. One of the first of these was the anonymous "Treatise on the Administration of the Prosperity of the Country" from 1835.[453] From the middle of the century economic writings were further produced for the local print market, often by members of religious minorities like Sarantis Archigenes (1809-?). Most of these articles and books were translations and decidedly concerned

452 Lipartito, "Reassembling the Economic," 118–19; Foucault, The Order of Things, 272–84.
453 Kılınçoğlu, "Islamic Economics," 2–3.

with questions of trade.[454]

The Hamidian era then witnessed a renewed interest in economic matters and a blossoming of economic literature that has been called "the emergence of an Ottoman economic literature".[455] In investigating these writings, four points will receive special attention: First, authors positioned the Ottoman economy in an unequal global economic space, with ever more references and comparisons being made to other polities. They secondly conceptualized this space as dynamic, in the frame of ever more openly temporal notions of progress, development or growth, thus including an orientation towards the future.[456] This dynamic future, however, could also mean a further depreciation of the own precarious position. In order to at least safeguard their precarious position, Ottoman economic writers increasingly wanted to thirdly intervene in this dynamic, by addressing not only public policy but also the economic role of the population. This led many authors to directly encourage economic education. And finally, connected to this, notions of work and finance came to occupy places of central importance.

Continuing conventions of the preceding *Tanzimat* era, authors explicitly stressed the scientific character of economics. An instructive example in this regard is the foreword of the "Telhis-i İlm-i Servet" from 1888, a modified translation of Prosper Rambaud's "Précis élémentaire d'économie politique" from 1880. Professing to be written according to the scientific method, the text approvingly references Herbert Spencer who, according to the translator, had shown that the same rules and laws that guide the formation, enlarging and progress of biological species also held true for human societies. Economics was the application of these insights—among which fundamental competition—to economic endeavors. The author stated that a nation's (*memleket*) happiness was only possible by progress (*terakki*) and offers the translation of Rambaud as a contribution to Ottoman development.[457] It becomes clear how a universal 'struggle' between societies measured

454 Ermis, Ottoman Economic Thought; Ozgur and Genc, "Sarantis Archigenes"; Özveren, "Ottoman Economic Thought," 136–38; Mardin, Türkiyede İktisadî Düşünce, 1–40. This fact has led much research on 19th century debates in Ottoman economic thought to be framed along a dichotomy of Protectionism versus Liberalism. While this approach has led to admirable scholarship, it underestimates the significant overlaps between the schools, neglects subjects besides trade, and often restricts its sources to intellectual debates on economic policy.

455 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 42.

456 Conrad, "Global Transformations," 9–10; Koselleck, "Introduction 'Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe,'" 10–11; Rosa, Social Acceleration, 5–7.

457 Suad, "Makale-i Mütercim," 6–12.

by progress is here legitimized by recourse to scientific discourse.

Despite the universality inherent in such scientific claims, many authors also stressed the importance of location. Rather than a simple translation of universal rules, an adaptation suited to the particular needs of the Ottoman situation was advocated for. Ahmed Midhat argued for example in his "Ekonomi Politik" from 1880 against the translation of European books and for the composition of own theories and rules. According to him, every writer in political economy—just like in other sciences such as morality—would write their works according to the "degree of progress and civilization of the people of his country".[458] Midhat's differentiation did not challenge the universality of economics, but rather expressed the inequality of the synchronous global economic space.[459] This also held true for other writers, who at times aimed to construct an indigenous genealogy of economics. Mustafa Nuri Bey (1844-1906), in the introduction to his 1882 treatise on economics "İlm-i Servet", stated that it was not possible for people in "civilized societies" (*temeddüne girmiş cemiyetler*) to be ignorant of the science of economics. While acknowledging the European influence, he held them to be unsatisfying for the Ottomans and set out to reconstruct an Islamic intellectual tradition of economics, in which he particularly singled out Ibn Khaldun. Nuri's goal was nonetheless an enhancement of "wealth and prosperity of society".[460]

These examples show the importance of concepts such as progress and civilization to the Hamidian economics discourse, a characteristic feature shared among most writers. While this consensus also served as a legitimizing force in establishing economics as an independent subject of studies, there was more to it. In utilizing these concepts, the authors incorporated a temporal and spatial dynamic into their texts. Situated within a synchronous unequal international economy, there was little doubt about a particular Ottoman need for economic progress. The inequality and

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458 Midhat, Ekonomi Politik, 3.
459 Kaynar, "Libéralisme et protectionnisme," 143.
460 Nuri Bey, İlm-i Servet, 5; Kılınçoğlu, "Islamic Economics," 12.Nuri cites the well-known translation by Pirizade Mehmed Sahib and Ahmed Cevdet from 1858.His citation, however, of "the first book, page 63" does not match. It is in fact page 43. İbn Haldun, Tercüme-i Mukaddime, 43; Kılınçoğlu, "Islamic Economics," 12. Ibn Khaldun's development of central tenets of liberal economic theory—division of labor, benefits of trade—several centuries before Adam Smith is becoming more and more accepted in the history of economic thought. Olah, "The Amazing Arab Scholar"; Weiss, "Arabische Wirtschaftspolitik"; Oweiss, "Ibn Khaldun."

dynamism were probably best expressed by Ahmed İhsan when defining the subject of his book on economics: "What is economics? Its subject is the wealth of nations (*millet*). And it investigates the necessary conditions to create a nation that is richer and more progressive (*müterakki*) than other nations".[461]

The scientific claims and the adaptation of universal principles such as civilization and progress did not, however, mean a neat separation of economic scientific writings from a frame of moral principles. Nuri Bey, for instance, stipulated that moral notions, such as ethics, justice, and concern for public prosperity, were and should always be indispensable components of economics. He also defined economics as a branch of ethics.[462] Mustafa Nail (1859-1919) wrote in another economic treatise that the natural causes for wealth to accumulate would be "good morals, work, and effort".[463] Ahmed Rasim included a section in his school book from 1896 on the workings of the economy that was titled: "Morality (*ahlak*) – Wealth of Nations (s*ervet-i milel*)".[464] One could without problems add to these moral inclinations the social legitimacy of economic activity, which for most authors in this period was to be an increase in general happiness (*saadet*).[465]

To bring about such an increase, economic writings identified in particular three important issues: finance, trade, and labor. All of these were linked to both individual moral behavior and public policy. Regarding finance, the Young Ottoman movement of the 1860s and 1870s had already seen the 'broken' morality and corruption of leading state officials as a main cause for the empire's financial problems.[466] Whatever its true causes, the state deficits had led to European fiscal control being imposed in 1881, despite Ottoman protest. The Ottomans were far from alone in this. Around the same time, similar institutions were being set up in Tunisia (1868), Egypt (1876), Spain (1877), Argentina (1890), Portugal (1892), Greece (1893), Serbia (1895) and Brazil (1898).[467] While the empire's bankruptcy and the OPDA contributed to a renewed interest in the economic workings of finance, the moral framework of the Young Ottoman's critique was in many ways continued.

461 İhsan, İlm-i Servet, 3.
462 Nuri Bey, İlm-i Servet, 51–58; 88; Kılınçoğlu, "Islamic Economics," 23.
463 Nail, İlm-i Servet, 17; 35.
464 Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 85.
465 Rambaud, İlm-i Servet, 11; Nail, İlm-i Servet, 1; Ohannes, Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet, 5.
466 Czygan, "Criticism of the Tanzimat Economy."
467 Tunçer, Sovereign Debt, 2.

In 1879, an institution of higher learning in financial matters, the *Mekteb-i Fünun-ı Maliye* was founded in Istanbul to educate government officials. The 1880s further saw several books being published on the subject. Filled with examples of mostly European countries, these books also entailed frequent references to classical Islamic authors and religious texts. By grounding public finances in a traditional moral framework, the books aimed to further the skills of Ottoman financial administrators.[468] Further, financial issues also came to occupy a central place in more general economics textbooks. Mehmed Ekrem allotted about half of his short economics treatise to issues of taxes, credit, and money, linking them closely notions of "trust" (*itimad*).[469] Ekrem and other authors also included sections on individual behavior, advocating moral notions like thrift (*hesabi*) in consumption and saving.[470] Public finances were also important to political functionaries. Muhammad al-Sadiq Bey (1859–1882), Grand Vizier under Abdülhamid II, stated in numerous writings that the empire's need for reducing state debt should also include better administrators.[471]

Another important topic for writers of the period was the issue of international trade. The trade agreements of the early 19th century had engendered significant transformations, with France, Britain, Germany, and Austria already by the middle of the century making up about 75% of Ottoman external trade. This trade was more than ever concentrated in the Mediterranean port cities, with Istanbul accounting for about 33% of the total volume. Policy contributed to this. Tariffs for exports were successively lowered, until from 1869 onward they remained at 1%. Internal land-transport tariffs were abolished by 1874, as were slowly but steadily also customs on most sea-transports. Conversely, taxes on imports were successively raised to 8% to protect local manufacture as well as provide state income, though the European powers only finally acquiesced to this in 1907. In spite of these measures, the mid-century expansion of trade had led most traditional manufacturing in the empire breaking down under international competition, especially in the textile sector. In the Hamidian period, external trade almost stagnated until the last years of the century. Its overall importance, however, remained rather low, amounting to about 15% of GDP.[472]

468 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 60–65..
469 Ekrem, Fen-i Servet, 18–32.
470 Nail, İlm-i Servet, 161.
471 Bouquet, "Ottoman Modernisation?," 57.
472 Genç, Devlet ve Ekonomi, 83–92; Pamuk, Osmanlı dış ticareti, 13–28.

Nonetheless, it was deemed a most important issue. Writers such Suad noted external trade to be "a central matter" of economics and the writer and journalist Akyiğitzade Musa (1865-1923) gave his 1896 book on economics the subtitle "Freedom of trade and Protectionism". Ahmed Midhat also spent almost one quarter of his "Ekonomi Politik" from 1880 on questions of international trade.[473] Following a global trend, these debates were fought out between a liberal and a protectionist camp.[474] The free trade case was initially represented by writers who had already participated in the economics discourse of the 1850s, like Münif Pasha. Another influential figure was Sakızlı Ohannes (1830–1912), an Ottoman-Armenian, who was a professor at the "School for Civil Servants" (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*) in Istanbul and Minister of Finance from 1897 on. He summed up his viewpoints in the "Principles of the Science of the Wealth of Nations", an 1880 textbook for Ottoman institutions of higher education. Its title was a conscious nod to Adam Smith. Making a case against protective tariffs, he advised the Ottoman economy to focus in the current global situation on its comparative advantage in agricultural products. His book included several international comparisons, depicting for example Spain and Portugal as cases of failed protectionist policies.[475] His mantle was subsequently taken up by his student Mehmed Cavid (1875-1926), later an important member of the 'Committee of Union and Progress' and minister of Finance from 1909-11.[476]

The protectionist camp was represented by writers like Ahmed Midhat, Akyiğitzade Musa, and Mustafa Nuri. Turning their eyes towards Germany, they drew on the Historical School of Economics and especially the writings of Friedrich List (1789-1846), while employing a comparative approach. According to Ahmed Midhat, for example, less developed states like Italy and the Ottoman Empire had to employ tariffs to protect and build up own manufacturing enterprises; Egypt under Mehmed Ali (1770-1849) and Russia under Peter I (1672-1725) served him as successful examples.[477] Similarly, Akyiğitzade Musa presented Germany and the United States as models for the Ottomans.[478] The situated knowledge of a synchronous yet unequal global

473 Suad, "Makale-i Mütercim," 7; Midhat, Ekonomi Politik, 69–110; Musa, İlm-i Servet.

474 Hobsbawm, Age of Empire, 13–33.

475 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 45–47.

476 Doğan, "Liberalism and Islamism," 182–96; Balcı and Aytaç, "Mehmed Cavid Bey"; Balcı, "Protectionist State Versus Liberal State," 61–78.

477 Geyikdagi, "Economic Views," 529; Kaynar, "Libéralisme et protectionnisme," 135–36.

478 Kılınçoğlu, "Ottoman Economic Thought," 108–16.

economic system becomes apparent.

Closely connected to the issue of trade was the topic of the capitulations. These highly contentious trading privileges and prerogatives given to certain Europeans nationals from the 16th century onward gained a notorious political dimension in the 19th century. Together with the OPDA, the capitulations served as a reference point to encourage reform and delineate the Ottoman political community. Limited to foreigners and especially Europeans in the Hamidian times, a similar discourse was to turn against non-Muslim minorities of the empire in the years before the First World War.[479] Ahmed Midhat, for example, stated that

> *"our commercial sectors have been invaded by the foreigners. They control not only external trade, but also internal trade. If we argue that one of the reasons for the collapse of our old wealth is foreigners, would it be an exaggeration? Many people remember their initial status. They were [merely] European tramps when they first came to Istanbul; today they are millionaires. Did they bring money from abroad? No, they found it here and stole it. They have even burdened the state budget with two hundred million".*[480]

He further criticized the Ottoman state for failing to protect the economic interests of its population and lamented the absence of a local entrepreneurial class. Similarly, Sultan Abdülhamid II railed in internal documents against the "injustice" of the capitulations, while lamenting a lack of Ottoman "big merchants [and] skillful artisans".[481]

Another highly influential subject was the issue of industry and work. That the ultimate goal of Ottoman economic policy should be the construction of a powerful domestic industry was not in question. Neither did liberal writers, like Sakızlı Ohannes, envision a continuous integration of the Ottoman economy into the world economy as a producer of primary products, nor did more religiously informed writers, like Mustafa Nuri, favor traditional industries and their accompanying social structure.[482] Contentious was just the path towards industrialization. This was helped by the fact that many writers framed the debate with reference to notions of civilization and progress: to many, an industrialized economy was a central aspect of being a civilized nation.[483]

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479 Çetinkaya, Young Turks and the Boycott, 89ff.

480 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 139–42 Cit. 139.

481 Ahmad, "Ottoman Perceptions," 9; Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 106.

482 Kılınçoğlu, 45–59.

483 For the example of Akyiğitzade Musa and Mehmed Cavid, see Balcı, "Protectionist State Versus Liberal State," 69–78.

In order to accomplish industrial take-off, Ottoman writers frequently referred not to England or France, but to the newly emerging powers of the US, Germany, and Japan, which were taken as models to be emulated.[484] Concerning the United States, Benjamin Franklin became one of the most influential economic thinkers of the late Ottoman period,[485] and articles and references depicting the US as a model for the Ottomans were especially frequent in "Servet-i Fünun".[486] The Ottoman fascination with Japanese economic and military development is well documented. Though spiked with anti-European sentiment, Japan was integrated into a hegemonic discourse of civilization. As "Malumat" wrote in 1897: "The [Japanese] government has implemented and promoted European [methods] of commerce and industry in its own country, and has turned the whole of Japan into a factory of progress…it has attempted to secure and develop Japan's… modes of civilization".[487] Besides these global models in public writings, regional experiences also featured as potential models to Ottoman administrators. Abdülhamid himself noted in a memorandum from 1888 the favorable industrial development of Bulgaria and Bosnia after their attainment of autonomy from the Ottoman state.[488]

In order to develop this kind of industry in the Ottoman Empire, nearly all authors agreed that a new work ethic was needed. It was to be both individual and collective. On the individual level, industriousness and an 'inner drive towards work' (*gayret-i say*) were deemed necessary. This also entailed the acceptance of new modes of production. Several texts detailed the beneficial contribution of machines and science in general to the production of goods. Critique and skepticism towards machines were discussed at length—a sign that some doubt towards industrial modes of production was still common enough among the population.[489]

On the societal level, the central tenet of this newfound work ethic was the division of labor. Münif Pasha had already stated in the 1860s that substantial economic growth could only occur in a society and in division of labor. He illustrated this with the example of an ant, who "when it is alone, seems like a weak and insignificant insect. However, in its nest with its fellow creatures…it is

484 Ekrem, Fen-i Servet; Midhat, Ekonomi Politik.
485 His "Way to Wealth" was translated in 1870, and real or invented citations of his frequently appeared even in non-economic writings. Wishnitzer, Reading Clocks, Alla Turca, 161.
486 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 66–67.
487 Cit. from Worringer, "Constructing Ottoman Modernity," 207.
488 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 147.
489 See as examples: Nail, İlm-i Servet, 18–20; Ekrem, Fen-i Servet, 8–9.

considered a civilized individual of a society that is defined by mind, reason, labor, and effort".[490] Mustafa Nail equally states that in "civilized societies" every work would be done in the form of a division of labor, while Ahmed Midhat envisioned his ideal economic subject to work in cooperation and solidarity with his fellow citizens.[491] This holistic view of the economy was also popular among the Young Turk opposition. An article from 1902 in the exile paper "Şura-yı Ümmet" stated: "A nation's prosperity and felicity (*saadet*) is produced in collective action", meaning here work.[492] This division of labor also clearly meant an internal differentiation of society. Some scholars drew in this explicitly on classic Ottoman Political Philosophy. Nuri Bey, for example, took up the early-modern notion of the 'four pillars' (*erkan-i erbaa*) making up society, which he changed from "scholars, bureaucrats/soldiers, merchants and peasants" to "bureaucrats, landowners, owners of capital, and workers".[493]

Each of these roles was seen as contingent on the dissemination of information and expertise, with the key by many authors seen in education. Mehmed Ekrem wrote in 1898: "Everybody must learn the part [of economics] that pertains to their profession".[494] Of special importance, however, was the dissemination of practical knowledge aimed at work, which would benefit a mode of production dominated by a division of labor, as Ali Nazif wrote in his economics book "Gencine Servet" from 1894. In order to achieve such a system "it is evident that science and education (*maarif*) are the only means and resource".[495] The same sentiment was echoed by Mustafa Nail, who wrote: "What brings progress in work and industry (*sanayi*) are skill and education".[496] This dissemination of knowledge could transform society, bind it together, bring about general happiness, and let the Ottoman Empire progress in a competitive and unequal system. This was best expressed by the translator of Prosper Rambaud: "Every member of the society….finds in

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490 Cit. from Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 96.
491 Geyikdagi, "Economic Views," 534; Nail, İlm-i Servet, 74.
492 Cit. from Mardin, Türkiyede İktisadî Düşünce, 56.
493 Kılınçoğlu, "Islamic Economics," 19–20. The 'four pillars' were based on an Ottoman version of classic Greek ethics and humor theory, where the social structure mirrored the four humors of human nature. The proper position of the 'four pillars', i.e. the social classes or estates, was deemed necessary for a 'just' political system in early modern Ottoman political thought. Sariyannis, "Ruler and State, State and Society in Ottoman Political Thought," 109–10.
494 Ekrem, Fen-i Servet, 4.
495 Nazif Süruri, Gencine Servet, 7.
496 Nail, İlm-i Servet, 18.

economics a mental and moral power. As a result there will be an increase in society's public order, work, virtuous morals (*mehasin-i ahlak*), prosperity, and happiness. Truly, the future belongs to those nations (*milletler*) that best know and apply the basic tenets of economics".[497]

Scientific economic writings proliferated in the Hamidian period. Engaging critically with European writings, many authors developed economic models adapted to the situation of the Ottoman Empire. Embedded in a local moral discourse, these appropriations posited the Ottoman economy within the framework of a common, dynamic, and unequal global economic space, replete with models and cautionary tales, that was structured according to economic power, civilization, and progress. Economic writers placed the Ottoman Empire in an unfavorable position, yet aimed to intervene in order to increase the state's wealth and 'happiness' via education and policy. At the same time, economic topics were decidedly connected to individual behavior and the economic social structure differentiated, with different actors contributing according to their specific roles. Workers in particular were deemed in need of good morals, such as 'zeal' (*gayret*) or 'love' for work, to bring about economic progress. Such notions were particularly articulated in other genres dealing with economic issues, like schoolbooks, novels, and popular culture. The next chapter aims to take a closer look at these values of work.

3.2 Education to Work: Laziness and Industry

Most industrializing countries of the late 19th century were in one way or another preoccupied with issues of work. In Europe, talking about industrial labor was not just addressing issues of work, but rather served as a framework that subordinated all social activities to production. This project of naturalizing labor was further organized by reference to binary opposites. It set virtues of industry against their opposites: laziness and idleness. Together with an emphasis on the 'love' for work, laziness came to be considered as a social disease, a vestige of 'savage people' and a way into a dissolute life of crime. This moralization of work was a major corollary to the transformation into industrial work.[498]

497 Suad, "Makale-i Mütercim," 12–13.
498 Rabinbach, The Human Motor, 4; 28–35.

Similar notions were also expressed by Ottoman writers of the late 19th century. They built in this on tradition: an ethic amenable to hard work had already been of prime importance to Ottoman guilds, the *esnaf* or *lonca*, before the mid-19th century.[499] Nonetheless, ideas of work and labor changed considerably in the Hamidian period. Four developments stand out: First, hard work and industriousness were increasingly understood as duties or norms rather than virtues, with time not spent productively being vilified. Second, these moral values were framed by reference to a larger social unit, such as society, and by generalized moral terms, such as civilization, progress and prosperity. Third, the zeal to work was linked to a stratified economic community, which could entail a potentially lower position in hierarchy for workers. It also served for delineation, by being directed against perceived lazy high state bureaucrats. And fourth, hard work also gained an emotional coloring. 'Love' (*sevda*) or 'zeal' (*gayret*) to work figured prominently in the semantic net of work as a motivational faculty, while behavior was socially rewarded or reprimanded by emotions, and an increase in general 'happiness' appeared as an ultimate goal.

As stated, notions of hard work and laziness had a history in Ottoman writings. Kınalızade Ali had already in the 16th century named laziness to be one of the lowest vices, since it kept one from doing good work and would abuse the limited time one has in the temporary world. Laziness was, however, mainly a vice because it cost the individual a participation in an otherworldly happiness and, only to a lesser degree, because it endangered the individual's livelihood.[500] By the late 19th century, such reasoning had changed, with the referent of individual efforts being ever more the worldly society. Ahmed Midhat wrote in his "Ekonomi Politik" that an Ottoman should always be industrious and alert. If he or she were lazy, they would be not only useless but actively harmful to society. Hence, "lazy (*tembel*) and harmful men should be removed from civilized society (*cemiyet-i medeniye*)".[501] A traditional vice and a contemporary framework of civilization were used to delineate the political community, placing lazy persons outside of it.

Laziness was a prominent vice also in other Hamidian economic writings. Midhat's main ideological opponent, the liberal Sakızlı Ohannes, based his critique of protectionism on notions

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499 For a more detailed discussion of this code of moral norms see Akarlı, "Gedik"; Yildirim, "Ottoman Guilds"; Ülgener, İktisadi Çözülmenin Ahlak.

500 Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi, Ahlâk-ı Alâî, 223–36; Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 14–15.

501 Midhat, Ekonomi Politik, 44.

of laziness. Protectionism was to be rejected, not only because it impeded the benefits of comparative advantage, but also because it would encourage laziness and lethargy by hindering the stimulating impact of foreign competition.[502] Laziness was also seen as a contributing factor for Ottoman underdevelopment. In Cyprus, an article in the newspaper "Kıbrıs" from 1893 on the state of the island's economy stated that "unfortunately it is necessary to concede that the degree of inclination and interest which our population has displayed is very limited…In sum, there is no doubt that the exclusion from progress results from the laziness of our population".[503] This progress was often identified with an undifferentiated and somewhat hyperreal Europe. Mehmed Murad, in his 1890 novel "Turfanda mı, Turfa mı?" has his protagonist Mansur stating at one point: "If every Ottoman official took his job seriously and worked hard and faithfully, everything would be as perfect as in Europe". Here, the European reference was applied to material progress, which could be attained by fostering an inherent Ottoman zeal for work. It was clear to Murad that the Ottoman Empire in general had "more faithful and moral subjects than Europe does".[504]

Some of these subjects, however, came under close scrutiny. Particularly the lazy bureaucrat became a trope in the literature in the last third of the 19th century. In his novel "Felatun Bey ve Rakim Efendi", Ahmed Midhat negatively described the father of Felatun as a government official with two houses and a large income, yet who works only "about three hours a week".[505] Bihruz Bey, the openly mocked protagonist of Mahmud Ekrem's (1847-1914) "Araba Sevdası", also works at a government office, yet seems to spend more time promenading around town in a coach than at his desk.[506] In a positive example, the protagonist of Mehmed Murad's above-mentioned novel "Turfanda mi?", Mansur, was the prototype of the hardworking ideal new Ottoman: When he enters a government office to work there, he finds thirty workers, of which only three have a precise responsibility. The other twenty-seven are slacking about without a task. After being informed that he at first also will not be given work, he is exasperated: "He waited until the evening. No one gave him work. He saw that those who had been in the office for a long time were in fact doing nothing. He saw even more! They were in their official posts, recklessly eating

502 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 46.
503 Cit. from Strohmeier, "Economic Issues," 175.
504 Cit. from Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 177–78.
505 Midhat, Felatun Bey'le Rakım Efendi, 6.
506 Ekrem, Araba Sevdası; Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul," 132.

puddings, drinking beverages and coffee, smoking tobacco".[507] The prominent Young Turk activist Ahmed Rıza (1859-1930) expressed a similar sentiment in an article from 1895: "The people here are completely unaware of the command, 'make effort' (*say ediniz*). They have gotten used to expecting their income from the government. All these hopes and expectations reflect laziness. A human should expect his well-being from his own effort and zeal (*say ü gayret*)".[508]

The work ethic of government officials was of concern to the bureaucracy itself. In 1873, a decree by the internal ministry that specifically addressed clerks working in the institution, warned that "those clerks who display laziness in performing their aforementioned tasks, or are absent without a legitimate excuse, or do not come and leave offices in a timely fashion, are to receive a warning". If not effective, they were to be removed from their offices.[509] There was probably reason for concern. Said Bey, a mid-level bureaucrat working at the Istanbul Health Council during the Hamidian period, worked only about eleven and a half hours per week at his highly paid job. His personal notes further frequently mention conversations and meetings with friends during office hours.[510]

Against laziness, hard work was extolled. In 1905, one Ahmed Muhtar translated an economic bestseller of the period, Maurice Block's "Petit manuel d'économie pratique" into Ottoman, underlining in the introduction the book's main message: "Work and thrift will facilitate the practice of many other virtues".[511] The morality books of the period also frequently engaged with issues of work and laziness. Yağlıcızade Rıfat stated in his "Tasvir-i Ahlak" from 1892 that "in any way it is interpreted, laziness and idleness can never escape contempt". He continued: "Everyone should find work and effort (*say ü gayret*) necessary".[512] The moral duality of work and laziness also crossed gender lines, while its outcomes were connected to the larger social group. A morality schoolbook for girls from 1899 observed that "work and effort are…the means of prosperity and happiness", while lazy people were presented as harmful, since they also impede the work of other

507 Murad, Turfanda mı, Turfa mı?, 87–88; Cit. from Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 92.

508 Cit. from Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 112.

509 Cit. from Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 92.

510 Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul," 131–32. Dumont and Georgeon, who study Said Bey's personal notes in the cited article, remark that his low workload together with extensive consumption closely resemble the period's literary protagonists.

511 Cit. from Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 71.

512 Rıfat, Tasvir-i Ahlak, 4, 83–84, 191; Cit. from Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 57–60.

members of a society.[513] Authors also often consciously evoked the Islamic ethical tradition. Expressions such as *say ü gayret* (effort and zeal) were frequent, as was the regular citation of *hadith* and Koranic sura, especially 53:39: "And that man hath only that for which he maketh effort".[514] In Mehmed Said's morality book, laziness is said to prevent one from several accomplishments, such as "earning money in order to supply the necessities to protect one's health" or "gaining knowledge that will make someone reach the right path". Work is presented not only as a positive value, but as a religious obligation (*farz*).[515] The education of the value 'effort" (*gayret*) was also the title of some Hamidian morality books.[516]

Hamidian authors often emphasized the duty-character of hard work, while differentiating the kind of work according to the social role of persons. This becomes particularly noteworthy in schoolbooks. A language book for schoolchildren from 1891 summed up: "1. In this world nobody passes their time idle. They are under the obligation to occupy themselves with work… Rich, poor, young, old, all have a work to do…3. The work of children is to occupy themselves with their education…4. It is necessary that you pass not one hour of your life idle".[517] A reading book from 1905 admonished the children that they "must always work and abide all kinds of hardship. Work and zeal (*sa'y ü gayret*) will always bring prosperity and happiness (*saadet*)".[518] It was often directed at the political community and oriented toward the future. Moiz Dal Mediko (1851-1937), a bureaucrat of Sephardi origin, wrote in an Ottoman schoolbook from 1892: "My child, progress is the outcome of work. So let's work…Let's be useful to our fellow-men (*hemcins*). Those that come after us in one hundred years depend on the things that we have created".[519] Schoolchildren were told that they must work from an early age onward. The institution for learning how to work was obviously the school.[520] Most schoolbooks included stories featuring model students or children, which were usually described as hardworking. The maxim to "not postpone today's work until tomorrow" was also common.[521]

513 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:29–30.
514 Fortna, Learning to Read, 82; Wishnitzer, Reading Clocks, Alla Turca, 116–17.
515 Cit. from Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 61–62.
516 Zeki, Mukaddime-i gayret; Nuri, Gayrete teşvik.
517 Şemseddin, Malumat-ı lazime, 45.
518 Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 61.
519 [Dal Mediko], Talim ve Terbiye, 17.
520 Hamid, Çocuk, 5, 13.
521 Naci, Tehzib-i Ahlak, 10; Azmi Bey, İlk Kıraat Kitabi, 7.

A shift in the moral discourse of the Hamidian times towards the economy and the duty-character of work becomes especially clear if one compares such lines to Sadık Rıfat's "Risale-i Ahlak", the most important morality book of the preceding *Tanzimat* era. As number nineteen in its hierarchy of morals, being the first one to address economic activity, Rıfat stated that "*kanaat* (resignation, being content with what one has) is a good quality, since it gives the person dignity and ease; it consists of being content and grateful towards Allah's blessings".[522] Additionally, the Hamidian discourse on work and idleness was tied to a social reference. This could be a universal referent, such as civilization, progress, or humanity, with especially progress entailing a temporal quality. But most often it was explicitly or implicitly an increase in prosperity and happiness (*saadet*) of the own community in political terms. The universal referents and the particular community went hand in hand, with the latter being legitimized by reference to the former. Further, the particular community was delineated, as well as stratified according to the particular work of each constituent.

Another noticeably new idea formulated in the Hamidian times was an emotional mobilization for work. A schoolbook stated that, when taking care of tasks, one should "love effort and labor" in order not to get annoyed by it. It added that "working brings happiness and joy to the soul", while another simply declared: "Working is happiness (*saadet*)".[523] Ahmed Midhat elaborated this point in his book "Sevda-yı Say ü Amel" from 1879. He posited that emotions, or rather a "love for labor", were central to work. After an introduction to different forms of love (such as love for a person, homeland, etc.), Midhat argued that love for labor had paved the way for an unprecedented economic and social progress in European societies. He added, however, that this love were not indigenous to Europeans, but pertained to human nature. It would hence be necessary to unearth this intrinsic passion and let it blossom through education in order to turn this potentiality into a productive force. In order to show the power of this new idea, he compared the love for work with love for a person. He claimed that experiencing the passion for labor would change a person permanently, just as one would as a result of love for the beloved. Accordingly, he asserted, as soon as the Ottomans would taste the joy of labor, they would work harder in order to experience more of this pleasure. Love for labor thus appeared as the main motivational force towards

522 Rıfʿat Paşa, Risale-i Ahlak, 13.
523 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:31; Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 36.

economic development. It was also the way to go about with unpleasant tasks. When working in a state of love of labor, time would "pass just as quickly as it does when two lovers are together". The book held a special place in Ahmed Midhat's oeuvre. This can be inferred from his tombstone, which featured a poem by the well-known female poet Nigar Hanım (1856-1918) referencing the title of the book: "It is your endeavor that explained the love of work to the nation (*millet*)".[524]

This emotional desire for work was also present in his narrative works. In the above-mentioned novel "Felatun Bey", Ahmed Midhat depicted the protagonist Rakim as a model of hard work. Other persons in the neighborhood admiringly praise him: "What a work-loving (*çalışsever*) child he is!". Similarly, Rakim's mother has to work for the family after the death of her husband, which she does with enthusiasm. She does not let the "burden of the work rest on the shoulders" of their Arab maid, but rather encourages her to happily work as well.[525] It is interesting to note here that Ahmed Midhat advocated strong emotions and love in the context of work. In his other writings, particularly on psychology, he usually advocates for a model of balance (*itidal*) for emotions.[526]

A prominent role of love and desire with regard to work is also present in other books of the period, particularly those dealing with education. Mehmet Hazık's manual for teachers includes a longer musing on the nature of work. According to Hazık, work has to have an aim and humans only make things that they desire (*arzu*). Hence, if they are forced to do something, then first a desire has to be produced or inoculated. This desire was framed in Sufi-terms. The desire to produce something appears by thinking about or imagining the truth and nature (*hakikat*) of a thing.[527] He also highlighted the role of love as a social reward for good behavior, which then contributed to prosperity. "If a child is obedient, he/she is also loved (*sever*) by everyone. And a child that is loved by everyone will also be prosperous".[528] This social reward of behavior could, however, also be negative. A primary school language book from 1898 stated that "nobody loves (*kimse sevmez*) children who are always lazy". Similar notions also appear in other schoolbooks.[529] At

524 Midhat, Sevda-ı Say ü Amel; Cit. from Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 102-09; Saraçoğlu, "Ahmed Midhat's Müşahedat," 37.
525 Midhat, Felatun Bey'le Rakım Efendi, 11.
526 See above chapter 2.5.
527 Hazık, Terbiye, 79.
528 Hazık, 163.
529 Cit. from Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 62; Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:12; Nazima, Oku, 16.

times, it could even elicit stronger emotions. A morality book for girls wrote that lazy persons would provoke hate in others.[530] In other books, laziness was presented as "shameful" (*ayıp*) and lazy persons were characterized as "not useful for anything" (*yaramaz*).[531]

Emotions were here related in several ways to the economic morality of work. Love and desire for work were deemed an important mobilizing factor for work as well as a necessary quality to attain economic progress of the own political community. An increase in generalized prosperity and 'happiness' (*saadet*) or positive individual emotions were presented as the goal of hard work, while strong social emotions, such as communal love or hate, were depicted as deserts of socially approved or non-approved actions. This importance of emotions in the economic morality of work sits in contrast to the importance of 'balance' (*itidal*) of emotions emphasized in the hegemonic Hamidian discourse on morality and manners detailed above.[532] This may be interpreted by locating emotions in a social context, in their frame of contributing to general happiness. While not all emotions mentioned above are social, even individual emotions mobilizing towards work, like the love for work, are framed in a wider social context, with individual work being seen as contributing to the happiness of the Ottoman political community. By binding the emotions to a polysemantic communal frame, like general happiness, emotions here can be seen to underline the social unit as a 'feeling community'.[533] This community was also clearly delineated: lazy persons were presented as hated, shamed, and harmful to society.

Working was also linked to the body. Differentiated from laziness, rest (*istirahat*) was a prominent value to some authors. It was connected to bodily fatigue and seen as a necessary phase to regain the strength needed for work.[534] Mehmet Hazık presented this case in some detail. According to him, rest is necessary, since work tires humans. He describes rest as, for example, a pupil going into the garden after studying a few hours, something he clearly differentiates from idleness.[535] He further legitimizes rest by stating that humans suffer bodily and mental pain in the absence of rest. Such a medical explanation brings the synchronous European discourse on fatigue to mind.[536]

530 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:25.
531 N., Elifba-ı Osmani, 21; Naci, Tehzib-i Ahlak, 10.
532 See Chapter 2.2. and 2.5.
533 Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions"; Pernau, "Feeling Communities," 10–13.
534 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:56.
535 Hazık, Terbiye, 76.
536 Rabinbach, The Human Motor, 6.

Hazık prescribed a change of activation (*tebdil-i meşguliyet*) as the most important factor in rest. If one would work mentally, then physical work would be this change. Singular tasks exhaust humans: "No matter how beautiful a book is, it cannot be read for more than two hours".[537] This change of activities could also entail an emotional repose. Ahmed Midhat wrote in a schoolbook that children suffer mental fatigue in the classroom, which is why they have breaks to play and have fun, which would defeat mental tiredness.[538]

Books published in the Hamidian period often had a clear pedagogic goal and made frequent use of 'model' protagonists to present desirable or undesirable behavior. Yet at times, these models could also be historical or living people. Ahmed Midhat in his "Say ü Amel" offered an interesting example for this: Sultan Abdülhamid II. According to Midhat, the sultan was the best example of the desired "lovers of labor" (*sevda-yı say ü amel erbabı*). By relating stories he heard, and referring to the sultan's own words about the importance of hard work, Midhat reiterated that the passion for labor were the greatest enjoyment in the world. No other pleasure could take its place, even for a sultan.[539] Abdülhamid apparently had quite a similar impression of himself. In his memoirs, he mentioned that he actively tried to present himself as a model of industriousness to his citizens, as exemplified by his well-known exploits as a carpenter. He also stated that only upon his request "the Sheikh ul-Islam declared that labor is praised by God and it is by no means degrading".[540] Abdülhamid also in other ways symbolized a new economic morality, for example in his public and punctual adherence to state rituals, such as his ride to the Friday prayer at the mosque, which he always started at the same time.[541]

The emotional importance of work, together with a social reference point of the political community or universal quality, was also present in the instruction of the minority schools. The program of the French AIU, which ran most Jewish schools in Istanbul, stated in 1903 that "the virtues that one seeks to inspire in the child are love of country, love of all men, love and respect of parents, love of truth…dignity of character, nobility of sentiment, love of the public good, the

537 Hazık, Terbiye, 76.
538 Midhat, Sağlık, 28.
539 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 48.
540 Cit. from Kılınçoğlu, 106. It was this self-presentation that led Francois Georgeon to classify him as "le Sultan bourgeois". Georgeon, Abdülhamid II, 136–42.
541 Deringil, Well-Protected Domains, 16–42.

spirit of solidarity…and love of work".[542] It is important to note here that the reference to the larger social unit was by no means clear in all circumstances; definitely not in every case the community meant was the Ottoman nation.[543]

Apart from the novels discussed above, work ethic was also discussed in other popular arts of the period. This can be noticed in the lyrics of the popular *kanto*-genre. In spite of their often bawdy nature, the songs usually upheld a positive and also duty-based outlook on work. In the "Leblebici Kantosu", a seller of roasted chickpeas muses that it is ten years since he left his village and that he has made quite some silver with his work. When a woman approaches him, he attempts to seduce her by abandoning his post and buy her a meal of *suçuk*.[544] She berates him: "You stupid and idle (*miskin*)! I want your chickpeas".[545] The importance of work is sometimes subverted, however, most often in the context of love. In an example of the popular bawdy sub-genre of "Arabacı Kantolar",[546] the famous singer Şamram Kelleciyan (1870-1955) sings: "The coachman is drunk, the customer is drunk, oh my, how fine when they saw each other! Hey Coachman! Snap your whip, let's go! Let's sing and talk and make love (*muhabbet edelim*)!"[547] And in another song performed by Pervuz Hanım (1866- ca.1920) called "Yeni Çoban Kantosu", the protagonist tells his wife that he has abandoned his work for her: "I was a shepherd! Now I am destitute, in the valley of sadness….Love overcame me, I did this for you".[548]

This ambiguous relationship with work also was present in another popular art form, the *Karagöz* theater. In a play by the well-known author Salih Efendi called "İki Kıskanç Karı", transcribed in 1906, Karagöz is as usual out of luck and money and is miserable. He is thus easily persuaded by his friend Çelebi to help him in his amorous adventure in return for five lira: "Five lira? Why didn't you say so? Wait and see, my friend, what real masculinity (*erkeklik*) is!" The goal is to retrieve

542 Cit. from Rodrigue, French Jews, Turkish Jews, 72.
543 Older scholarship, which only emphasized separatist mentalities among the minority groups, has been rightfully criticized. See Anagnostopoulou and Kappler, "Ζήτω Ζήτω ο Σουλτάνος."
544 Very probably a sexual innuendo, as suçuk is a popular sausage. The often questionable lyrical content of the *kanto* was a factor in them being largely ignored by Turkish Musicology. For such a dismissive assessment, see Öztuna, "Kanto."
545 Cit. from Şen, "Kanto," 57–68.
546 Koçu, "Araba, Arabacı."
547 Cit. from Hiçyılmaz, İstanbul Geceleri, 62. Şamran, like her contemporary Pervuz and many popular female singers of the day, was of Armenian origin.
548 Cit. from Şen, "Kanto," 103-04.

Çelebi's clothes from the house of two women. After dressing up as a beggar and failing—he is cursed as "shameless"—he tries another angle and, playing a servant, bids the women for clothes for his master. They think that he takes them for seamstresses and laugh him in the face at the thought that they would engage in manual labor: "Don't you have any brains?" In the end, Hacivat comes to the scene to resolve the issue, but even his upper-class manners fail. Karagöz does not receive the money.[549]

While addressing the need for labor, Karagöz's overzealous efforts are made fun of. Ultimately, his plans fail. Another interesting aspect is the gendered quality of work—the women of the house can only laugh at being thought of as tailors, a clear hint of their upper-class character, since sewing, both for domestic and market purposes, was seen as a central part of middle and lower-class female economic morality in the period.[550] In analyzing these plays and songs, however, an argument can be made to read them as communal spaces in which the depiction of a world 'upside-down' actually reaffirmed hegemonic values. One also always has to take into account that the plays were heavily regulated; performers had to file a petition detailing the plot if they were to stage a performance, with many being rejected.[551]

Values, vices, and norms of work, such as hard work and laziness, were increasingly seen as duties in the Hamidian period and, tied to notions of civilization and general 'happiness', served to delineate and structure an Ottoman political community. Further, emotions like a love for work, as well as bodily notions of fatigue, were an integral parts of the period's work ethics. Several of these elements were directed against perceived 'lazy' government bureaucrats, yet integrated the Sultan, who presented himself as an avid 'lover of work'. Hard work by individuals was presented as both forming a political community and ensuring its progress. Examples of popular art, however, hint at the fact that the attitude towards work was not as simple as many normative morality texts made it out to be. Two other problems joined this. First, work was subject to large-scale transformations of the economy, which also entailed a differing understanding of time. And secondly, concerning social practice: how and where did the 'hardworking' people of the empire

549 Süßheim, "Die moderne Gestalt." The play is also remarkable in that it featured dancers dressed in Japanese garb, a clear nod to the Ottoman infatuation with Japan of the period.

550 See below, chapter 3.5.

551 Georgeon, "Le Ramadan à Istanbul"; Georgeon, "Rire dans l'Empire ottoman?" See the 1896 "Theater Regulation" (*Tiyatro Nizamnamesi*), transcribed in Köse and Albayrak, Osmanlı'da Gösteri Sanatları, 43–50.

apply their morals? The next chapter will address the relationship of work practices and a new regime of time.

3.3 Work and the Value of Time

Linear time, entailing questions of its social meaning and instances to measure it, was one of the large-scale processes that informed the growing interconnectivity of the world in the years 1870-1940. It also decidedly informed how work and labor in industrial societies were conceptualized.[552] Yet the understanding of time did not simply coalesce around the globe, but multiplied in the period. This seems to be a paradox, since an increasingly global environment is expected to instill unification, be it through universal notions of 'progress' and 'civilization' or through very real processes of economic and political integration in an unequal world-system. The development of these processes was, however, was decidedly influenced by local constellations.[553]

The Ottoman Empire is a case in point. Traditional and indigenous temporal notions were not just gradually subsumed, but rather adapted and developed alongside European notions during the 19th century. Ottoman newspapers often included the date in three different calendars. In addition to the Gregorian calendar, both the Islamic *Hijri* calendar and the Ottoman *Rumi* or *Mali* calendar were in use.[554] Similarly, two competing hour systems were used throughout the 19th century, the European together with the so-called *alaturka* system. The latter was based on traditional notions, yet could also be mechanical and amenable to a temporal culture based on notions of civilization and progress.[555] This was particularly significant in social terms. After all, temporal synchronicity was of main importance to the development of political national communities. It allowed

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552 Rosa, Social Acceleration, 161–72.

553 Ogle, "Whose Time Is It?"

554 The *Hijri* calendar is a moon calendar that takes Mohammed's exodus to Medina in 622 as its starting point. The *Rumi* (Roman) or *Mali* (Financial) calendar takes the same starting year, but is a sun-calendar modeled on the Julian system. Already in use earlier, from the 1840s it came to be the dominant calendar of the Ottoman administration. At the end of the 19th century there was an accumulated difference of two years between the two calendars. See Georgeon, "Réforme du temps," 245; Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalist," n. 51.

555 The *Alaturka* system divided both daytime and nighttime into twelve hours each. Since the period of sunlight varies with the time of year, the day hours and the night hours were not only of unequal length, but also varied with the seasons. Wishnitzer, Reading Clocks, Alla Turca, 32–38.

substantial groups of people to think of themselves as living lives parallel to other people. Even without personal contact, persons could thus imagine themselves as part of the same political community.[556]

This development of synchronicity, be it *alaturka* or *alafranga*, by no means uniformly affected all parts of the social structure at the same time. Certain spaces and practices of the Hamidian era can be identified as spearheads. Besides transformations related to physical and technological innovations (like the telegraph), these were mainly state institutions, such as the army, the bureaucracy, and schools. Another important sector, closely connected to values like punctuality and industriousness, was wage labor, at least in the big cities.[557] The new 'progressive' usage of time, particularly in state institutions, also led certain groups, for example students of higher education, teachers in schools, or army officers, to see themselves as vanguards of the political community.

In surveying the physical embodiment of linear time, the most obvious artifacts are clocks. During the Hamidian period, they came in broadly two forms: personal and public. Private watches were seen as harbingers of social status. Sultan Abdülhamid, for instance, gave ticking clocks (*çalar saatleri*) as donations for boys who had their circumcision ceremony at the palace.[558] In public spaces, the main symbols of the era were the clock towers, built in unprecedented numbers all over the empire. Often showing both *Alaturka* and European hours side by side, they tightly linked linear time to the Sultanate and the polity.[559] Technological innovations like the telegraph, the steam ferry, and the railroad further made time organized in the form of schedules a major factor of regulating (especially city) life. The railroad and the telegraph had an important impact on the hinterland as well, though in the Ottoman case several rural regions of the empire—like Eastern Anatolia—were as of yet little connected to the main networks.[560]

The state itself also consciously undertook initiatives of synchronization. One of these were yearly public festivals, aimed to replace the plethora of regional and often religious holidays. The yearly

556 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 22–36, 187–90.
557 Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline."
558 Ataman, Dümbüllü İsmail Efendi, 33.
559 Kreiser, "Les tours d'horloge."
560 These new technologies also engendered an acceleration of cultural time, which will be discussed below. See Wishnitzer, "Rush Hour in Ottoman Istanbul."

festival of Abdülhamid's accession to the throne was introduced on September 1, 1892 and had to be observed by all state and community schools with small parades. The newspapers, probably not entirely out of own enthusiasm, published lengthy eulogies of the Sultan on that day.[561] Yet to some Ottoman intellectuals, like Mehmed Murad and Ebuzziya Tevfik, these efforts did not go far enough. In articles published in 1900, they vocally demanded a truly national holiday to instill and celebrate the population's "patriotism and love for the homeland" (*hamiyyet ve hubb-i vatan*). They perceived the lack of a national holiday as a clear sign of Ottoman backwardness, despite the fact that national holidays also only became widespread in Western Europe during this period—July 14, for example, was celebrated in France for the first time in 1880.[562]

Concerning state institutions connected to the shift in cultural time, the army was—just like in many other transformations and reforms—a forerunner. A reorganization of regiment discipline had already set in with the army reforms of Selim III (1761-1808). To increase infantry discipline and unison movements, specific time practices were allotted by the new official regulations. In 1874, the first clear schedules referencing mechanical time were introduced. They measured and organized daily routine and allowed for the compartmentalization of time and activities, while at the same time synchronizing temporal practices all over the empire. This movement intensified in Hamidian times, where reforms, often aided by members of the German military mission, were instigated to facilitate the movement of mass infantry armies. Interestingly, this also entailed an increasing emphasis on the importance of rest. While health and posture of the soldier's bodies were increasingly regulated, this also entailed ordinances against excessive drilling of the soldiers, wasteful waiting periods while marching, or sleep-deprivation. Just like in the normative literature on work mentioned above, this rest was not to be spent idling, but in a beneficial manner, for example by engaging with smaller tasks.[563]

The special role of the army in efforts of temporal synchronization was very much visible. Just like elsewhere, Ottoman officers were early adapters of pocket watches.[564] Influenced by Colmar von

561 As an example, see the poem N., "Padişahimiz çok yaşa." Together with the accompanying article it occupied the first three pages of the journal issue.

562 Georgeon, "Réforme du temps," 251–57.

563 Wishnitzer, "With the Precision."

564 Wishnitzer, 296–98. The Swiss pocket watch "La prolétaire", the most popular in France during the long 19th century, became initially fashionable because the French state had supplied it to its army officers. See Buffat, Histoire et Technique.

der Goltz's (1843-1916) book "A Nation in Arms", Ottoman officers further increasingly saw themselves as the protagonists of leading the state in an era of wars pitting whole nations against one another. They identified as a political and social vanguard in a dynamic time regime open to the future, whose temporal practices were more advanced than those of the rest of the population and whose mission it was to disseminate them. It was not surprising that the opposition to depose Sultan Abdülhamid in 1908 came in large part from the ranks of the military.[565] Soon, the officers did not have to leave their barracks to practice their vanguard role and disseminate their ideas. The period of war from 1911 on saw a near constant military mobilization of large parts of the male Ottoman population.

Yet during the Hamidian era,[566] the areas of practical application of linear time most pertinent to the population were the spaces of education, bureaucracy, and preferably industrial work. These spaces were mainly differentiated by the age of its occupants, not by institutional logic. Many writers of schoolbooks included in their works the message that school was the workplace for children. And just like an industrial workplace—or, for that matter, a government office—the school was organized according to mechanical hours.

This was in fact a process of the second half of the 19th century. It was decisively influenced by the practice in missionary and community schools, as well as certain prestige schools. The building of the *Galatasaray* school in Istanbul, for example, featured since 1868 a mechanical clock showing European hours.[567] According to regulations, schooldays were quite intense, ranging from six hours for external to ten hours for internal students. From 1868 onward, the school day was organized in one hour blocks, with pupils being allotted four hours of rest and recreation during the day. This was being legitimized by reference to both health concerns and educational success, which also led to an emphasis on the daily regularity of meals and recreation. An hour was usually reserved for lunch at the same time every day.[568] Excepting some prestigious schools, which often used the

565 Hanioğlu, Atatürk, 31–47. Goltz was a member of the "German Military Mission", invited by Abdülhamid in 1878 to reorganize the Ottoman armed forces. He served in the Ottoman army until 1895 and again shortly in 1915-16.

566 The war with Greece in 1897 mobilized not even the whole of the Ottoman Army. See Ekinci, "The Origins," 28.

567 Wishnitzer, Reading Clocks, Alla Turca, 93–123; Georgeon, "Le cas de Galatasaray."

568 See as an example the Document detailing the rules of the Girls Industry School (*Kız Sanayı Mektebi*) in Istanbul from 1884. BOA A.DVNSNZA.d, No: 1, s. 64-68, transcribed in: Albayrak and Şeker, Osmanlı

European hours, school days were usually executed according to the *Alaturka* system.[569]

As further part of the temporal synchronization, holidays became regularized in the state schools, with three weeks set aside for Ramadan and another week for the Feast of the Sacrifice. Three weeks in August were added as non-religious holidays. The "Education Edict" of 1892 added some days celebrating the life of the prophet and designated Friday as the weekly day off. The community schools were, however, free to choose their own religious holidays, as well as their weekly repose. Frequent problems about the holidays and free days arose in schools of religiously mixed pupils, such as the *Galatasaray*, but were often settled on a local level. Though rigid, the system still left a rather large degree of openness concerning regional and seasonal adjustments. A case in point was the harvest-season, in which pupils could be exempted from school according to local need.[570]

The new measured temporality was also enforced. A decree by the general council on education from 1860, regarding lateness in children, had already stated:

> *"When a student does not show up on time or leaves school during one of the breaks a couple of hours before dismissal, or wastes his days by loafing, the student shall first be warned. If that does not change the said behavior, the student is to be punished by standing on [one] foot for the same length of time he was late. If he is still not disciplined, he is to receive a beating on the feet".*[571]

This or other forms of corporal punishment were common enough in the state schools, though probably still less than in the *medrese* of the period, if memoirs are to be believed. They mentioned, however, also in state schools generally strict temporal arrangements. Ahmed Rasim remembered from his schooldays especially the strict functional organization of time and space. To him, this seemed an attempt to realize discipline and moral education mainly by deprivation: Students seldom received high grades, their food was bland and they received permission to leave the school only once a month. It was generally forbidden to do anything outside the time-slot specified for it.[572] It becomes apparent how moral notions of behavior, like hard work and punctuality, were enforced in a compartmentalized temporal system.

Eğitiminde Modernleşme, 168–72.

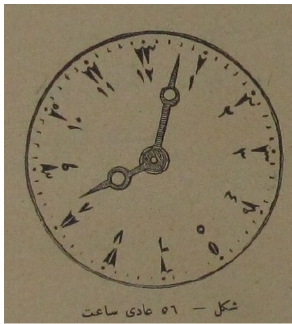
569 Güvenli, "Le temps de l'ècole," 324–26.

570 Güvenli, 322–24.

571 Cit. from Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 47–48.

572 Cit. from Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 266.

These practical measures were also complemented by the content of the lessons taught. Punctuality came to form a major value taught in education, starting from the earliest age. The "Elifba-i Osmaniye", the most important language book for first year students of the Hamidian period, for instance, featured as one of the first complete sentences of Ottoman: "Duties of the student: everyday be punctual (*vakit ve zaman ile*) at school!".[573] In later school years, schoolbooks often featured a section explaining linear time. An illustrated conversation book discussed clocks, separating time in "customary" (*'adi*) and "clock time" (*çalar*) and finished the section with the admonition: "So let's not waste the hours that the clock shows us. They are precious".[574]



Left: Customary ('adi), and right: "ticking" (çalar) clocks. From Rasim 1313: 97-98.

Another language book told the story of the prototypical bad student Arif, who does not pay attention in class. He was presented as not just not learning the day's lesson, but having to later repeat his school year, which is "shameful" (*ayıb*). The book then directly addressed its readers: "So my children! When the clock strikes the hour, do not think: 'Wow, another hour has passed'. Think: 'What have I done in this last hour?'"[575] The guidance of action via self-monitoring and self-control is striking and suggests a decidedly middle-class mentality. Similar techniques were included in almanacs, were empty pages were included under the heading "What did I do today?", and supposed to be filled out.[576] A practitioner of this was Said Bey, a middle-class bureaucrat from Istanbul, who meticulously listed his daily expenses and the precise time of the activities he undertook. He used, however, French "Hachette" almanacs.[577]

The schoolbooks also sometimes included hints of the pupils' future career. A morality book from 1898 addressed the students as future state officials and listed to always be at work on time as a

573 N., Elifba-ı Osmani, 31. For another example, see Hami Paşa, Vezaif-i Etfal, 77–78.
574 Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 98.
575 Azmi Bey, İlk Kıraat, 26.
576 Türesay, "An Almanac for Ottoman Women," 238–39; Mass, "Geldpädagogik."
577 Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul."

necessary quality. The text stressed that "when we are absent from work, the matters we were supposed to handle remain unattended and state business is impeded and delayed." It went on to state that bureaucrats were the servants of the state and that the state was hurt by their slackness.[578] As has already become apparent in the last chapter, the bureaucracy was a major site for discussions on work ethic. Starting to use measured hours in 1839, punctuality of the clerks became a moral imperative that was controlled and regulated, probably even more so than values of efficiency. It was also in sheer numbers an influential space of work. The number of bureaucracy employees grew during the 19th century from about 2.000/1790s to 35.000/1890s. The number further increased during the reign of Abdülhamid II.[579] Since most writers of schoolbooks or even journalists of the Hamidian period were in one way or another attached to the state bureaucracy, it can be argued that the propagated values of punctuality and hard work also entailed a self-representation. The authors very probably saw themselves as educators of the population.[580]

Another important social practice connected to temporality and work ethic was (industrial) labor. While an irrevocable decline of local industry by the liberal trade regime of the *Tanzimat* was a common view among intellectuals of the Hamidian period, it had in real terms probably not been as dramatic as the alarmist rhetoric of intellectuals made it out to be. Industrialized labor was on the rise in some sectors, while handicraft labor was integrated into an industrial regime of production in several more sectors.[581] Within this regime, labor performance was regulated both by supervision and wages, which nonetheless clearly differed according to economic role. This economic regulation was even deemed to better the 'lazy Turk' of Orientalist perceptions. The OPDA wrote in its report of 1882 that

> *"the proposition, generally received as an axiom, that Turkish officials are by nature hopelessly untrustworthy and corrupt, is a false proposition. Pay your Turkish official sufficient and regular wages… let him know that…a vigilant eye is watching over him so that good services will be rewarded and*

578 Şeref, İlm-i Ahlak, 110–11; Cit. from Wishnitzer, Reading Clocks, Alla Turca, 58.
579 Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 90–116; Numbers from Findley, Ottoman Civil Officialdom, 22–23; Akarlı, "Problems of Westernization," 362.
580 Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 38–40.
581 Quataert, Ottoman Manufacturing; Pamuk and Williamson, "Ottoman De-Industrialization."

dishonesty or negligence will meet with their proper deserts, and he will serve you honestly and well".[582]

This was also mirrored in local economic theory. Mehmed Ekrem wrote that wages had to reflect effort, for otherwise no one would put any effort into work.[583] Ottoman workers were usually well-informed of this regime. They appealed to it in labor struggles, which often broke out because of irregular payment of wages. These clashes intensified during the Hamidian era, even though both labor unions and strikes were forbidden.[584]

"Cotton Factory", in: Rasim 1313, 88.

Photograph by Guillaume Berggren of the Cibali Tobacco Factory, ~1895. From Balsoy 2009: 65

As for productive sectors, textile manufacture formed the largest share production besides agriculture. Badly shaken by British products, it could survive both to natural protection of interior markets and local consumerist preferences.[585] The importance of the sector can also be inferred from the importance attached to it in schoolbooks. They included detailed information on cotton and silk,[586] or added pictures showing work in clothing factories.[587]

A closer look at the workings of the 'Imperial Fez Factory' in Istanbul shows that after a factory inspection and subsequent reorganization in 1871, new methods of bookkeeping were introduced, assigning tasks to individuals and easing accountability. The organization started to pay both monthly and daily salaries, as well as by the piece. In general, administrative posts received fixed

582 Cit. from Tunçer, Sovereign Debt, 68.
583 Ekrem, Fen-i Servet, 32.
584 Hadar, "Jewish Tobacco Workers," 128.
585 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 888–928; Lapavitsas, "Social Origins of Ottoman Industrialisation."
586 Rıfat, Hikayat-i Müntehabat, 51–72.
587 Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 88.

salaries while the workers were payed in piece rates—an almost Taylorist organization of labor, which not only controlled the factory floor. A great number of spinners worked from home, mostly non-Muslim women. Against that, most workers working in the factory were Muslim and male.[588]

Another important sector was the tobacco industry, employing thousands of workers in many larger Western cities of the empire. It had been organized by the OPDA from 1883 onward as a monopoly and was centrally managed by the so-called *Tobacco Régie*. It was the largest foreign investment corporation in the empire. However, in both agricultural production as well as the running of certain factories local entrepreneurs continued to play an important role.[589] In its representation, the industry projected new values of orderliness and punctuality. This can be seen in the photograph above, depicting an orderly factory floor supervised by both humans and a prominent clock. In reality, these norms often were not upheld. The working conditions were poor and a government inquiry in 1898 reported insufficient circulation of air and other health-related hazards.[590] The workforce was ethnically mixed and also employed women to a considerable degree.

Tobacco factories were also a site of frequent labor battles. Sultan Abdülhamid expressed the concern that European-style labor troubles could emerge among tobacco workers in a memorandum from 1893.[591] Since the *Tobacco Régie* was a non-state actor, however, the state could often play the role of an arbitrator. In one case, after several clashes that had been caused by the *Régie c*ompany cutting wages, the workers of the Kavala factory took to direct action, appealing both to fair wages and reduced working hours. State officials intervened and the company acquiesced to restore the wages to their former level. As a result, a large number of workers gathered in front of the local government building and chanted "Long live the sultan!"[592] Pay was low even by contemporary standards and the frequent failure of factory administrations to pay wages on time produced conflicts.[593] During a revolt in 1904, workers of a factory in Istanbul—

588 Kabadayi, "Fez Factory in Istanbul."
589 Birdal, Ottoman Public Debt, 129–65.
590 Nacar, "The Regie Monopoly," 210.
591 Nacar, "Labor Activism," 533.
592 Nacar, 543–44.
593 Nacar, "The Regie Monopoly," 210–11.

among them many women—marched to the building of the Ottoman Bank to demand their weekly payments. When this was deemed not possible, they shifted their demands to an extra pay for the Easter Break.[594]

Another important space for Ottoman labor was transport and trade. Substantial numbers of workers were employed in sailing vessels, yet even more on land in the ports and harbors of the empire. Traditionally, the cargo was unloaded by smaller vessels and organized according to the so-called 'queue-system': In this system, merchants had to cooperate with boatmen waiting in line in the harbor. Despite the large-scale renovations of many harbors during the second half of the 19th century, the practice often continued, particularly in Istanbul.[595] Organized port workers, often still organized in guilds (*esnaf*), referenced 'traditional rights' but in fact appealed to contemporary discourse, stressing for example the need of their continued existence for the progress of general welfare. Such references were also employed by their adversaries. Merchants argued against the queue-system, saying that it promoted laziness and prevented industriousness.[596] Despite the framework of 'just' economic practice, however, the state could not as easily play the role of arbitrator in these struggles. It was even more complicated when the state was itself the employer, as in the case of the 'Imperial Arsenal' in Istanbul, which played a major role in the mobilizations of 1908 against the Hamidian regime.[597]

As can be seen, working practices at times differed considerably from the economic morality advocated for in economic writings and school books. Yet they could also come together: work ethic and new notions of temporality influenced social practices of work *et vice versa*. The work ethic was often conceived in a top-down manner, but worker mobilizations also showed that some of the values associated with hard work in the normative discourse were being picked up. Moralized notions of fair and timely pay, of hard work as well as the increase of societal welfare could be adapted by Ottoman workers to legitimize their struggles, even more so when the state sanctioned their actions as a mediator in struggles with foreign factory owners. Practices of work further bound together people from different genders and ethno-religious groups within the same

594 Balsoy, "Gendering Ottoman Labor History," 63–64.
595 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 802–3.
596 Quataert, Popular Resistance, 95–120; Hanssen, Fin de Siècle Beirut, 87–92; Nacar, "Free Trade."
597 Sefer, "Class Solidarity to Revolution."

framework, while clearly differentiating them according to status. It is harder to ascertain if other notions, such as a strong love for work, were present in practice. In interviewing female Jewish Tobacco workers from Salonica some 50 years after their working experience, Gila Hadar notes that the women did not want to speak about their work experience, which they characterized as low-paying and demeaning. Instead, they preferred to relate stories of their married life, family, and children.[598] This last point was, however, not necessarily specific for the Ottoman experience. Also in other times and places, especially unlearned workers frequently preferred to talk about their life outside of work.[599]

The work ethic articulated in the Hamidian period allowed for a differentiation according to social roles. It was also most pervasively articulated and enforced in certain structures, like the army or educational institutions, which sometimes consciously assumed a vanguard role. Connected to changes in temporality, which besides synchronicity also entailed notions of a dynamic open future and the feeling of an acceleration of social life, some of these groups positioned themselves as spearheads and came to measure the Hamidian regime itself according to these moral criteria of hard work, progress, and punctuality. The result was often not positive.[600]

Work practices like the differentiated payment in clothing factories also hint at another important factor: Not all work was regarded as equal, even outside of government institutions. In clothing factories, workers were payed by the piece, while administrators had constant salaries and women sewing intermediary products were being payed less than the workers on the factory floor. This differentiation complemented a differentiation in economic morality. It allowed for higher economic roles than just workers, such as entrepreneurs and other professional middle classes. These classes of capital were part of production as well as circulation of goods. Capital and its possessors were deemed necessary for an increase of societal welfare and happiness. Moral notions pertaining to their social role like thrift and 'productive' investment also found their way into schoolbooks of the period. They were further linked to technological and social processes of the

598 Hadar, "Jewish Tobacco Workers," 141. The Jews of Salonica, of course, were brutally affected by the upheavals of the 20th century: frequently marginalized first by Ottoman and later Greek society, they were almost exterminated in the Shoah. Mazower, Salonica, City of Ghosts, 293–462.

599 For an example of French industrial workers from the 1970s, see Beckmann, "Selbstverwaltung im Industriebetrieb."

600 Wishnitzer, Reading Clocks, Alla Turca, 12.

period, to increased methods of circulation and the expansion of credit and money.

3.4 Money, Credit, and Entrepreneurship

Besides processes of codification and standardization, one of the most prominent temporal features of a capitalist economy is that it seems to accelerate. Increases in productivity, which entail an acceleration, lead to competitive advantages. Acceleration of time thus is intimately connected both to the nature or necessity of (economic) growth and increased production, circulation, and consumption of goods, services, and human beings in a capitalist system.[601] This feature had already been discussed from Capitalism's early sociological studies onward. Weber, in his "Protestant Spirit" called the expression "time is money…the spirit of capitalism in characteristic fashion". He referred in this to Benjamin Franklin.[602] The famous dictum entails notions of restlessness and agitation, the acceleration of the pace of life through the systematic elimination of pauses and absences, and the categorical economization of time.[603]

Underlying this new valued sense of time was the linkage of two related features of acceleration: A technical progress that went hand in hand with an increased circulation and, secondly, an increase in the pace and conduct of life. These features combined with an open future as the horizon of expectation that seemed to become unstable and hence "ever shorter".[604] This sense of social time being compressed was noticeable in contemporary writings. Ever more things seemed to be able to happen within a small amount of time. With a changing of the social sense of time towards the end of the 19th century, as Francois Georgeon put it: "The Ottoman had become, at least in the cities, a stressed human".[605] But how did this happen?

The technological change of the period certainly brought about an increased circulation of material and immaterial goods. While technological change did not lead unilaterally to social and intellectual change, it provided an important resource. It was the industrialization of

601 Rosa, Social Acceleration, 35–95.
602 Weber, "Die Protestantische Ethik," 35–36.
603 Rosa, Social Acceleration, 49–50.
604 Rosa, 189.
605 Georgeon, "Réforme du temps," 272.

communication and transportation that allowed Muslim intellectuals of the *fin-de-siècle* to re-conceptualize conceptions of time, space and community, thus bringing about a modern idea of a "Muslim world".[606] The telegraph, railroads, and steam ships also transformed the Ottoman world. They reached regions that had hitherto been little connected to the centers of state power, transforming both spaces. Most important for rural regions was doubtless the telegraph. By 1877 the Ottoman Empire possessed the world's eighth largest network, extending over more than seventeen thousand miles, which was more than doubled again during the reign of Abdülhamid. It transformed age-old practices like petitions, in that people could now directly address the Sultan from remote regions of the empire, thus strengthening his position within the government.[607]

The railroad was less prominent, even though the government placed a high importance on it politically and economically. Increased activity started in the 1860s in the European provinces, which connected the empire to the European and Balkan rail systems by the 1870s. In the Arabian and Anatolian parts, especially Syria, several lines were built in the 1890s. Yet even by 1913, the Balkan states of Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece together possessed a larger network than the Ottoman Empire. The reason for this was most likely the lack of foreign and domestic capital, while the OPDA exacerbated the tight fiscal possibilities of the state. An exception to this was the Hejaz railroad, financed domestically and employing a purely Ottoman labor force. Successful as an international political symbol of the Sultan and leading to a surprising increase in pilgrimages, its economic impact was minimal: It transported the least amount of goods of all major Ottoman railways, with the exception of the unfinished Baghdad line, famous for its German involvement.[608] Despite their negligible dimensions, the railroads had, however, a noticeable cultural impact. "Servet-i Fünun" abounded in serialized travelogues of rail voyages, while tracks and bridges

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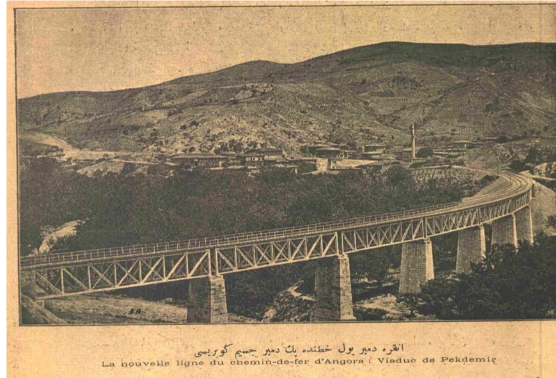
606 Green, "Making of the 'Muslim World'"; Aydin, "Globalizing Intellectual History."

607 Bektas, "The Sultan's Messenger." As in many autocratic governments, a popular view persisted of the 'good Sultan' led astray by 'corrupt bureaucrats'. See Muwayliḥī, Spies, Scandals, and Sultans, 23–24. On the attempts by Abdülhamid of creating a 'national" monarchy, see Deringil, "Invention of Tradition." The telegraph did not necessarily entail an intensification of communication. It could also slow communication, by concentrating means of transmission in few hands. It was hence intimately connected to power. I thank Paula Vedovelli for this idea.

608 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 804–15. On the finance of the railroads see the essays in Akyıldız, Osmanlı'da İktisadi Modernleşme. On the national rather than ethnic division of labor in the railroad's construction see Mentzel, "Ethnic Division of Labor."

featured prominently as photos in many an issue.[609] The railroads were also in other writings centrally linked to notions of civilization.[610]



"The new Ankara railroad". Servet-i Fünun, September 1, 1308.

The acceleration of time brought about by technological innovation was also noted by the contemporaries. Fatma Aliye (1862-1936), for instance, wrote that in earlier times nations and people did not know much of one another, because news from distant lands tended to take a year to travel. Now, thanks to the steamboat, the telegraph, and the railroad, “they are learned in an hour”.[611] It was also connected to general notions of science and progress: ever more things could be accomplished in that time. After praising progress, a schoolbook read:

> *“Kids, do you know what happens in the world in one hour? How many people work on the fields under the sun, or in the big cities do their best in the dark factories! How many great truths (ne büyük hakikatler) can men find in an hour, how many useful things produce, how great a service to their kinsmen (kendi cinsler)!”*

It went on to state that a man could even circle the globe four times in one year.[612]

Acceleration also became a prominent topic in economic writings. A review in 1863 of Mehmed

609 See as an example the article series in “Servet-i Fünun” in 1900. N., “Anadolu Osmanlı Demiryolu.”

610 As an example, the railroad is one of the “civilized institutions” (*müessisat-i umraniye*) brought about by the current government that are mentioned in Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 2:16. The OPDA equally wrote in its 1905/06 report that the Ottoman railroads had brought “increased civilization”. Cit. from Landen, “Ottoman Public Debt Administration,” 593.

611 Aliye, Nisvan-i Islam, 3–4.

612 It is quite possible that Azmi was here referring to Jules Verne’s book “Around the World in Eighty Days”, which had been translated into Ottoman—alongside many of his other novels—by Ahmed İhsan in the 1890s. See Verne, Seksen Günde. Quotation from Azmi Bey, İlk Kıraat, 25–26.

Şeref's economics book, stated that it "show[s] people how they can achieve in a short period of time things that they normally would think they could not achieve physically or mentally even if they worked all their lives".[613] Similarly, Ali Nazif wrote in 1894 that the progress in machinery had increased labor power a hundredfold. This "shows how much time was lost" with earlier production methods.[614] Technological change also influenced issues of allocation. To many economic writers, circulation and exchange (*mübadele*) were the "first means of bringing about wealth…[it] always generates benefit…and is one of the principal means of civilization (*umran*)",[615] or the "reason why people form civilized communities".[616] The Christian-Arabic writer Fāris al-Shidyāq (1804?–1887) urged in his articles in "al-Jawā'ib" (1861–1884), Istanbul's first Arabic periodical, the establishment of a more extensive local transportation system. Being to him a "meaning of civilization (*tamaddun*)", it would increase the flow of goods and persons and thus serve the public good and interest.[617]

Circulation and exchange were held to increase a society's wealth and prosperity. They were further also thought to connect different and stratified economic roles within a common framework. This can be seen in a longer quote from a schoolbook, describing the economic process.

> *"Everyone helps one another. It is one of the necessities of humanity. I will tell you the story of your shirt: It is made out of cotton, which grows in our country in Adana and other hot regions. The people who live there are Ottomans; some grow it there, others transport it in ships, others in trains. Cotton comes to factories, where workers work it to thread and make shirts. Later your mother takes 15 kuruş [silver coin] into her pocket, which is one day of labor for your dad. With this she goes and buys the shirt. So see how much suffering and fatigue there is for one small shirt! How many people have to work! So always keep your clothes clean, for they are of great worth. And love (sevin) the people who work for you! When you are grown, work to return the kindness and service they have shown! You will also work for other men, or rather your brothers".*[618]

It becomes apparent how a division of labor, a common economic process, from production to allocation and consumption, was conceived as producing a moral economic community that is

613 Cit. from Koloğlu, "The Ottoman Press," 120.
614 Nazif Süruri, Gencine Servet, 32–33.
615 İhsan, İlm-i Servet, 97–98.
616 Midhat, Ekonomi Politik, 22–23.
617 Cit. from Khuri-Makdisi, "Ottoman Arabs in Istanbul," 166–67.
618 Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 86–87.

coequal with the Ottoman state. While this process was presented in an idealized form, it showed how economic activity contributed to the forming of a political community by amplifying the circulation of material and immaterial goods between members of the same community.[619] The hard labor of different persons in this community was used to legitimize and instill an own sense of duty to work hard and be clean in schoolchildren.

The community was further marked as an emotional community, through the use of vocabulary like love, kindness, or brother. Important is here again that these positive emotions were very much social emotions. The notion of "love' as a central social emotion was a traditional topic in Islamic Philosophy and ethics, already prominently included in Nasreddin Tusi's "Akhlaq-i Nasiri" from the 13th century. Yet it changed its meaning in the Hamidian period. Love was increasingly seen as in-between persons. It was further attached to economic goods, holding together the social fabric through processes of production, circulation, and consumption in a capitalist economy. Children could only partake in it by contributing to the community themselves, be it through hard work or keeping clean. Love as a reward and act mediated the relationship between the individual and the collective.[620] Such notions were also expressed in other schoolbooks. A morality book for girls from 1898 stated: "Humans loving each other is a requisite of proper social behavior (*usul-i muaşeret*). In the world nothing can be done [produced] without love".[621]

The importance of money in the story cited above also becomes evident: it served as a medium for the functioning of the economic cycle. Yet money also had another facet in writings of the period. Money—and in extension credit—were deemed necessary as capital for an increase in societal welfare. This was no Ottoman specialty. The later 19th century saw an increase in the importance of issues of money and credit that recent literature has described as the first wave of finance capitalism.[622] In the Ottoman case, money and credit were important on at least two levels. On a societal level they were to safeguard economic progress yet were dependent on moral notions of trust. And on a personal level, money, credit, and capital were linked to moral values of thrift, saving, and 'productive' consumption, thus employing different economic values that can be

619 Nakano, "Theorising Economic Nationalism."
620 Nirenberg, "The Politics of Love"; Ahmed, "Affective Economies."
621 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:16.
622 Hansen, "Financialization."

classed as ‘capitalist’.[623] They were not in opposition to hard work, but simply corresponded to another economic role: That of the investor or entrepreneur, who were complementary to the worker in a societal frame. A schoolbook from 1891 illustrated this outlook very well: “When the poor work with their body and the rich with their money, everything comes into existence. This is the paradigm of the order of God: rich and poor, everybody must fulfill a function”.[624] The citation shows how a beneficial use of money, as well as several economic roles, were deemed crucial for a progress of society.

First, a little background. The Empire had been using a bi-metallic system with a fixed exchange rate between silver and gold from 1844 on. Influenced by the OPDA, this was changed to a (mostly nominal) gold standard in 1880. These changes notwithstanding, the currency was rather stable compared to earlier centuries, also because the state refrained from debasing the currency until the First World War.[625] The economy had become highly monetized throughout the 19th century, mostly through taxation. The total government revenue of the Ottoman state increased about five-fold in nominal terms from 1841/42 to 1911/12, despite the loss in population. The greatest part of this were agricultural taxes collected in the countryside, making up 85% of state income in 1911. City dwellers, especially owners of property and capital, bore a disproportionately low tax burden. Workers, on the other hand, were significantly taxed despite their low income.[626] Within the economics literature, money was presented as a necessity for a “civilized people” (*milel, akvam-i mütemeddine*) and said to increase the circulation and the exchange of goods. Paper money, however, was often deemed to be too unstable, although it increased circulation. Italy, Russia and Austria were often named as negative examples.[627]

While being content with one’s own economic situation (*kanaat*) was still a prominent value, making money was increasingly encouraged in writings of the Hamidian period. A morality book stated that “making money is an absolute good, for it contributes to felicity (*refah*) and livelihood”, adding that saving was also a value.[628] It was also frequently referenced as a good quality in popular

623 Mass, “Geldpädagogik”; Schmidt, “Capitalist Program of Education.”
624 Şemseddin, Malumat-ı lazime, 45.
625 Pamuk, A Monetary History, 205–18.
626 Tunçer, Sovereign Debt, 187–89; Özbek, “Vergi Sistemi,” 24–26; Endres, Die Türkei, 215; Nacar, “The Regie Monopoly,” 211.
627 İhsan, İlm-i Servet, 112–14; Ekrem, Fen-i Servet, 20–21.
628 Cit. from Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 63.

culture, where it was particularly gendered. The well-known *kanto* "Lari Liralar" dealt with a fight between a couple, in which the women accuses the man: "You're a liar, you're worthless. You don't even have five coins in your pocket".[629] In a Ladino folktale from Istanbul learned around 1900, the *gabaya* (wise woman of the synagogue) told a mother about possible suitors: "As a matter of fact I have a family among these poor which is very fine. They are very good and have much honor. But you know money makes the man".[630] The acquirement and handling of money of course had to be moral. Some schoolbooks introduced the concept of 'pocket money' (*gündelik*) from parents to children, which the children were then urged to spend in a responsible way. In one book, the parents gave a child some extra money to buy books, since he had progressed so fast in his reading skills. Of course he complied.[631] Money found on the street and then used for personal benefit, however, tarnished one's honor. The dutiful way to go was to either find its owner, or to give it to the state.[632]

Making money is of course not necessarily a concept of the late 19th century. The importance of saving mentioned in many of the quotes above hints, however, at a somewhat new facet: money was, through saving, the basis of capital. Spending was accepted, but only if done in a thrifty manner and did not hurt the accumulation of capital. And this capital, similarly, was only deemed acceptable if it contributed to an increase in societal welfare or happiness.[633] This societal orientation of personal wealth was also present in the Orthodox community. In 1886 the bishop of Smyrna wrote: "Riches are in themselves lifeless and therefore indifferent….but in the case that man uses them only for his own pleasure and satisfaction, then riches would inflict on him great sorrow and would upset the fabric of society".[634]

The build-up of these riches, or capital, was aided by credit, which incidentally also has a decidedly temporal aspect.[635] Credit was further increasingly linked to character in its expansion throughout

629 Cit. from Şen, "Kanto," 83.

630 Interestingly, a similar story recorded in somewhat earlier in Macedonia does not have the quote. Cit. from Schlesinger, "Judeo-Spanish Folktales," 52.

631 Nazima, Oku, 4.

632 Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 28–29.

633 Nail, İlm-i Servet, 161; Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:55; Midhat, Felatun Bey'le Rakım Efendi, 14.

634 Cit. from Exertzoglou, "Cultural Uses of Consumption," n. 29.

635 The acceleration of time through credit stems from interest and expectations of growth or progress towards the future. This was already noted by Karl Marx, while Joseph Schumpeter saw credit as the main tool of "creative destruction". Rosa, Social Acceleration, 162–63.

the 19th century.[636] Despite some religious prohibitions, lending with interest quickly developed in the 19th century Ottoman Empire. It was, already in the contemporary economic literature, embedded in moral discourse. Mehmed Ekrem defined the basis of credit as "honesty" (*doğruluk*), while Mustafa Nail stressed the importance of "honor and morality" (*namus ve ahlak*) for debtors.[637] Credit, necessary for economic progress, thus engendered or at times enforced moral norms on both on a collective and a personal level.

As a state, the empire had since the late 18th century increasingly relied on money lenders. Emitting high interest-bearing bills had contributed to the indebtedness of the empire, but it crucially also positioned it on the international financial markets. These markets judged states according to moral criteria and the international discourse of civilization. In assessing the Ottoman state's creditworthiness, "The Economist" wrote in 1873: "Almost every improvement of civilized government, on which dependence must be placed for a large growth of revenue, has yet to be introduced".[638] And the OPDA reported in 1891 to an English audience in the language of economic theology:

> *"Turkey…in honestly recognising her sins and making an arrangement as good as possible…for the creditors whom she had previously wronged….has shown complete good faith and has set an example which more than one other country would do well to follow. She surely then is once more to be trusted and believed".*[639]

Moral judgment of a state's development, usually in the guise of demanding 'reforms' to restore the 'confidence' and 'trust' of financial markets, of course even today is a most important mechanism enforcing political change.[640]

The state was also crucial for the domestic financial sector. Until the 1880s, lending to the state had remained the most important sector for Ottoman banks, dominated in that period by Ottoman non-Muslims and foreigners. The most prominent of these was the BIO, founded in 1856/63 by a consortium of British and French financial groups. It successively became the

636 Lipartito, "Reassembling the Economic," 116–21.
637 Çagatay, "Banking in the Ottoman Empire," 66–68; Ekrem, Fen-i Servet, 22; Nail, İlm-i Servet, 104.
638 Cit. from Tunçer, Sovereign Debt, 58.
639 Cit. from Tunçer, 77.
640 Garton Ash, "Is Europe Disintegrating?"

monopoly institution for handling Ottoman public debt as well as paper money. After 1880, credit and financial tools were also extended to economic actors other than the state and the international markets. The BIO successively opened up sixty branches until 1907 all over the empire and increasingly catered their business to local economic actors. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was not only far the largest Bank of the empire, but also one of the largest of the world.[641]

Personal credit became widespread to finance trade, agriculture, and consumption. Not only banks contributed. Besides the BIO, the Deutsche Bank, and other European banks scrambling for market-shares, local financial agents—many of which were religious minorities—continued their importance and diversified their portfolios.[642] The State also became more active, as with the establishment of the Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankasi*) in 1888. It mainly, though not exclusively, supported agricultural development through the extension of low-interest credit to cultivators. Supplying short- and long term credits to ~135.000 people just in the fiscal year 1905/1906, it played a significant role in the change of Ottoman agriculture towards exportable cash crops.[643] These burgeoning financial networks were closely connected to the emergence of an entrepreneurial business and professional middle class. Their emergence was not just an exogenous process caused by integration into the global economy. In the legal realm, from 1858 the use of state land for private ownership was permitted. Further, reforms of property protection and the abolition of all restrictions on the sale of agricultural products were brought on their way.[644] On a social level, the expansion of the bureaucracy, increasing economic activity, larger social mobility, and expanded education also contributed to the formation of a growing middle class.[645]

This middle class' role in society was to contribute to societal wealth via the productive use of capital. Mustafa Nail explained this in several examples. In one of them, a "hardworking,

641 Eldem, "Stability Against All Odds"; Pamuk, A Monetary History, 211–12; Minoglou, "Greek Diaspora Bankers"; Exertzoglou, "Greek Ottoman Bourgeoisie," 91–93; Clay, "Origins of Modern Banking."
642 Exertzoglou, "Greek Ottoman Bourgeoisie," 94–96.
643 Endres, Die Türkei, 215; Quataert, "The Agricultural Bank."
644 Doğan, "Liberalism and Islamism," 152–53.
645 Kechriotis, "Middle-Class Morality," 131. Although middle class is necessarily difficult to define, there are several aspects, among them education and forms of consumption, that can be reasonable identified as important elements. Hobsbawm, Age of Empire, 165–91; Osterhammel, Transformation of the World, 761–78. On the transformations of consumption in the Hamidian period, see chapter 3.6.

honorable and skillful" locksmith is able to buy a shop thanks to credit, and within six or seven years becomes a rich man. Since he raised himself from poverty, "his gain of wealth is also the society's gain of wealth". And since he continually increases his wealth and thus in turn give credit to other "moral persons that can be trusted", he becomes "a very useful man, both to his fellow men and to his country".[646] It can be underlined that although an increase in personal wealth was certainly an effect of entrepreneurial activity in this example, it was not the only, nor even the main one. More important was society's "gain of wealth" and his "usefulness to his country", as well as the reward of morality by credit.

The formation of such entrepreneurs was a primary goal of policy and educational writings of the Hamidian period. Abdülhamid declared it as a central goal of policy and aired his exasperation of local job choices: "Why does not even a single Ottoman want to become a big merchant?"[647] From 1880 onward, Ahmed Midhat's novels and stories increasingly encouraged capitalist entrepreneurship.[648] In his "Sevda-yi Amel", he argued that wealth does not create any personal and societal value if it is not invested and described the need for industrial and commercial capital.[649] Osman Hamdi Bey, the famous painter, called the "industry and trade" of the middle classes in a letter to his father as "the only source of wealth of a country".[650] "Ahenk", a journal from Smyrna, endorsed a book on agricultural production in 1900: "[This book] shows you the way to wealth…If you read this book, you would know how to make money, how to take care of your farming implements, understand how capital is created, what a company is".[651] A common model for entrepreneurial activity was the figure of the prophet. Since Muhammad had been a merchant, this economic activity was often praised by referencing him. In a string of articles in the paper "Sünuhat" from 1906, merchants were portrayed as the prototypical economically active Islamic men, since they would follow the prophet in their line of work.[652]

The importance of an entrepreneurial class was also not just an Ottoman-Muslim infatuation. The "lack of real productive trades and its concentration in petty trade and commerce" of Ottoman

646 Nail, İlm-i Servet, 105-06.
647 Cit. from Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 106.
648 Kılınçoğlu, "Weber, Veblen ve Ahmed Midhat."
649 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 100.
650 Cit. from Eldem, "Bourgeoisie of Istanbul," 172.
651 Cit. from Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 70.
652 Strohmeier, "Economic Issues," 179.

Jews was seen as a main problem driving educational initiatives of the AIU.[653] The Orthodox *Zografeion* secondary school, founded in Istanbul in 1893 stated as its goal to train "professionals in the expanding areas of the time, such as banking, business and the stock-exchange".[654]

The importance attached to entrepreneurial activity can be traced also by the importance of Benjamin Franklin as an intellectual point of the reference in the late Ottoman period.[655] Franklin's "Way to Wealth" itself was in form a compendium of aphorisms and proverbs, framed by a dichotomy between 'idleness' and 'industry'. The former was said to lead to misery and crime, while the latter should propel persons to wealth and virtue. Industry of itself, however, was not enough. It had to be supplemented by the virtue of 'frugality' or saving, both on an individual and social level. Though often presented as a forerunner of a distinctly 'modern' and 'capitalist' economic culture, the book itself curiously did not advocate investment and even presented credit as a dangerous institution. It became highly popular, reaching 1.100 editions in twenty-six languages by 1850.[656]

The Ottoman Empire was a latecomer to this fashion. Reşad Bey had first translated the "Way to Wealth" as a lithographed manuscript in Paris in 1869. A year later, Bedris Hocasaryan followed with a printed version in Istanbul.[657] Ebüzziya Tevfik also provided several shorter translations in his "Mecmua-ı Ebüzziya" in the early 1880s. The translations used a rather simple language instead of a polished style, aiming at, and possibly reaching, a wider audience.[658] Franklin's ideas were also received and appropriated within a local framework. A morality book for girls rendered Franklin's well-known proverb in Arabic and added: "'Time is money', this wise saying is also an Islamic apothegm".[659]

653 Cit. from Rodrigue, French Jews, Turkish Jews, 100.
654 Cit. from Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants," 162.
655 The other global bestseller of the 19th century in the genre of popular economics, Samuel Smiles' 1857 book "Self-Help", while published in Arabic in 1880, was not translated into Ottoman and consequently little referenced. Ogle, "Whose Time Is It?," 1396–99. There is confusion in the literature about this. Both Şerif Mardin and Carter Findley insist that Ahmed Midhat either translated Smiles into Ottoman or refers to him in his writings. Findley, Ottoman Civil Officialdom, 12; Mardin, "Super Westernization," 144–45; 153. Yet Midhat never cites Smiles, nor can the record of a translation be found. Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, n. 30.
656 Reinert, "The Way to Wealth," 64–71.
657 Franklin, Tarik-i Servet; Franklin, Tarih-i Refah.
658 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 30–32.
659 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:32. For a newspaper article from 1908 that also cites the quote

The concept of managing wealth beyond simple frugality and savings became a more prominent topic in Ottoman writings on Franklin as person, where he came to serve as the model of the ideal entrepreneur. The writer mainly responsible for this was Ebüzziya Tevfik, who in 1882 wrote a biography of Franklin.[660] In this, he presented Franklin as the prototypical *homo oeconomicus* and as a model on which to build personal behavior. Ebüzziya wrote, for instance, that Franklin possessed a "natural" disposition towards work and activity and "did not want to pass one minute of his time in vain".[661] At the same time, Franklin was also presented as a model regarding personal conduct with regard to his soul and his emotions. Ebüzziya observed that Franklin always guarded himself against the desires of the baser soul (*nefs*) and possessed a "moderate" (*mutedil*) character. This qualification brings to mind the Aristotelian golden mean discussed in earlier chapters.[662] The larger part of the biography, however, depicted Franklin's life as an entrepreneur. There was probably some personal interest in this: Ebüzziya Tevfik himself, just like Franklin, ran an own newspaper, a publishing house and a printing press.[663] Ebüzziya presented Franklin as a model for a capitalist *habitus*. Franklin, according to Ebüzziya, had accumulated wealth, which he neither spent on conspicuous consumption nor let it sit idle. Rather, Franklin served humanity (*alem-i insaniyet*) with his wealth by founding a printing press and publishing books of moral instruction.[664]

The increasingly capitalist mode of the Ottoman economic system contributed to the formulation of a hierarchical and delineated moral community. Technological innovations and increased circulation of goods and services accelerated notions of time and bound the community closer together. While financial institutions like money and credit contributed to this, they also marked another important facet: The classical division of labor was further differentiated, with the use of capital by actors deemed to be necessary for the progress of the Ottoman community towards an increased general 'happiness'. An entrepreneurial economic role, marked by a valuation of wealth and thrift within a moral framework, thus entered the economic morality. At the same time, the expansion of credit and money bound ever more actors in economic practice within this moral

without attributing it to Franklin, see Wishnitzer, "With the Precision," 312.
660 Tevfik, Benjamen Franklin.
661 Tevfik, 19.
662 Tevfik, 15–16. See chapter 2.2 and 2.5.
663 Ebüzziya, "Ebüzziya Mehmed Tevfik"; Türesay, "Ebüzziya Tevfik."
664 Tevfik, Benjamen Franklin, 13.

framework, from consumers to the state.

So far, we have examined the two possible economic roles for Ottoman subjects: That of an industrious worker and that of a thrifty entrepreneur, which both were deemed to contribute to the economic progress of the Ottoman community. These roles were usually conceived of as male. The economic role of the female half of the population will be examined in the next chapter.

3.5 Productive or Reproductive work? Considering Gender Roles

The Hamidian era saw an increase of women's societal and ideological importance. This was due to several factors. Quite practically, the preceding years of warfare and the loss of territory had decimated the male population of the empire, while emigration, which was predominantly male, rose in numbers throughout the period. But women were also increasingly cast in roles emphasizing their responsibilities and duties to the Ottoman political community.[665] Economically, men were identified with the roles of worker or entrepreneur, while the primary economic duty of women was the management of the household. This difference built on tradition and was probably socially followed to a degree.[666] Nonetheless, the frame changed. The centrality of women's work for the Ottoman political community, rather than 'just' for their families, became a central topic in the period's print culture. Additionally, women of different social class contributed to an emerging public discourse on the role of women in public and private life.[667] Further, and despite the fact that many writings normatively assumed a domestic role for women in reproductive work, the possible economic roles of women in the period multiplied, helped by advances in public schooling. In the following, I want to focus on three prominent roles for women in economic life of the Hamidian political community. First and foremost, reproductive work in the house was central and deemed to necessitate a degree of (public) education. Secondly, the conception of women as natural educators within the house also opened up possibilities of work outside of it, in the new education institutions. And third, many women worked on the fields,

665 Brummett, Image and Imperialism, 287; Kandiyoti, "Images of Women"; Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism," 108–12; Vardağlı, "Female Tobacco Workers," 56; Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 202.

666 Çekiç, "On the Front and at Home"; Ramsay, Everyday Life in Turkey, 105.

667 Frierson, "Women."

in factories, or part-time from home.

Reproductive work was taking place mainly within the house, conceived of as an ever more female space.[668] A morality book for girls wrote that "the true and natural space for a girl or a young woman is the house".[669] This domestic space was sometimes also interpreted in the frame of a division of labor. A Greek-language newspaper article from 1875 similarly stated: "Without this division [of labor] there is no equilibrium between the sexes. Woman and house are synonymous".[670] Conversely, this meant that the outside was seen as a temporary and dangerous space for women. A morality book for girls, for example, admonished its readers that young women should not linger outside of the house for too long. If they had to cross the threshold of the house at all, when visiting relatives across town, they were told not to linger in the streets nor talk to strangers.[671]

Despite its separate character, reproductive work in the house was nonetheless connected to a general debate on the importance of education for the progress of the Ottoman community. There was surprisingly little contention for the necessity of female education. As Şemseddin Sami wrote in 1893, explicitly referencing the Ottoman situation earlier in the text: "There are several reasons why education of women is important…they are factories producing humans (*insan fabrikası*) and bring them in to this world. Further, they educate their children. So, talking about the education of women is to talk about the education of future humans".[672] Similarly, Mahmud Esad wrote in the foreword to a book by Halide Edip (1884-1964): "Children…are the hopeful future of a community (*cemiyet*), but the vanguard of this spark of hope are the mothers…we must ensure their education for the progress of our society".[673]

It becomes apparent that arguments concerning women's education were closely connected to the progress of the political community. The editors of "Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete", the longest running women's magazine of the Hamidian period, echoed this when they wrote in their

668 Traditionally, the Ottoman upper class houses had been partitioned into a female and a male space. İpşirli, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Harem."

669 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:38.

670 Cit. from Exertzoglou, "Cultural Uses of Consumption," 87.

671 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:39.

672 Sami, Kadınlar, 22. On Sami's views concerning women, see Gawrych, "Şemseddin Sami."

673 Edib Adıvar, Mader, 1.

statement of purpose: "Thoughtful and capable persons measure the degree of women's attainments and knowledge in order to plan carefully a nation's progress".[674] Progress here often meant an increase in 'civilization', while both universalist notions were closely linked to the existing Ottoman state and the Hamidian regime. Ayşe Sadika, a professor at the female teacher's college in Istanbul, even called the reign of Abdülhamid the "age of happiness" (*asr-i saadet*) in her 1895 book on pedagogy.[675] She connected this to the state's efforts of increasing female education:

> *"The measure of a country's progress is the perfection of its civilization. Yet the best measure of the degree of civilization is the education of women. In the most shining periods of Islamic civilization there were exceptional women…and the current development [of Abdülhamid's reign] makes us live in hope and joy".*[676]

This "current" development primarily concerned an expansion of the educational infrastructure. While there had been hardly any secondary education for girls before 1858, institutions of female education became widespread throughout the empire in the Hamidian period.[677] Besides schools with regular curricula, specialized technical schools existed especially in the larger cities, some of which were directed at orphan girls. Instruction in these female schools was split more or less equally between a standard primary education and instruction in handicrafts (*el hünerleri*), including "tailoring, embroidery and music".[678] This expansion of female education was also integrated into the empire's self-representation directed at an external or international audience. Consequently, female students and girls' schools featured prominently in the albums of Sultan Abdülhamid.

674 Cit. from Frierson, "Women," 147.
675 This is remarkable, since the 'age of happiness' as a concept traditionally denoted the lifetime of the Prophet Mohammed. Özaydın, "Asr-i Saadet."
676 Sıdıka, Usul-i Talim, 3–4.
677 Somel, "Kız Eğitimi"; Doğan, "Liberalism and Islamism," 90.
678 Frierson, "State, Press, and Gender," 106; Cevad, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, 274–86.

Students of the Üsküdar Kız Sanayı Mektebi, album of Abdülhamid II.

Group photograph of the students of the Emirgan middle school for girls, album of Abdülhamid II.

While some degree of public education of women was not controversial, the extent and contents certainly were. Abdurrahman Şeref wrote in his morality book from 1898 that women should learn to write and read to be able to converse with their husbands, but that morality was much more important to women than a science education.[679] And Behram Münir stated in a book on home economics, a flourishing genre of the period, that

> *"even though calligraphy is nice and pretty to women, it is also necessary that they know how to make a bed and how to clean the windows….Geography is a useful science. Yet the enumeration of the five continents, or of a country's main railroad lines is not going to fill the stomachs of the household members at dinner time".[680]*

Finally, some writers conceived of women to be not only less strong physically than men but also, probably influenced by phrenological and social-darwinist thought, to be less intelligent, legitimizing thus a lesser education for women. A health-book for girls from 1894 noted: "There are some differences between men's and women's bodies. They are especially great with regard to the brain. Since man's brains are bigger than those of women, they are also more intelligent".[681]

679 Şeref, İlm-i Ahlak, 86. This importance to be able to converse in times of separation seems to have had a practical effect; Ahmed Cevdet, for example, pushed his wife to learn to read and write precisely for this reason. Faroqhi, Kultur und Alltag, 289.

680 Cit. from Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 42.

681 Cit. from Doğan.

This, of course, also roused opposition, with female authors intervening in the debate.

Fatma Aliye criticized in an article in "Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete" that men would want to prevent Ottoman women from attaining an education. Nonetheless, she stated the main goals of female education to be the attainment of good morals and proper etiquette.[682] Other female writers implicitly or explicitly accepted the position of women as guardians of the house and the family. A series of articles in the same newspaper, while championing co-education in some American and European institutions, asked: "Is women's education…good or bad from the perspective of the happiness of the family? This is where the fundamental question lies".[683] Poems written by the Bektashi Edib Harabi (1853-1915/16), while arguing against the biological discourse of female defects mentioned above, nonetheless legitimized the need for female education by referring to the importance of motherhood.[684] It becomes apparent that even to champions of female education the ultimate goal and legitimization of female education were women's domestic duties.

Consequently, manuals and schoolbooks meaning to educate Ottoman women mainly dealt with work in the household, while etiquette books intended to train appropriate social behavior.[685] Concerning work, the classic issues of cleaning, cooking or providing meals, and child care were deemed most important. Since further many of the writings directly addressed a middle-class audience, the maintenance of the household also included management of a paid domestic labor force. Greek-language and Ladino publications mirrored these household duties.[686]

Despite their spatial difference from workers, female household managers nonetheless shared the admonitions to be industrious and not lazy. A language book from 1905 presents a model mother doing chores for children, caring for them in times of sickness, holding vigil at night, and singing them to sleep, stating: "Every day, every night, I will work for you!"[687] Laziness against that was a vice just like in other jobs. A morality book for schools stated in 1898 that "there is no man who

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682 Cit. from Frierson, "Women," 149–50.

683 Cit. from Frierson, "State, Press, and Gender," 125. The same priority of the family with regard to female education was also employed in the Greek-language press. Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 215.

684 Ambros, "Osmanische Dichterinnen," 29–30.

685 Çekiç, "On the Front and at Home," 622–23. Although some of these manuals were translations, such as Halide Edip's 1896 "Mader", a translation of "The Mother at Home" by John Abbott from 1873, they were often modified for the Ottoman experience.

686 Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 213; Stein, Making Jews Modern, 126–36.

687 Hıfzı, Rehber-i Kıraat, 9.

prefers a women that spends her day with reading novels, or astronomical observations, to one who looks after the duties of the house".[688] The preoccupation with domestic laziness was also shared by the community schools. The annual report of the Alliance Francaise from 1891 on the predominantly Jewish neighborhood of Hasköy stated the necessity of educating girls lest they become like their mothers. The latter, as a "woman of the Orient", would "pass half the day in superficial work in the house and the other half in a demoralizing idleness, 'drinking cup after cup of coffee and playing cards', smoking cigarettes as much if not more than her husband".[689]

Among the female 'duties of the house', cleaning ranked high.[690] There was contention on techniques. Connected to the period's medical discourse, Mehmet Hazik complained that Ottoman women would not use modern techniques, like fumigation, to clean their families' clothes, but rather continued to use dirty rags (*pacavra*) to superficially clean them.[691] The right manner of cleaning clothes—and this usually meant assisted in some way by technology—was also featured in pictures within the special women's press.

688 Cit. from Doğan, Ders Kitapları, 42.
689 Cit. from Rodrigue, French Jews, Turkish Jews, 78.
690 Midhat, Sağlık, 7–8.
691 Hazık, Terbiye, 29–31.

"Female Duties: washing, ironing, starching". Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete 80, September 31,1896: 4.

"Female Duties: kneading the dough. A little girl's first lesson". Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete 81, October 7, 1896: 4.

Orthodox Girls learning to sew at the Ladies' Charitable Society of Pera ~1900. From Falierou 2013: 205

Further, textiles and clothes worn by members of the family should be repaired or even produced by the women themselves. Literature and schools instructed women how to sew.[692] This was connected to discourses on thrift and industriousness. Sewing was formulated as a woman's duty because it saved the household certain expenses. At the same time, and similar to the discourse on work mentioned in earlier chapters, it was presented as emotionally rewarding. Schoolbooks included the admonition that in times of loneliness, or sadness, needlework would help women to change their mental state to pleasantness.[693] Sewing was also frequently depicted in the period's literature as a commendable practice. Conversely, women that abandoned their activities of embroidering and needlework at home, contrarily, were usually depicted as the female equivalent of the overly westernized *züppe* and depicted as unhappy.[694] Further, work was presented as coming

692 Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism," 113–14. The 1869 Edict on Education already mentioned sewing (*dikiş*) as a main curricular content of female schools. Albayrak and Şeker, Osmanlı Eğitiminde Modernleşme, 105. The proliferation of relatively affordable personal sewing machines in the period also contributed to the importance attached to female domestic sewing. For this, see chapter 3.6 and Godley, "Selling the Sewing Machine"; Kupferschmidt, "Sewing Machine in the Middle East."

693 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:32.

694 See as a positive example Zahire in the Story "Ninni" in Müftüoğlu, Haristan ve Gülistan, 306. The

with emotional rewards. In a schoolbook, a mother stated that she works all day for her children, which would make her happy (*bahtiyar*).[695] This emotional reward was not just personal. Children were admonished to repay hardworking mothers with love.[696] This was also a topic in pictorial sources. Women who fulfilled their duties were shown as happy and rewarded by affection, as can be seen in the two pictures below. Emotions were thus also for women depicted as outcomes of desired or undesired behavior.

"A motherly kiss". Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete 134, October 28, 1897.

"Mutual Affection". Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete 133, October 21, 1897.

Within housework, the duty of preparing meals was stressed, with several popular cooking books appearing in the period; Ayşe Fahriye's "Ev kadını" alone saw four editions. It featured over 400 pages of recipes and codified many classic recipes of today's Turkish cuisine. It also included short discussions on manners of eating and a dichotomy of setting the table *alaturka* and *alafranga* was included in diagram form.[697] This well-known discursive dichotomy between an 'own' and a

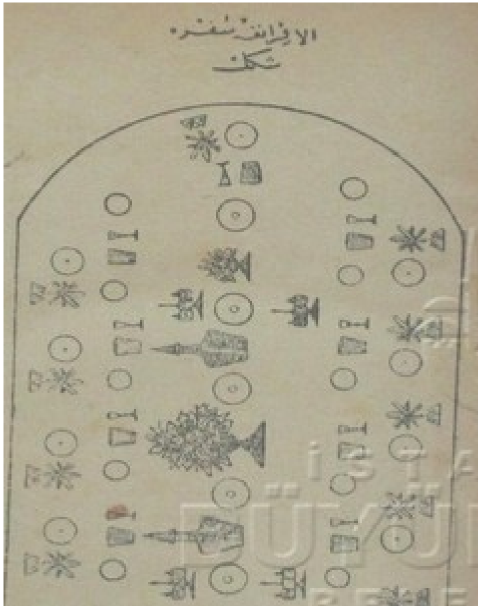
negative example is from Ahmed Midhat: Felatun Bey's sister immediately stops textile work in the house the moment the family moves to Pera. Mardin, "Super Westernization," 146–47. For more examples of the overly westernized women in Hamidian literature, see Kandiyoti, "Images of Women."

695 Azmi Bey, İlk Kıraat, 39.

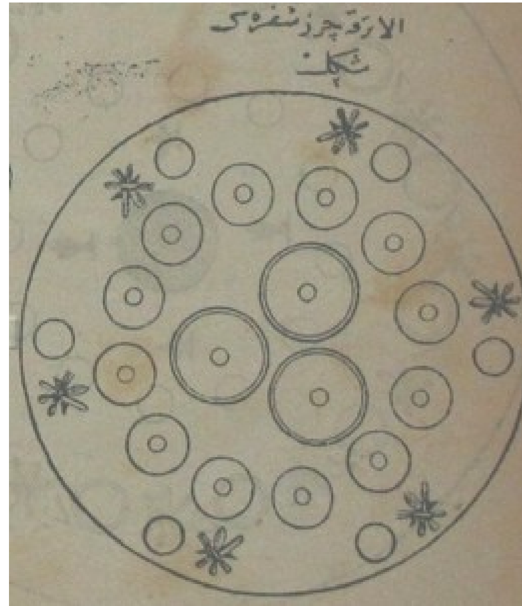
696 Hıfzı, Rehber-i Kıraat, 9; Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:13-14.

697 Fahriye, Ev kadını, 401-05.

'European' cultural style was also applied to cooking and food in the period, and served to draw boundaries and construct a 'national' cuisine. As can be seen in the pictures below, however, the two modes of setting the table were in fact very close to each other, at least in Fahriye's book. Both, for example, included cutlery, which was usually assumed to be a major difference between the two styles.[698]



"Alafranga Table", from Fahriye 1310: 405



"Alaturka Table", from Fahriye 1310: 402

Most of these writings addressed upper middle-class households, in which the mother was not the only person charged with reproductive work. Even though in general household units were rather small, about 8% of Istanbul households registered resident domestic servants in 1907, most of which were women.[699] The number of non-residential servants was probably much higher. The famous female dowry (*mahr*) was often rather small and nominal in the big cities, which made it negligible for social mobility. This suggests a larger, old and young female servant-class.[700] Additionally, the institution of *beslemes* existed. These were poor children adopted, though not in

698 Samancı, "Sofra Adabı: Alaturka-Alafranga"; Samancı, "A la table du Sultan"; Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine"; Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 293. At least spoons seem to have been common enough in the Ottoman Empire before the middle of the 19th century to warrant an own street name close to the Great Bazaar.

699 Duben and Behar, Istanbul Households, 50.

700 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 785. Evidence supporting this also in Schrader, Konstantinopel, 126.

legal terms, into relatively rich households at a young age and brought up as servants.[701] The middle-class bureaucrat Said Bey, for example, had a rather large and frequently changing household: in 1902, seven domestics worked for his family.[702]

It was further quite common for middle-class or elite households to employ—often foreign and/or minority—governesses. A famous literary example for this was Mademoiselle de Courton, the governess and *confidante* of the protagonist Nihal in Halid Ziya's novel "Aşk-i Memnu". Increasingly, however, governesses also became subject to a discourse of nationalism. In Hüseyin Rahmi's 1899 novel "Mürebbiye"—the title translates as "The Governess"—the French Mlle Angèle compromises the honor and propriety of the protagonist Muslim family. Ayşe Sıdika also advocated for Muslim servants being used in the education of Muslim children. Abdülhamid himself weighed in on this in 1901, stating that Christian and especially foreign governesses would lead Muslim children to forget their culture and religion.[703]

The management of servants was thus part of female household management. "The biggest work of a woman is to keep a house in order (*intizam*)", as one morality book declared. This included a guidance of servants, by example rather than castigation, and the value of thrift/management (*idare*) regarding consumption expenses. Even as household managers, however, women were always subservient to the male head of the household (*reis*).[704] Ahmed Midhat's novels again serve as a good example for this. The ideal wives of his novels were diligent managers of the family and the household. The wives of Rakım and Şinasi in "Felatun Bey", for example, work hard and use their resources economically, thus contributing significantly to their husbands' efforts.[705]

Despite the presence of domestic servants, women were tasked with child-rearing. They had to transmit values and duties similar to those in schoolbooks and were thus cast in the role of 'mothers of the nation'.[706] As an almanac published in 1897 put it: "A well-educated woman raises

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701 Maksudyan, "Beslemes."

702 Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul," 159–61.

703 Faroqhi, "Consumption and Elite Status," 59; Uşaklıgil, Aşk-ı Memnu; Kandiyoti, "Images of Women," 42; Sıdıka, Usul-i Talim; Frierson, "State, Press, and Gender," 138–39; Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 297.

704 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:20, 28-29, 39; Said, Ahlak-ı hamide; Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 191–92.

705 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 160–91.

706 Hazık, Terbiye, 152; Hıfzı, Rehber-i Kıraat, 11; Nazima, Oku, 4.

well-educated children. Only these children can contribute to their people's progress and happiness (*saadet*)", while another from 1899 added that only good mothers could maintain a people's morality.[707] A treatise on female education wrote that "a people's (*kavm*) morals and behavior, a religious communities' (*ümmet*) beliefs and thoughts, in short, the roots of humanity's civilization and honor are all protected at the mother's breast".[708] Books often used biological metaphors. Children were presented in analogies as young trees, or flowers. Consequently, mothers were encouraged to teach them from an early age, and in line with the biological underpinning, differentiate their approach according to their children's age.[709]

The privileged role of women in child-rearing was also legitimized by perceived 'special talent' of women for educating others, itself embedded in the discourse of a fundamental difference of men and women. Women were said to be not only physically weaker than men, but also psychologically different and possess a more amenable character. This meant that women, because of their virtues like compassion and affection, were predisposed for educating children. The same discourse was also present in the Greek-Orthodox and Jewish communities.[710] This opened up a possibility for work outside of the house in the developing education sector.

From 1870 onward, prospective Muslim female teachers were being trained at special teacher training colleges, female *Darülmuallimin*, in both Istanbul and Salonica.[711] At first mainly concerned with the education of girls to be good 'mothers of the nation', the teachers increasingly also contributed to a redefinition of Muslim women's gender roles. Pertinent in this regard was especially the lower-class background of the teachers. While they attempted to adapt to, and later disperse, new social values that they encountered in their education, they also questioned, by simple doing their work, hierarchies built on origin rather than merit. This lead to consistent struggles with the Ministry of Education as well as with the elite women who were often working as school headmistresses or administrators. Halide Edip, who came from an elite background and

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707 Cit. from Türesay, "An Almanac for Ottoman Women," 231, 235.

708 Ragib, Terbiye-i Nisvan, 6.

709 Sami, Kadınlar, 22; Edib Adıvar, Mader, 2; Remzi, Validelere Yadigar, 19–22; Rıfat, Hikayat-i Müntehabat, 3.

710 Frierson, "State, Press, and Gender," 125; Kirmizialtin, "Gender, Education and Modernization," 4–5; Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 210; Rodrigue, French Jews, Turkish Jews, 73–74.

711 Doğan, "Liberalism and Islamism," 90; Kirmizialtin, "Gender, Education and Modernization," 150–51.

was a professor at the *Darülmuallim,* charged her female students as being "weak in morals…their conduct and attitude will astonish even the most frivolous European. [They]…do not know how to walk properly, jostling and cackling in public".[712] This scorn was no doubt also due to the fact that the schoolteachers both affirmed middle-class economic values of merit against status and, at the same time, challenged the gender-based division of labor of the moral economic community.[713]

This wage labor was usually off the table in normative texts. The nuclear family, as for example described by Ahmed Midhat in his book on political economy or most of his novels, was provided for by the income of the father.[714] Nonetheless, a sole breadwinner was often not sufficient, least of all in rural areas, where all members had to work in the fields. But also in the big cities, many women were employed in industry and factories. They were attractive employees, since usually payed less than men.[715] Female work was most prominent in the textile sector, since it allowed women to work in an auxiliary capacity from home. This practice had a long tradition.[716] In the 'Imperial Fez Factory' in Istanbul, for instance, a clear spatial division of labor existed. Women usually worked from home, while men worked on the factory floor.[717] This was slightly different for non-Muslim minorities. In the textile factories of Macedonia, young and unmarried Orthodox or Jewish women often made up more than 70% of the work force, while married women worked from home. Also in other industries the labor participation of women was significant.[718] In the burgeoning tobacco industry, both in production of tobacco for export and cigarettes for internal consumption, women often were the majority of the workforce. Muslim women were by no means absent.[719] In 1875, the tobacco monopoly factory in Istanbul alone employed 1.400 workers, most of which were women.[720] The role of female tobacco-workers can be seen in a photograph from 1900.

712 Kirmizialtin, "Gender, Education and Modernization," 172–87 cit. 179.
713 Somel, "Kız Eğitimi."
714 Midhat, Ekonomi Politik, 20; Çolak, "Portraits of Women," 118–20.
715 Vardağlı, "Female Tobacco Workers," 48–49; 55.
716 Quataert, "Women, Households," 255.
717 Kabadayi, "Fez Factory in Istanbul," 70; Kabadayi, "Working from Home."
718 Balsoy, "Gendering Ottoman Labor History."
719 Vardağlı, "Female Tobacco Workers," 50–54.
720 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 892; 902.

Men and women of different religious communities work at the tobacco factory in Kavala, ~1900. From Vardağlı 2013: 54.

The significant female working population in the factories repeatedly caused social discontent in the different religious communities, concerned for female honor. The solution was often seen in spatial separation. In 1911, the Ottoman government had to declare publicly that employment of Muslim women in the workshops did not violate Islamic norms, since their workplaces were separate from those of the men and their wages were paid by female supervisors.[721] While practices of work thus ran in some ways counter to the normative role of women as responsible for reproductive work in the house, they nonetheless contained form of differentiation and separation, be it spatially or by remuneration.

Female economic values and duties were centrally connected to a dominant discourse on the importance of progress, civilization, and societal happiness of the Ottoman political community. As in other usages, the semantics of these concepts allowed to envision a political community that was limited precisely through the adaption of universal concepts. At the same time, the community was internally stratified and hierarchical. The household was conceived of as a female space, which was subservient in many ways to the male space. Yet hierarchies also subsisted within the house: Women, even in the of managers of the household, were still subordinate to men. Further, while female education was deemed important, it was conceived of as different to and in many ways lower than male education. Nonetheless, by fulfilling their subservient duties as household

721 Lapavitsas, "Social Origins of Ottoman Industrialisation," 16–17; Vardağlı, "Female Tobacco Workers," 54.

managers, women were depicted as reaping emotional rewards. Positive personal emotions were achieved by engaging in housework, while dutiful care workers were being loved by their children. Further, women as household managers contributed to and participated in the happiness of society.

As shown, social practice was more complicated. While women were envisioned as educated housewives, many of them had to—or wanted to—work in wage labor either inside or outside of the houses, even in the large cities of the empire. Women venturing outside of reproductive work were often subject to scrutiny and still occupied a lower rang in the economic order. Yet besides productive work, women also increasingly participated in other facets of the economic process. As already stated, another important economic role for women was the domain of consumption, where they were charged to exercise economic values like thrift and moderation. Tied to the emergence of new spaces and new media, increased circulation and consumption of goods led to a profound transformation of everyday life.

3.6 Advertisements and Consumption

During the 19th century the development of industrial capitalism was tied to diverse new patterns of consumption in many places all over the globe. A proliferation of goods was especially noticeable in larger cities and often depended on the integration within networks of circulation rather than the fluctuation of prices or incomes in respective states. From the start, it created controversy and debate. While authorities were reluctant to restrict demand, a diverse coalition critical of consumption emerged. They usually held that consumption threatened morality and endangered social order.[722] The expansion of consumption played a decisive role in the development of capitalism, in that it complimented the fundamentally supply-sided evolution of industrial production. It also involved an extension of decision-making capabilities of women, since they increasingly came to be charged with consumption.[723]

Just like in European states, the late 17th and 18th century had seen the arrival of new luxury goods,

722 Trentmann, Empire of Things, 174–337; Cohen, "More Is More."
723 De Vries, "Industrious Revolution," 254–62.

such as furs, silk, and coffee, in Ottoman elite households. They almost immediately engendered moralizing critiques.[724] Nonetheless, imports of clothing and manufactured goods, mainly from France, increased significantly and continued through the beginning of the 19th century. Besides non-Muslim groups, the demand was often tied to state reforms undertaken in the military and bureaucracy.[725] The second half and particularly the last quarter of the 19th century then saw ever more transformations: Markets operated in new spaces, like department stores, utilized new media, such as printed and illustrated advertisements, and dealt new goods, for example services.[726] While these developments were connected to global currents, novel consumption patterns in the Ottoman Empire were by no means a simple alignment of local mores to international standards. Consumption decisions always involve dynamic cultural choices and boundary work. On a very basic level, even international companies had (and still have) to cater to local taste, while also transforming it in the process.[727]

Taste and morals in consumption were used in the Ottoman press to articulate a prescriptive middle-class domesticity that privileged moderation and thrift in consumption habits. While novels clearly showed most protagonists living a comfortable middle-class life, conspicuous consumption of both the upper classes and overly Europeanized individuals was harshly criticized. Bihruz Bey, the protagonist of Mahmud Ekrem's "Araba Sevdası", was probably the most famous of these. He is depicted as spending all his money on coaches and European luxury clothes and is thoroughly mocked for his behavior.[728] The critique inherent in such depictions took up suggestions of European economic morality, yet turned them against both the empire's upper class and the Europeans themselves. Morals of consumption were used to draw boundaries of the political and cultural community and often included the notion that 'wasteful' patterns of consumption were imported from the outside. This could be Egyptian families, who were identified as the harbingers of French dresses and luxurious mansions on the Bosporus by the famous historian Ahmed Cevdet, or simply European fashion and cultural modes, which were embodied in the emasculated

724 Penah Efendi, "Mora Ihtilâli Tarihçesi"; Sariyannis and Atiyas, Ottoman Political Thought, 144–52.
725 Göçek, Rise of the Bourgeoisie, 87–116.
726 Aktar, "Istanbul'da meslekler"; Varlı and Özbay, "Istanbul'da Perakende Ticareti," 2424; Köse, "Flooding the Ottoman Market," 222–25.
727 Exertzoglou, "Cultural Uses of Consumption," 77–78; Köse, "Nestle in the Ottoman Empire"; Godley, "Selling the Sewing Machine."
728 Ekrem, Araba Sevdası; Abou-Hodeib, "Taste and Class," 481.

dandy, or, *züppe*.[729]

Consumption was fundamentally entwined with moral prescriptions. Thrift as a value was advocated, as was the consumption of local goods. The importance of moderation met a highlighting of the emotional experience of consumption. Civilization and progress were reference points, while the medical discourse on hygiene was also prominent. And lastly, although women as household managers were subordinated to the male breadwinners, the widening of consumption bore the possibility of enhancing their economic role.

Conceptually, consumption was a latecomer to Ottoman economic thought. Even though Adam Smith had already deemed it to be the "sole end of all production", its Ottoman neutral translation as *istihlak* hardly featured as a concept in economic writings of the 1860s and 1870s.[730] This changed in the 1880s. Writers usually posited that humans had a varieties of needs (*ihtiyacat*), which often were—in line with a soul-body dichotomy— differentiated in basic or bodily needs like food and higher or spiritual needs. Needs were naturalized and said to develop alongside the progress of civilization, with more progressed people having more needs.[731] Economists often drew in this on Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory of stages in history. According to Mustafa Nail, for instance, groups of human beings passed from savagery to nomadism (*bedeviyet*) and finally civilization (*medeniyet*). The more a person, or a people, progressed, the more 'civilized needs' would emerge. These needs were immaterial, such as 'public order' (*temin-i asayiş*) or '"pleasures' (*telezzüzat*), yet could also be material. It was necessary to satisfy these needs, which would bring about general 'wealth and happiness' (*refah ve saadet*).[732] Consumption was also naturalized by deeming it necessary for the perseverance of economic activity. According to Mahmud Esad, a person who only saves and never spends would also lose his or her zeal to continue working.[733]

While natural, the economic literature also adopted a critical stance towards consumption, since it

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729 Mardin, "Super Westernization," 139–46. This narrative has long-lasting effects. Even Mardin in his otherwise admirable article fields questionable ethnological arguments to present conspicuous consumption as alien to 'traditional' Turkish values.

730 The main concept connected to consumption in the writings of the Young Ottomans was squandering (*israf*), used to criticize the Tanzimat bureaucracy. Demir, "İktisadi Kavram," 163–66; Czygan, "Criticism of the Tanzimat Economy," 46–48.

731 Ohannes, Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet, 9; Midhat, Ekonomi Politik, 17; Nazif Süruri, Gencine Servet, 1–2.

732 Nail, İlm-i Servet, 1;6.

733 Esad, İlm-i Servet, 104.

potentially could hurt accumulation and productive investment of capital. People hence had to separate necessary from unnecessary consumption and prefer the former. They further had to exercise moderation and thrift as well as focus on functionality and, in the Islamic literature, refrain from the consumption of intoxicants or alcohol (*müskirat*).[734] Such prescriptions were directed at a diverse audience, yet assumed a prominent position in schoolbooks addressing girls. One listed as the duties of girls and women that they should always buy plain (*sade*) things, be moderate (*itidal*) in consumption, never spend without calculating (*bila-hesab*), have the solidity (*metanet*) to not buy unnecessary things, and in general always look for the cheapest price (*ehven*).[735] This tied in with the female role of household manager. Hüseyin Remzi for example wrote that while men would earn the bread of the family, the role of the mother was to safeguard and maintain the wealth of the family.[736] It also featured in the female press. An article from "Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete" admonished women to write ledgers showing all allowances and expenses, in order to manage the family budget more systematically.[737] Despite these prescriptions, the actual gender division of consumption is difficult to ascertain. Contemporary European observers often noted than Ottoman Muslim men still did most of the shopping.[738]

The new consumer culture at which these admonishments were directed was intimately connected to the rise of commercial advertisement.[739] In the Ottoman case, these adverts mainly began to appear in newspapers and journals of the growing print culture. The decorations of shops and department stores, while also present, were mostly confined to the upper-class shopping areas of Pera and not particularly elaborated. Decorations were to become an important facet of the urban fabric only from 1908 onward.[740] Print advertisements, on the other hand, saw some major

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734 Nazif Süruri, Gencine Servet, 110–18; Nail, İlm-i Servet, 153–64.
735 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:28-29.
736 Remzi, Hoca Hanım, 25.
737 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 114.
738 Endres, Die Türkei, 229; Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul," 129.
739 Zachs, "Beginning of Press Advertising"; Köse, "Commercial Advertisements."
740 Yavuz Köse states that "Photographs from the late 19th to the early years of the 20th century show that there was a great deal of visual advertising in the public sphere". Köse, "Flooding the Ottoman Market," 241. The photographic collections of the Swede Guillaume Berggren (1835-1920), who had in 1870 opened a studio in Istanbul and was renowned for his pictures of everyday life, do not show such advertisement outside of Pera. http://sis.modernamuseet.se/en/view/objects/asimages/country$0040Turkey:EN?t:state:flow=b53ce8f7-ab91-4307-8650-7b16057431af

developments during the Hamidian period, with an acceleration from the 1890s onward. While earlier examples had mostly consisted of the name and maybe a description of the products, now local shops and producers used shortened prose, images as well as calligraphy, testimonies of customers, and even sales and prize campaigns. Despite some global players like Nestlé and Singer heavily investing in the market, advertisement of local firms exceeded that of foreign companies during the period 1880-1908.[741]

These adverts referenced similar topics as the books on economics. The "Petit Lyons" store in Galata, for example, catered its goods to the "civilized people in our era". Since thrift was the first and foremost economic value regarding consumption, it further promised that shoppers did not need to spend "excessive amounts" for this.[742] An emphasis on thrift was prominent: Almost every advertisement featured a mention of the shop's low prices and the slogan "So cheap that there is no competition to it" came to be an oft-repeated trope.[743] Prices were also often advertised as being 'fixed' (*maktu*), to separate shops from the 'oriental' technique and practice of bargaining.[744] Prices were also connected to the dominant value of moderation. An advertisement for a shop selling butter said that it were "opening this time with a moderate (*mutedil*) price".[745] Similarly, the Pera branch of the famous Baker department stores, while catering to an upper-class public, still insisted that their products would enable married female (*gelin*) customers to furnish their houses in an "excellent and moderate" (*mükemmel ve mutedil*) way.[746]

Another important point mentioned in advertisements was the provenience of the products. The department stores often stressed the French, English, or in general 'Frankish' (*frenk*) origin or style of their products. This was most prominent in clothing and furniture.[747] Yet a simple division of European and local products is hard to make. Many up-street shops, while advertising imported

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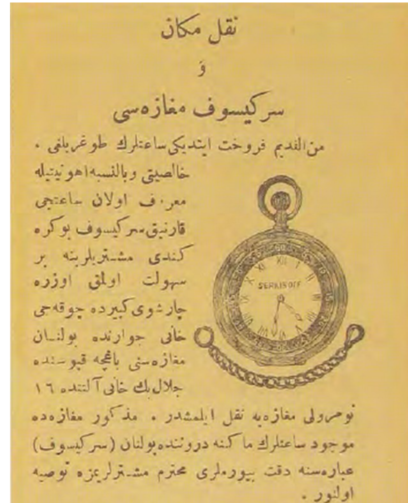
741 Koloğlu, Reklamcılığımızın ilk yüzyılı, 130–51; Menevşe, "Changes in Advertorial Prose," 13–14.
742 Frierson, "Patriotic Consumer Culture," 251.
743 Kolay et al., İlan-ı ticaret, 64; 80.
744 While 'bazaar bargaining' is an Orientalist staple, it was probably local practices to a degree. Özveren, "Advent of 'Homo Oeconomicus,'" 25, 30; Garnett, Home Life in Turkey, 8–9.
745 N., "Halis Tereyağı."
746 N., "Meşhur Baker'in Yeni Mağazası." The department store was founded by an Englishman, George Baker, on the Grand Rue de Pera in 1854, with later branches in the nearby quarters of Yüksekkaldırım and Sirkeci. http://www.levantineheritage.com/testi26.htm
747 Kolay et al., İlan-ı ticaret, 61, 65, 74, 75, 78.

textile goods, also offered *çarşaf* (robe-like dress) to women.[748] Even clothes imported from Europe would cater to local taste in design. European producers branded finished products as being "for the Levant" or "Oriental".[749] The importance of local taste in consumption may also be inferred from the fact that European record companies, when setting up shop in Istanbul, almost instantly realized that their recordings of European classical music did not sell, which led them to produce records of local artists.[750]

With other products of very probably European manufacture, as in the case of watches, it was mainly local shops who produced advertisements. These insisted on the technological qualities of their products rather than their origin, as in the pictured advertisement of the watch store "Serkisof", who is said to be well-known for the "genuineness and rightness" (*doğruluk ve hadisiyet*) of his watches.[751] The other pictured ad from an Armenian-owned watch store admonished its readers: "Never be without a watch". Watches were, of course, central objects to notions of linear temporality, work ethic, and progress, which made them a popular item during the period. Besides specialized stores, many department stores also included watches in their list of products.[752]

"Selvaciyan watch store", from Altın 2014: 33



"Serkisof Shop", Servet-i Fünun, December 4, 1902.

748 Kolay et al., 74, 78. While covering a large part of women's faces and head, the *çarşaf* was no traditional clothing, but developed as a style during the Hamidian period. Türkoğlu, "Çarşaf."

749 Abou-Hodeib, "Material Life," 591.

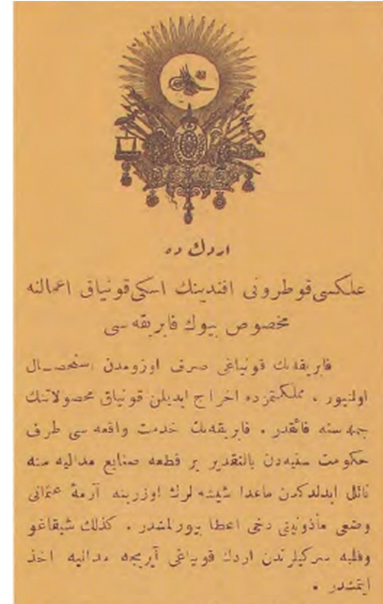
750 Gronow, "Record Industry"; N., "Grammophon Platten-Verzeichnis." See also chapter 4.6.

751 N., "Nakl-i Mekan."

752 Kolay et al., İlan-ı ticaret, 64, 65, 76. See also chapter 3.3.

As mentioned, many writers of the period directed morally charged critiques against a perceived infatuation with foreign products. This could lead to an emphasis on the local character or local production of goods. Already in 1874, the journalist Basiretçi Ali (1838-1910) had urged his readers in one of his columns to buy local products, since that would increase the wealth of the "sons of the fatherland". Household economics books from the Hamidian period also admonished readers to buy furniture and household goods "of domestic production".[753]

Advertisement for "Nikolakis Papadopoulou Olive Oil". From Frierson 1999: 258



"Erdek Cognac", Servet-i Fünun, August 11, 1895

Advertisements took up this discourse, intriguingly often those of non-Muslim companies. The pictured advertisement for "Erdek Cognac", whose proprietor was Greek-Orthodox, states that the cognac had gained medals from the government, as well as the right to bear the state's coat of arms. The cognac is said to have won international prices in Chicago (probably at the World Fair 1893) and champions the recommendations of physicians, among them the imperial head physician (*saray-ı hümayun sertabibi*). It finally promises a 100 Lira reward for everyone who could find proof for harmful substances in the product. This was probably an allusion to Muslim writings which stressed the bodily harms associated with the consumption of alcohol.[754] The

753 Basiretçi Ali, Bir Zamanlar İstanbul, 148; Rıfat, Tedbir-i Menzil, 32–33.

754 Nazif Süruri, Gencine Servet, 113–15; Şükrü, Resimli İlm-i Eşya. See above chapter 2.3.

testimony of the head physicians may even have been genuine; after all, Abdülhamid II was known to occasionally drink cognac even if he generally refrained from drinking alcoholic beverages.[755]

Another example was the pictured advertisement for “Nikolakis Papadopoulos Olive Oil”, published in “Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete” in 1904. It featured the name of the shop both in Ottoman Turkish and Greek letters, thus catering to both Orthodox and Muslims. The first information, just below the picture of a well-ordered shop, presents the products to be “Ottoman” and furthermore produced with a proper permit from the government, while the oil is said to be “pure and clean”.[756]

"Alem Printing", Servet-i Fünun, November 25, 1897.

"Darüzziya Factory", Servet-i Fünun, December 21, 1899.

Muslim companies also contributed. The insertion of the Ottoman coat of arms was a common marketing tactic to showcase connection or approval of the central government.[757] But advertisements also in other ways connected their products to the Ottoman state. Ahmed İhsan advertised his printing press, which was said to be “new and ordered” (*tecdid ve tanzim*), shown above to the left. It featured a large calligraphy in *Kufi*-Script. Refashioned and revamped by Ebüzziya Tevfik, the script had gained a prominent position in imperial representation of the Hamidian period, featuring on buildings from the newly built Hamidiye mosque to the Ottoman

755 Samancı, “A la table du Sultan,” 343.
756 Frierson, “Patriotic Consumer Culture,” 258.
757 Altın, “Rationalizing Everyday Life,” 85–86.

Archaeological Museum and the central post office in Istanbul. The usage of the script was thus clearly associated with the Ottoman polity.[758] Another example was the furniture factory "Darüzziya", founded as a local limited partnership (*komandit*) company in 1899. Its advert depicted the production process as modern, including "steam and electrical" machinery, and professed that the used wood would stem from "Ottoman forests" (*Memalik-i şahane ormanlarından*).[759]

Even though men, at least in Muslim households, had a considerable share in high-end shopping, female consumers were reserved a special place in adverts. Women's magazines were a prominent outlet for advertisements.[760] While prominent magazines and newspapers like "Servet-i Fünun" or "Tercüman-i Hakikat" also included adverts, the female-special "Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete" often featured several pages per issue. These were, as usual, connected to morals and values associated with female roles in society. An advertisement in the female journal "Hadika" praised a book on household economics in stating that the book were "in every aspect respectful of our national manners (*adab-i milliyetimiz*). In the world, every household needs a woman. Like that, every woman needs this book".[761] This also held true for the newly developing advertisements for services. In an advert in "Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete" from 1903, a sewing teacher advertised herself as being well-educated (*terbiyeli*) and honorable (*namuslu*).[762] Advertisements also referenced female economic activities in the house. Singer sewing machines featured prominently in many periodicals of the time, often sporting the imperial seal on top of their adverts. Sewing patterns were included in women's magazines, thus connecting the machine to moral discourse on the importance of handicrafts and thrift in the households. While the Ottoman Empire was initially a rather small market to the company, by 1920 about 12% of households in the former Ottoman region possessed a Singer machine, with a take-off around 1900 due to the inclusion of a delayed payment scheme.[763] Other shops catered to the importance attached to the female role in

758 Schick, "Revival of Kufi Script"; Faroqhi, Kultur und Alltag, 290.
759 N., "Darüzziya-i Osmaniye."
760 Başçı, "Advertising 'The New Woman'"; Başçı, "Women's Lifestyle and Leisure"; Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism."
761 N., "İki Refika." Citation from Menevşe, "Changes in Advertorial Prose," 30.
762 Menevşe, "Changes in Advertorial Prose," 37–38.
763 Godley, "Selling the Sewing Machine," 275–78; Kupferschmidt, "Sewing Machine in the Middle East," 201-03.

education, as in the following pictured ad selling globes to women, which also mentioned the shop's books and other utensils for schoolchildren.

''Mahmud Memduh's Globes'', *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, December 5, 1895.

Advertisement for Singer sewing machines. Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete, September 25, 1902.

Another important theme in advertisements was the medical discourse on hygiene, with its open or implicit connection to the progress of the political community. References to hygiene were most ostentatious in the adverts on services, as many service-ads included doctors, pharmacists and other medical professionals. In their advertisements the boundaries between health services and goods promoting health were blurry. Less often underlining cheapness, these ads rather described physicians as contributing to the "welfare of the state".[764] But also ads for goods referenced the period's infatuation with hygiene. Thus the pictured advertisement for gas lamps boasted that gas lamps would be "always clean", without danger,[765] and would be 30% cheaper than oil lamps.[766] The other ad for a "hygienic shave", pictured below to the left, employed a similar tactic, stating: "It is widely accepted that cleanliness (*nezafet ve taharetin*) is a necessary must for everyone". The barber promised to clean all instruments in front of the eyes of the customers. He also partook in

764 Frierson, "Patriotic Consumer Culture," 253–54.

765 In a city ravaged by several large fires during the second half of the 19th century, this was probably close to the heart of many consumers. Söğüt, "Yangınlar"; Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 174.

766 N., "Fulfulle Lambası."

a discourse on acceleration by insisting that the shave would be “extraordinarily fast in order to not annoy” the customers.[767]

"Hygienic Shave". Servet-i Fünun, November 25, 1897

"Fufulle Lambs", Servet-i Fünum, April 22, 1896.

Adverts also stressed the emotional experience of consumption and entering shops. “Kamelya”, a clothing store from Beyoğlu, claimed that, upon seeing its goods, the customers’ “eyes would be lightened and their hearts would be filled with joy”.[768] Many other shops promised that their prospective consumers would be highly satisfied and happy (*memnun*) with their acquired products.[769] Nearly all adverts concluded their text by inviting their esteemed readers to come and visit them at the store’s in person to be persuaded by the goods on offer. Interestingly, in order to do so, they apparently had to include some remarks on the honorable and moral nature of their shop. This was apparently something demanded by some customers. Ahmed Rasim wrote in his memoirs that he hated going to the “Bon Marché” department store in Pera because of a “lack of manners” there.[770] Consequently, the ad for an umbrella company included the remark that the shop’s number of customers was rising since it had received “an astonishing demand from honorable people”.[771] And a testimonial of a shop in “Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete” was almost sycophantic:

767 N., “Sıhhi Tıraş.”
768 Cit. from Menevşe, “Changes in Advertorial Prose,” 40.
769 Kolay et al., İlan-ı ticaret, 44, 99, 116.
770 Cit. from Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 317.
771 N., “Şemsiye fabrikası.”

"The cleanliness, good nature, and organization in this store is magnificent, and the courteous treatment and honorable behavior truly dazzle the eyes…Truly, with such refined dealings together with the zeal and endeavor which they are exerting on behalf of the ladies of our nation, Haşmet and Rifat Efendis' store is a sure witness of…the elevation and progress which have been shown in the empire in a short span of time".[772]

One can see that Ottoman advertisements of the Hamidian period often stressed four elements. The economic nature of the goods, with a special emphasis on prices, was underlined. Second, the moral nature of the shop was accentuated, with an emphasis on the emotional experience of shopping. Third, consumption was often seen as a female activity. And fourth, the advertisements alluded to the well-known framework of hygiene, civilization, and the advance of the Ottoman nation. Even though European provenience of goods was often emphasized, especially with regard to clothing, a 'patriotic' language in some advertisement attempted to coax consumers into buying local products. Being infused with moral values and norms, advertisements and norms of consumption formed an integral part of an Ottoman economic morality. Consumption was linked to other parts of the economic process and emphasized middle-class domesticity, while at the same time expanding the economic roles of women without questioning their essentially subservient role.

But what about the practices of consumption? Lamentably, there is a dearth of micro-studies dealing with material culture in the late Ottoman Empire. It seems, however, that there was a noticeable change in consumer behavior and dresscode in the last quarter of the 19th century. The registrations of inheritances show that already in the middle of the century, furniture items—large sofas, tables, chairs, heavy curtains, large mirrors—were present in many upper-class households, even of the religious establishment (*ulema*). This development towards a new consumption-style accelerated in the coming years, stretched towards the lower classes and entailed locally produced goods. Here, it was mostly smaller items and gadgets that found their way into households, like porcelain or various types of glasses.[773] In Smyrna, consumption of local goods is said to have been "rapidly increasing" in the Hamidian era, while Ahmed Cevdet complained about how people

772 Cit. from Frierson, "Patriotic Consumer Culture," 251–52.
773 Hanioğlu, A Brief History, 105–06; 141; Abou-Hodeib, "Taste and Class," 484–86.

in the period accumulated household goods even though their salaries had not increased.[774] The Istanbul middle-class family of Said Bey had a similar consumption style as a French bourgeois of his social standing. The house had wallpaper and running water, Said went frequently to restaurants, read Ottoman as well as French journals, books, and newspapers—his wife only in Ottoman Turkish—and 7% of the household income was spent on "leisure consumption", such as tobacco and concerts. He and his wife spent equal amounts of money consuming.[775]

Changing material culture and ethics of consumption played decisive roles in the delineation of an emerging Ottoman middle class. This was noticeable in Beirut, where ideas of "good taste" (*zevk*) were tantamount, among the Greek-orthodox population, where anxieties of European influence were as noticeable as in Ottoman-Muslim writings, or with Sephardi travelers, who creatively performed both self-Orientalism and anti-Westernism in material culture while drawing on both Western and Ottoman material styles.[776] European travelers and expats also observed a change in consumer culture. While by the end of the 1850s, the 'Turk' or 'Oriental' was still charged with having a propensity for "conspicuous and wasteful consumption", later writings emphasized the thrift and demure demeanor exhibited by local consumers.[777]

Also spatially, a larger transformation occurred in the big cities. In Istanbul, the shopping areas considerably differentiated during the period. Old trading centers, like Eminönü, Beyazıt, and the Grand Bazaar, continued in their importance but focused on smaller goods. Regarding more expensive goods, Galata and Pera came to be the unrivaled centers.[778] The new urban means of transport facilitated this differentiation of consumption spaces. Yet they also eased supply chains and contributed to increased circulation and relation between the very same spaces. A shop from Pera might open a dependency in Beyazıt, while a wholesaler from Eminönü would open another shop in Galata.[779]

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774 Exertzoglou, "Greek Ottoman Bourgeoisie," 97; Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 294.

775 Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul," 144–45, 154, 162–65.

776 Abou-Hodeib, "Taste and Class," 480–81; Abou-Hodeib, "Material Life," 587; Exertzoglou, "Cultural Uses of Consumption"; Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism"; Cohen, "Ottoman Jews, Imperial Style."

777 Özveren, "Advent of 'Homo Oeconomicus,'" 21; Schrader, Konstantinopel, 175–79.

778 Kolay et al., İlan-ı ticaret, 61; Köse, "Western Department Stores," 96; Seni, "Camondos," 669.

779 Varlı and Özbay, "Istanbul'da Perakende Ticareti," 2423–24.

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Economic issues were in many ways central to public discourse in the Hamidian era. The chapter has highlighted particularly four aspects. First, writings on the economy usually took the Ottoman Empire and its people as their frame of reference. The Empire was positioned in a highly dynamic and increasingly unequal global environment, where notions of progress were both used for a country's placement and deemed necessary for the survival as an independent unit. Secondly, the economic values differentiated and stratified the political community. In this, a special emphasis on three different normative economic roles can be detected: worker, entrepreneur, and female household manager. They were connected to social practices which, at times, could differ considerably from normative prescriptions. Thirdly, emotions were important elements of the 'new economic mentality'. Strong emotions like 'love' or 'zeal' were not only formulated as initial mobilizing forces, but remained an important part throughout economic practice, binding individual actors. They further were formulated as a social reward or punishment of desired and undesired behavior, while an increase in general 'happiness' appeared as the ultimate goal of individual economic activity. And finally, certain economic activities, such as consumption, played out particularly in the physical space of the city and formed part of the larger transformation of the urban fabric in the late Ottoman period. It is to this large-scale process that I now want to turn.

4 Morality and Space: The City and Public Morality

Urbanization, one of the great demographic developments of the 19th century, was a late-comer to the Ottoman Empire. The Empire's traditionally rural structure had remained stable for a long period, helped by the growing international demand for Ottoman agricultural produce, which tied peasants to their soil.[780] The situation began to change from the 1860s onward. The annexation of the northern Caucasus region by Russia led to a mass migration of local Muslims into the empire, while in 1873 Anatolia suffered the most severe famine of the 19th century. The Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-78 resulted in Romania, Serbia and Montenegro becoming independent states, while Bulgaria was one in all but name. With the war, a large-scale immigration of Muslims from the Balkans began, many first settling in the cities.[781] Population movements were not confined to Ottomans or Muslims. Up to 100.000 non-Muslim foreigners, many of them European, settled in the city of Istanbul between 1840 and 1900.[782] Taken together, these developments led to a noticeable, though limited increase of the empire's urban population. While precise numbers are hard to come by, the urban population rose from about 17% of the total population in 1840 to 22% in 1913.[783] Istanbul alone more than doubled its population in the period from 1844 to 1896 and reached almost one million inhabitants by the end of the century, being one of only thirteen cities with that number in 1913 Europe.[784] These developments also influenced demographic characteristics. Istanbul, for example, remained predominantly male (~60%), but its non-Muslim population decreased from 52.09% (1844) to 43.63% (1896). Mass migration to the city also led to the fact that in 1885 more than half its population was born outside of it (54.59%), an experience shared by almost all religious communities.[785]

780 Osterhammel, Transformation of the World, 117–66; Pamuk, Osmanlı dış ticareti, 23–28.

781 Karpat, "Hijra from Russia"; Richmond, Circassian Genocide, 98–130; Özbek, "'Beggars' and 'Vagrants,'" 785; Blumi, Ottoman Refugees, 1878-1939, 1-42.

782 Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 38; Fuhrmann, "European Lower Class Immigrants."

783 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 781. For an overview of developments in some of the empire's cities, such as Jerusalem, Beirut, and Damascus, see the respective articles in Lafi, Municipalités méditerranéennes.

784 Cem Behar gives 213.992 male inhabitants (1844) and 1.115.946 in total including the Asian parts of the city (1896). Zafer Toprak against that has 356.653 (1844) and 873.575 (1885). Behar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu, 72; Toprak, "Tarihsel Nüfusbilim," 120; Osterhammel, Transformation of the World, 259. It is interesting to note here that Istanbul conformed to a global trend of urbanization: it was only to grow again significantly from the late 1950s onward to become the megacity of today.

785 Behar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu, 73–76; Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants," 151–52; Gül, Emergence of Modern Istanbul, 42–53.

The demographic developments and the dire economic and political situation met on the ground the ongoing reorganization of the Ottoman polity (*Tanzimat*), as well as globally circulating discourses on hygiene, progress, and civilization. Together, these movements created an increased interest in the social and moral order of the city space. In this context, the built urban fabric as well as its inhabitants became the target of official policy. Concerns for a 'civilized' ordering of public space turned the empire's cities into a major sites for contention and application of new middle-class ideas on morality.[786] Conceptually, cities and civilization had already language-wise been closely linked in the Ottoman case: the root for the common term denoting civilization, *medeniyet*, drew on the Arabic root for city.[787]

The city of Istanbul was one of the principal sites for these developments. The capital formed part of the four "basic principles in decision-making" of Ottoman policy, detailed by Abdülhamid in a memorandum from August 1901.[788] It was also socially and culturally the center of the empire, at least in the thought of many *fin-de-siècle* reformist intellectuals, including Arabic writers like Faris al-Shidyaq (1804?–1887).[789] Ebüzziya Tevfik exemplified this attitude in a nutshell in an article from 1897:

> *"Everyone knows that all over the world the main space of application for the popular and civilizational [medeniye] customs is the capital city. From the language that a people speak to the shoes they wear, all their natural and acquired particularities, all necessary and civilizational affairs, the manner of people's interactions and institutions, depend on the procedure and method current in the capital".*[790]

This does not presuppose a diffusion model from the capital to other cities of the empire.[791] Yet Istanbul was a central urban site in which notions of Ottoman civilization and progress were contested and presented to a wide array of audiences.

But how was the urban space conceptualized? Which actors and institutions were engaged in the

786 Özbek, "'Beggars' and 'Vagrants,'" 786; Kechriotis, "Middle-Class Morality," 130–31; Hanssen, Fin de Siècle Beirut, 191–212.

787 Rebhan, Politische Termini im Arabischen, 103; Doganalp-Votzi and Römer, Politische Terminologie, 226–36. This understanding linked civilization more to the city itself than to its population..

788 The four were the religion of Islam, the maintenance of the house of Osman, the protection of the holy cities Mecca and Medina, and the maintenance of Istanbul as the capital city. Deringil, "Legitimacy Structures," 346.

789 Khuri-Makdisi, "Ottoman Arabs in Istanbul," 164.

790 Tevfik, "Adab-i Telebbüs," 2154.

791 Lafi, "Mediterranean Connections"; Mestyan, "The Cairo-Istanbul Axis."

"remaking" of the city, as Zeynep Çelik has called it in her ground-breaking study?[792] In what way was it differentiated from the countryside? Which groups were targeted by policies? How did private spaces, particularly the household, relate to public space? Which norms and values regulated these public and private space?

To investigate these questions, first the administrative and infrastructural developments in Istanbul will be traced, followed by a discussion of the shifting boundaries in and of the city. A third step will examine the role of the police forces and the administration's handling of 'deviant' behavior, while the subsequent sub-chapter will consider the character of private spaces. A fifth part will then review Ottoman debates on the city and civilization in the context of historical writings. The chapter will close with a study of the musical tradition in Istanbul towards the late 19th century. The writings of Ottoman intellectuals in the Hamidian period will feature prominently in these discussions. Since most of these writers were further in one way or another tied to the Ottoman bureaucracy, developments of public policy will also form a large part of the investigation.

4.1 **Ordering Urban Space in Istanbul**

The *Tanzimat*-era had sought to impose a new organization for the empire, which also included a spatial aspect. The Empire's territory, as well as the space of its cities, increasingly came to be seen as a singular and abstract object targeted by a "re-ordering".[793] Istanbul, like other cities of the empire, saw intense urban reform throughout the 19th century. These reforms were not just a reaction to external pressure, be it political or economic, but were also tied to internal developments and audiences. Cities and their order were powerful symbols of external and internal self-representation within global frameworks of progress and civilization, especially during the 19th century.[794] The large-scale reforms of Istanbul during 19th century thus can also be understood as a transformation of urban space which positioned claims of reform and modernity towards a diverse and hierarchical audience.[795] This audience included the European states, foreign travelers, local

792 Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul.
793 Durgun, Memalik-i Şahane'den Vatan'a, 84–86.
794 Dinçkal, "Universal Mission of Civilisation."
795 Cooper, "Modernity," 116; Prestel, "Paris Everywhere?"

Muslim and non-Muslim elites, as well as the cities' lower classes. At the same time, while much focus has been directed at the activities of the central state, the important role of actors posited at other scales, from the international arena to the very local, cannot be ignored.[796]

In the case of Istanbul, the attempted reform of urban space had two main dimensions. One entailed a transformation of the city's administration. While decision-making and planning came to be more concentrated within a local bureaucracy, this did not entail a process towards a binary between the central state and the individual, as much literature on the re-ordering of Ottoman cities has argued.[797] Changes in urban governmentality also did not mean a complete departure from earlier forms of intermediary governance. In fact, older institutions tied to organized religion continued their importance, while new intermediaries were also involved, for example in the building of hospitals.[798] And secondly, the physical space of the city was radically transformed, from the widening of streets to the reinforcement of docks, the installation of street lamps, and the shift from wood to stone as the basic building material.[799] The following pages will concentrate in this context more on the built environment, since the increasing activity regarding private building or public infrastructure was a main sign of urban developments in Istanbul during the Hamidian era. The building of the 'Ottoman Imperial Bank' will be taken as an example for this.[800]

Ottoman urban reforms were directed at a space that accounts of European travelers in the first half of the 19th century had often deemed to be a "filthy place composed almost entirely of ill-built wooden dwelling".[801] Against this, Mustafa Reşid (1800–1858), one of the leading statesmen of the *Tanzimat*-period, had already in 1836 advocated "scientific principles and geometrical rules" to bring about an urban regeneration of the city of Istanbul.[802] First attempts at ordinance were undertaken in the 1840s, such as the building regulation of 1848, which specified minimum widths

796 Werner and Zimmermann, "Histoire Croisée," 43–44; Revel, Jeux d'échelles; Aslanian et al., "The Question of Scale."

797 Osman Nuri Ergin (1883-1961) argued along these lines in his magisterial "Mecelle", which featured editions of many classical municipal texts from the 19th century. He decisively influenced the historiographical tradition on the Ottoman city. Ergin, Mecelle.

798 Köksal, "Urban Space and Nationalism," 42–43; Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism"; Lafi, "Introduction."

799 Arnaud, "Modernization of the Cities"; İleri, "Kent ve Sokak Işıkları"; Özil, "Skyscrapers of the Past"; Fuhrmann, "Waterfront Modernization"; Osterhammel, Transformation of the World, 243–44.

800 Dinçkal, "Modernizing Istanbul."

801 Cit. from Rosenthal, "Foreigners and Municipal Reform," 228.

802 Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 49.

to be observed for streets. Yet it was the Crimean War that kick-started major restructurings. A municipality (*belediye*), a prefecture (*şehir emaneti*), and a city commission (*intizam-i şehir*) were formed, while the city was officially divided into fourteen districts. The sixth district, today's Beyoğlu, came to be seen the model for the other districts, and was to be headed by a municipal council (*meclis*). In 1868, a municipal code of regulations (*dersaadet idare-i belediye nizamnamesi*) was adopted, applying the administrative organization introduced in the Sixth District to the remaining area of the city. Most of these other district councils, however, never convened until the 1880s.[803]

The 1877 municipal law then extended the Istanbul model to all the cities of the empire, although it was usually adapted according to local circumstances.[804] At the Bosporus, it was amended in 1878 with the "Law for the Municipal Government of Istanbul" (*dersaadet belediye kanunu*), which strengthened the city government against the district councils and changed the number of districts (first twenty, down to ten in 1880). The focus of the city government on the sixth district did not change and it continued to be funded better than other districts. This focus was no coincidence: most European embassies and foreign middle classes, as well as hotels and non-Muslim bourgeois families were residents of the area. Muslim middle and upper classes also frequented it, as it had become the commercial center of the city, and central government institutions were moved from the 'Old city' *intra muros* to northern suburbs of the district. These peoples' demand of "civilized" infrastructure and municipal government met the attempt by the central state to demonstrate its own pedigree of civilization towards a diverse audience.[805]

The language of both internal and external documents pertaining to the reordering of the city was full of references to notions of order (*intizam, nizam*), embellishment (*tezyinat*), and cleanliness (*tanzif*).[806] As in other areas, however, the city government could often not fulfill the ambitious goals prescribed in the texts. The lack of local expert knowledge and experience, as well as inadequate capital, led to many infrastructure projects being outsourced to transnational companies. This was not necessarily a sign of 'Ottoman underdevelopment', but common practice

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803 Türesay, "Urbanisme et Civilisation," 3; Rosenthal, "Foreigners and Municipal Reform," 238–41; Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 47.

804 Arnaud, "Modernization of the Cities," 959. See for a discussion of its implementation in different cities of the empire the individual papers in Lafi, Municipalités méditerranéennes.

805 Neumann, "Der Sechste Munizipal-Bezirk," 371–73.

806 See the edition of many of these texts in Ergin, Mecelle.

also in many European cities.[807]

Nonetheless, it serves to highlight that municipal structures were from the start dependent on intermediary actors. Some of these could trace their genealogy to earlier institutions of city notables, with the most visible being the district and city councils. While its members were chosen by the government, they were proposed by and came from the highest echelons of local society. There was even a popular election-process involved, although the wealth requirements were so high that the electorate for the sixth district in 1863 consisted of merely eighty-eight persons.[808] Even with the councils losing some of their power during the Hamidian period, intermediary actors still retained significant influence. Local elites participated through informal and formal networks, European engineers hired by the government were semi-autonomous actors, and even on a very low level the municipality relied on semi-autonomous actors. The elected *muhtar* (neighborhood/village headman), for example, were both state agents in the neighborhoods, assisting the bureaucracy in matters of taxation, and representatives of the neighborhood in court cases. They were middlemen between state and society with large possibilities of action, even more so in the provinces.[809]

In actively restructuring the built environment of the city, the municipality often had to rely on another 'actor': the frequent large-scale fires. While causing death and destroying lives, the fires left behind (mostly) uninhabited space on which new buildings and infrastructure could be constructed. They were rather common in 19th century Istanbul. Even though state decrees had tried to ban wooden houses since at least the 17th century, the classic Istanbul house of the 19th century outside of Pera most often remained a timber-framed house with protruding upper stories.[810] While expropriations were legally possible, they usually engendered political opposition. Thus, the restructuring of the urban built environment according to more or less detailed plans

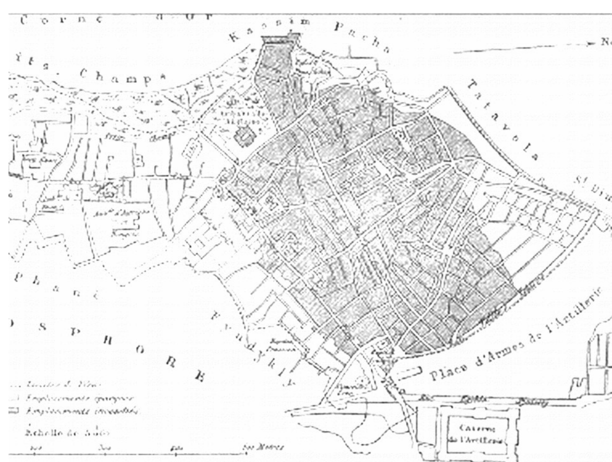
807 Dinçkal, "Universal Mission of Civilisation," 4. The difficulty of collecting taxes from the inhabitants of Istanbul was a frequent topic in the period's newspapers. An example are the articles of Basiretçi Ali published from 1870-1878 in "Basiret": Basiretçi Ali, Bir Zamanlar İstanbul, 28–29. Engineers were at times truly global actors in the late 19th century, working in places from Japan to South America. On their role in the Ottoman Empire, see Martykánová, Reconstructing Ottoman Engineers, 163–73.

808 Neumann, "City Councils," 227–28; Neumann, "Der Sechste Munizipal-Bezirk," 370–72.

809 Young, Corps de droit ottoman, 5: 149-68; Martykánová, Reconstructing Ottoman Engineers, 162–74; Massicard, "Neighbourhood Headman."

810 Yerasimos, "Réformes urbaines," 22; Bertram, Turkish House, 1; Söğüt, "Yangınlar."

usually occurred in the wake of larger fires. The great fire of 1865, for example, destroyed more than 3.500 houses and engendered the largest restructuring of the 'Old City' since the 16th century.[811] The restructuring of space usually followed the want for an increased circulation of goods and people. This first and foremost affected roads, with particularly dead-ends being targeted. They were prominent markers of the traditional urban fabric and had served as extended private or communal spaces.[812] Against that, new plans for streets broadened and ordered them in geometrical fashion, embodying a rationality of urban planning that was meant to also instruct the rationality of people moving in it.[813] This can be seen by the plan for the restructuring of Beyoğlu after the fire of 1870 pictured below.



Beyoğlu, Area affected by the fire of 1870. From Demirakın 2006: 113

Beyoğlu, Plan after the fire of 1870. From Demirakın 2006: 114.

Another central goal of geometric re-ordering was to ease circulation and transportation in the city. It informed, for example, the destruction of the walls of Galata 1863.[814] It was also the rationale behind several other large infrastructure projects of later 19th century, which took up the importance attached to circulation in many late Ottoman economic writings discussed in chapter 3.4. The bridges across the Golden Horn were fortified, some of them in iron. In 1872, the first

811 Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 104–25; Çelik, "Italian Contribution."

812 Yerasimos, "Réformes urbaines," 27–28.

813 Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 49–73. For similar principles applied in Cairo, see Prestel, Emotional Cities, 49–74.

814 The Theodosian wall to the west of the 'Old City' were for various reasons not as great an impediment to circulation, although their destruction was the subject of intense discussions. Larger parts exist to this day. Türesay, "Urbanisme et Civilisation," 3–4.

horse tram line opened, its network soon expanding considerably. The first underground line of the city was opened in 1875 and the ferry connections were steadily increasing along the Bosporus. By 1908 city ferries carried over 12 million passengers annually.[815] The 1870s also saw the arrival of train connections. The central station of Sirkeci was built in 1887 and connected the city to Vienna by the following year. In most of these initiatives, the state had to rely on private investors. Even the ferry company "Şirket-i Hayriyye", the model of a well-functioning state company to contemporary observers, was mostly financed by local middle and upper classes, not the state.[816]

The built environment of the city was also mostly changed by these classes. The new apartment buildings, many located around today's Taksim Square, were built in stone and much higher than previous structures. Both Muslim and non-Muslim middle classes commissioned them in eclectic styles.[817] At the same time, foreign governments also began to stake claims to the city. The "German Fountain", for example, was built on the most extensive open space of the 'Old City', the hippodrome. Ostensibly a gift of the German emperor to Sultan Abdülhamid, it was to commemorate the visit of Wilhelm II to the empire in 1898 and cement the friendship between the two states. Yet it included a fountain, whose water supply was intended for the lower classes of the area, was inaugurated on Wilhelm II's birthday in 1901, and its style was informed by German representations of the 'Orient'.[818]

While the Hamidian government did not engage in large-scale building activities, many representative structures were erected, often housing government institutions. They most succinctly formulated the state's claims of order and progress. Among these were the clock towers, already discussed in chapter 3.3 as signs of the empire's attempts at synchronization or symbols of modernity. Particularly prominent one in Istanbul were located in Tophane square and in front of the *Dolmabahçe* palace on the shore of the Bosporus.[819] Similarly, many government buildings, such

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815 Wishnitzer, "Rush Hour in Ottoman Istanbul." See for more data on the ferries also Toprak, "Tarihsel Nüfusbilim."

816 Gül, Emergence of Modern Istanbul, 42–52; Ekrem, Fen-i Servet, 16; Wishnitzer, "Rush Hour in Ottoman Istanbul." On the role of private investors in train lines, see Akyıldız, Osmanlı'da İktisadi Modernleşme.

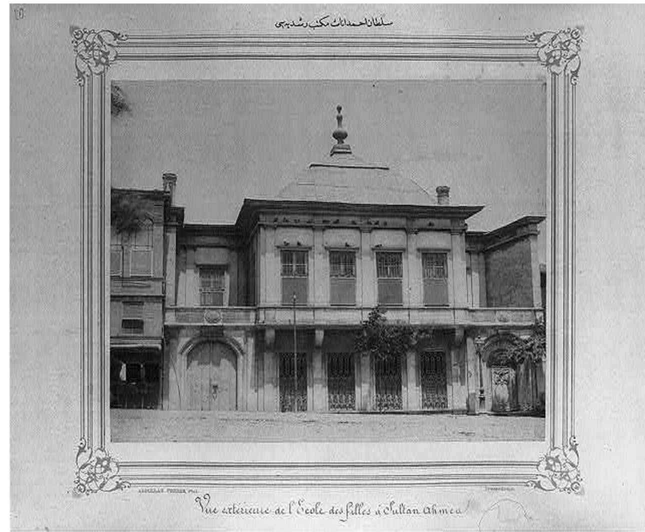
817 Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 126; Faroqhi, "Consumption and Elite Status," 55.

818 Göğüş and Kuban, "Kaiser Wilhelm Fountain." On the German representation of the 'Orient', see Fuhrmann, "Imperiale Diskurse."

819 Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 130–31.

as barracks or schools, were built in a new and 'ordered' style. Spread in cities all over the empire, such buildings also featured prominently in the albums of Sultan Abdülhamid.

Clock Tower of Tophane. Album of Abdülhamid II.



Sultanahmet Middle School for Girls. Album of Abdülhamid II.

This new style reflected the search for a new formulation of Ottoman architecture. This process had been kick-started by the Ottoman participation in the Vienna world fair of 1873. For this occasion, the government had commissioned a diverse group of both local—mainly Levantine—and naturalized European architects to edit a book which was later published in German, French, and Ottoman Turkish: the "Ottoman Building-style" (*Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani)*. The book selectively compiled elements of historical buildings of the empire—especially drawing on early Ottoman ornamentation—to establish a genuine, monolithic, and systematic own architectural tradition.[820] By no means only used for government buildings, a prime example of this new style was the headquarters of the semi-official 'Ottoman Imperial Bank' on Voyvoda Caddesi in Istanbul's Karaköy district. Inducted in May 1892, it dominates the skyline of the area until this day.

The building—which stands to this day—is architecturally remarkable in that it is characterized by two completely different facades. The northern facade facing the street featured the main entrance and was built in the European neo-classical style of the day. The southern facade was built in a rather different style, which may be called neo-Ottoman or neo-Islamic, and featured eaves and

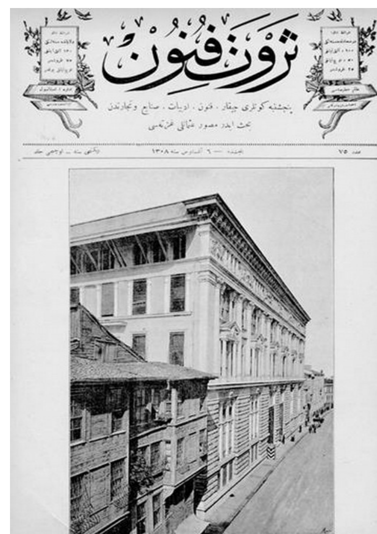
820 Bozdogan, "Turkish Architecture," 116; Ersoy, "Search for Ottoman Origins."

alcoves clearly inspired by early Ottoman architecture. Facing the Golden Horn and the 'Old City', it could not be seen from the street level but from the water. The building, the largest structure of the peninsula in the 1890s, was designed by the Levantine architect Alexandre Vallaury.[821] It was also medially represented. Both facades independently featured on the cover of "Servet-i Fünun". The accompanying article presented the building as being part of contemporary developments in "embellishment" (*tezyin*) as well as "progress" and "order" (*terakki ve intizam*) of the city. It further compared the Bank favorably to contemporary European institutions. While the building is presented as being "a single piece" (*yekpare*), the southern facade is said to give the whole ensemble an "eastern charm" (*letafet-i şarkiyye*).[822]

The bank building asserted synchronicity through a selective appropriation of both local and European traditions and references to contemporary developments. It addressed a diverse audience: The international concert of states, the Ottoman-Muslim and the local non-Muslim bourgeoisie, European travelers, ferries entering the city, as well as the local working classes at the docks, which were concentrated along the shorelines of the Golden Horn. At the same time, the difference in style and representation of the two facades hints at the point that there were always multiple and competing claims of modernity at a given time and place.

ثروت فنون

The northern facade of the Ottoman Bank building. Servet-i Fünun, August 18, 1892.


ثروت فنون

The southern facade of the Ottoman Bank building. Servet-i Fünun, August 11, 1892.

821 Steininger, "Building of the Ottoman Imperial Bank."
822 N., "Osmanlı Bankası."

This was a general characteristic of the Ottoman urban space. The transformations of Istanbul and other cities in the second half of the 19th century have often been presented as an adaptation of European models. This interpretation, however, is imprecise in at least three regards. First, concerning the language of the reforms, concepts and words drawing on Arabic root for order, like *intizam* and *nizam*, were nodal points in the official texts.[823] There has been significant scholarship on the question whether these notions of order were a transfer from European notions of order embedded in the enlightenment and brought to an apex with August Comte. The significant participation and contribution of European agents as planners, engineers, or architects in the restructuring of the city seems to speak for this.[824] Yet concepts of order were also deeply embedded within an Ottoman bureaucratic and political tradition. The Ottoman concept of a hierarchical "world order" (*nizam-ı alem*), for example, had been underlying the legitimacy structure of the state since the 16th century.[825] Secondly, the development of the municipal order cannot be simply seen as an imposition of European models onto the Ottoman urban fabric. Information and knowledge were certainly traveling between European locations and the empire. The French influence on city planning is well documented, while Namık Kemal and other intellectuals described London as a model and the pinnacle of contemporary civilization.[826] Yet regional influences and models from the Balkans and the Mediterreanean region were equally important to Ottoman reformers, with actors and ideas traveling in a regional context. Further, older forms present in the urban fabric were not superseded, but often remained or were adapted to new forms.[827]

Urban government was further not merely a binary top-down process. The 19th century transformation of Ottoman cities did indeed signal a shift from a territorial regime based on accommodative practices to a modern territoriality premised on more exclusionary practices. But effectively the state still relied on intermediary actors. A complicated navigation between inclusion

823 Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 88; Türesay, "Urbanisme et Civilisation," 6; Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 79.

824 Rosenthal, "Foreigners and Municipal Reform"; Çelik, "Italian Contribution."

825 Hagen, "Legitimacy and World Order"; Sariyannis and Atiyas, Ottoman Political Thought, 77–78. On the connection of urban and world order in Istanbul around 1800, see Hamadeh, "Mean Streets. Space and Moral Order in Early Modern Istanbul," 250–51.

826 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 93–94; Turan, "Words and Expressions of Modernity."

827 Lafi, "Mediterranean Connections"; Lafi, "Introduction."

and limitation was performed in granting participation to intermediaries, especially property holders, in certain areas of governance. Additionally, international actors, especially those claiming to represent people living in the Ottoman domain, complicated the notions of simple sovereignty with regard to urban space.[828]

The Ottoman ordering of the city space was further linked to aesthetic and emotional categories. It is often argued that the reorganization of urban space in the 19th century based on 'rational' planning went hand in hand with a suppression of emotions, conceptualized as the 'other' of this rationality, in the new public space. Yet in fact the ordering of space could also have a very emotional quality. Orderliness and regulation were linked to aesthetic beauty and emotional categories.[829] *Tezyinat* (embellishment)[830] was one of the central goals of the regulation of the city's space. It included diverse ideas from the creation of open spaces to the alignment of buildings. A report from 1869 named as its goal the creation of a general plan that would "add a further beauty to the existing beauties of Istanbul". It also involved the creation of a "wonderful and spacious park" on the waterfront.[831] As usual, this was also linked to civilization. Writing in 1909, but in line with earlier conceptions, Ebüzziya Tevfik proclaimed *tezyinat* to be "an obligation of civilization".[832]

Particularly the changes in built urban environment also impressed local social practice. The period's high-rise stone buildings are described by Maria Iordaniou in a semi-autobiographic novel about the sensation of a child arriving at the city around the turn of the century: "Loxandra raised her head and looked up at the Istanbul skyline. The newly built apartment buildings of Beyoğlu, which rose up as far as the eye could see left her in astonishment. 'Where is the Sky?' she exclaimed, to no avail".[833] Open spaces like parks also seem to have been positively received. Even so critical a moralist as Basiretçi Ali was of the opinion that parks and public spaces in the city were welcome "works of civilization".[834] At the park close to the barracks of Taksim, close to the

828 Zandi-Sayek, Ottoman Izmir, 133–34.
829 Prestel, Emotional Cities, 50.
830 Şemseddin Sami defined it in his "Turkish Dictionary" tellingly with the phrase: "Science and manners make the embellishment (*tezyin*) of the person". Sami, Kamus-i Turki, 402.
831 Cit. from Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 62.
832 Cit. from Türesay, "Urbanisme et Civilisation," 8.
833 Cit. from Özil, "Skyscrapers of the Past," 80.
834 Basiretçi Ali, Bir Zamanlar İstanbul, 38; 127.

famous Gezi Park of today, Eduardo de Amicis observed in 1878 how on Sundays "a torrent of people and carriages, all the elegant society of Pera, spills out into the gardens, the bars and cafes".[835] The popular reception of the Taksim park within the population and the "joy" it brought about also became the rationale championed by Celal Esad in 1912 to reconstruct the Gülhane park in a similar way.[836] New public spaces and built environment were used by Ottoman townspeople to performed communal and social identities.[837] Behavior in these public spaces was, however, also subject to moral control. Legal regulations, morality books, and etiquette literature, all discussed notions of proper "promenade", or behavior in public gathering spaces.[838] A schoolbook for example wrote in 1904 that public social duties would include politeness (*nezaket*), cheerfulness (*güleryüz*), not pushing other people nor talk too loud or spit on the street.[839] Similarly, the new transportation methods like trams and ferries were places of intense socialization but also strictly divided by gender and class.[840]

The reordering of the city was also directed toward an international audience, although it hardly achieved the intended reception. While several European guidebooks from the late 19th century lauded the improvements in local infrastructure, singling out new roads and quays, this was often not what European travelers tied to a framework of Orientalism were looking for. The French "Guide Joanne", for instance, lamented in 1881 that due to the new improvements the quarter of Beyoğlu "has no Oriental character nor beauty".[841] Pierre Loti echoed this when he recounts his words towards Sultan Abdülhamid in 1890: "I expressed my melancholic regret at seeing the old things go, at seeing the great Stamboul transform".[842] Others criticized the reforms for going not far enough, as the English traveler W.H. Hutton: "At any moment, the curtain may be lifted on a scene of tragic horror, and meanwhile there is the grotesque mimicry of Western civilization".[843]

Istanbul was a place in which several competing visions of spatiality clashed. Its ordering was no

835 De Amicis, Constantinopoli, 28–29.
836 Neumann, "Der Sechste Munizipal-Bezirk," 368.
837 Grallert, "To Whom Belong the Streets?"
838 Türesay, "Urbanisme et Civilisation," 13; Yaşar, "Late Ottoman Etiquette Literature," 239–57; Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:44.
839 Hamid, Çocuk, 8–9.
840 Emrence, "Tramvayıda Sınıf ve Kimlik"; Ryan, "Intimate Public Sphere."
841 Cit. from Hastaoglou-Martindis, "Visions of Constantinople."
842 Cit. from Pinon, "Paradoxes de l'occidentalisation," 51.
843 Cit. from Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 156–57.

simple top-down process, but involved actors at several levels, who made claims of modernity and progress at a specific moment in history towards a diverse audience. These hybrid claims were expressed in different media and involved a reconfiguration of space. Their semantics could draw upon European notions of "civilization" and "progress" as well as elements from the regional Islamic or Ottoman imperial tradition. If articulated by Ottoman actors, they were statements of self-representation within a contemporary discourse—or under the aegis—of European economic, political and cultural hegemony. This self-representation also involved boundary work, which stratified a hierarchical conception of space. It is these divisions that I now want to turn to.

4.2 Beyoğlu, the Bosphorus, and the Countryside

The city of Istanbul had since the beginning of settlement been divided by the Golden Horn and the Bosporus into three main parts: the 'Old City', the Galata peninsula, and the Asian quarters of Kadiköy and Üsküdar. While the contact between these parts intensified during the 19th century thanks to infrastructure and advances in transportation, new boundaries and new forms of urban segregation also emerged. The following pages will highlight four interrelated processes. First, the city increasingly came to be differentiated according to socio-economic status. Second, a differentiation according to function, most often economic and commercial, separated certain places from others. Third, a moralized difference divided the city from the neighborhood of Beyoğlu. And fourth, the city's dichotomous relationship with the country was reformulated in the context of 'civilization'.

In the early-modern neighborhood model of Istanbul, small groups of houses, the *mahalle*, had been organized according to religious affiliation and respective worship places. In these neighborhoods, people of different social status lived together in a common unit, with villas and small family houses existing side by side.[844] While *mahalle* continued to exist throughout the Hamidian period, the model's ubiquity was significantly weakened. Population growth, new zoning policies, and reforms allowing for personal acquisition of land transformed both new and old settlements. While parcels of land in different size had accommodated diverse economic

844 Çelik, 3–7.

backgrounds in the same area, parcels now came to be sold in uniform size. Taken together with increasing demand and prices, these changes organized places according to people's purchasing power. The structure of Istanbul, just like Smyrna and other cities of the empire, was increasingly differentiated according to social class.[845]

An example for this was the waterfront of the Bosporus to the north. The area, already since the 18th century a site for the seasonal migration of upper classes, now became—thanks to the expanding ferry and train systems, as well as roads—a continuous site of settlement. Rich and middle-class Muslims, Orthodox, and foreigners built houses, which, together with many newly-built foreign embassies, transformed the former small fishing villages. The area came to acquire a distinct class character. This movement intensified toward the late 19th century, with local buildings also featuring a distinct architectural style.[846] Even the Sultans took part in this. The court was moved from the 'Old City' to the palaces of first *Dolmabahçe*, then *Yıldız* and *Çırağan*, all located along the Bosporus to the north of Galata and Pera. Being close to nature and the water, the Bosporus neighborhoods also served as a semi-bucolic trope in literature and song. Two of the period's most well-known novels take place to a good deal on the northern waterfront.[847]

Against that, the areas around the Golden Horn became affected by economic transformations and were increasingly turned into working class abodes. Istanbul's harbor facilities were renovated much later than in other cities of the empire, in 1890-95/99. Even afterwards, local resistance made a technological system of unloading unfeasible until at 1908. Yet the persistence of the traditional unloading-system with porters gave ample employment opportunities and strengthened the lower and working class character of neighborhoods like Hasköy and Kasımpaşa. This was also witnessed by the fact that the area featured many single apartments and *hans* (workers' residences and workshops), which housed often male and single immigrant workers. Factories also increasingly settled in the area.[848] The local transformations were not encompassing. Many

845 Kechriotis, "Middle-Class Morality," 119; Söğüt, "Yangınlar," 63; Arnaud, "Modernization of the Cities," 966–68; Tekeli, "Nineteenth century Transformation," 43–45.

846 Akan, "Yorgo Zarifi," 50–51; Philliou, Christine, "House of Phanar"; Neumann, "Der Sechste Munizipal-Bezirk," 353; Artan, "Urban Continuity on the Bosphorus," 110–11; Bertram, Turkish House, 33–39; Faroqhi, "Consumption and Elite Status," 54–55.

847 Ekrem, Araba Sevdası; Uşaklıgil, Aşk-ı Memnu.

848 Fuhrmann, "Waterfront Modernization," 144–46; Riedler, "Massacres of Armenians in Istanbul," 174; Tekeli, "Nineteenth century Transformation," 43–35.

neighborhoods retained a distinct ethno-religious character, as for example 'Jewish' Hasköy.[849] The local working class character and differentiation from more affluent localities was, however, contemporaneously observed. The German socialist Friedrich Schrader (1865-1922), for example, depicted Kasımpaşa's "colorful and entertaining spectacle" of the local bazaar, its "swarming streets" and multi-religious character, but adds that "Many citizens of Pera see this valley every day. But only few venture to go there, where the poorest of the poor seem to dwell". This was quite probably also due to the fact that Kasımpaşa was the region of waste disposal for the richer neighborhoods of Pera and Galata.[850]

The functional differentiation of urban space, most often according to economic purpose, was also noticeable in other domains. As discussed in chapter 3.6 above, the main shopping district for smaller items came to be located in Bahçekapı and Eminönü. Both neighborhoods were situated on the southern shore close to the Galata bridge, Istanbul's "heart of trade" in Hamidian times.[851] The Bab-i Ali Street, close to the Vezierate, became the seat for almost all publishing houses of the city.[852] On the northern shore, Galata—especially the Voyvoda Caddesi, nowadays fittingly known as "Banka caddesi" (Bank Street)—became the main financial center of the capital. Most large department shores were situated in Pera, which became the upper-class shopping district.[853] The commercial sectors of the last two areas brought new modes of employment. Local entrepreneurs, traders, brokers and bankers, but also the staff of the large department stores, had higher than average incomes. This transformed local consumption patterns, which benefited the developing service sector, including cafes, restaurants, and coffee houses.[854]

The economic specialization of certain areas affected both individual and institutional settlement. The growing industry of the Golden Horn area, and the accompanying air pollution, not only decreased the popularity of traditional seaside bathing and relaxation areas like Sadabat, but also drove away some institutions of higher education. Concerns over pollution had already from the

849 Rozen, "Boatmen's and Fishermen's Guilds," 75–82.
850 Schrader, Konstantinopel, 194–98.
851 Kolay et al., İlan-ı ticaret, 61.
852 Faroqhi, Kultur und Alltag, 285.
853 Köse, "Western Department Stores," 96; Seni, "Camondos," 669; Varlı and Özbay, "Istanbul'da Perakende Ticareti," 2416.
854 Arnaud, "Modernization of the Cities," 963–64.

middle of the 19th century onward been voiced with regard to environmental concerns and a discourse of health. In petitions, residents complained about an excess of smoke in the area, said to stem from factories as well as the increasing ferry traffic. Since at least 1862, the municipality regulated steam engines in ferries and factories.[855] But as so often, ordinances could not compete with the winning argument of easy access by transportation. Both the tobacco factory in Cibali and the 'Imperial Fez Factory' in Feshane, for example, continued production on the shorelines of the Golden Horn throughout the Hamidian period, while exhaust filters on ferries had little effect.[856] Books on household economics, mostly directed at middle-class readers, consequently included admonitions not to buy houses close to factories.[857]

An economic differentiation and increased circulation went hand in hand with a moral division of the city, on very different scales. On ferries and trams, the primary mode of transportation for many people in the city, men and women were separated, "to facilitate obedience to educated manners (*usul-u edebiyeye riayet*)", as a regulation of the ferry company put it.[858] On a city-level, a fundamental differentiation was made between the 'Old City' and the often poorly defined area of what is now known as Beyoğlu to the north of it. Associated with European fashions and morals and thus even called "*Frengistan*", it represented to many Ottomans moral decline and the seeping influence of "shameful infidel ways".[859] As Ahmed İhsan wrote in his memoirs: "My grandmother, like other women of her time, did not count the other side, Galata and Beyoğlu, as part of our country. When she heard that I had gone to Beyoğlu with my aunt's son, she wailed: 'oh woe! They have taken the boy to *Frengistan*!'"[860] This moral judgment was, in reversed form, also voiced by European observers. The French "Guides Joanne" wrote in 1912: "North of Golden Horn lies the European city, with its two suburbs of Galata and Pera..It is the outpost of the West…In the south….Stamboul is slowly and sadly losing out to the continual penetration of European ideas and innovations".[861] And when the French hydraulic engineer Frederic Briffault described the

855 Dığıroğlu, "Hava Kirliliği Sorunu."

856 On Feshane, see Kabadayi, "Petitioning Practices"; On Cibali, see Balsoy, "Gendering Ottoman Labor History"; On the effect of the decree, see Dığıroğlu, "Hava Kirliliği Sorunu," 68.

857 Rıfat, Tedbir-i Menzil, 8–9.

858 Cit. from Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 86; Emrence, "Tramvayıda Sınıf ve Kimlik."

859 Cit. from Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 319.

860 Cit. from Boyar and Fleet, 321.

861 Cit. from Hastaoglou-Martindis, "Visions of Constantinople."

possibilities of profit for his company in Istanbul in 1887, he used an almost colonial language: "The author believes that the company will have a far greater sale for the water in the European than in the native quarter of the town".[862]

Beyoğlu had been imagined as a space different from the rest of the city since the conquest of Constantinople, maybe even drawing on earlier Byzantine views of the Genovese colony in Galata. This imagination was reinforced during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when most foreign embassies and companies had settled in the area. The district, symbolized by the "Grande Rue de Pera", today's Istiklal Caddesi, came to be shorthand for European and foreign life. There was some truth to that. According to the census of 1885, about 47% of the population in the district composing Beyoğlu, Pera, and Tophane were foreign nationals. At the same time, many of these were immigrants from the Balkans, the area also had a significant Muslim population of about a quarter, and many shops were owned by Orthodox Ottomans. In fact, the more fundamental shift of the neighborhood during the 19th century was not the ethnic composition of the area, but rather its transformation from a residential area into a business and economic district.[863]

The neighborhood's distinct character was also bolstered by technological and infrastructural innovation. The area comprising Pera, Galata, and Tophane was the first in Istanbul to see the installation of gas street lamps, underground transportation in 1875, the projection of film in 1895, and the demonstration of the automobile. Such infrastructural innovation went hand in hand with socio-economic differentiation in many cities all over the world in the time period.[864] Beyoğlu was further a well-known amusement district. The first large-scale theaters were built in the area, with the famous Naum-Theater (1840-1870) being in the foreground of public life in its period. Other performance places multiplied during the second half of the 19th century, hosting primarily European music and theater but also, from the 1870s onward, plays in Ottoman Turkish.[865]

Yet it was the moral dichotomy in late Ottoman writings that made Galata and Pera into

862 Cit. from Dinçkal, "Water Supply in Istanbul," 686.
863 Eldem, "Galata'nın Etnik Yapısı," 61–63; Köse, "Western Department Stores," 109–12.
864 Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 287-90; 313-14; Schlör, Nights in the Big City.
865 Mestyan, "Music Theatres," 100–121.

household names whose legacy continues until the present day.[866] The neighborhood served to many Ottoman writers as a highly gendered space against which the new middle-class morality of the Hamidian times could be conceptualized. It shared this status with similar quarters in Eastern Mediterranean cities, such as Azbakiyya in Cairo, the quay area in Smyrna, or Marjeh-square in Damascus.[867] To Ahmed Midhat, who frequently set novels in the neighborhood, its 'immoral' lifestyle served for boundary work of a limited and stratified Ottoman society. In "Müşahedat", he wrote that "formerly there were more virtuous women in Beyoğlu….inasmuch as there weren't that many foreigners…the European novelists have their mind obsessed with Paris, but our Beyoğlu is crueler than Paris in many respects".[868] At the same time, Beyoğlu's Christian and Jewish minorities could potentially be integrated into Ottoman society. Again in "Müşahedat", Midhat compares the family manners of Armenians in Beyoğlu negatively with Muslim ones of the 'Old City'. Yet in the end, the Armenian female protagonist is, by becoming a 'hardworking' teacher and moving south of the Golden Horn, integrated into the male protagonists family and Midhat's patriarchal model of Ottoman society.[869]

The moralized character of Beyoğlu had two elements. As mentioned above, it was a site where Ottoman claims of modernity towards a European audience were articulated, be it in administration or infrastructure. This was taken up in the period's literature. In Safveti Ziya's novel "Salon Köşelerinde", the main character, an Ottoman Turk named Sekip Bey, aims to prove himself and his manners in front of Europeans. He declares: "When I go to places such as these [a cafe in Pera] I want us, us Turks, to attract attention with our elegance, our behavior, our upright stance, our good manners and our good breeding". He also defends Ottomans in front of a French woman he meets at the cafe: "Many young men in my country….are just as sensitive, with just as much of a moral upbringing and just as educated as the Europeans, perhaps even more so".[870]

And on the other hand, as became apparent in Ahmed Midhat's "Müşahedat", it was a site of contestation with the other religious communities of the empire. Muslim writers, like Basiretçi Ali, thus complained in an article from 1873 about the unmoral behavior of Muslim women in the

866 Eldem, "Ottoman Galata and Pera."
867 Prestel, Emotional Cities, 106–35; Fuhrmann, "Down and out"; Weber, "Damaskus," 187–93.
868 Cit. from Saraçoğlu, "Ahmed Midhat's Müşahedat," 41.
869 Findley, Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, 185–87.
870 Cit. from Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 326–27. The novel was published in 1905.

area, who "shame us in front of the other nations/religious communities (millet)….Frankish, Greek, Armenian and Jewish women also walk about in Beyoğlu. Do they make facial gestures like monkeys, do they wink like that?"[871] It may be argued that the figure of the overly Europeanized dandy was so thoroughly mocked because he made a fool not only of himself, but also of the Ottoman Muslims in general in front of the other people gathered in the neighborhood. The prime example for this, as usually, is the novel "Araba Sevdası".[872]

The cities of the late Ottoman Empire were in many ways increasingly differentiated and 'plural cities', as described above. Yet at the same time, the city also created a common denominator for all its inhabitants.[873] This common denominator was a concept of civilization centered on cities as the torchbearer of progress. The countryside or smaller cities had for most of Ottoman history been viewed in a negative light by intellectuals from the center, as can be glanced from early modern poems or the fact that exile in rural regions was a frequent punishment. Building on this tradition, developmental notions of civilization in the late 19th century equated civilization with cities and differentiated them from a countryside seen as backwards.[874] This dichotomy developed despite the fact that urban practice was more complicated. Even in Istanbul, significant food production in or very close to the city continued. Special calendars for sowing were published and plenty of agricultural information included in the yearly almanacs, a genre mostly read by city-dwellers.[875]

A dichotomy of city and country within a framework of civilization was not just applied to the empire itself, being particularly noticeable in Ottoman travelogues. Ahmed Hamdi Efendi, in his 1883 account of a voyage to India, was quite impressed by the city of Ahmadabad, praising it as the most "well-planned city of Asia" and having a "secure and comfortable environment". Against that, the surrounding rural areas were to him savage regions, housing "people naked until their waists".[876] It also held true for internal travelogues. Halil Salim detailed in his 1891 travelogue the

871 Basiretçi Ali, Bir Zamanlar İstanbul, 38.
872 Ekrem, Araba Sevdası; Mardin, "Super Westernization," 141.
873 Kechriotis, "Middle-Class Morality," 121.
874 Ergül, "Türk Şiirinde Taşra," 19–51; Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man," 111–12; Doganalp-Votzi and Römer, Politische Terminologie, 227; Reinkowski, Dinge der Ordnung, 249–53.
875 Georgeon, "Réforme du temps," 244.
876 Palabıyık, "Travel, Civilization, and the East," 216.

extensive works of "progress everywhere" in his voyages in Rumelia and Anatolia. Acknowledging the development of railroads, his main topics were the built environment of the cities and towns, detailing new buildings, shops, and schools.[877] The link of civilization and cities extended beyond travelogues. Schoolbooks often identified government (*hükumet*) with cities and featured large cities as the most important information on countries.[878] Similarly, scientific writing had already in the 1860s closely identified civilization with urbanization, a tradition continued in the late 19th century by, among others, Ebüzziya Tevfik.[879]

The increasing differentiation of country and city could, however, in the Hamidian era easily go hand in hand with a romantic adoration of the natural beauties of the countryside, especially in the context of literature and poetry.[880] Abdülhak Hamid (1852-1937), for example, often depicted nature as natural, pure and clean in his poems, while cities were characterized as ugly and dirty.[881] Tevfik Fikret's poem "Sis" from 1902 expressed the Istanbul's "moral decay" in symbolist language, depicting it as a place where "a stubborn smoke has shrouded the horizons".[882] And the imagined simple life of shepherds became a popular topic in the lyrics of the period's new song forms, like the *kanto*.[883]

A negative portrayal of city life was contrasted with a romantic depiction of the countryside also in some of period's educational writings. Mehmet Hazik wrote that it would be bad for people "to be in the middle of a big city, to pass one's time by sitting in spiritual pain in a dirty coffee place, without finding any natural enjoyment that could bring a comfort to the soul, thoughts and conscience". Against that, nature would be the ideal place for conscience (*vicdan*) to develop. In nature, one could further "dip [one's] plain bread into the delicious water of a clear stream and sit by its side upon green fields in clean air".[884] A schoolbook had a boy and his mother take a long walk in the forest, while the mother taught him about the "joy" (*keyif*) that trees give to humans.[885]

877 Salim, Anadolu ve Rumeliye bir. I thank Alp Eren Topal for this reference.
878 Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 61; Hamid, Çocuk, 8; Nazima, Küçük Çografya.
879 Aydin, "Medeniyet ve Bilim," 51–52; Türesay, "Ebüzziya Tevfik," 540–62.
880 Similar notions were expressed in Britain somewhat earlier. See Williams, Country and the City.
881 Ergül, "Türk Şiirinde Taşra," 100-01.
882 Cit. from Hanioğlu, A Brief History, 141.
883 Şen, "Kanto," 101–10.
884 Hazık, Terbiye, 140.
885 Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 62–64.

Even a city apologist like Ahmed Midhat wrote in his schoolbook on health: "People live in cities, small towns and villages. Of course, for people's health, living in a village is best".[886] He went on to state that cities were often very narrow, causing the absence of sunlight and wind, thus making them unfit for human habitation.

Midhat's quote hints at an interesting development of the Hamidian period. A shift occurred in the relationship between city and civilization in the context of a medical discourse on health. Here, the countryside was not just romantic counterpart to a decadent and civilized city. Rather, the equation of city with civilization and progress was countered with an alternative model, in which the countryside was seen as preferable in the very name of civilized values. Besim Ömer, for instance, often compared city inhabitants unfavorably with city dwellers in his medical writings. In 1906, he wrote: "It is easy to differentiate a peasant—who lives in a vast open countryside—from a worker who works in an enclosed, unventilated space. The peasant is young and strong, the worker is feeble and weak".[887] This equation of the countryside with civilization still was a minority phenomenon. It gained broader following among the Turkists of the 1910s and especially during the early Turkish Republic, where Kemalists came to identify the Anatolian countryside with the 'true' Turk, on whose culture and civilization the new state was to be built.[888]

The development of Istanbul in the late 19th century was characterized by an increasing differentiation according to economic factors, paradoxically made possible by an increased integration due to mass transportation.[889] This went hand in hand with a moralized differentiation of the city space and an integration of the city by means of a dichotomous relationship with the countryside framed by a discourse of civilization. The city thus emerged as a delineated yet hierarchical and stratified public space, in which claims of political integration and representation were formulated via everyday boundary work related to moral categories. This boundary work also targeted the local population, especially local subaltern groups, such as beggars, the homeless, and migrants.

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886 Midhat, Sağlık, 5.
887 Cit. from Altın, "Rationalizing Everyday Life," 206.
888 Durgun, Memalik-i Şahane'den Vatan'a, 92–93; Murad, Turfanda mı, Turfa mı?, 373; Deringil, "Mass Conversions of Armenians," 349.
889 Tekeli, "Nineteenth century Transformation," 43–45.

4.3 **Beggars, Homeless, and Migrants**

The growth of the empire's urban conglomerates in the late 19th century created concern. The *fin de siècle* was in many ways obsessed with an urban social reality mired in the public imagination with debauchery, crime, and a breakdown of public morality.[890] Articles about robberies made headlines in the papers, novels about police and crime became bestsellers, while the loosening of traditional communal bonds was deemed to lead to an increase in begging and deviant practices such as prostitution. This anxiety over the 'dangers' of the urban space engendered increased activity by diverse actors, employing various strategies: the police forces multiplied, medical practitioners increasingly intervened in public health, while street lights were thought to bring down crime. The following pages will argue that the diverse processes of targeting group and individual behavior in the public urban space can be best understood within the common analytical framework of a moralized notion of public order, or 'moral hygiene'. It connected the urban space to moral, responsible, and industrious individuals, while targeting deviant behavior and subaltern groups.[891] Notions of 'moral hygiene' delineated acceptable behavior and thus contributed to the inclusion, exclusion, and placement, of groups and individuals in the political community. As stated, this process involved a variety of actors. Yet concerning issues of crime and security, of public order and safety, a special role was played by state institutions, such as the police and the bureaucracy.

Although it has often been reasoned that the increasing threat perceptions in the Hamidian era arose from the paranoid personality of Sultan Abdülhamid, İlkay Yılmaz has convincingly interpreted it as a growing security mentality present throughout the Ottoman bureaucracy. This also had its reasons: there was, for example, a significant increase in high-profile terrorist attacks in the Ottoman lands from the early 1890s onward.[892] Yet the security mentality was not only directed against political enemies, but more broadly against a multitude of deviant subjects particularly visible in the big cities. They ranged from young orphans to seasonal workers, from sections of

890 İleri, "Police Forces in Istanbul," 149.
891 Türesay, "Urbanisme et Civilisation," 8; Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 88; Peirce, "Writing Histories of Sexuality," 1337–38.
892 Yılmaz, Güvenlik Politikaları; Yılmaz, "Security Perceptions," 2–4.

religious minorities to foreign subjects.[893] A major site for these interventions was, for reasons described in the last chapter, the district of Pera and Galata. Such unequal interventions in public space were no specialty of Istanbul. Central places envisioned to represent more enlightened urban images became the site of increased interventions in the name of order in cities from Beirut to Cairo.[894]

Four major topics will be addressed. First, the general infatuation with crime and disorder of the urban space will be sketched, going hand in hand with a renewed importance of the concept and value of safety (*emniyet*). Second, the police forces and their activity against deviant behavior, such as prostitution and alcohol consumption, will be portrayed. A third step will deal with the handling of deviant persons, such as beggars and migrants. And last, attempts to order the city by municipalities, medical institutions, and charitable organizations will be highlighted. As will become apparent, the city space became emotionally charged, while a middle-class moral discourse stratified the population and engaged in intense boundary work to formulate a moral community in the name of public order, referencing discourses on civilization and hygiene.

The growing urban population, together with a large influx of migrants only superficially tied to traditional communities and an overwhelmed police force, led to a growing anxiety among middle and upper classes about violence and law-breaking. Although reliable statistics are hard to come by, evidence seems to support the claim that crime in general and especially murder increased in Istanbul toward the end of nineteenth century.[895] Yet it was not only facts and deeds that fed this growing fear of the city-space. Journals, newspaper, and other media consistently fed this perception with sensationalist stories and photographs, while police and crime novels became bestsellers.

Many newspapers featured murder cases daily, with celebrate cases appearing in regular updates and across different publications. Thus the murder of one Osman Aga in 1895 was reported in several issues of "Sabah", "Ikdam", and the French-language "Le Moniteur Oriental".[896] Such articles were also increasingly accompanied by photographs. One famous murder case from 1892

893 Yılmaz, Güvenlik Politikaları, 36.
894 Hanssen, Fin de Siècle Beirut, 193; Prestel, Emotional Cities, 106–35.
895 Deal, "War Refugees and Violence," 179–80; İleri, "Police Forces in Istanbul," 152.
896 Deal, "War Refugees and Violence," 179.

featured Agop, a carpenter apprentice, who had killed his master Kozma together with an accomplice. “Servet-i Fünun” published an extensive report with lurid details of the killing, even mentioning that Agop had asked his friend to cut his genitals to make the murder appear as committed by strangers. The article was also accompanied by two photographs, one showing the murderer’s mug shot and the other one showing Agop’s posture when police forces arrived at the crime scene in Çemberlitaş, a neighborhood in the ‘Old City’.[897]

Portrait of Agop and a photograph of him in the crime venue. From İleri 2017: 108.

The attraction shown toward cases of violent crime also led to a surge of popular crime and police novels in the period. Many of these were translations: crime or mystery novels made up about a fifth of all translated fiction books in the period. Even more translations, especially of English writers such as Arthur Conan Doyle, were made for private consumption by a most unlikely patron: Abdülhamid himself was apparently a huge fan of crime fiction and his private library featured about forty translation of adventures by Sherlock Holmes into Ottoman Turkish.[898] Besides these translation, an indigenous tradition of crime fiction developed, starting with Ahmed Midhat’s 1884 novel “Esrar-i cinayet”. According to a database of late Ottoman novels compiled by Selin Erkul Yağcı, twenty-eight books published between 1880-1908 featured “murder” (*cinayet*)

897 İleri, “The Real and the Imaginary,” 108.

898 Scharlipp, Türkische Kriminalliteratur, 10–11; Maleckova, “Turkish Translations,” 82–86. Incidentally, some of Abdülhamid’s novels were translated by Said Bey, famous for his personal journals. Dumont and Georgeon, “Un bourgeois d’Istanbul,” 127.

in the title.[899] This thirst for crime fiction was not confined to the Ottoman language. Likewise, the first crime novels in Arabic appeared toward the end of the 19th century, first as translations and then in own production.[900] The thirst for crime fiction even led some local writers feign translations, as in the case of the sensationalist novel "*Sabıkalı*", or "The Convicted". Ostensibly translated from the German and announced to be a work of Hermann Sudermann (1857-1928), it was in fact an original local work. It included the admonition on its cover that "its study would be useful (*faydalı*) to anyone" and became so popular that it was reprinted and had a sequel published.[901] These genre fictions contributed to an atmosphere of caution and fear towards the city-space.

This attitude was expressed in schoolbooks, who often presented the public urban space as dangerous or at least unfit for children. While children were generally admonished to study rather than spend their time playing games, they were often told to particularly not play out in the streets.[902] In one schoolbook, the model student Salih Efendi is said to "go every Friday for a walk with his father. In other times, he does not go out into the streets, for playing in the streets is not pleasant…In the evening, when the school leaves him free, he directly and well-behaved goes to his house.[903] This admonition to go directly home from school and not linger in the streets was repeated by other schoolbooks. It was apparently also practiced: groups of schoolchildren were often accompanied on their way home by a teacher.[904] Rıza Nur (1879–1942) wrote in his autobiography that by 1900 children were playing markedly less on the streets of his neighborhood with respect to earlier times.[905]

The perception of Istanbul as a dangerous city was shared by European writers. Guide-books usually judged Istanbul to be unsafe outside of busy points and important tourist itineraries. An English one from 1881 advised its readers that "'it is not desirable for European travelers to pass

899 http://kisi.deu.edu.tr/selin.erkul/Erkul_Catalogue_July_2011.pdf In total, about 4.000 books were published in the Hamidian period.
900 Guth, "True Criminal Cases," 68–70.
901 N., Sabıkalı; Schrader, "Neutürkisches Schrifttum," 1690.
902 Hami Paşa, Vezaif-i Etfal, 16.
903 Şemseddin, Malumat-ı lazime, 3–4.
904 Azmi Bey, İlk Kıraat Kitabi, 6–7; Schrader, Konstantinopel, 123.
905 Wirtz, "Presenting Ottoman Childhoods," 238–39.

through the streets of Stamboul during the night".[906] Francis Marion Crawford echoed this when she wrote that in Istanbul "the lowest types of what must necessarily be called the civilized criminal classes fill the filthy streets, the poisonous lanes, and the reeking liquor-shops, the terror of the Europeans above and the object of righteous hatred and loathing to the Turks on the other side".[907]

Directed against this disorder and fear of the city space, safety (*emniyet*) rose to become a prominent value in diverse genres of the period. While it had already figured as a central concept to the time of the *Tanzimat*, its earlier more technological semantics now gave way to a broader meaning.[908] The economics literature often included "living in safety" as part of the more advanced needs of humans that would emerge in the process of civilization. It was also seen as important for the progress of an economy. Credit and division of labor, for instance, would both depend on safety and trust (*itimad*) within a society.[909] Safety and trust were included as effects of 'civilized' human interaction in etiquette literature, while other books named them as the outcome of familial love. Safety featured as a value also in schoolbooks. Liars were deemed bad persons "because they make everyone lose their safety (*emniyet*)".[910]

Safety concerns also drove infrastructural interventions, such as street lighting. Since darkness was deemed to eradicate the distinction between honorable and unmoral persons, light was seen as a remedy. First attempts to install street lamps date back to the middle of the century, but their number significantly increased in most cities during the Hamidian period. They remained, however, often limited to commercial centers and upper-class neighborhoods, contributing to the differentiation of the city described above.[911] While street lighting was seen as necessary for "development and civilization" (*mamuriyet ve medeniyet*), as municipal decrees frequently put it, it was also closely connected to issues of public morality, crime, and safety. It was no coincidence that the amusement districts were the first to be lit by lamps in Istanbul and other large cities all over

906 Cit. from Hastaoglou-Martindis, "Visions of Constantinople."
907 Cit. from İleri, "The Real and the Imaginary," 95.
908 Reinkowski, Dinge der Ordnung, 233–38. Conversely, Noemi Lévy-Aksu states that *emniyet* narrowed its meaning to "sécurité des biens et des personnes" during the period. Her impressive research is, however, based on internal documents of the Istanbul police. Lévy Aksu, Ordre et désordres, 44–45.
909 Ohannes, Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet, 14; Nail, İlm-i Servet, 104-08.
910 Emin Yurdakul, Adab-ı Muaşeret, 3; Remzi, Hayat, Memat ve Aşk, İzdivaç, 17; Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 96.
911 Hanssen, Fin de Siècle Beirut, 201; Weber, "Damaskus," 102; 129-30.

the 19th century world.[912]

Issues of public order and morality also were a prime directive for the police forces of the period. After several precursor institutions, the establishment of the ministry of police (*Zaptiye Nezaketi*) in 1879 had separated the army from the police and established municipal police forces. In Istanbul, they soon expanded. The number of officers increased from 684/1880 to 3.066/1908, while its budget more than tripled.[913] From the beginning, the police was not simply combating crime, but was charged with upholding a far wider semantic notion of public order. This covered the collection of taxes, deviant practices, economic matters, and leisure activities of the urban population.[914]

Perhaps the best indicator of this wider semantics were the police officers themselves. Charged with containing displays of 'immorality' and preserving 'public decency', these wide and often poorly defined moral prescriptions were also applied to their behavior. The archives of the police ministry contain an astonishing number of cases investigating police officers, with many of them opened because of 'immoral' behavior by the officers. Particularly the problem of public drunkenness, on or even off duty, was a recurring concern for the Police Ministry.[915]

The wide semantics of order and safety also allowed for interventions regarding deviant practices or behavior. Most important here was prostitution, featuring prominently in public perceptions of vices and crime. Centered in Beyoğlu, it contributed to the perception of the area as a dangerous space of broken morality and stirred emotions. It was prominently depicted as such in the writings of Ahmed Midhat.[916] Ali Rıza (1842-1928), a low-rang government official and journalist, described in his memoirs this 'danger' of Beyoğlu's prostitution for Ottoman men: "The decked-out girls of the brothels drugged minds with the scent of lavender which they put on themselves and allured hearts with their vivaciousness. With the incentive of love and affection, and the provocation of jealousy, men thus became capable of anything".[917] While presenting a control problem for the

912 Cit. from Wishnitzer, "Outdoor Illumination," 78; İleri, "Kent ve Sokak Işıkları"; Schivelbusch, Lichtblicke, 131–48.

913 İleri, "Police Forces in Istanbul," 152; Lévy Aksu, "Institution en formation."

914 Ergut, "Policing the Poor," 150–51; Lévy Aksu, "Institutional Cooperation," 148–49; Özbek, "Vergi Sistemi," 28–29.

915 İleri, "Sarhoş Polis"; İleri, "Police Forces in Istanbul," 153–57.

916 Çolak, "Portraits of Women," 98–113.

917 Cit. from Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 324.

state, concrete action was surprisingly pragmatic. Though prostitution was forbidden and extensively policed, state institutions came to a tacit understanding with the practice. Brothels and prostitutes were even taxed, both to pay for the medical services they required and to fund medical institutions dealing with the wide-spread problem of syphilis. It was confined to certain areas of the city due to widespread public complaints. Further, prosecution and taxation only targeted the prostitutes, not their customers or pimps. The practice thus formed part of a gendered hierarchy and stratification of public order and urban space.[918] As has become apparent in Rıza's quote above, prostitution was also highly emotionalized, in more than one way. Women working in prostitution were often seen as a shame for their respective ethno-religious communities, which equated the women's 'honor' with their own.[919]

Notions of 'moral hygiene', of 'order' and 'safety', also framed policing policies towards other potentially dangerous and 'immoral' people living in the city. Most of these belonged to the cities lower classes, who were almost completely excluded from government care and services, not counting the police.[920] Especially migrants were targeted. A new system of passports and official documents (*tezkere*) was used to monitor the parts of the population on the move within and without the empire.[921] International migrants were often seen as potential political actors, particularly Armenians, 'Bulgarians', and Italians; 'Bulgarians', an opaque category, because of their role in the Macedonian uprisings and Italians due to their prominent role in the international anarchist movement.[922]

Concerning internal migration, the most targeted group were male work migrants, despite the fact that the 1880s also saw an uptick in single female migration to the capital.[923] Abdülhamid himself had published an order that stated: "It is not appropriate to allow many unemployed people to come to Istanbul, [hence] the entry of these people even to Trabzon[924] must be hindered…the

918 Boyar, "Profitable Prostitution"; Fuhrmann, "Down and out"; Özbek, "Regulation of Prostitution."
919 Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 218–19.
920 İleri, "The Real and the Imaginary," 96.
921 Gutman, "Travel Documents." The Ottoman state differentiated between internal and external passports, with only the latter allowing travel beyond the empire's borders.
922 Yılmaz, "Fesad, Serseri, Anarşist"; Yılmaz, "Security Perceptions," 9–11.
923 Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants," 157.
924 People traveling to Istanbul from Eastern Anatolia usually used the steamers departing from North-Anatolian Trabzon, or conversely those from Mersin on the southern Mediterranean coast.

entry of these vagrants who come to Istanbul in groups, only to find jobs, must be hindered".[925] Consequently, travel regulations and police inspections with a strong gender and ethnic bias—it was primarily Kurdish and Armenian men who arrived from Eastern Anatolia—were undertaken before the most often unskilled laborers could board the ships to the capital. This securitization of migration became more pronounced in the 1890s, which added to the boundary between city and country described above. Besides controlling their movement, work migrants were also closely monitored in the cities, once arrived. The "Regulation on Vagabonds and Suspected Persons" of 1890 and the Police regulation of 1907 maintained a special focus on single men living in the capital. 'Vagrants' and 'vagabonds', specified as those who had no specific jobs and residence, no guarantor,[926] and those who "travel from town to town in order to find a job or trade", were especially targeted. The police was ordered to check their movements and occupations closely.[927] The regime also came to use *ilmuhaber* (internal identity cards), which contained information on the individual's identity as well as their "good behavior in social life".[928]

The status of work migrants sometimes overlapped with another suspect group particularly visible in the cities: Beggars. Begging on the street was obviously not a modern phenomenon, with the giving of alms being an important virtue both in Islam and Christianity. Yet during the Hamidian period the Ottoman understanding of poverty was transformed, turning from a virtuous dependence on God into a personal and societal defect. Differentiating between deserving and undeserving poor thus meant a performance of social boundary work.[929] Economic books stated that givings alms was good, but giving it to unmoral persons or those "making a job out of it" (*sanaat edenler*) would cause social problems.[930] Beggars, especially begging children, came to be seen as part of the broken morality of the big cities. An article from the journal "Envar-i Zeka" from

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925 Cit. from İleri, "Police Forces in Istanbul," 150.

926 Persons who wanted to travel needed a guarantor, a person to vouch for them, who was inscribed in their *tezkere* or *ilmuhaber*. The system was based on small social units, like villages or neighborhoods, and connected to intermediary actors, such as the *muhtar* or local religious authority. In the case of seasonal workers, the caretakers and custodians of the inns or bachelor rooms usually were the guarantors. If the authorities wanted to find someone in terms of an investigation, they first sought out the guarantor. Additionally, it was forbidden to hire a worker without a guarantor. Yılmaz, "Security Perceptions," n. 44.

927 Ergut, "Policing the Poor," 154–55.

928 Yılmaz, "Fesad, Serseri, Anarşist," 38; Yılmaz, "Security Perceptions," 7.

929 Kara, "Ulema as Opposition," 190.

930 Nail, İlm-i Servet, 70–71.

1882 illustrates this very well. Writing about Istanbul, it is said that "in these winter days, we see many child beggars on the streets of our city, especially on the bridges….who are these hungry, naked orphans? They are the soldiers of misery (*sefalet*)! They break down human society and morality".[931] A differentiation between deserving and undeserving poor was also behind the prohibition of begging from the 1890s onward.[932]

Migrants, beggars, and other destitute persons of the cidimitrties also became subject to institutional intervention besides the police. Since the 1860s, *ıslahhane* (reform houses), special institutions for destitute children, were founded in Ottoman provincial capitals. With the increasing number of refugees after the war of 1877-78, several similar institutions were also set up in Istanbul. Ostensibly constructed for the "betterment of the conditions and education of Ottoman orphans" by means of vocational training, children on the streets were often forcibly collected and put into these institutions. The goal was to both turn supposedly idle and wandering children into skilled and productive laborers, and protect the public space and society from the harmful influence of these 'dangerous' children.[933] One of Abdülhamid's prestige projects, the *Darülaceze* (poor house), was opened with a similar mission in Istanbul in 1895. Widely marketed as an example of the regime's caring authoritarianism, it was open to all ages and faiths, who could receive vocational training as well as living support and health services.[934]

Institutional interventions targeting urban lower classes were not only carried out by the state. Charitable organizations, often tied to religious communities, also founded institutions, often connected to public health and headed by women. Jewish and Orthodox charities existed since at least the middle of the century, while Muslim religious endowments (*vakif*) continued their importance as semi-state actors. The late 1870s also saw the appearance of the first charities founded by Ottoman Muslim women. Closely tied to supposedly female virtues like kindness and compassion, these organizations were organically tied to discussions of women's rights and

931 N., "Dilenci Kız."
932 Maksudyan, "Vocational Orphanages (Islahhanes)," 496.
933 Cit. from Maksudyan, 494; Dimitriades, "Visions of Ottomanism." Research has shown that the focus of such institutions was—both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire—for all intents and purposes not exclusively concerned with economic purposes, but also attempted to remove undesirable persons from the public space. See for England Crowthers, "The Workhouse."
934 Yıldırım, "Sağlıkta Devr-i Hamidi."

constituted an enlargement of the political and social sphere for middle-class women.[935] Targeting migrants or destitute people and families, the charities were tied to ethno-religious communities yet in principle and practice also could transcend them. The Greek "Ladies' Charitable Society of Chalkidon", for example, granted medical and material help to 171 persons between 1884-87, of which 146 were Greeks, ten Armenians, and fifteen Turks (meaning Muslims).[936] Private as well as semi-private and public institutions usually combined medical and moral approaches. They shared an emphasis on an education to or via work, which was seen as a panacea to poverty and immorality and as a means to integrate often migrant lower classes into the community. The Orthodox "Andros Educational Society" named as its goal "the moral instruction of servants/domestics who come from the East".[937] Additionally, discourses and practices of hygiene and medicine played a large role. Poor houses, for example, appeared alongside hospitals in the medical yearbooks (*salname-i tıbbi*).[938]

Physicians, employing the nascent discourse on public health, played an important part in such urban interventions. This can already be seen by the fact that the only Muslim member of the first Istanbul district council, Mehmed Salih Efendi, was a graduate of the Medical University (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye*). The medical profession's ties to institutions aiming to uphold hygiene and order only grew during the Hamidian period.[939] Public health had deadly adversaries. Cholera frequently spread throughout the empire, often by means of the pilgrims. Efforts at quarantine stations were effective to a certain extent, yet major outbreaks in 1893 and 1902 each time killed about 40.000 people Empire-wide. In Istanbul, major outbreaks occurred in 1865 (30.000 victims), 1876 (7.500), and 1893/94 (1.537).[940]

Medicine and issues of public health prominently featured intermediary actors. A cholera station, founded in 1865 by the catholic nuns of "Sacre Coeur", was later incorporated into the municipality and renamed the 'Hospital of the Sixth District'. Yet the catholic nuns played a major

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935 Maksudyan, "Ottoman Women's Organizations," 108–10; Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 211–12; Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 52–61.
936 Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 211–12.
937 Falierou, 218–19; Cit. from Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants," 160–61.
938 Ömer, Nevsal-i Afiyet.
939 Neumann, "Der Sechste Munizipal-Bezirk," 356.
940 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 788; Türesay, "Ebüzziya Tevfik," 8; Rasimoğlu, "Physicians in the Nineteenth Century," 305-07.

part in its administration until at least 1908.[941] Members of the Parisian Pasteur institute were invited by Sultan Abdülhamid to open a dependency in Istanbul, named the 'Imperial Institute for Bacteriology' in 1893, and initiated vaccination campaigns.[942] Other actors took initiative without the state, addressing the increasing female migrant underclass of the city. Besim Ömer, for example, set up the first maternity ward (*viladethane*) in 1892, against opposition from the municipality. Its medical services targeted especially single and homeless women.[943] Spyridon Zavitziano played a similar role for the Greek community, setting up in 1899 a 'Department for Foundlings' in Pera. And in 1898, the Sephardi community built a new representative hospital, the *Orahayim*, in Balat. It also centrally featured a maternity station.[944] These institutions shared an emphasis on the 'advancement' of differently envisioned communities, and fused physical and moral notions of health.

This medical importance also extended to infrastructure, because of its materiality and link to technology and science one of the main aspects of contemporaneous debates on progress.[945] During the Hamidian era, the water supply in Istanbul was extensively refurnished and the first central waterworks, opened in Terkos in 1885, competed with the traditional system of public fountains. Because of the high costs, the water works were again deferred to a company backed by foreign and domestic capital and initially almost exclusively served upper-class neighborhoods.[946] The companies' high prices and monopolistic status informed frequent criticism. Even in 1912, a newspaper wrote that Istanbul was in constant danger of typhus outbreaks, since its "water is not clean enough for a civilized city".[947] Hygiene and Medicine also influenced the nature of sacred spaces. Shrines and cemeteries were often moved beyond the confines of inhabited neighborhoods, since they were deemed to pose health risks.[948] Since these sacred spaces had often been used as public spaces of enjoyment in lieu of parks, a functional and emotional differentiation emerged between religious spaces and the new parks, where lovers and friends

941 Neumann, "Der Sechste Munizipal-Bezirk," 367.
942 Moulin, "La médecine ottomane," 186–88.
943 Ulman, "Besim Omer Akalin."
944 Anastassiadou, "Spyridon Zavitziano"; Seni, "Camondos," 672–73.
945 Dinçkal, "Universal Mission of Civilisation," 2.
946 Whitman, Turkish Memories, 165; Dinçkal, "Water Supply in Istanbul."
947 N., "Sıhhata iğna."
948 Türesay, "Urbanisme et Civilisation," 10.

could now meet.[949]

The perceived dangers of the public urban space, be it disease or deviant social practice, fed regulation attempts by the state and intermediary actors in the name of morality, of health, and civilization that may be grouped under the umbrella of 'moral hygiene'. These activities contributed to boundary work of acceptable behavior in urban settings, thus delineating and stratifying the political community. The hierarchical ordering of the city was again exemplified by the prominent role of Beyoğlu, which became a site of contestant interventions of multiple actors. Yet the dangers of the public space also influenced its shifting boundaries with private spaces, particularly with families and households.

4.4 Families and Households

Public urban space was not monolithic in the late Ottoman Empire, but rather characterized by an increasing differentiation according to moral, economic, and infrastructural categories. It was, as a whole, also distinct from the category of private space, usually equated with family households.[950] Increasingly conceived of as mutually exclusive, public and private space were nonetheless linked as categories placing the political community in space. Even though the boundary between the two spaces was drawn ever more strictly during the Hamidian period, as exemplified by the eradication of semi-private spaces in dead-end streets, both spaces became subject to connected values and norms, and similar references to notions of civilization, progress, or an increase in societal happiness. As so often, the values and norms pertaining to private space put forward by late Ottoman intellectuals built on traditional notions and practice, yet transformed them in the process. Islamic judicial tradition, for example, had usually considered family life as an inviolable private sphere. Yet in the context of the Ottoman transformations of the late 19th century families and households were seen by writers as being both differentiated from and connected to public space.[951] Families were conceived of as hierarchical and spatially removed from the public within

949 Neumann, "Der Sechste Munizipal-Bezirk," 368.

950 Even though a significant proportion of the city was composed of single females and males, many of them work migrants, their lifestyle was at best seen as a transitory phase towards familial life and at worst as potentially criminal. Ergut, "Policing the Poor," 155.

951 Yerasimos, "Réformes urbaines," 31–32; Demirci and Somel, "Women's Bodies."

an own private space, yet were at the same time intrinsically connected to the political community.

There were three main and interrelated topics. First, the size of the family was debated in the context of population politics. Second the institution of marriage and the relationship between the partners, as well as within the family, came into focus. And third, a private physical space as both separate, yet also subject to outside interventions, was envisioned. While these interventions created significant controversy about a reversal of traditional manners, it is surprising to note that in practice familial practice often adhered to the models propagated.

The size the empire's population became a central topic to Ottoman authors throughout the 19th century. Even though the population had been growing from the 1830s onward at a moderate annual rate of about 0,8%, the losses of the populous provinces in the Balkans contributed to an effective shrinking of the empire's population from 35 Mil./1844 to 21 Mil./1906. In comparison, the population of on the territory of Germany rose from 25 Mil./1816 to 68 Mil./1913.[952] At the same time, Ottoman authors increasingly came to correlate the welfare of a country (*mamuriyet-i memalik*) with the number of its inhabitants.[953] A larger population was deemed to increase tax revenue, bolster the labor force—both in the agricultural sector possessing a rather low land to labor ratio as well as in industry—, increase the possibilities of circulation and consumption of goods, and finally, though decreasing in importance, contribute to the size of the army.[954] European experiences certainly influenced Ottoman perceptions in this. Sadık Rıfat Pasha had already in the 1830s singled out a large population as one of the factors in Western Europe's rise to economic dominance. By the 1880s, it had become a common feature in economic books, usually including an aside refuting Malthusian predictions by referring to the large increases in productivity. Economic writers connected a growing population with an increase in productive capabilities and a large internal market.[955]

Procreation came to be increasingly seen as a personal duty towards society. Ali Nazif, for example, wrote in an economic treatise that the main function of humans was to form a family and have children. Unmoral persons such as drunks could not procreate, thus committing "insult and

952 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 777–79; Ehmer, Historische Demographie, 6–7.
953 Demirci and Somel, "Women's Bodies," 388; Balsoy, "Ottoman Pronatalism," 19.
954 Dursun, "Procreation, Family and 'Progress,'" 160–61.
955 Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 58–59.

murder" (*ihanet ve cinayet*) towards their family and society.[956] Debates particularly focused on women. The Ottomans were not alone in this: Women, as subjects with reproductive faculties, were a major topic of nationalist and moral discourses all over the 19th century world.[957] Melikzade Fuad proclaimed in a morality book from 1902 that women who do not give birth without any legitimate reason were "loathsome".[958] The state also conducted policies aimed to increase the population. State subsidies were given to large families as well as those taking up destitute children, while abortion was penalized.[959] As discussed above in chapter 4.3, pregnancy and birth came to be medicalized. Midwifes were trained in modern medicine and births increasingly took place in hospitals. State and philanthropic institutions were founded to help destitute mothers and prevent infanticide.[960] Popular treatises and manuals concerning pregnancy and childbirth appeared from 1880 onward, with Besim Ömer alone writing several.[961] The interest in the size of population was also a rationale behind the ever more detailed demographic statistics compiled by the state. The censuses compiled in 1881-93 and 1906-7, in a departure from earlier practice, now counted the entire and not just the male population.[962]

This focus on population went hand in hand with a propagation of the nuclear family, particularly by Ottoman writers from a medical background. Hüseyin Remzi, for instance, extolled the family as "the first foundation of human society" and wrote that societal felicity and happiness (*saadet*) would depend on it. To him, a family was composed of one father, one mother, and their children.[963] Schoolbooks usually depicted nuclear families as the norm, with no mention of polygamy. Even if some reference to the extended family was included, they were usually not depicted as living in the same house.[964] A similar focus on the importance of the nuclear family was also present in contemporary writings within the Jewish community.[965]

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956 Nazif Süruri, Gencine Servet, 113–14.
957 Yuval-Davis, "Women and Biological Reproduction"; Peterson, "Nationalism as Heterosexism."
958 Cit. from Demirci and Somel, "Women's Bodies," 405.
959 Demirci and Somel, 378; Balsoy, "Ottoman Pronatalism," 15–16.
960 Maksudyan, "Ottoman Women's Organizations"; Balsoy, "Infanticide."
961 Demirci and Somel, "Women's Bodies," 415.
962 Dündar, "Empire of Taxonomy"; Hacisalihoglu, "Borders, Maps, and Censuses."
963 Remzi, Hoca Hanım, 21–23 cit. 23.
964 Hazık, Terbiye, 28–29; Azmi Bey, İlk Kıraat Kitabi, 5; Rasim, Kıraat Kitabı, 85–88; Hıfzı, Rehber-i Kıraat, 11; [Dal Mediko], Talim ve Terbiye, 15–17.
965 Stein, Making Jews Modern, 133–34.

The elevation of the core family as the basic unit of society also had clear moral and emotional implications. Notions of love, marriage, and companionship, as well as familial relations, were included in discussions of moral behavior and good manners. Legally, such issues remained firmly entrenched in religious tradition. Family law had remained outside of the *Mecelle*, the famous codification of Civil Law based on Hanafi tradition undertaken from 1869 to 1876 and headed by the historian Ahmed Cevdet. It thus remained a domain of the respective religious communities and their legal institutions. It was only in 1883 that the state even ordered a central registration of marriages, which was initially but little followed.[966]

An important venue for normative depictions of relationships and marriages was the period's fictional literature. Earlier writings of the *Tanzimat* had still sometimes featured cases of independent, single women, who devoted their life to self-improvement rather than marriage, as in the case of Ahmed Midhat's 1870 story of "Felsefe-i Zenan".[967] Now, as in Fatma Aliye's stories and novels, marriages and relationships were usually the only subject for women. Particularly themes of affection in marriage and sense of companionship within the family were frequent topics.[968]

A crucial theme was the issue of female choice. In Şemseddin Sami's "Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat", the forced marriage of Fitnat with an older rich man, against her wishes and ignoring her love to Talat, results in death and destruction.[969] An extreme case was the institution of slavery. While the black slave trade in the empire had been abolished in 1857 under British pressure, the fact that slavery was a legally recognized category by the Sharia led to a clandestine continuation of especially the Circassian female slave trade. Additionally, the issue of existing slaves—for example in the imperial household—continued to create political discussion.[970] Literary works often spoke out against the issue. The most famous example, Samipaşazade Sezai's novel "Sergüzeşt", tells the story of a young slave girl, Dilber. After years of ordeal and pain, the son of a family she is sold to

966 Rubin, Ottoman Nizamiye Courts, 30–32; Mardin, "Some Explanatory Notes"; Neumann, "Bad Times and Better," 58; Strauss, "Berat," 217; 232.

967 Çolak, "Portraits of Women," 121–27.

968 Akşit, "Fatma Aliye's Stories"; Demirci and Somel, "Women's Bodies," 412–13.

969 Sami, Talat ve Fitnat; Faroqhi, Kultur und Alltag, 294.

970 Young, Corps de droit ottoman, 2: 166-206; Erdem, Slavery and Its Demise, 185–88; Zilfi, Women and Slavery, 189–215; Toledano, "Late Ottoman Concepts."

falls in love with her and proposes marriage. She, however, successfully flees the family, since she resents not having own choice over herself.[971]

Connected to this was the issue of child marriages, more accurately the marriages of child brides. Canonic law, different from state law regarding taxes, was not entirely clear in the delineation of adolescence, which marked the age of possible marriage.[972] It was a minority phenomenon, with 93% of 14-year-old girls in Istanbul not married according to the census of 1885. It nonetheless increasingly became subject to disapproval. The practice was criticized from two sides, with both drawing on cherished values of the period's morality discourse. Developmental physicians, like Besim Ömer, stressed the fact that women from the age of eighteen onward would produce healthier children, thus connecting his critique to values of health.[973] Similarly, Hüseyin Remzi drew on own experiences as a physician to describe the hazards of young marriage. He argued that it was an unmoral practice and to refrain from it a demand of current civilization.[974] From another vantage point, female writers in "Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete" urged a longer stay in schools for girls so that they could be better future educators of children.[975] In both cases, the ultimate goal was pretty clear. Mothers should bear more, and rear better, children for the Ottoman political community.

Moral notions of a nuclear family had their equivalent in social practice. A relative majority of Ottoman households were nuclear, which also held true for the great cities. About 40% of Muslims in the period under study lived in nuclear households, with an additional 21% of persons living in non-family households. The average household size was 3.6 persons and generally smaller for poorer families.[976] Polygamy was negligible, concerning only 2% of households in Istanbul, and declined during the period. It was common enough among religious scholars and high-ranking government officials, but even these most often did not take more than two wives.[977] The number

971 And then commits suicide in her desperation. It becomes apparent that Ottoman novels of the period regularly employed the trope of death at the end of the narrative. Sezai, Sergüzeşt; Faroqhi, Kultur und Alltag, 294; Sagaster, "Herren" und "Sklaven," 108–10.

972 Anastassiadou, "Greek Orthodox Immigrants," 153.

973 Araz, "Çocuk Evlilikleri," 48–49.

974 Remzi, Hayat, Memat ve Aşk, İzdivaç, 22–24.

975 Araz, "Çocuk Evlilikleri," 49.

976 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 785.

977 Os, "Kumaya Gitmek," 192–94. A similar observation is made by Agnes Ramsay. Ramsay, Everyday Life in Turkey, 107. For a detailed discussion of the issue of polygamy, see Mende-Altaylı, Die

of unmarried single households was, at least in the long run, negligible: only 2% of women and 8% percent of men never married.[978] Concubinage and domestic slavery was a phenomenon mostly restricted to elite households, as were child marriages.[979]

Be it with regard to slavery or child marriages, the issue of female choice also had implications for another developing value: the loving and careful relationship within partnership or marriage. Namık Kemal had already in the 1860s argued that love in partnerships would depend on free choice.[980] In the Hamidian era, a subtle shift occurred. Love was increasingly seen as tantamount to ensure a stable relationship, in turn deemed necessary for the stability of the larger community and increasing population. Hüseyin Remzi echoed many writers when stating that "the binding thread of the union of marriage is love. In households were it is lacking, there is no trust and safety". The link to the social values of trust and safety discussed above becomes apparent.[981] While Fatma Aliye was less absolute, she still stressed the importance of care with the ultimate goal of marriage stability. When defending practices of arranged marriage and polygamy before a European audience, her benchmark were good companionship of the marriages and the better legal protection of women, respectively. She writes: "In our system of marriage, around eighty to ninety out of 100 contracts of marriage result in good compatibility. This contrasts with marriage that results from a courtship in Europe where good marriages do not occur".[982] Şemseddin Sami also portrayed companionship as a means for familial and societal stability, stating "The formation of family and society in the world requires that men and women live in partnership (*iştirak*) and companionship". Similar sentiments were expressed by writers in "Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete".[983]

Connected to these issues of stability, of love and care in marriages, was a changing discourse of sexuality. Explicit references to sexuality all but disappeared from Ottoman media. This included *Karagöz* plays, where puppets no longer appeared on stage with exposed genitalia, dream manuals and literature, where discussions of homoerotic practices vanished, and medical books, where

Polygamiedebatte.

978 Duben and Behar, Istanbul Households, 103.

979 Demirci and Somel, "Women's Bodies," 409; Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 785.

980 Faroqhi, Kultur und Alltag, 310.

981 Schick, "Women's Sexual Agency," 215–16; Cit. from Remzi, Hayat, Memat ve Aşk, İzdivaç, 17.

982 Cit. from Demirhan, "Female Muslim Intellectuals," 13; Aliye, Nisvan-i Islam, 71–171; Os, "Kumaya Gitmek," 194.

983 Cit. from Schick, "Women's Sexual Agency," 206; Frierson, "State, Press, and Gender," 116.

bodily mechanics of intercourse and the attributes of the sexual body were not described anymore. In short, by the end of the 19th century, a dramatic change had taken place within Ottoman descriptions of sexuality towards a hetero-normative and monogamous model, framed by moral concerns. The Hamidian developments here mirrored the development of a middle-class sexual 'respectability' of the Western European 19th century.[984] As usual, this model could go easily hand in hand with highly exploitative practices. *Besleme*, mostly female domestic laborers taken in by middle or upper-class households, were frequent victims of sexual violence.[985]

The importance of love between the partners for the sake of stability had its extension in the importance of care and loving relationships within the family. This familial love was, however, characteristically depicted as a duty. Most schoolbooks featured the admonition that children had to or "must love their parents", as well as their brothers and sisters. This was more pronounced in books targeting a female audience. Parents, but especially mothers, were instructed to return this love.[986] As usual in schoolbooks, positive emotions also appeared as rewards for good behavior. As one schoolbook put it: "If we love each other we will be happy (*bahtiyar*)".[987] Despite its pervasiveness, the emotional labor in the household was highly gendered, and decidedly placed with the mothers.[988]

This importance of emotions and love in the family was integral to similar relationships in the political community. At least in the Hamidian era, there was no "tug of emotions….[and] contest between the family and the state", as argued by Benjamin Fortna.[989] The family household was not in competition with the political community, but formed both its core unit and served as a model. Hüseyin Remzi put this last point succinctly when he argued that "the natural and lawful affection and attachment in a family is an example for human affection and the brotherhood of men and a good representation of it. Therefore the people of a country….resemble the members of a

984 Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality, 1–22; Ze'evi, Producing Desire, 169–71; Peirce, "Writing Histories of Sexuality," 1337–38.

985 Maksudyan, "Beslemes."

986 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 1:13–14; Remzi, Hoca Hanım, 25; Hıfzı, Rehber-i Kıraat, 11; Hamid, Çocuk, 10; Azmi Bey, İlk Kıraat, 39.

987 Azmi Bey, İlk Kıraat, 6.

988 Ragib, Terbiye-i Nisvan, 4; Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İlm-i Ahlak, 2:40; Said, Ahlak-ı hamide, 7–17, 82–83, 90–92.

989 Fortna, Learning to Read, 88.

family”.[990]

In spite of this connection between the family and the political community, the spatial boundaries between private and public space were more stridently articulated in the period. While taking up earlier traditions, in which the privacy of women and the family had led to a segregation of individual houses within a dense urban setting, boundaries between street and house were drawn anew.[991] In schoolbooks, children were expected and admonished to remain inside of the house most times.[992] Ebuzziya Tevfik articulated this threshold in an article on clothing and manners:

“When a man finds himself in secret privacy [of his home], he can move and behave as he wishes. If he finds pleasure (keyfi) in it, he can even sit in his room in a skirt. ‘The muhtesib,[993] once inside, behaves domestically’, but when he passes from inside to the outside he must not forget that he is under obligation to conform to the societal norms (adab-i umumiye)”.[994]

The separation of private and public spaces was most ostentatious in, especially female, clothing.[995] Yet it was also very much present in city planning and legal regulations. The eradication of semi-private dead-end streets by Ottoman city-planners has been mentioned above. Further, from the 1850s onward, in court decisions on whether or not one had the right to not be able to be seen through the windows of one’s home, classic Islamic law was challenged by popular claims to visual privacy. Verdicts mostly held up these claims, thus contributing to stricter boundaries between the urban built environment and private space.[996]

The increasing spatial separation of household and public space was, however, often bridged in moral discourse. While Ebüzziya Tevfik pointed to a large difference between clothing worn outside and inside, many other parts of household life became subject to societal norms and values. Connecting the ordering of private space to the hegemonic referent of civilization, Mehmed Rıfat wrote in a book on household economics that “there is no alternative to bringing together some civilized measures and conditions for human living” in houses.[997] Sometimes the

990 Remzi, Hoca Hanım, 23–24.
991 Thys-Şenocak, “The Gendered City”; Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 8; 51.
992 Hamid, Çocuk, 22; Nazima, Oku, 6.
993 The supervisor of markets, who ensured public and moral order according to the sharia.
994 Tevfik, “Adab-i Telebbüs,” 2157.
995 Micklewright, “Public and Private,” 156.
996 Sipahi, “Window-Conflicts.”
997 Rıfat, Tedbir-i Menzil, 4.

direct social control of the interior was also included. Hüseyin Remzi wrote that good morality (*hüsn ahlak*) was necessary within the private space, since this was the only way to gain the approval (*tahsin ve aferin*) of other people outside of this space.[998]

The arrangement of the private space was extensively connected to a discourse of hygiene and health. Referencing the discourse on public health, it was stated that while the state would care for hygienic conditions in the cities, it was families who had to bring about these conditions inside houses.[999] Consistent with the role of household manager, this hygienic ordering was seen as a duty of women, with the female press prominently featuring issues of domestic hygiene. Similar notions were expressed in the Greek-language and Ladino press.[1000] But also the physical space of houses was connected to health. Ahmed Midhat, for example, admonished the readers of his *hıfzısıhha*-book to keep rooms temperate and pay attention to coal heating because of its dangerous fumes. He also advocated for many windows, since light would promote health. Dark places conversely would lead to sickness. Windows would also be beneficial for the circulation of air.[1001] In a similar vein, a book on household economics for girls explained the uses of large windows: "In addition to its help isolate the humidity in the house, making a house's windows as big as possible also helps getting rid of thousands of harmful microbes that live in humidity".[1002] Classes on domestic hygiene featured both in Ottoman and in missionary female schools.[1003]

Almost all physical interior aspects of houses were connected to discourses of hygiene and civilization. In his encyclopedia on household economics, Mehmet İzzet included information and drawings on issues ranging from the spatial ordering of the house to the ordering and contents of a family's medicine cabinet. The geometric and rational order inside the house mirrored the geometric order of the streets outside of it, and was subject to similar categories, in spite of a division between the two spaces.[1004]

998 Remzi, Hoca Hanım, 18–19.
999 Midhat, Sağlık, 7–8; Rıfat, Tedbir-i Menzil, 15–16; Fahri Paşa, Hıfzıssıhhat, 43.
1000 Frierson, "State, Press, and Gender," 157–60; Falierou, "Scientific Housewives," 213: Stein, Making Jews Modern, 123–49.
1001 Midhat, Sağlık, 5–10.
1002 Rıza, Kızlara mahsus İdare-i Beytiyye, 10; Cit. from Altın, "Rationalizing Everyday Life," 147.
1003 Cevad, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, 265; Kahlenberg, "Gospel of Health," 157.
1004 İzzet, Umur-i beytiye.

Spatial Ordering of a house. İzzet 1319: 232

"A family's pharmacy", İzzet 1319: 252

Other books dealt with questions from the best building materials—stone was preferred—to the direction the windows should face. The most important criteria for houses usually were air circulation, enough light, and protection from the dangers of humidity.[1005] The importance of domestic lighting was discussed (Gas lamps were preferred, since they would cause less dangerous fumes) and water filters were common in advertisements. Mehmed Rıfat even included a discussion of the proper colors for walls, noting that besides choosing the material with regard to health concerns, psychological concerns would also play a role: "Dark colors bring about depression (*rusvet kalbi*)". Especially bedrooms should thus feature bright colors.[1006]

The interior of houses was also differentiated by reference to good morality and civilized manners. Ottoman houses had traditionally often featured multi-purpose rooms. Now, in addition to the persisting gendered differentiation of houses in *haremlik* (female space) and *selamlık* (male space), rooms were increasingly functionally differentiated, at least in the better-off households. An example for this was the semi-private salon—"necessary for civilized living"[1007]— which served as both a representative space and as the main eating area. New rooms also featured new furniture. Bedsteads, as well as tables or writings desks could not be moved as easily as blankets on the floor,

1005 Fahri Paşa, Hıfzıssıhhat, 79–93.
1006 Rıfat, Tedbir-i Menzil, 31, 36.
1007 Cit. from Rıfat, 29.

or even a divan, and thus contributed to a functional differentiation of the household.[1008] Furniture was also connected to bodily practices: reading tables were pictured to show readers how to sit properly and encourage studying. Ideal reading encompassed in this model not only the text, but also the body, with accompanying texts lauding the health benefits of proper sitting. Further, the ideal of reading inside the home—alone, sitting on a chair in front of a table with a book or newspaper on it—mirrored the format of reading in the public institutions of education. Inside the house, this also meant a departure from traditional practices of social reading, or a telling of stories.[1009]

"Salih Efendi looks at his lesson". Şemseddin 1308: 3

"Proper Reading", Tercüman-i Hakikat, Jul 12, 1888. From Altın 2010: 119

Tables signaled a transformation in communal eating. Instead of a common plate for everyone on the floor, books included the illustration of table-settings and advocated for own plates and the use of cutlery. The new eating style was advocated in the name of hygiene and health.[1010]

In practice, the inside of the houses, at least in the big cities, often featured and eclectic mix of both Western and Oriental forms.[1011] Leon Sciaky, a Sephardi Jew, recalled that a room in his childhood home in late Ottoman Salonica had on one side "Two low, wide divans bearing a

1008 Faroqhi, "Consumption and Elite Status," 56–57. Ahmed Cevdet complained that the bulkiness of the new furniture complicated the annual migration of elite families towards their summer homes. Boyar and Fleet, A Social History, 294.

1009 Altın, "Rationalizing Everyday Life," 110–21; Fortna, Learning to Read, 43–59.

1010 Fahriye, Ev kadını, 401-05; Çekiç, "Savoir Vivre Cosmopolite," 79.

1011 Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul," 144.

profusion of brightly colored downy pillows", while the other side featured a "grandfather clock, upholstered European-style chairs, and [a] console mirror".[1012] Some European-style furniture, like bed frames, became widespread. But hybrid forms also emerged, such as the divan with upholstered pillows in lieu of the European sofa. It seems that rather than between religious communities or class (though the latter obviously influenced possibilities of consumption), the differences in living style were mostly based on generations and spaces (meaning a difference between large cities and the rest of the country).[1013] A creative appropriation of cultural forms in the household seems to have been common practice among urban, middle-class Ottomans of different ethno-religious background. They could switch between styles frequently and with relative ease. The eclecticism also allowed them a creative navigation of European Orientalist notions of Turkish living, while creatively adapting notions of civilization and progress.[1014]

Despite an increasing spatial separation between household and public space, the household and the family were also subject to a hierarchical and stratified ordering according to notions of morality, of civilization and hygiene. Nuclear families were deemed to be the core of society. Familial relations were seen as stabilized by prescriptions of love and companionship, with the family being a model for society. The opposition to practices such as polygamy, slavery, and child marriages by many authors of the period may further be read, in the light of social practice, as attempts to morally de-legitimize upper-class practices by an emerging middle class. Simultaneously, they countered European claims of Oriental inferiority symbolized by harems and polygamy. Contemporary discussions in Iran and Egypt played out in a similar way.[1015]

Similar to other instances discussed above, moral values of the family and partnerships stratified a political community under middle-class leadership against the local elite. The fact that the average Istanbul household was very close to contemporary models of urban families in western Europe

1012 Cit. from Cohen, "Ottoman Jews, Imperial Style," 381.
1013 Faroqhi, "Consumption and Elite Status," 56–57; Abou-Hodeib, "Material Life," 590; Ramsay, Everyday Life in Turkey, 37–40. A classic example from narrative fiction is the living style of the family presented in Halid Ziya's "Aşk-i Memnu". The governess Mademoiselle de Courton is surprised to find modern amenities and furniture in the house, while she had dreamed of an 'Oriental' house when applying for a job. She is thoroughly mocked for this by the head of the household, Adnan Bey. Uşaklıgil, Aşk-ı Memnu.
1014 Cohen, "Ottoman Jews, Imperial Style," 397–98.
1015 Peirce, "Writing Histories of Sexuality," 1337–38.

reinforced the potentially middle-class character of large portions of the city's population.[1016] At the same time, the material inside of houses was reformed by recourse to discourses of civilization and health, entailing an increasing functional differentiation. While transforming living practices, new spatial arrangements and furniture enabled a hybrid appropriation of living modes and styles, contributing to an 'Ottoman model' of interior space that came to be shared across religious communities.[1017]

This domesticity was a model of the empire's cities, identified with sedentary civilization, and stabilized through its dichotomous other, still somewhat common in peripheral regions of the empire: nomadism. Drawing on a traditional dichotomy of nomadism and sedentary civilization articulated in the writings of Ibn Khaldun, particularly historians of the Hamidian period inspected and drew anew the boundaries of civilization and civilized morals. They did so with regard to an internal 'Other', nomads, and in the context of debates of Ottoman 'decline' as well as an international order arranged according to notions of civilization.

4.5 The Civilization Debate: Urbanism and Nomadism

The political world of the late 19th century did not present itself as an uplifting picture to many Ottoman intellectuals. Large parts of hitherto independent non-European polities had been invaded, annexed, or forced into a semi-independent role by European states. Shaken by recent military defeats, the Ottoman State seemed destined for disintegration. To many Muslim writers, the foreign occupation of almost all Muslim lands was an additional factor that weighed heavily on their minds. Turning towards the study of history, the present state compared unfavorably against a Muslim or Ottoman 'Golden Age' located at various points in history. This notion of a 'Golden Age' was by no means primarily about lauding the past. Instead, it was used to underscore the crisis of the present day.[1018] Notions of progress and civilization, so prominent in the period's writings, placed states and societies within a hierarchical international system. Yet they also had a temporal effect. They posited the world unequally on a linear scale of time and opened it up

1016 Eldem, "Bourgeoisie of Istanbul," 172.
1017 Cohen, "Ottoman Jews, Imperial Style"; Bertram, Turkish House.
1018 Kara, "Ulema as Opposition," 180–82; Brockett, "When Ottomans Become Turks", 406-9.

towards a dynamic future.

The relationship of social groups to both equal and unequal time led, together with other processes, to a renewed interest of the past of the current political structures. History writing contributed to the legitimacy of states and political projects through the establishment of a world system of national-historical spaces, where histories of social and political units unfolded in apposition to other such units. Here, spatial and temporal strategies of representation formed part of a common epistemology, to which the introduction of standard times in a global context also added.[1019] In a similar vein, Ottoman historical writings of the late 19th century engaged anew with the empire's and World history, usually within the presentist framework of both legitimizing the current political structure and seek for ways to reverse the perceived Ottoman decline. Notions of civilization, of morals and manners, were here articulated within a dichotomous framework to advance a hierarchical, city-centered conception of the political community.

This engagement with history had three interrelated implications. First, history was now conceived as a national-historical space, in which the empire's history unfolded within an unequal and dynamic global space, stratified according to notions of civilization and progress. It placed the Ottomans in a common time-frame with other polities, contributed to its legitimacy and formed part of a development of a political community. Secondly, in engaging anew with the question of decline of the empire, many writers drew on Ottoman historiographic tradition and especially the writings of Ibn Khaldun to formulate a hybrid understanding of the concept of civilization, understood in categorical difference from nomadism.[1020] And third, this difference between nomadism and civilization also informed policies and practices by the central state, directed at nomads and groups living in peripheral regions of the empire. It contributed to a development that has been dubbed an Ottoman *mission civilisatrice*, or "Ottoman Orientalism" in the literature.[1021] It was particularly in this context that bureaucrats could envision themselves as a social and political vanguard of the empire, by disseminating 'civilization'.

1019 Hill, National History, 274–80; Ogle, "Whose Time Is It?," 1389; Neumann, "Bad Times and Better," 62.
1020 See Wigen, "Education of Ottoman Man," 109–12.
1021 Deringil, "Post-Colonial Debate"; Eldem, "Ottoman and Turkish Orientalism"; Herzog and Motika, "Ottoman Voyages"; Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism"; Kechriotis, "Postcolonial Criticism"; Türesay, "Postcolonial Studies."

The Ottoman tradition of court history writing, mostly in the form of annals, dates back to at least the early 15th century. Authors were often appointed historians who drew on state records. This had two implications. These annals were close to the central state, which means that imperial ideology, expressed in notions like world-order (*nizam-i alem*) or state and religion (*din ü devlet*), formed their framework. Criticism was possible, but only in the light of current or recent polices. And secondly, they invariably took the perspective of the Ottoman capital, so that peripheral regions featured only in matters that had relevance to Istanbul. They were also from the onset influenced by Ibn Khaldun's writings.[1022]

It is difficult to sketch Khaldun's theory of history in a few words, since he has been understood in widely different ways according to time, place, language, or author. Mostly outlined in the 1377 introduction (*mukadimme*) of his work "Kitab al-Ibar", a universal history, it is best understood as a connected group of concepts, which not necessarily have to form a coherent theory as such. The most pertinent of these ideas to the Ottoman tradition were the postulation of a 'group spirit' (*asabiyya*), which holds together societies and states. It was connected to a dichotomy of urbanity (*hazara*) and nomadism (*badawa*), with the latter developing in five stages and over time into the former. Urbanity thus became the *telos* of human development, making state power (*mülk*) and civilization (*umran, temeddün*) possible.[1023] At this *telos*, however, a morally couched decline sets in:

> *"Sedentary people are….accustomed to luxury and success in worldly occupations and to indulgence in worldly desires…Bedouins…are closer to the first natural state and more remote from the evil habits…It will later become clear that sedentary life constitutes the last stage of civilization and the point where it begins to decay".*[1024]

Since nomads have higher morals and a higher group spirit, they can conquer and destroy sedentary states, thus starting the cycle anew. The crucial aspect is, however, that states can extend their life-cycle by prudent politics.[1025]

Already from the 17th century onward, with the cessation of the empire's expansion, Ottoman men of letters started engaging with Khaldun's concepts and historicized the political situation of the

1022 Kafadar and Karateke, "Turkish Historical Writing," 559–60.
1023 Neumann, Das indirekte Argument, 213–20.
1024 Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddimah, 1: 254-55.
1025 Neumann, Das indirekte Argument, 219.

empire in the cyclical schema set out by him, either as stasis or decline. Mustafa Naima (1655-1716), for example, started his history with a summary of Khaldun's schema and located the Ottoman state in the fourth stage of development. Similarly, Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi (?-1797), invoked in the 1790s the sedentary versus nomadic forms of habitation to explain the causes of Ottoman military weakness and decline. He even suggested a return to partial nomadism in order to prevent the further decline of the empire.[1026] While modified in key aspects, such as the nature of the state and the cyclical notion of time, the Khaldunian tradition continued to be immensely influential in the 19th century.

Just like western Ottomanist scholarship, whose founding work is often said to be Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's "Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches" (1827-33), the 19th century saw a renewed interest in the empire's history by Ottoman authors. State annals were reprinted, European works translated, and state-sponsored official histories written. These newer writings critically engaged with the annalistic tradition and explicitly employed a "new method" (*usul-i cedid*).[1027] The prime example of these was probably Ahmet Cevdet Pasha's (1822-1895) influential twelve-volume work of history "Tarih-i Cevdet" (1854-1884). Commissioned by the state-sponsored scientific academy (*encümen-i daniş*), it depicted the years between 1774-1825 from an Ottoman viewpoint, while critically engaging with and sometimes clearly challenging Western Orientalist scholarship. Cevdet contributed to the currency of several new concepts, most importantly *medeniyet* (civilisation) and *terakkiyat* (progress), to qualify the politics and policies of the interacting states. His semantics of the concepts connected both European and Khaldunian notions.[1028] The latter fact was no coincidence, as Cevdet himself had finished the first translation of the Khaldun's "Mukadimme" into Ottoman Turkish in 1859.[1029]

Cevdet highlighted the importance of history as a pedagogic tool, particularly its spiritual importance: "Since man has a natural aptitude for comprehending past and future affairs, and perhaps also for unlocking the secrets of eternities past and future, humanity´s spiritual (*manevi*) need for this science [history] is evident".[1030] In the narrative, he throughout treated Ottoman

1026 Topal, "Ziya Gökalp," 20–22.
1027 Neumann, "Bad Times and Better," 62–67.
1028 Neumann, Das indirekte Argument, 220–33.
1029 İbn Haldun, Tercüme-i Mukaddime.
1030 Cit. from Hanioğlu, A Brief History, vi.

history as part of a universal but Euro-centric world history. His perspective was clearly that of the central Ottoman state; his stance towards regional notables and tribes was highly critical, often classifying their actions as "sedition and rebellion" (*fitne ü fesad*).[1031] According to him, the Ottoman Empire had restored unity and vitality to Islam and then developed into the highest level of social development, that of an urban socio-economic organization. Untying the Khaldunian identification of the state with the dynasty, he seemed to favor notions of a bureaucratic state.[1032] At the same time, he employed not only the schema of decline but also the concept of *asabiyye,* in order to explain the degeneration of Ottoman political administration.

Drawing on his highly influential writings, from the 1880s onward more and more writers published *longue durée* histories of the state as well as world histories.[1033] They were inspired by the demand of the expanding education system and the interest of the educated public. A certain disdain toward earlier history writing prevailed and standards like 'objectivity' and 'accuracy' were eagerly adopted. Yet at the same time, it remains highly difficult to neatly differentiate between clearly scholarly and popular history writings, since few books clearly noted their sources and fewer still used footnotes.[1034]

These popular histories were nonetheless innovative and influential. The narratives were periodized according to centuries, European works were translated, appropriated, or paraphrased, and non-Muslim states and polities were regularly included. They also were increasingly differentiated in terms of their subjects—books were published on Ottoman history, on Islamic or World history, and even on specific (most often Western European) countries. Most of them featured an understanding of civilization clearly influenced by its difference from nomadism. Further, a moralistic reading of history was prevalent, with early Turkish or Ottoman values being highlighted. Mehmed Murad summed up this nexus of history and morality with a presentist outlook in the introduction of his "Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi", a World history: "Because history makes us disgusted with bad people and stirs us to good people by talking about every aspect of

1031 Kafadar and Karateke, "Turkish Historical Writing," 566; Kılınçoğlu, Economics and Capitalism, 89–90; Neumann, "Whom Did Ahmed Cevdet," 123–24; Topal, "Ziya Gökalp," 22–23.

1032 This separation of State and Dynasty was a common feature of many 19th century Ottoman Historians. Veyselgil, "Geç Osmanlı Tarih Anlayışı."

1033 Neumann, "Bad Times and Better," 63.

1034 Gürpınar, Visions of the Nation, 17–18; Toksöz, "Writing Histoires Universelles," 360.

people past, it thus reforms our morality and actions".[1035] Historians were also often consciously invoking the Khaldunist model, like Murad, who wrote that history would include the development of humanity from "savagery and nomadism" to "today's civilization".[1036]

Another example of such history writings was Namik Kemal's "Osmanlı Tarih". Sometimes said to be the first "modern" imagining of Ottoman history,[1037] the first chapters as a prolegomena dealt with Roman, Byzantine and early Islamic history. From the advent of the Ottomans, the empire's history took up most of the book but was continuously juxtaposed with contemporaneous polities. In his foreword, Kemal appealed to the necessity of comparison, insisted on his research of both Islamic and European sources, and proclaimed that the study of history would be beneficial for a "purifying of the conscience" (*tathir-i vicdane*) and serve in moral education.[1038] When talking about the advent of the Ottoman state, he described it as mending the moral "state of decline" (*inkıraz*) of the world of Islam brought about by the Mongol conquests: "The crescent and star of the felicitous Ottoman state…[lead] the Islamic world (*islamiyyet*) and the rest of humanity (*insaniyyet*) to dawn with the radiance of its blessings for many centuries to come".[1039] He continued extol the founder of the state in moral terms:

> *"We can only attribute the astonishing success of the Ottoman state to the extraordinary virtues, the unwavering personal character (huy) and relentless labor of its founder Osman. Sultan Osman secured the lives, property and felicity of his people against internal and external threats, and sought ways to clear a path of prosperity and progress for his nation".*[1040]

Kemal's depiction of the early Ottoman state constructed a 'golden age', in which ideal virtues and morals were shown as residing larger-than-life characters. While depicting a real age and a real ruler, they were set as a model or symbol for the Ottoman Empire of the late 19th century while also projecting this polity back in time. Additionally, the focus of the person of Osman served to

1035 Kafadar and Karateke, "Turkish Historical Writing," 565–68; Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 194–95; Cit. from Toksöz, "Writing Histoires Universelles," 354.
1036 Herzog, Geschichte und Ideologie, 33.
1037 Gürpınar, Visions of the Nation, 23.
1038 Kemal, Osmanlı Tarihi. Birinci cild, 10. The book has a complicated publishing history. The first part and the introduction were published in 1887, yet were censored afterwards and not reprinted. It was again distributed in 1910, after Kemal's death, as an uncompleted four-volume history.
1039 Cit. from Ersoy, "Ottoman History," 99; Kemal, Osmanli Tarihi, 1:37.
1040 Cit. from Ersoy, "Ottoman History," 99–100.

highlight the values perceivably lost in the current Ottoman state.[1041] Interesting is also his depiction of the Arab world as being saved and subsequently led by the Ottomans. A similar outlook pervaded his other writings. An article from the 1870s on Yemen, which had just recently been reincorporated into the empire, nicely summed up the symbiotic yet unequal relationship between the Ottoman center and the nomadic or semi-nomadic peripheral population in the name of civilization: "We will assist the Arabs to be able to recover from their misery. They will help us to protect our nationhood and advance in the path of civilization in the future".[1042]

Other historians of the Hamidian era increasingly turned to the Central Asian nomadic Turkish origin of the Ottomans for contemporary inspiration. European orientalist scholarship was influential in this regard, particularly when translated into Ottoman Turkish.[1043] In writings either published in book-form or in the pages of the newspaper "İkdam", a group of authors, among them Necib Asım (1861-1935), aimed to show the deep history of the Turkish people in Asia and especially the capacity of the Turks to civilize other nomadic tribes. This was attributed to the Turk's superior morality. An article in "İkdam" from 1896 stated that "criteria in comparing different peoples….are human virtues such as courage, endurance and ability to become civilized. The world confirms that these three qualities are natural characteristics in the noble Turkish people".[1044] The Turks themselves were in these writings described as state-building, yet also possessing nomadic warrior morals.[1045] Some historians also included the notion that the Turks had significantly contributed to the Islamic civilization of the 'Golden Age'. This was not easy, since many classic accounts had looked down on the Turks. Nonetheless, the positive assessment of Al-Jahiz (776-868) was translated in "Malumat" in 1897 and luminaries such as Ibn Sina and al-Farabi were made into Turks by writers like İsmetzade Arif and Şemseddin Sami. Many authors also stressed Ottoman and Muslims contribution to contemporary European civilization, couched in moral terms.[1046] Ahmed Midhat extolled the benevolence, 'justice' and 'equality' shown by the Ottoman state towards non-Muslim subjects. Yet the political community envisioned was clearly

1041 Neumann, "Bad Times and Better," 70–71.
1042 Cit. from Gürpınar, Visions of the Nation, 70.
1043 Herzog, Geschichte und Ideologie, 35; Kushner, Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 29; Maleckova, "Turkish Translations," 81.
1044 Cit. from Kushner, Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 31.
1045 Çıkar, Politische Gemeinschaften, 42.
1046 Gürpınar, Visions of the Nation, 79–81.

hierarchical. Necib Asim, for example, called the Turks the "ruling nation" of the empire.[1047]

Ottoman history schoolbooks often followed these narratives. Surprisingly, history was not a prominent subject. Relatively few hours of the curriculum were allotted to history lessons and the subject was only taught every other year. Additionally, history was apparently only taught in the cities and greater provincial towns of the empire, not in the countryside.[1048] Nonetheless, Hamidian schoolbooks proliferated and increasingly referenced the Central Asian origins of the Ottomans. They were again described as being state-building and aiding the spread of civilization through their military actions and superior morality. As Selanikli Tevfik wrote in 1904: "The Turkish nation became famous among other nations for its courage, good character, and beauty".[1049] Regarding the Ottoman period, schoolbooks often extolled the personal character and active warrior ethics of the early Sultans. The decline of the empire was usually attributed to the 17th and 18th century and ascribed to the disobedience and decadence of parts of the Ottoman population as well as the Sultans' lack of personal character.[1050] The *Tanzimat* then served as a clear demarcation, which established "the institutions and reforms necessitated by civilization", as Abdurrahman Şeref put it in his Ottoman history.[1051]

Notions of civilization and morality, framed by a dichotomy of sedentary civilization and nomadism, also informed state policies. The often tacit coexistence of nomadic and semi-nomadic groups in peripheral regions of the empire changed in the 19th century. Several central *Tanzimat* decrees, such as the land law of 1858 and the provincial law of 1864, had, among other things, intentionally targeted tribes and nomadic people. Such and other bureaucratic initiatives were couched in a moral administrative language. Civilization, represented by the urban central state, was contrasted to "wildness" (*vahşet*), "nomadism" (*bedeviyet*), and "barbarity" (*cahiliyet*) deemed to persist in peripheral and nomadic regions of the empire. A stock phrase for nomadic populations of the empire was that they were living "in a state of nomadism (*bedeviyet*) and savagery (*vahşet*)". To counter this and bring nomadic or semi-nomadic populations "into the fold of civilization (*medeniyet*)", schooling and government authority was needed to "improve the morality" (*tehzib-i*

1047 Kushner, Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 38–40.
1048 Çıkar, Politische Gemeinschaften, 35–36.
1049 Cit. from Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 201.
1050 Çıkar, Politische Gemeinschaften, 46–49.
1051 Cit. from Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 200.

ahlak) and "reform" (*islah*) them. This discourse was also pervasive in mid- and low-level bureaucratic accounts from the regions themselves.[1052] It was accompanied by increasing efforts of forced settlement, with discernible effect. The nomadic population in the Ottoman Empire significantly declined during the second half of the 19th century. In Anatolia the decrease was 26 percent between 1840 and 1890, while the percentage of nomads in the province of Basra declined from 50%/1867 to 19%/1905 and around Baghdad from 23%/1867 to 7%/1905.[1053]

Despite its dichotomous discourse, the Ottoman central bureaucracy in fact relied frequently on local actors in these policies of settlement and control of movement. Reforms like the land law had unintended consequences, with tribal chieftains in cases claiming previously communal land for themselves, thus strengthening a position that was thought to be weakened. Yet during the Hamidian period, intermediary tribal actors were increasingly recognized. Abdülhamid personally received sheikhs (favoring those affiliated to the *Nakşibendi*-order) and tribal leaders in the palace, sometimes even investing them with state positions.[1054] He further created in 1892 semi-autonomous army units composed of mostly Sunni Kurdish tribes, the *Hamidiye*-Regiments. They frequently raided the property of rival Kurdish tribes and became infamous for their attacks on Alevis and their role in the Armenian massacres of 1894-96.[1055]

Attempts to integrate nomadic and tribal groups also entailed other policies. One of the most visible instances of these was the *Mekteb-i Aşiret*, the imperial school for tribes in Istanbul. It was opened on the Prophet's birthday, October 4, in 1892, indicating its status as part of the Hamidian state's temporal standardization efforts and tradition-building based on historical resources.[1056] The school consisted of a five-year boarding program, which closely monitored the students and prevented them from entering the city space. Its pupils came from all peripheral regions of the empire, from Albania to the Arab peninsula. The founding document stated as the goals of the school: "[It] is to enable the tribal people to partake of the prosperity that emanates from knowledge and civilization, and to augment their…inclination and love for the great Islamic

1052 Deringil, "Post-Colonial Debate," 41–42; Reinkowski, Dinge der Ordnung, 249–53; Çelik, "Civilizing Mission."
1053 Kasaba, A Moveable Empire, 116. These numbers, however, rely on Ottoman government sources.
1054 Abu-Manneh, "Abulhuda Al-Sayyadi"; Varol, "Tarikat Siyaseti."
1055 Kasaba, A Moveable Empire, 119. See also above chapter 2.6.
1056 Deringil, Well-Protected Domains, 101-04; Georgeon, "Réforme du temps," 250.

Caliphate, and the sublime Ottoman Sultanate".[1057] It is significant here to note how a dichotomous framework of civilization allowed for the integration of peripheral groups into the empire at a lower level.

Students of the Mekteb-i Aşiret-i Hümayun, Album of Abdülhamid II.

Students of the Idadi-school in Baghdad, Album of Abdülhamid II

An integration of difference within the Ottoman political community was also notable in the representation of the tribal school. The photographic albums of Sultan Abdülhamid made a clear difference between the tribal and regular schools. This can be seen by the photos above, one of which shows pupils from a 'normal' school, in imperial clothing and the fez, while the other features children from the tribal school, representing the children in 'traditional' nomadic clothing and with Turbans, yet still attached to the empire. In practice, the school seems to have had significant problems in recruiting its pupils. A notable number of its graduates, however, saw further studies at the imperial civil or military schools and often went on to serve the state either directly, in military or bureaucracy, or indirectly through their role as tribal leaders. The school was nonetheless closed in 1907.[1058]

This dichotomy of nomadic and urban populations within a framework of civilization was a staple of Hamidian intellectual debate as well as bureaucratic practice. Its influence was most notable in

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1057 Cit. from Rogan, "Aşiret Mektebi," 87.
1058 Rogan, 100-04.

History books, yet stretched beyond the genre. Almost all Hamidian treatises on economics employed a Khaldunian model of civilizational stages—passing from nomadism (*bedeviyet*) to urban civilization (*medeniyet*)—to explain differences in human needs (*ihtiyacat*), which economy and state were meant to provide to people.[1059] While the Ottoman political community was envisioned as a city-based civilization, the perceived decline of the empire as well as European influences led to an increasing engagement with Turkish Central Asian roots, thought to embody values and morals deemed necessary for the empire to survive. While placed within a dichotomy of nomadism and civilization, this allowed for a creative navigation of shifting boundaries between the two categories. The state also employed the dichotomous concepts in bureaucratic practice, discourse, and representation. The categories allowed for the integration of nomadic and semi-nomadic elites into the political community at a lower level, with the Ottoman-Turkish bureaucratic class appearing as educators of civilized morals and values and leading the political community.

Highlighting the importance of a dichotomy between nomadism and civilization does not, however, mean to qualify the Ottoman mindset towards peripheral regions of the empire as a simulacrum of Western Orientalism or colonialism. Rather, the conceptual tradition of the dichotomy serves to highlight the hybridity and hierarchies in late Ottoman conceptions of the political community and state.[1060] The creative appropriation of classic Islamic philosophy together with European notions of progress and civilization informed how notions of morality and civilization, based on shifting boundaries between sedentary and nomadic life, came to be central aspects in the formulation of a city-centered and hierarchical Ottoman political community. At the same time, the moral values deemed to bind together the community could draw on a wide variety of sources, from Central Asian Turcic nomadic values to the Islamic tradition, or from the imperial Ottoman tradition to European conceptions of civilization.

1059 Ohannes, Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet, 9; Midhat, Ekonomi Politik, 17; Nazif Süruri, Gencine Servet, 1–2. See above, chapter 3.6.

1060 Aymes, "Many a Standard"; Türesay, "Postcolonial Studies," 128–33. This does not, however, mean to espouse a similarly misguided 'Ottoman' or 'Islamic' exceptionalism relying on ontological categories. On the problems of this ontological distinction, see Dirlik, "Twin Offspring of Empire."

4.6 The Music Tradition of Istanbul

In 1897, Mehmet Celal wrote a lengthy article in "Malumat", in which he complained that many people in the Ottoman Empire would equate music, or the "science of music" (fen-i musiki), including notation, with either European music or traditional Ottoman court music. Against that, he defended another genre: The popular *incesaz*-bands, which played a modified version of traditional Ottoman music with less instruments. In his view, *incesaz* was the musical expression of the Ottoman nation, which now had to be codified according to European techniques:

> *"The music of every nation is different. What makes it so are the national melodies/harmonies (ahenk), or to use a better word: national songs (şarki). It is exactly from these melodies…and by ordering them according to the science of music, that a true music (musiki-i hakiki) is created….If we apply the ordering principles of this science [of music] to our melodies, then it is clear that even simple melodies will have a more than joyous effect on our souls….[and that] an Ottoman or Eastern scientific music will be created, one that would even elicit praise and appreciation from the Europeans".*

He mentions some forerunners in this cause, such as the composers Haydar Bey and Çuhaciyan Efendi.[1061] It becomes apparent how Celal's program of a national music, eliciting 'praise' from a European audience and instilling 'joy' in the Ottoman community, was similar to other Ottoman 'claims of modernity' articulated in the period and discussed above. Its method of fusing European techniques like notation and indigenous musical tradition was, however, far from unique for its period.

The increasing global integration of the late 19th century transformed musical traditions in most places of the world. Instruments, techniques, and performance places of European origin, like opera-halls, began to spread to places from Manaus to Beijing.[1062] At the same time, non-Western music reformers, sometimes with state support, canonized and institutionalized local traditions in unequal interaction with European music and musicology. Staff notation and the Bachian 12-tone system provided important means for this.[1063] Demographic factors and mass migration further led

1061 Celal, "Bizde Musiki." Haydar Bey (1846-1904) was a composer and member of the *Musika-i Hümayun*. Dikran Çuhaciyan (1837-1898) was an Ottoman-Armenian composer, whose work was popular among Ottoman Turkish speaking populations of the Eastern Mediterranean port cities. Mestyan, "Music Theatres," 289–311.

1062 Osterhammel, Transformation of the World, 5–7.

1063 van der Linden, "Non-Western National Music."

to the development of a lucrative market for popular spectacle and entertainment in specialized quarters of the rapidly growing cities all over the globe, from Schwabing in Munich to Azbakkiya in Cairo.[1064] And finally, new technologies, such as the gramophone and the phonograph, transformed both the very experience of listening to music and integrated music into the rapidly developing consumer culture of the *fin-de-siècle*.

These developments were closely connected to politics. Music was one of the most powerful 'national' symbols in the Age of Empire.[1065] In France, for example, the soul searching after the defeat to imperial Germany in the war of 1870-71 led to increased state funding for composers like Fauré and Saint-Saens to 'glorify' the French nation, while the *Marseillaise* was reinvented as a national anthem in 1879. Music was also tied to morality. A collection of Jean-Phillippe Rameau's (1683-1764) works was state-funded since he was deemed to embody national values, such as "modesty, clarity, and precision".[1066] In many non-European polities, music reformers redefined themselves and the local musical tradition to be perceived as 'modern' and 'civilized', using and transforming local cultural practice as material for political projects. This entailed activities such as the establishment of educational institutions; the collection of music in staff notation or (reformed) indigenous notation systems; the publication of music manuals and self-instruction books; arrangements for concerts; and the organization of music conferences.[1067]

The following pages will trace these developments in the Ottoman Empire, with a special focus on the city of Istanbul. First, the development of the Ottoman musical tradition will be sketched, with a special emphasis on the developments in the 19th century and the interaction with European models. A second step will then research the attempts at codification of the musical tradition by Ottoman intellectuals in the Hamidian era. A third part will take a closer look at the transformations of performance spaces during the same period. And a last point will highlight the role of new technologies like the gramophone and phonograph in this transformation of Ottoman music. As will become apparent, the late 19th century saw the development of a trans-communal 'Ottoman' popular musical style in Istanbul, which was constructed by recourse to traditional

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1064 Hobsbawm, Age of Empire, 236.
1065 Hobsbawm, 106-07.
1066 Kelly, "Music and Culture," 4–8.
1067 van der Linden, "Non-Western National Music," 431–38.

practices, in opposition to court music, and in unequal contact with European standards of music. This style was by no means monolithic, but developed in close contact with similar developments in Greece, Egypt, or the Balkans. It was connected to 'national' morals and moral education. The music further—especially in its performances, despite hegemonic notions of emotional control—developed as a practice and space in which emotions were encouraged and valued.

A major problem in writing the history of Ottoman music is that what is known today as Ottoman classical or traditional music is mainly a product of the 19th century. Music played and developed over five centuries was codified in a short-time period under inescapable European influence and as a decidedly political project. The codification was in great part not based on documentary evidence or written sources, but rather based on oral collections.[1068] As such, for example, it has been said that the vocal repertoire of the courtly *fasil* (concert suite) that "is known in Turkey today is mainly that which was taught by İsmail Dede Efendi (1778-1846) to Zekai Dede (1825–1897), and from Zekai to Rauf Yekta (1871–1935)", hence a purely Sufi-transmission.[1069] The prominence of Sufis in the development of Ottoman music is no coincidence, since the skepticism towards music in orthodox Islam is well known.[1070]

Nonetheless, some fundamental developments can be sketched. Turkish or Ottoman music is and was usually grounded in the *makam*, which may best be characterized as a fixed system of non-tempered intervals based on Tetra- and Pentachords.[1071] Drawing on the Greek pentatonic tradition, the *makam* was developed by Arabic and Persian musicians and theoreticians like al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, and Safi ad-Din al-Urmawi (1216–94), influencing and transforming musical

1068 Aksoy, "Writing Ottoman Musical History," 16–18.

1069 Feldman, "Cultural Authority and Authenticity," 87.

1070 Although music is not explicitly mentioned in the Koran, it is often associated with idolatry and the distraction from prayer. All four schools of Sunni jurisprudence consider music to be *makruh* (not forbidden, but 'disagreeable'). Against that, heterodox religious traditions and especially Sufism considers it to be an important part of religious practice, denoting music as *lisan-i bi-zebanan* (tongue-less language). In this tradition, music is seen, often together with dance, as a practice that can help the quest to relate to God. It is part of the *büyük cihad*, the 'greater' struggle to lead a good life. Because of the influence of Sufism among the Ottomans (even most Ottoman sultans were part of a Sufi-order), but also because of the long-standing tradition of court music, a prohibition of music was hardly ever a debate in the Ottoman Empire. Even a *şeyhülislam* (the highest ranking clergy), Mehmed Esad Efendi (1847-1918), composed songs drawing on classical poetry. Stokes, "Islam, the Turkish State and Arabesk," 114–15; Signell, Makam, 6; Ahmed, What Is Islam?, 424–30.

1071 In the anglophone literature it is often defined as a "modal" practice, although this has its problems, especially regarding absolute pitch. See Signell, Makam.

traditions from Marocco to Indonesia.[1072] A significant Ottoman transformation of this tradition occurred from the middle of the 17th century onward. Shorter pieces were bound together as larger cycles, with a separation between more religious (mainly Sufi) *ayın* and court *fasıl*. Individual composers and writers were identified, while Persian vocal forms (*nakş, kar*) were abandoned in favor of transformed or indigenous ones (*beste, semai*).[1073] This development took place in contact with the Christian musical tradition of the Balkans. Ali Ufki (1610-1675) and Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723), the most influential Ottoman composers of the period, had been born to Christian families from Poland and Moldavia, respectively. In reverse, Ottoman styles also influenced the European tradition. The 17th and 18th century saw a veritable craze for *alaturka* music in Europe, best illustrated by Mozart's piano sonatas. These *turqueries*, however, often had little to do with Ottoman music in itself. And exception were Ottoman military bands (*mehterhane*), which introduced cymbals and drums into European art music and led to the formation of new kinds of military marching music (*Feldmusik*).[1074]

The exchange became more unidirectional from the early 19th century on. In 1828, a polyphonic marching band, the *Musika-i Hümayun* was founded in the Ottoman Empire. Replacing the *mehterhane*, it was divided at the latest from 1850 on into a *fasl-i atik* (old, noble section) and *fasl-i cedid* (new section), the latter primarily playing European pieces. European-style music was also taught in the imperial household. Some sultans of the *Tanzimat*, notably Abdülaziz and Murad V, composed musical pieces for the pianoforte. Leyla Hanım, a famous performer and composer of Orthodox origin brought up in the palace during the 1860s, stated in her memoirs that from an early age she was taught piano and musical notation. She recalled that the concerts in the Harem featured "the popular Italian music pieces of the day". Abdülhamid himself learned to play the

1072 To state as such is not without its problems, for definitions and approaches to the concept differ considerable in geographic regions. It may even be argued that the universality of the *makam* to describe a "thinking about Music" can in fact be attributed to European musicologists, who from the 19th century onward used it as an analytic key concept to describe and bound together 'Oriental' music, ignoring in the process the regional differences as well as overstating its influence for musical practice. Elsner, "Maqam international?," 16.

1073 Ertan, "Cycles and Peripheries," 36; Jäger, "Die 'dunkle' Epoche?," 107–10; Feldman, "Cultural Authority and Authenticity," 74–75. See Behar, Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar; Popescu-Judetz, Prince Dimitrie Cantemir.

1074 Faroqhi, Approaching Ottoman History, 122; O'Connell, "Time of Alaturka," 183; Bowles, "Turkish Military Bands."

piano in his youth and became a lifelong fan of Italian-style *opera buffa*.[1075] European musicians were brought in, especially from Italy, to train palace and military musicians. Giuseppe Donizetti (1788-1856) came to the empire in 1828 and wrote the first Ottoman imperial anthems in the style of a military march. Abdülhamid later had several similar anthems written for him.[1076] These marches were also regularly performed in imperial representations, for example at the ritual Friday prayer of the Sultan. At the inauguration of the *Tünel* in 1875, Istanbul's first underground tram, the 'Imperial Band' played both the Hamidian march and 'God save the queen', the latter addressing the present English financiers.[1077] European classical music also was eagerly received by the local upper class. Stars like Franz Listz played concerts in Pera, while western-influenced theaters and concert halls enjoyed success.[1078]

Faced with declining court patronage in the latter half of the 19th century, many musicians of classical Ottoman music had to find other modes of employment, often in the entertainment areas of the empire's large cities. They swelled the ranks of an emerging group of Ottoman musicians and intellectuals that in the late 19th century engaged with the Ottoman court and religious musical tradition, as well as European influences, to develop and codify an 'own' musical idiom and tradition. On a theoretical level, this entailed debates on the nature of music in the forms of histories and theoretical works, as well as the questions of transmission, teaching, and notation.

These latter topics were intrinsically linked. Classically, the passing down of techniques and songs had been framed by a close teacher-student relationship (*meşk*), which placed great focus on learning songs by heart. It was also a moral system, in which values such patience, hard labor, prestige, and respect figured prominently.[1079] The teaching was accompanied by songbooks, which usually contained the lyrics, a note on the mode of the song (*makam*), and the accompanying rhythm (*usul*).[1080] From the early 19th century onward Ottoman compositions were harmonized and

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1075 Kosal, "Klasik Batı Müziği," 642; Gür, "Leyla Saz," 282; Akarlı, "Problems of Westernization," 355; Brookes, The Concubine, the Princess, 165, 182; Prätor, "Musikiden mükemmel."

1076 Çetintaş, "Hürriyetin Marşları," 103. Versions were written by Paul Düssap (?-?) in 1879, Rifat Bey (?-?) in 1880, and at an unknown date by Necip Pasa (1815–1883), a student of Guiseppe Donizetti. This last was most often used. Pennanen, "Between Sultan and Emperor," 38–39.

1077 Ergin, Türkiye Maarif Tarihi, 1053; Dinçkal, "Universal Mission of Civilisation," 1–2.

1078 O'Connell, "Time of Alaturka," 186; Mestyan, "Music Theatres," 109–13.

1079 Karakayali, "Cultural Transmission," 359; Erol, "Hacı Emin Efendi ve 'Nota Muallimi,'" 105.

1080 Çetintaş, "Güfte Mecmuaları," 42; Paçaci, Osmanlı Müziği Okumak, 43–114.

published as notations, first in the surroundings of the palace using the *Hamparsum*-notation, later by publishing houses in a European style. While there was initially significant opposition against this new type of transmission, it waned from the last quarter of the century onward. Haci Emin Efendi (1845-1907) printed song sheets with great success as addenda to "Malumat" and "Servet-i Fünun". In his "Nota Muallimi" from 1884, he advocated his method of learning music with the help of notation to an audience of musicians educated both in the old personal style and the new 'impersonal' European one. The stated goal was to teach 'Turkish' music while stressing the importance of values from the *meşk*-tradition.[1081] Other musicians also tried to incorporate notation into classic education practices. A songbook from 1890 provided in traditional form only lyrics, *makam,* and rhythm. Yet the introduction advocated for a combination of personal learning and notation, stating that "to be able to read the specialties of application, we still need a teacher".[1082]

Regarding the codification of the repertoire, notations were still significantly outnumbered by songbooks. Continuing a somewhat earlier trend, especially regarding books in non-Arabic scripts like *Karamanlıdıka*,[1083] a great number of books were published during the Hamidian period. Focusing on vocal music, these books codified a song repertoire that was not necessarily classic. They also featured contemporary composers and writers and a significant number called attention to their inclusion of 'new' songs and song forms like the *şarkı*. These new forms signaled a shift in themes and language. Lyrics drawing on Persian and Ottoman classical poetry (*divan*) increasingly gave way to more prosaic forms and contents, especially regarding the topic of love. The influence of the Hamidian songbooks extended far into the Republic of Turkey and continues until this day.[1084]

Although music was mentioned in the curricula of the Hamidian schools, no schoolbooks appear to have been published for the lessons. It is known, however, that musical education played at

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1081 Paçaci, "Turkish Music," 156; Erol, "Hacı Emin Efendi ve 'Nota Muallimi.'"

1082 Cit. from Behar, Zaman, Mekan, Müzik, 43.

1083 A form of Ottoman Turkish written in Greek characters. The songbooks in *Karamanlıdıka* differed somewhat from the Ottoman Turkish ones in that they also sometimes included notations. Anagnostopoulou and Kappler, "Ζήτω Ζήτω ο Σουλτάνος," 64–65.

1084 Kappler, Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik, 181–205; Çetintaş, "Güfte Mecmuaları," 43–45; Öztuna, "Şarkı"; Topal, "Gıda-ı Ruh," 416. Information on the lyrics received by Prof. Gönül Paçacı at the "Research Center on Ottoman Music" (OMAR) in Istanbul, April 2016.

large educational role at some state schools, as well as in community and missionary schools.[1085] Paul Lange (1857-1919), for instance, a German-born conductor, gave music lessons at Robert College, the "Üsküdar Girls' State School", and several Greek and Armenian community schools from the 1880s onward.[1086] Home education in music seems to have been common enough in middle-class and elite households. Here, Ottoman composers and instruments were often played and learned alongside European instruments like the piano.[1087]

The Hamidian era also saw increasing debate concerning the nature of the 'Ottoman' or 'Turkish' music, often taking place in historical and theoretical accounts. While usually acknowledging the historical Greek influence, most writers favored the concept of an indigenous 'oriental music' differentiated from European tradition.[1088] Especially writers for "Malumat", like Salih Zeki (1864-1921), Necib Asim, and Rauf Yekta prescribed to this view. Within this 'oriental' framework, the 'Turkish' or 'Ottoman' character of the local music was stressed, highlighting tonal foundations as well as melodies, meters, and harmonies.[1089] Besides featuring in the semantic network of the political community, music was also deemed important by many writers to the nature of the individual's soul and emotions. Ahmed Midhat counted listening to music as a central spiritual need of humans.[1090] Ali Rıfat wrote in an article from 1895:

"It is obvious that singing is a necessity of our nature. Yet while there is ample evidence from old philosophers and literati that the human soul derives a special pleasure (telezzüz-i mahsusi) from music, they say little on our personal feelings (ihtisasat-i zatiyemiz).....even though Eastern Music is made up of the beautiful harmony of nature and melodies that give pleasure to the pure soul (sirf ruhu)".[1091]

This 'Ottoman' or 'Eastern' character of music by no means meant an exclusion of Armenian,

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1085 Cevad, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, 398; Ergin, Türkiye Maarif Tarihi, 951; Albayrak and Şeker, Osmanlı Eğitiminde Modernleşme, 138.

1086 Aracı, "Paul Lange Bey," 167.

1087 Müftüoğlu, Haristan ve Gülistan, 270–75, 309; Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul," 144–45; Behar, Zaman, Mekan, Müzik, 36–40.

1088 Kazım [Us], Musiki. In typical fashion, Kazım differentiated Oriental music by the "feeling" that it evokes. At the same time, he accepted the European notation system.

1089 Arpaguş, "Malumat Mecmuası," 18–143. It is significant to note that many of these writers were also scientists, often mathematicians. Their efforts to codify an 'own' Ottoman music by recourse to 'scientific' methods thus contributed to the assumed vanguard role of Hamidian scientists.

1090 Midhat, Ekonomi Politik, 18.

1091 Rıfat [Çagatay], "Mukadimme"; Erol, "Music and the Nation," 170; Kushner, Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 85–86.

Greek, and Jewish contributions.[1092] Kazım Uz and Nikolaos Paganas referred admiringly to each others articles on tone intervals, contributing to a debate in both Greek-language and Ottoman-language journals. In 1899, Rauf Yekta published an article in “İkdam”, in which he claimed common ancestry for Greek ecclesiastical and Ottoman music. It was reprinted approvingly in the same year by the Greek-language daily “Nea Ephemeris”. There was, however, also competition. Yekta’s article earned a reply by the community-school teacher musician Georgios Pachtiko, who emphasized the differences between the two musical traditions and rooted the Orthodox music firmly in the Byzantine and Ancient Greek tradition. Music thus was turned, as many other cultural practices, into a site of contention between local middle classes for cultural and political hegemony.[1093]

Writers like Rauf Yekta also directly engaged with a European audience to underline claims of a ‘national’ music. From 1907 onward, Yekta wrote several contributions to the French journal “La Revue Musicale”. After his first piece, which had included the notation of a song from the 18th century collection of Dimitrie Cantemir, he received a letter from a French musician detailing the tempered measures of his notation. Yekta responded rather briskly that the sent-in measures were faulty, and that European musicians so far had failed to understand Turkish music.[1094] In subsequent articles, he contended that Oriental music was fundamentally different from European music in rhythm, intervals, singing style, and genus. According to him, “nearly all the published works [in Europe] of Oriental music cannot be considered authentic, and hence nearly all the considerations based on them are erroneous”.[1095] It becomes clear that Yekta thought of himself as being able to authentically represent ‘Oriental’ music expressed in European modes of notation.

Besides its codification in writings, the Ottoman musical tradition was also performed. Because of decreasing court and elite patronage, these performances increasingly shifted from households to semi-public or public spaces of the growing cities.[1096] Always important focal points of musical tradition, the *mevlevihanes* or *tekke* (Sufi lodges) gained a central importance to music in late

1092 See for instance the obituary on Dikran Çuhacıyan published in Malumat on June 9, 1898. It states his death to be “a great loss for the world of our music”. (*Alem-i musikimiz için büyük zayiattandır*)
1093 Erol, Greek Orthodox Music, 130–31.
1094 Yekta, “Compositeur du Péchrev”; Yekta, “Les modes orientaux.”
1095 Yekta, “Musique orientale,” 291.
1096 Feldman, “Cultural Authority and Authenticity,” 74.

Ottoman Istanbul. Special influence was wielded by the *tekke* of Galata, Bahariye and Yenikapi. Under the direction of Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede (1854-1911), Ataullah Dede (1842-1910) and Celaleddin Efendi (1848-1907), traditional practices were fused with new musicological approaches, to measure intervals and develop musical theories based on 'modern science'. Rauf Yekta was probably the most prominent of its members. Non-Muslim religious spaces like churches and synagogues were also significant spaces of musical performance for their respective communities.[1097]

While these spaces were mostly religiously separated—though not always!—other spaces bridged both ethno-religious divides and distinctions between religious and secular, or serious and popular music. One of these were the coffee houses, which from the 17th onward had played an important part in intellectual and musical culture.[1098] The expanding city, however, also saw the emergence of new spaces of musical performance. The western-style theaters of Pera not only played European music, but from the 1870s on also local operettas, mostly by Ottoman-Armenian composers, which reconciled local popular aesthetics with Western classical music.[1099] Masked balls featuring music were especially popular with the Jewish community, which turned them into sites of "self-orientalisation".[1100]

Additionally, middle- and lower-class venues featuring live music, like *çalgili kahvehane* and the *gazino*, spread all over the city. Cursory research has shown that there were at least sixty closed venues in Istanbul in Hamidian times regularly featuring live music.[1101] Many of these were located in the known nightlife districts of Pera, Galata, Dileklerarası, and Şehzadebaşı. Yet they were spread throughout the city. *Gazinos* were found at almost every ferry or tram station, and research looking at concert announcements from "İkdam" has shown that a large number of popular venues were located in Üsküdar, on the Asian shore of the Bosporus. Besides these closed places, there was an abundance of open-air concerts in the popular parks, especially in summer and during

1097 O'Connell, Alaturka, 38; Erol, Greek Orthodox Music, 129; Jackson, "Crossing Musical Worlds," 571–77.
1098 Karababa and Ger, "Ottoman Coffeehouse Culture."
1099 Stokes, "Music," 99; Mestyan, "Music Theatres," 312–52.
1100 Cohen, "Ottoman Jews, Imperial Style," 379.
1101 See the lemmata in Reşad Ekrem Koçu's "İstanbul Ansiklopedisi". Further, several places are mentioned in Çetintaş, "İstanbul'un İncesaz Takımları" and Inal, Hoş Sadâ.

festivals.[1102] The most popular occasions were the nights of Ramadan and the Galata Carnival, as well as the different religious holidays. There was no lack of occasions: a French visitor from the mid-19th century observed that "there is probably no city in the world that has as many festivities" as Istanbul.[1103] *Karagöz* plays also came to include musical pieces in the Hamidian period.[1104] The increasing musical entertainment on offer was popular. Said Bey, a middle-class bureaucrat, usually went to three to four concerts a week, mostly of local Ottoman musicians.[1105]

The performances in these popular and non-religious spaces seem to have been highly emotional and multi-ethnic. They built in this on tradition. The Orientalist Arminius Vambery wrote in his autobiography that a reading of poetry in a Coffee house in 1857 was met by an audience of "Turks and Armenians" with outbreaks of "violent emotion".[1106] Rauf Yekta described in an article in "İkdam" from 1899 a concert which he had "visited last Sunday" at the "Fevziye Kıraathanesi" in Tepebaşı. The venue is depicted in other sources to have seated 150 people, the public in great part being "fashionable intellectuals", and was open every night. It regularly featured interprets from a diverse ethno-religious background, such as Kemançi Vasiliakis, Kemani Tatyos, and Hafiz Osman Efendi, often accompanied by an *incesaz* band.[1107] The evening described by Rauf Yekta featured a *taksim* by Şemsi Efendi, followed by a *Gülzar Peşrevi* courtesy of one Isaak Bey, followed by four *Şarki* courtesy of Hoca Abdülkadir. Yekta describes the performance of Şemsi: "Is there one who does not feel his soul overflowing under the greatest servitude of feelings, under the influence of the soul-stirring melodies of his *taksim*?"[1108] Reşad Ekrem Koçu underlined this heightened emotional style, as did Halide Edib and European observers.[1109]

As has become apparent, the changing musical discourse and spaces also contributed to change in performance. The *fasil*, or concert suite, was broken down into several smaller pieces, such as the *taksim*, while vocal pieces like the *şarkı* had supplanted older vocal forms, such as the *semai*. The *şarkı* was simpler in its melodies, making it more adaptable to different musical traditions and

1102 Kalender, "İstanbul'un Musiki Hayatı."
1103 Cit. from Georgeon, "Réforme du temps," 253; Georgeon, "Le Ramadan à Istanbul."
1104 Süßheim, "Die moderne Gestalt," 739–41.
1105 Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul," 134–36.
1106 Vambery, Memoirs, 120–21.
1107 Mimaroğlu, "Fevziye Kiraathanesi [1943]."
1108 Yekta, "İnce Saz Takimlerimiz."
1109 Koçu, Eski İstanbul'da; Edib Adıvar, Memoirs, 136, 156; Garnett, Home Life in Turkey, 181-82.

enabling contributions of Armenian, Jewish, and Greek-orthodox musicians.[1110] The period also saw the emergence of other popular vocal forms. The *kanto*, a hybrid and song-form of Mediterranean influence, was closely tied to more popular performance places like *Gazinos* and coffee houses. Lyrically alternating between rather bawdy drinking songs and others detailing urban everyday life, it was a genuine trans-communal form that also prominently featured non-Muslim female singers.[1111] Migrations to the city also influenced musical development. The *türkü*, while having diverse and mostly rural origins, was largely developed in Istanbul in the late 19th century. It was to become the primary song-form on which the Turkish republic built its national musical tradition in the 1920s and 30s.[1112] Migration and advances in communication also influenced regional developments. Composers and performers, musical pieces, and songs traveled between Salonica and Istanbul, Cairo and Sarajevo.[1113]

Musical life was also tied to technological developments. The popularity of shorter song forms and vocal music had a reciprocal relationship with new technologies of musical recording and reproduction. Songs of about three minutes length were amenable to the Phonograph and the Gramophone, which came to the Ottoman Empire around the 1880s and 1903, respectively.[1114] European and American companies like Gramophone, Pathé, and Odeon usually manufactured both recordings and record-playing equipment, while the products were locally distributed by subsidiaries or agents. After initial attempts to market European recordings largely failed, the companies realized that local music sold better. Between 1900 and 1910, just the Gramophone Company made almost 2.000 recordings in Istanbul.[1115]

These recordings united musicians of diverse backgrounds and contributed to Istanbul becoming a regional center of music.[1116] This regional importance continued throughout the first decades of the 20th century. Greek *rembetika* music was largely based on the popular Ottoman tradition, while

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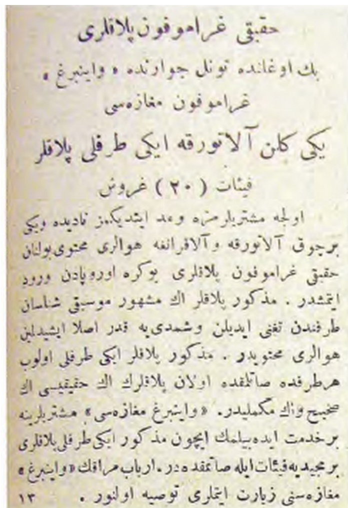
1110 Feldman, "Cultural Authority and Authenticity," 76; Jäger, "Wandel der osmanischen Kunstmusik"; Demirtaş, "Sanat ve Musiki Hayatı," 148.
1111 Duygulu and Ünlü, "Turkey's Musical Life"; Öztuna, "Kanto"; Ünlü, Git Zaman Gel Zaman, 84.
1112 Şenel, "Ottoman Türkü," 203; Balkılıç, Temiz ve soylu Türküler.
1113 Mestyan, "Music Theatres," 315–16; Pennanen, "Between Sultan and Emperor."
1114 Ünlü, Git Zaman Gel Zaman, 84–102; N., "Die Türkische 'Medaille für Kunst.'"
1115 Gronow, "Record Industry," 252–55, 272.
1116 Erol, Greek Orthodox Music, 129; Cohen, "Judeo-Spanish ('Ladino') Recordings," 530; Duygulu and Ünlü, "Turkey's Musical Life"; Pennanen, "Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music," 3.

Ottoman songs were transferred into the Greek language, such as the famous early twentieth-century Istanbul song "Mavili". The *taksim* became a staple of music in Arabic states from Tunisia to Iraq and Iran but had been mostly developed in the Ottoman musical scene of the late 19th century. Before the 1870s, the word as such had not existed in neither Arabic nor Persian.[1117]

Musical recordings were also marketed and formed part of the growing consumer culture. Just like other goods, the adverts often emphasized the locality of the products. One pictured advert from 1901 promised that phonographs would reproduce in a "natural form the most prominent female sung old and new *şarkı* and *kanto*". The other advertised a shop for gramophone records selling "newly arrived *alaturka* records" recorded by the "most famous musicians".[1118]



"True Gramophone Records", Servet-i Fünun, Dec 28, 1905

"Phonograph", Servet-i Fünun, May 23, 1901.

Recorded music became popular rather fast. In 1904, just the Austrian branch of the British Gramophone exported products worth about 240.000 Austrian *Kronen* to Istanbul. An article in the German "Phonographische Zeitung" from 1905 further stated that local records had been enthusiastically received by the Ottoman population, singling out Istanbul.[1119] The protagonists of Ahmed Midhat's novels listened to phonographs, while Abdülhamid II awarded a state medal to

1117 Greve, Europäisierung orientalischer Kunstmusik, 211; Pennanen, "Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music," 4–10.

1118 N., "Fonografhane Gülistan"; N., "Hakiki Gramophon Plakları."

1119 Strötbaum, "Will Gaisberg"; nick., "Die Türkei als Absatzgebiet."

the Austrian Gramophone, since its products would contribute to the "well-being of humanity".[1120] Musical equipment like phonographs were also readily found in middle-class households of the early 20th century, as can be seen from lists of personal possessions compiled by courts.[1121] Yet most listeners of recorded music probably heard them in public displays. The distinct emotional style of Ottoman music and popular culture can also be detected in these public occasions. A German technician described an exhibition he gave in an Istanbul cafe around 1900: "The public is solemn while listening to the religious recording. When the humorist recording started, everyone was infected by the most footloose exuberance, a thunderous laughter filled the room, especially the women were almost rolling on the floor laughing".[1122] Refik Halid wrote in his memoirs about the "amazement" (*hayret*) and "affection" (*muhabbet*) that the recording devices first occasioned among the listeners (though he was later critical of the recording quality) and added that soon after the introduction of the Gramophone most cafes close to the Galata bridge possessed one.[1123]

Hamidian Istanbul was the scene of a musical tradition characterized by the interaction of musicians from diverse backgrounds. Influenced by processes ranging from shifts in palace funding to patterns of urbanization and migration, and elements from European notions of music to modern technology, musicians developed a genuine Ottoman urban musical style that expressed itself in new spaces of performance and new forms of songs. This style also stretched beyond the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, influencing and being influenced by musical traditions in a region from the Balkans to Iran and the Arabic countries of today. Intricately connected to the rise of musical reproduction, Istanbul gained a special place as a regional center of music.

Writers and intellectuals, especially Muslim-Turkish ones, contributed to these developments by coining and codifying styles and practices. At the same time, they often posited an 'Ottoman' or Turkish music as part of 'Ottoman culture' and firmly linked it to the political project of an Ottoman national community. The varied tradition of Ottoman music could potentially integrate musicians and traditions from non-Muslim religious communities into a common project, albeit in

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1120 Ünlü, Git Zaman Gel Zaman, 102; N., "Die Türkische 'Medaille für Kunst,'" 557.

1121 Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul," 144; Abou-Hodeib, "Taste and Class," 483. Halide Edib also recollects in her memoirs that "poor neighbors" visited their house to listen to the "musical box". Edib Adıvar, Memoirs, 5.

1122 Tantris, "Zeit des Phono," 284.

1123 Ünlü, Git Zaman Gel Zaman, 91–94.

a hierarchical manner. Yet music as a cultural item was highly contested between ethno-religious groups, particularly evident in the 'Hellenist' bent of many Greek musical associations.[1124] At the same time, music was a social practice and central part of urban life. It was consequently increasingly regulated and supervised.[1125] As has been noted, however, musical performances were scripted as loci of intense emotional interaction. They were further often part of festivals and other 'special' occasions, in which typical rules and regulations could be temporarily subverted.[1126] It can be argued that musical performances ran counter to the increasing behavioral and emotional control of the urban space in late 19th century Istanbul. Temporarily and spatially limited, they were spaces of highly valued and performed emotions, which nonetheless formed part of the hegemonic discourse of emotional and moral control, embodied in values such as 'obedience' and 'balance' (*itidal*).

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Late 19th century Istanbul was above all characterized by an increasing spatial differentiation and shifting boundary work. These processes were influenced by economic, migratory, and administrative processes, but also emerged according to moral or emotional criteria. Values, norms, and emotional styles came to differentiate public and private, different neighborhoods, city and country, or acceptable and unacceptable behavior. Notions of, above all, 'order' (*nizam*), together with disciplinary techniques delineated, stratified, and located the political community in urban space. Rather than a simple binary between the state and the individual citizen, a complex system emerged, which always entailed intermediary actors and spatial sub-sets. Further, Ottoman 'claims of modernity' were articulated in the capital city toward a diverse audience, particularly in the neighborhood of Beyoğlu. Drawing on global discourses of progress and civilization, Ottoman bureaucrats and intellectuals constructed an own moralized Ottoman spatiality, which favored social control, economic circulation, and the enactment of 'civilized' behavior. While this entailed notions of emotional control in the public space, new spaces of intense emotional practice also emerged in the context of the households, as well as amusement and popular culture.

1124 Erol, "Dini müzik, Milli müzik."

1125 See for instance the regulations for theatre pieces in the *Tiyatro Nizamnamesi* from 1896, transcribed in Köse and Albayrak, Osmanlı'da Gösteri Sanatları, 43–50.

1126 Georgeon, "Le Ramadan à Istanbul."

5 Morality, Emotions, and Political Community in the Late Ottoman Empire

Şemseddin Sami Frasheri (1850-1904) was one of the most productive intellectuals of the late Ottoman Empire.[1127] He was the author of the first Ottoman novel by a Muslim ("Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat") and is famous until today as a lexicographer of the Turkish language, an activity that culminated in several Turkish-French dictionaries and the monolingual "Kamus-i Turki". Sami also contributed to the scientific and political topics of his day, be it in his six-volume "Kamus-al Alam", the first Ottoman Turkish encyclopedia, his book on the situation of women ("Kadınlar"), his treatise on Islamic civilization ("Medeniyet-i İslamiye"), as an editor of the short-lived journals "Aile" and "Hafta", which sought to advocate 'civilization' and 'progress' among the Ottoman population, or as a contributor to many journals and newspapers of the Hamidian period. Further, his son Ali Sami Yen (1886-1951) founded the eminent Istanbul football club "Galatasaray S.K." in 1905, and was later to become the first coach of the Turkish national team as well as the chairman of the Turkish Olympic committee.

At the same time, Şemseddin Sami also contributed articles to the Albanian-language press, was the editor of the first Albanian-language journal "Drita/Dituria", and a member of Albanian political and cultural societies in Istanbul. He had a hand in the codification of the Albanian language and lobbied for the opening of Albanian schools. He further published the book "Shqipëria" in Budapest, in which he developed a historical ethnography of Albanians, tracing them back to the ancient Pelasgians and stressing their ethno-linguistic rather than religious bond. He came from a well-connected Albanian family tied to the *Bektashi* Sufi-order and his two older brothers, Abdyl and Nairn, were both heavily involved in Albanian political movements.[1128]

Sami's at first glance paradoxical activity has resulted in a good deal of confusion in the secondary literature. Turkish nationalist historiography has usually claimed him as an eminent Turkish nationalist and downplayed or ignored his Albanian writings. Conversely, the Albanian secondary literature has integrated him into its own canon, with an encyclopedia calling him the "main ideologue of the Albanian National Movement" and dismissing his Turkish writings. Even when Turkish or Albanian authors today acknowledged his writings in the other language, respectively,

1127 Blumi, "An Honorable Break."
1128 Bilmez, "An Ottoman Intellectual"; Bilmez, "Shemseddin Sami Frashëri."

they often do not cite them, also due to language barriers.[1129] Although his own political stance is far from clear, he made a very instructive comment in a newspaper article from 1878. Discussing political allegiances, he stated that he actually possessed two loyalties: One to the Ottoman Empire, his "general homeland" (*vatan-i umumi*), and one to Albania, his "special homeland" (*vatan-i hususi*).[1130]

The present dissertation has attempted to show a way how to make sense of such a statement and integrate it with his other writings. Sami's fusing of regional heritage with a larger Ottoman identity was far from unique for his period. Morality, understood as an interrelated set of norms and values, and informed by global concepts of 'progress' and 'civilization', played an important role in this regard. Isa Blumi has recently depicted how in the late 19th century educated Ottoman men from the imperial center set out to reform the culture and manners of 'backward' people on the margins of state and society in the name of civilization. The goal was to integrate "these simple people" into Ottoman society at a lower rang with the ultimate goal of preserving the Ottoman homeland (*vatan)*. Blumi sees Sami as a prototypical example for this.[1131]

The present dissertation has portrayed a similar line of argument. Throughout the narrative, morals and norms have appeared as concepts that stratified and delineated conceptions of a political community most often identified with the population of the existing Ottoman state. Tied to shifting reference points of 'general happiness', as well as ideas of progress and civilization, morals, norms, and values allowed for a pluralist social integration. By evading a fixed affiliation with an unchanging ethno-religious group without eschewing boundaries or hierarchies, they made a conviviality of both larger social (or imperial) loyalties with smaller communal loyalties possible.[1132] Such writings on morals and norms, on civilization and progress were most often formulated by a Muslim, urban, and professional middle class striving to maintain or to gain a superior position in an Empire seemingly destined to fall apart. Yet they also allowed many non-Muslims and non-Turks to continue their allegiance to the empire even after 1918, without dismissing their respective communal loyalties.[1133]

1129 Cit. from Bilmez, "An Ottoman Intellectual," para. 38.
1130 Cit. from Gawrych, "Tolerant Dimensions," 524.
1131 Blumi, "An Honorable Break."
1132 I thank Yaara Benger and Thomas Rohringer for thinking along these lines.
1133 Kechriotis, "Ottomanism with a Greek Face"; Cohen, Becoming Ottomans; Ueno, "'For the Fatherland.'"

As the thesis has shown, morality informed notions of proper behavior. The ideal Ottoman was, particularly in schoolbooks, depicted as obedient, knowledgeable, loving the Sultan, not making fun of other people, speaking with care, diligently doing his duties, loving his family and his country, engaging in physical education, eating healthy food, keeping himself and his clothes clean, being punctual, hard-working, not playing in the streets, feeling his conscience, and sitting upright. Ottoman women were shown as having the same qualities, and additionally should talk even less, be compassionate, not wear European 'fashion', not linger in the streets, be competent in household tasks, thrifty with spending, and caretakers of love in the family. Such notions of 'good' behavior were also enforced. It serves to recall Ahmed Rasim, who stated in his memoirs that in his schooldays "morality meant sitting at a fixed place, with a firm self-control of the body", while those who behaved badly were physically punished.[1134]

This individual behavior was connected to a tradition of virtue ethics. Morality was thus tied to an indigenous tradition of meaning, while at the same time being shaped by global and regional circulations of the late 19th century. 'Obedience' (*itaat*), for example, probably the central value to most writers of the Hamidian period, took up Islamic notions of the submission under God, yet also referenced the re-fashioning of the dynastic reign by Abdülhamid along European lines of self-representation.[1135] The ordering (*intizam*) of the empire's cities both drew on Ottoman notions of order (*nizam*) and European ideas on the civilized, rectangular city.[1136] Industriousness (*çalışkanlık*) and laziness (*tenbellik*), although referencing an older work ethic, also were connected to a valorisation of industrial production and economic growth in a global capitalist economy.[1137] As the dissertation has attempted to show, it is especially by drawing attention to these hybrid understandings of certain concepts that problematic dichotomies can be overcome, for example 'traditional' and 'modern', or 'religious' and 'secular'.[1138]

These multiple understandings of values also contributed to a change in understandings of morality compared to earlier times. In broad lines, moral systems of the Hamidian era shifted in

1134 Cit. from Somel, Modernization of Public Education, 266.
1135 Deringil, "Legitimacy Structures."
1136 Lafi, "Mediterranean Connections."
1137 Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work."
1138 Somel, Modernization of Public Education; Fortna, "Islamic Morality"; Karimullah, "Rival Moral Traditions."

scale and in character. Concerning the latter, a more value-based system steeped in traditional Islamic ethics, and putting great emphasis on the perfection of the soul, gave way to a system that privileged duties.[1139] Such a change was also tied to the learning and application of the norms or values. They were inoculated and brought into practice in modern spaces of subjectivation, be it schools, factories, the bureaucracy, or the city space supervised by a multiplying police force. Through unavoidable contact, prescriptive morality thus further reached a larger part of the population than ever before, even though the audience still mostly encompassed the urban population. These spaces and institutions were also permeated with new technologies, which not only transformed social practice and life-worlds, but also, through processes of synchronization and acceleration of interaction, made bonds of an imagined moral community possible.

Additionally, emotions figured prominently in moral discourse. 'Love for work', a 'love for the fatherland' and the Sultan, or just simply the 'companionship within the family' (*muhabbet*), were central to many texts. Even though most authors posited a strong mind-body dichotomy and subjected emotions to a discourse of 'moderation' (*itidal*), certain emotions were valued or permissible. 'Anger' (*galeyan*), for example, even though ostensibly a vice, was deemed legitimate by Ottoman officials when it was directed at and occasioned by 'disobedient' behavior of certain social groups. Moral feelings like *gayret* (zeal) were seen as necessary dispositions to be an active part of the moral community, most important as an inner proclivity to hard work. Emotions also served as social regulators: Good behavior was repaid in communal love and trust, while bad behavior elicited the absence of love, social shaming, and sometimes even 'hate' (*nefret*) by other persons. And finally, emotions were also incentives and goals of desired behavior. Individual 'joy' (*mesrur*) and societal happiness (*saadet*) were depicted as the outcome of labor activity, physical education, or of doing one's duties.

The political community was delineated by morals, moral feelings, and emotions. It excluded unmoral and 'lower' persons, such as beggars, 'lazy' people, and those un-obedient towards the state. Yet it was also formulated and delineated against the elites of the empire, pointing towards a middle-class character of the moral political community. Cases in point were work, where the 'lazy bureaucrat' emerged as the foil to the new 'hardworking' entrepreneur; notions of partnership and

1139 Karimullah, "Rival Moral Traditions," 66; Hafez, "Discourse and Practice of Work," 16-20.

marriage, which championed the loving nuclear family against upper-class practices like child marriages and polygamy; or new patterns of consumption, which emphasized thrift against the 'lavish expenditure' and 'conspicuous consumption' of the empire's elite. At the same time, morals could have an inclusionary, or 'binding' character. Mehmet Hazık probably expressed this best when he wrote: "It is respect and obedience that holds together people in the hearts and in the thoughts".[1140]

Morals like 'respect' and 'obedience' were further inherently hierarchical and structured the community. Children were to be obedient towards their parents, wives towards their husbands, bureaucrats towards their higher-ups, and everyone towards the Sultan. This hierarchy was also noticeable in the economic sphere. The roles of worker, entrepreneur, and female household manager all shared similar values of hard work, yet were also differentiated and complemented each other in contributing to the economic progress of the Ottoman community. It serves here to recall Mehmed Şemseddin's model: "When the poor work with their body and the rich with their money, everything comes into existence.".[1141] While he does not mention female reproductive work in the household, it was most often implicitly assumed. Another example from economics would be Nuri Bey, who took up the classic Ottoman notion of the 'four pillars' (*erkan-i erbaa*) of society, but changed them from "scholars, bureaucrats/soldiers, merchants and peasants" to a grouping more amenable to a capitalist economy, namely "bureaucrats, landowners, owners of capital, and workers".[1142]

This social differentiation of morality corresponded to a significant degree of stratification in state structures. The secondary literature on the late Ottoman period has often stressed the centralizing measures of the state bureaucracy, as well as an ideological conception aiming for a dualism of individual and state. Yet in fact and even in theory, intermediaries and meso-structures were very much ingrained in conceptions of the state.[1143] These structures could be medical associations, philanthropic organizations, religious community structures or, in the context of urban governance, institutions from city councils to neighborhood watchmen. Another example was the

1140 Hazık, Terbiye, 164.
1141 Şemseddin, Malumat-ı lazime, 45.
1142 Kılınçoğlu, "Islamic Economics," 19–20.
1143 Lévy Aksu, Ordre et désordres. See for the case of urban administration chapter 4.1.

prescription and practice that individual passports had to name a guarantor from the 'community' of the passport-holder to vouch for the latter's character.[1144] Even on the most basic level, the intermediary and hierarchical social formation of the nuclear family was deemed both the model for, and basic unit of, the political community. It can thus be argued that intermediary actors, or meso-structures, were not a bug, as they are usually understood, but a feature in conceptions and practices of the political community in the Hamidian era.

Global referents like progress and civilization were of central importance to the systems of morals. Progress (*terakki*), already a key concept before 1880, retained its hegemonic status, entering the formulaic praise of the Sultan in the forewords of books in forms like "provider of progress" (*terakkiperver*).[1145] Progress was an inherently comparative category based on judgments about which peoples or countries had achieved more 'progress' than others. It thus served to integrate people and political structures within an unequal global space. It was not so much a product of its time as a model of time produced (and then reproduced) in space. It oriented time toward the future, yet also made sense of the present.[1146] In the Ottoman case, this principle of an open future can clearly be detected in Hamidian historical writings, while most economic literature saw this future compressing and open to human intervention, due to temporal notions of acceleration.

Civilization (*medeniyet*) was another hegemonic and universal concept. It was invoked to legitimize political and individual action from the forced settlement of nomadic tribes in the Arabic lands to proper table manners in private households. It was common to almost all actors. Cemil Aydın notes that there was no disagreement between the supposedly 'Pan-Islamist' Sultan Abdülhamid, his constitutionalist Young Turk opposition, or Islamist factions in the late Ottoman period as to the importance of 'modern civilization' as a way to preserve the Ottoman state's existence.[1147] Şemdeddin Sami was typical of his time when he stated in 1883: "There is no alternative [to civilization]".[1148] At the same time, universal civilization also served to delineate an Ottoman particularism. Further, some authors came to formulate an own 'Ottoman' or 'Islamic civilization' against the antagonism of a hyperreal Europe. This insistence on an 'own' Turkish or Muslim

1144 Gutman, "Travel Documents." See particularly chapter 4.3.
1145 Edib Adıvar, Mader, 3.
1146 Green, "Making of the 'Muslim World,'" 413–14.
1147 Aydin, "Between Occidentalism," 449.
1148 Cit. from Kurzman, *Modernist Islam, 1840-1940*, 151.

civilization, pitted against a morally corrupt 'Western civilization' has crucially informed movements in Turkish politics to this day.[1149]

The universal concepts of 'progress' and 'civilization' had two main implications in the late Ottoman context. On the one hand, they had a temporal effect in that they integrated the Ottoman Empire into an unequal and dynamic global space-time around it.[1150] And on the other hand, they were appropriated and through a partial rejection—most evident in the discussions on history and science—served to legitimate a particular political identity. Good morals and proper behavior were legitimized by reference to notions of progress, civilization, and science. Their communal referent, to which good morals were to contribute, was usually the political community of the existing Ottoman State, even though it was often not directly tied to clear notions of citizenship or a clear social community like the 'nation'. It may be best to, for example, read the conflicting statements of Şemseddin Sami concerning the political community detailed above along such lines.[1151]

The frame of the Ottoman state was often implicit but in many ways ostentatious. This became particularly clear in the usage of 'happiness' (*saadet*). Variously used in history to denote Islamic notions of the 'happy' afterlife, or to express the Greek philosophical concept of *eudaimonia* in Arabic, happiness became increasingly identified with the Ottoman state and its political community. As a reference for moral virtues, this allowed for a de-individualization of virtue ethics. An Ottoman person of the Hamidian period no longer was thought to attain certain values to reach individual human perfection, but rather had to perform certain acts to safeguard the happiness of a real state structure and society. Further, persons fulfilling such actions were then able to participate in this social happiness: Since *saadet* retained a certain emotional content, emotions here were tied to a political community as goals of individual action, rather than as actions towards goals.[1152]

Almost no Ottoman-Turkish political writer of the period insisted on a religiously or ethnically

1149 Aydin, Idea of the Muslim World; Davutoğlu, "Civilizational Revival."
1150 Jordheim, "Multiple Times."
1151 Bilmez, "Shemseddin Sami Frashëri," 13–14.
1152 Çağrıcı, "Saadet"; Ivry, "Arabic and Islamic Psychology"; Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?"; Bagozzi and Pieters, "Goal-Directed Emotions"; Fisher et al., "Task Appraisals, Emotions."

pure subject population for the empire. Most Turkish Muslim writers envisioned a hierarchical structure, with middle-class or elite males on top and an integration of middle classes and elites from other religious or ethnic provenience at a lower level. Women were to occupy an even lower and separated, mostly non-public role. Such a stratified and hierarchical community was not stable but had shifting boundaries and hierarchies. Particularly the leadership of the hierarchical and stratified political community was contested.

Groups of intellectuals reared in different institutions and espousing different expertise—medical doctors, military officers, economists, bureaucrats, or journalists—competed with each other for the vanguard role in leading society. Many journalists and literati envisioned a society led by themselves and championed 'civilized' behavior, education, and hard work. Economists stressed their expertise on trade and financial matters, endorsing entrepreneurs and men of capital as the leading force to rescue the empire. Scientists like Beşir Fuad lionized technological 'progress', while physicians envisioned themselves as surgeons curing the social body in emphasizing values of hygiene and bodily strength. Army officers saw themselves leading the state and nation in the era of total wars, legitimated by their superior time management and discipline. And state bureaucrats assumed the leading role in redefining spatial arrangements of the empire and bringing marginal or nomadic populations into the fold of the 'civilized' community.

Morals, norms, and values were likewise debated. Some writers privileged 'conscience' rather than 'obedience' as a key value to be taught in Ottoman schools. Others emphasized in historical writings the heroic values of the nomadic Turks rather than the imperial Ottoman tradition. Different authors preferred a more encompassing adaptation of scientific and medical insights, or argued with reference to these medical values against the equation of civilization with the city-space. Ethics of hard work in factories were deemed most important by some economists, while others pointed to the importance of entrepreneurs, savings, and thrift. Several texts, like Şemseddin Sami's "Kadınlar", argued for an encompassing female education, while others only advocated for basic knowledge to raise good children and manage the household. Supposedly 'feminist' authors, such as Fatma Aliye, could even find themselves in profound disagreement on women's roles in society with the often lower-class female graduates from the Women's Teacher

College in Istanbul.[1153]

Further, the articulations of moral values and norms varied according to genres and spaces of articulation. Ahmed Midhat advocated for emotional balance in social interaction, yet emphasized the love for work in his writings on the economy. Notions of public order were tantamount to the police forces in Istanbul yet, in the event of an attack on the 'Ottoman Imperial Bank' by Armenian revolutionaries, the 'anger' of local lower-class Muslim working males, expressing itself in killing Armenians of similar status, was deemed if not legitimate then at least excusable. While places of entertainment in the cities could serve as points of intense emotional practice, public spaces in the city became increasingly subject to a discourse and practice of emotional control and 'civilized' manners.

And finally, social practice differed, at times considerably, from the moral systems articulated. Although envisioned as household managers, many women in fact did, or had to, work in productive capacity, be it in auxiliary fashion from home or even in factories of the textile or tobacco industries.[1154] Consumption decisions were increasingly seen as a female activity, yet males still did most shopping.[1155] Police forces, payed and employed to uphold public safety and morality, frequently were themselves perpetrators of deviant behavior, such as public drunkenness.[1156] Grand schemes of ordering and embellishing Istanbul's urban fabric were concocted, intending to rectify and broaden streets or guide the construction of regularized residential areas of stone buildings. Yet most of them remained piecemeal and were restricted to certain neighborhoods, caused by insufficient funding but also municipal incapacity as well as residential resistance.[1157] Although considerable effort was put into the education of an Ottoman-Muslim entrepreneurial class, very significant parts, perhaps the majority, of the empire's industry and trading companies were in the hands of non-Muslims or foreigners.[1158] While the conception of the moral political community was strongly bound to the urban experience of the empire's large port cities, more than 70% of the population still lived in the countryside or villages, with most of them working in

1153 See for the last point chapter 4.4.
1154 Balsoy, "Gendering Ottoman Labor History." See chapter 3.5.
1155 Dumont and Georgeon, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul." See chapter 3.6.
1156 İleri, "Police Forces in Istanbul." See chapter 4.3.
1157 Çelik, Remaking of Istanbul, 104–25. See chapter 4.1.
1158 Eldem, "Bourgeoisie of Istanbul." See chapter 3.4.

agriculture.[1159] The integration of nomadic tribes into the empire, by collecting their children in a 'Tribal School' in Istanbul and 'civilizing' them, did not have the intended effects and the school was closed after only few years of existence.[1160] These divergences between moral prescription and social reality showed some of the difficulties of the Hamidian regime, and did not bode well for the legitimacy of Abdülhamid's reign.[1161]

Regarding the cross-communal character of morals, norms, and values, the present work has surely at times overemphasized the commonalities between moral debates in Ottoman Turkish and similar discussions among the Orthodox and Jewish communities. Yet, as the research has tried to show in its side-glimpses, the agreement on many and central notions of morality, emotions, and the political community was considerable during the Hamidian period. Delineations even appeared along similar lines, with an opposition against the religious establishment in the case of non-Muslim middle classes, and an opposition to the empire's religious and bureaucratic elites in the case of Muslims. The fact that many morals and values carried religious content was not necessarily a boundary. If so, they were rather more accepted, since religion as a marker was important to almost all actors.[1162] New spaces of interaction also brought diverse groups together, such as the music venues and locations of consumption.

Yet significant spaces of ethno-religious separation also emerged, first and foremost the highly segregated education sector. The absence of a clear legal framework regarding rights and duties could further increase competition for political and economic power between the different ethno-religious groups. As Vangelis Kechriotis has stated: "The major difference between the Turkish-Muslim and Greek-Orthodox circles…regarded not the values themselves but the way these values should be implemented and, even more importantly, which political agent should carry out this implementation".[1163] Nationalism was a global intellectual currency with which political claims could be articulated. Cultural markers of identity, be they language or religion, were present and could be mobilized in political projects. Yet, as the research has attempted to show, this was not a necessary *telos* based on immutable ethno-religious loyalties and affiliations. The creation of a

1159 Quataert, "Age of Reforms," 843–87.
1160 Rogan, "Aşiret Mektebi." See chapter 4.5.
1161 Wishnitzer, Reading Clocks, Alla Turca, 12.
1162 Barkey, "Islam and Toleration."
1163 Kechriotis, "Middle-Class Morality," 126.

stratified and hierarchical moral political community could potentially integrate middle classes of the different ethno-religious communities into the larger Ottoman community, as discussed in the case of Şemseddin Sami above. At the same time, the break-up of this Ottoman community in the early 20th century was also not a fluke. Minority middle classes favored the existing Ottoman Empire when it was beneficial and opted out once it became not.[1164] The importance of the argument lies rather in acknowledging the fundamentally political nature of the empire's disintegration, and in returning agency to the period's actors.

The case of the *fin-de-siècle* Ottoman Empire was in many ways special. It was a multi-ethnic and multi-religious, yet Islamic empire threatened by the European imperialism of its day, but still retaining at least formal independence. I nonetheless hold that the focus on morality as a point from which to analyze the conception of political communities also can contribute insights beyond the Ottoman experience. This idea is by no means completely innovative, but rather has often been implicitly accepted, particularly in the case of the United States.[1165] In this, I particularly want to highlight two aspects: the internal differentiation of political communities since the 19th century and the social role of emotions.

The theoretical literature on nationalism has for a long time been mostly concerned with the boundary work of the national community, while stratification and hierarchies within the national community are seldom being addressed. The category of gender is a case in point.[1166] The position of women within the imagined national community varied considerably according to time and place, yet was usually at a lower point than their male counterparts. Similar cases were workers or peasants who, at least in liberal and capitalist forms of nationalism, were usually placed at a lower level of the national community than middle-class intellectuals.[1167] These hierarchies, however, were and are not constant. Particularly minorities, or lower-placed groups of people decisively contribute to the dynamism of the national community. Their exact placement in the national hierarchy is an issue of constant debate and serves to redraw boundaries and reaffirm communal

1164 Köksal, "Urban Space and Nationalism," 49.

1165 A recent review article on the history of the early United States simply states as its first sentence: "It is commonplace that being an American is…..a commitment to a set of ideals". Gordon-Reed, "Captive Aliens Who Remain."

1166 https://networks.h-net.org/node/3911/discussions/129163/gender-and-nationalism-friendly-exchange

1167 Kandiyoti, "Women and the Nation"; Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen; Hobsbawm, Age of Empire, 84–141.

bonds. They are further primal sites for conflicts between social reality and national imagining. Examples for this are active female militants of national movements, or African-Americans in the United States, who are a constant reminder of the gap between formal and factual equality.[1168]

Analyzing morals and norms can further contribute to shed light on the category of difference for national communities. A Derridean difference does not necessarily have to be based on any empirical other, but can also be constructed on the basis of difference from hypothetical values and the imagined collective identities centered on them, or on the basis of difference from the values of a past historical identity from which one wishes to mark one's distance.[1169] Morals and values resonate with and draw on historical trajectories. They can thus further point towards the element of identification, always present together with difference in the construction of individual and communal identity.[1170]

A second issue concerns the relationship between emotions and communities. That emotions have played a prominent part in the development and enactment of nationalism is mentioned by most literature on the subject. Besides studies on public political mobilizations as in the case of demonstrations, *lieux de memoires*, and national holidays, however, which essentially conceive of emotions as a means for national mobilization, few studies have been conducted.[1171] Focusing on morality, again, could contribute three aspects to a discussion of the relationship between nationalism and emotions. First, emotions play a central part in how individual and collective bodies are being brought about. Individual emotional practices can be framed as performed to achieve the goal of collective happiness and well-being. Positive emotions thus appear as powerful goals and future visions that motivate people to make and change history through their behavior. Secondly, one should not underestimate hierarchy. The relationship between the individual and the collective is fundamentally unequal. The collective—in non-separatist cases the state—often posits itself as a rational actor which is opposed to and controls emotional individual actors. Yet at the same time the social unit needs the emotional mobilization of the actor for the political project.[1172]

1168 Vickers and Vouloukos, "Changing Gender/Nation Relations"; Alexander, The New Jim Crow.
1169 Abizadeh, "Does Collective Identity," 58–59.
1170 Hall, "Question of Cultural Identity"; Hall, "Who Needs 'identity'?"
1171 Speth, "Nation und Emotion"; François, Siegrist, and Vogel, Nation und Emotion; Langewiesche, "Gefühlsraum Nation." For a recent example tackling this issue in the case of India, see Pernau, "Feeling Communities"; Pernau, "Love and Compassion."
1172 Ahmed, Cultural Politics of Emotion.

In tracing the significant role of emotions within the moral systems of the Hamidian period and in tying them to modern constructions of political communities, one can thirdly shift the focus away from the usual conception of an increase of emotional restraint in modernity caused by the "civilizing process", reiterated in, among other places, much scholarship on Turkish 'Westernization' of manners.[1173] Emotions were powerful and highly political forces towards the end of the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire, an issue that warrants further research. The dissertation has aimed to contribute some first steps to this, by particularly highlighting their distinctly social aspect.

1173 Elias, Civilizing Process. See for recent examples Yaşar, "Adab-ı Muaşeret"; Meriç, Adab-ı Muaşeret.

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Endnotes

Fn 3: Osmanlı ülkelerinde, garpten feyz alarak, kuvvet kazanmak ve terakki arzuları uyanalı, belli başlı üç siyasi yol tasavvur ve takip (ebaucher) edildi sanıyorum: Birincisi, Osmanlı Hükumetine tabi muhtelif milletleri temsil ederek ve birleştirerek bir Osmanlı milleti vücude getirmek. İkincisi, hilafet hakkının Osmanlı Devleti hükümdarlarında olmasından faydalanarak, bütün islamları söz konusu Hükumetin idaresinde siyaseten birleştirmek (Frenklerin "Panislamisme" dedikleri). Üçüncüsü, ırka dayanan siyası bir Türk milleti teşkil etmek.

Fn 110: 'İlm-i ahlak' çirkin huydan güzel huya tebdil olunması.

Fn 124: İtaat, hürmet insanları kalben, fikren yekdiğerine rabıt eder.

Fn 125: Büyüklere itaat vecibe-i zimmet; darında bade-i saadettir…itaat hiç bir zaman hatırınızdan çıkarmayın.

Fn 129: Meserret-aver-i vicdan değil mi mektebimiz?

Fn 130: Vicdan kendi hissimizdir, ne yaparsak o bilir, fenalık yaparsak bize söyler, bizi utandırır. İyilik yaparsak bize iyilik yaptınız diye söyleyerek sevindirir.

Fn 131: Ey vicdan...seni takdis ederiz! Elhasıl vicdan hayatımızda bir hakikatin vekilidir.

Fn 137: Oyun ve uyku gibi şeylerle geçiriler ise.....derslerini yapamazlar. Sonra hoca efendilerinden tekdir görürler arkadaşlar yanında utanırlar.

Fn 147: Alemin ahenk-i umumiye…terbiye sayesinde olur. Herkes bu suretle tabi olduğu alemi bilir, onunla olan münasebetini anlar ve ona göre hareket ederse ahenk-i umumiye hasıl olur. Aksi halinde her biri bertarafa çekilirse o kitle-i beşeriye dağılır, ahenk de bozulur.

Fn 150: Kala-yı giran-baha olan ahlak dersi memalik-i mahrusa-i şahanedeki mekatibde tedrise başladığı gibi bütün Avrupa mekteblerinin programlarına da dahil olmuştur.

Fn 151: Mekatib-i müesseseden neş'et edenlerin medeniyetinin terakkiyat-ı hazırasına göre lazım olan mütesebat-i ilmiye ve fenniyyeye haiz olmakla beraber selamet-i fikriye ve salabet-i diniyeye sadık ve hüsn-i ahlak ile muttasıf bulunmaları esbabının istihsali nakzı bulunduğu için....manen ve maddeten mazarratı.

Fn 158: Haysiyet-i şahsiye bir hiss-i namus ve vazife ve bir hiss-i hulkıdır.

Fn 177: Notre pays, notre religion nous dicte la modération. C'est pourquoi nous devons choisir toujours ce qui est simple, de nos vêtements à notre nourriture. Moi, j'essaye d'être un bon exemple sur ce chemin.

Fn 185: La mujer la mas alavada, es akeya ke avla poco.

Fn 188: Okumak, yazmak öğrenmek herkesin en büyük vazifesidir.

Fn 191: Mizah, latifeyi çok etmek ve...kendisini herkesden i'la gördüğü ve bu sebeble kimseyi beğenmediği(dir)….bu kadar kötü bir huydur ki sonu gavga ve kan dövmeğe sebeb olur. İşte insan huylanmamaya pek gayret etmelidir

Fn 192: İnsanin mugayir-i adab ve terbiye bazı uygunsuz halleri de vardır. Mesela bazı çocuklar rast

geldikleri adamlar münasebet aramaksızın şakalaşmağa severler. Bu şaka el ve dil ile yapılır.

Fn 208: Şeran kadınların yüzleri namahrem olmayıp ancak saçlarını setretmek vacip iken birtakım hanımlarımız da icab-ı şeriyenin aksine olarak yüzlerini örtüp saçlarını açıyorlar. Elhasıl bizim ortamız yok. Ne tarafa gideceğimizi şaşırmış gibiyiz. Halbuki her şeyde ifrat ve tefrit fenadır. Her hususta itidal gerektir.

Fn 220: Arif mektebde herkes tanır. Muallimleri onu diğer çocuklardan ziyade sever. Arif her sabah mektebe gelirken yüzünü yıkar, elbisesini süpürür. Mekteb vaktinde tertemiz olur, ve şirin çehresiyle mektebin kapısında görünür. Arif Efendi sınıfın en küçüktür. Arif çalışkandır. Her sene birinci çıkar, tevzi-i mükafatta yaldızlı koltukları kitablarla dolar, vazifelerini dikkatla yapar…Pederi Arifi gayetle sever. Küçücük Arif derse çalışmakla beraber, oyun zamanlarında vücuduna elverecek oyunları de gayet iyi seçer, mektebde Arif jimnastik yapanların en iyisi. Vücudunu besler. Öyle abur cubur yiyerek, hem vücudunu hem parasını mahvetmez. Sevgili çocuklar, işte siz de Arif gibi güzel huylu biri mini mini olmağa çalışmalısınız.

Fn 221: Vücut tahir ve pak olmak, temiz elbise giymek.

Fn 224: Sağlığını muhafaza her kes için lazımdir. Çocuklar herkesten ziyade.

Fn 225: İnsanın kendi zatına karşı vezaifi, vücuda bakmak (temizlik, kanaat ve itidal).

Fn 241: Basit ve tabii yemekler yemelidir. (...) Mevsimde yenilen yemekler ise hem leziz hem de az bir paraya mal olur.

Fn 246: Esmeri gergi gibi iri pari geniş omuzlu, o dar kollu fistan setrinden aciz kalacağı derecelerde kalın bazulu.

Fn 266: Elhasıl, ilim ve terbiye, ruh-ı medeniyet ve mütekeffil-i terakki-i saadet ve cila-bahş-i ahlak-ı ümmet ve hafız-ı kavanin-i mülk ve devlettir.

Fn 271: İnsan mektepte iyi mi olur? Evet orada ilm öğrenir. İlm de insani iyi eder.

Fn 287: Wenn nicht die Beantwortung jener Fragen [der Moral – F.S.] allzu genau und innig mit unsern naturphilosophischen Untersuchungen und Ansichten überhaupt zusammenhinge und gewissermaßen als der notwendige Schlußstein des Ganzen angesehen werden könnte.

Fn 288: Verbesserung des Einzelnen wie der Gesellschaft in materieller, geistiger und moralischer Beziehung heißt das große Ziel, welchem die zum Ersatz der alten bestimmte neue Religion oder die Religion der Zukunft, die Religion der Menschenliebe zuzustreben hat…Die moderne Welt ist es müde, ewig vom Himmel und von jenseitiger Gerechtigkeit unterhalten zu werden; sie will Gerechtigkeit, Glück und Liebe nicht im Himmel, sondern schon hier auf der Erde. In diesem Sinne sind wir alle Bürger eines idealen Reiches, dessen Verwirklichung wir schon hier anzustreben haben, und in welchem eine neue Religion, d.h. eine Religion der Liebe und Gerechtigkeit ohne Priester, ohne Gebete, ohne heilige Bücher, ohne Autoritäten an die Stelle der alten verlassenen treten wird.

Fn 307: Zira insanlar arasında analık, babalık, evladlik kardeşlik gibi alayık ve münasebat-i tabiyye kaladıktan sonra dostluk, hemşehrilik, hem-nevlik gibi münasebat-i insaniyye ve medeniyye mi kalır? Mı nev-i beşer yekdiğerinin hukuk-imaddiyye ve maneviyyesine riayet eylesin de devair-i içtimaiyye-i medeniyye intizam ve inzibat kalsın? Onun için bu hikmet-i acibenin çoğaldığı yerlerde

cinayet çogalıyor. İntiharlar da çoğalıyor.

Fn 327: Nefs-i natıkanın hal ve harekatına ve keyfiyet-i his ve idrakine ve kuvâsının nüfuz ve kemmiyetine dair mebahis-i hikemiyeye İlm-i Ahval-i Ruh itlak olunur. Hikmetin hatayı def'e ve savab ve hakikati taharri ve isbata dair kavaidi cami' olan diğer kısmına Mantık tesmiye olunur. Hikmetin sair kısımları dahi İlm-i Kelam ile İlm-i Ahlakdır. İlm-i Kelam, nüfus-i natıkanın Cenab-ı Vacibu'l-Vücud hakkında olan feraizinden ve İlm-i Tehzib dahi nüfus-i natıkanın yekdiğeriyle olan revabıt ve münasebatından ve hukuk-ı vezaifinden bahseder.

Fn 329: Ma'ü'l-hayat, meyl ve muhabbet-i mecra-yı huzuzattan cereyan ve ateş-pare-i infial ve nefret, elem ve zucret ocağından feveran eder.

Fn 330: İnsan, iktidar veya aczini mertebe-i ifratta tutarsa tehevvür veya cebanetle verta-i hizlana düşer. Fakat kuvve-i hakikiyesi dairesinde deveran eylediği halde orada icra-yı hürriyet eder.

Fn 335: Hele ulum-ı akliye ve ahlakiyede delalet-i vazıha ile dal olan elfaz olmaya idi ne mertebe zulmet içinde kalmış olacağımızı bir tasavvur ediniz.

Fn 339: İdrak, daima hakikata meyleder. Bir kere vakıf-ı hakikat olduktan sonra rücu' etmez. His, daima kendine hoş ve latif olan şeylere meyleder. İrade, ise idrak olunan şeylerin hayırlı olanlarına meyleder.

Fn 351: Bunlar yazılmış olmak için değil, hiss olunduğu için yazılmışdır. Hissiyat, hayatın musikisidir; lakın benim hayatımın musikisi mecmuasında, neşat-engiz havalar....yok denecek kadar azdır.

Fn 392: Ich setzte meinen Hut auf, um nicht für einen Armenier gehalten zu werden, den Fez steckte ich in die Tasche.

Fn 409: Londra gazetelerinin enva'-ı eracifi havi neşriyatı ve bed-hahanın türlü türlü ekazib-i tasni'atıyla işa'atı yüzünden Ermeni ahalinin kısm-ı külllisinde asar-ı galeyan müşahede olunup, hususıyla düvel-i selasenin ittifakı ve İngiltere Devleti'nin taleb ve ısrarı üzerine güya Ermeni sakin olan vilayat-ı şahanenin birleşdirilerek Ermenistan namına bir hükumet-i müstakıllenin teşkil edileceği ve Kürdlerle Türklerden intikam alınacağı ve güya ahali-i İslamiyyenin taşrada Ermenileri kati ve çocuklarını diri diri ihrak eylediği ve emsali ekazib neşriyatı dahi bunlara munzam olarak ve Ermenistan namına müheyyic-i efkar tertib olunan manzumeler Ermeni mekatibi çocuklarına varıncaya kadar kıraat ettirilerek Ermeni ahalinin efkarı bütün bütün duçar-ı galeyan edilmekle (…) Londra Ermeni ve İngiliz komitelerinin maksud-ı asilleri memalik-i şahanede Ermeni vuku'atı tevali ettirerek Ermenilere vesile-i şikayat olabilecek halatın esbab-ı zuhurunu tehyi' eden ve bu suretle Avrupa efkar-ı umumiyyesini bir galeyan-ı daimi altında bulundurmakdan ibaret...

Fn 410: Londra'da Ermeni fesadını tamim için şirketler teşkili ve Avrupa efkar-ı umumiyyesini Hükumet-i Seniyye aleyhine galeyana getirmek üzere Londra matbu'atındaki neşriyat-ı bed-hahanenin tamimi.

Fn 411: Hocapaşa'da Tramvay Caddesi'nde numarasız dükkanda mukim Kurukahveci Kemahlı Haçik ve Vartan vakanın ikinci günü esna-yı iğtişaşda dükkanlarina kapanmakla galeyana gelen serseriler tarafından katıolunmuş ve bazı eşyası yağma edilmişdir.

Fn 414: Ermeni erbab-ı fesadının ahali üzerine taarruz etmesi o civarda bulunan ahaliyi galeyana

getirmesiyle herkes Ermeni erbab-ı fesadına karşı müdafaa-i nefs kaydına düşüp ellerine geçen sopa ve saire ile bi'l-mukabele bundan hudus eden mudarebe ve mukatele asakir-i şahane ve jandarma efradı yetişinceye kadar devam etmiş ve bu kanşıklıkda Rüsumat Dairesi dahilinde mechfilü'l-ism on ve Eminönü'nde dört Ermeni itlaf edilmiş ve Ermeni'den beş ve İslam'dan iki kişi mecruh olmuşdur.

Fn 415: Hasköy cihetlerinde yayılan erbab-ı fesad oraların Ermenileriyle birleşerek ve en evvel Musevi hanelerine tecavüz ederek beş-altı kişi cerh ve kati etmelerinden dolayı galeyana gelen ahali-i Museviyyeyi şiddetle mukabele ve atılan humbara ve kurşun ateşleri içinde kalan ahali-i Müslimeyi de iştirake mecbur ederek....

Fn 417: Yevm-i mezkurda Balıkpazarı'nda fırına muttasıl kurukahveci dükkanında muhtefi üç Ermeni fesedesi tarafından ahali üzerine iki humbara atılmakla ahali galeyana gelip merkumunun ikisi itlaf olunmuş ve biri firar etmiş ve bu arbedede ahaliden bir Rum ve bir Ermeni mecruh olmuşdur.

Fn 458: Her muellif ekonomi politiki (hukuk ve ahlak ve saire bir çok fenler gibi) kendi bulunduğu memlekete ve o memleketin ahalisine ve o ahalisinin derece-i temeddün ve terakkisine tatbikat yazıb...

Fn 461: Ilm-i Servet nedir? Servet-i milletden bahs ile sair milletlerden ziyade zengin ve müterakki bir millet vücude getirmek için lazım-gelirmek esbabi taharri eder.

Fn 463: Hüsn ahlak ve say ve gayretin netice-i tabiyyesi servet ve saadetdir.

Fn 471: Alelhusus en mühimm mesailin birincilerinden ticaret-i harciye bahsi….edilmiştir.

Fn 490: Bir milletin saadet-i içtimaiyesi faaliyet-i müçtemianin mahsuludur.

Fn 492: Bu ilmi kimin bilmesi iktiza eder?...Herkes kendi mesleğine dair olan kismi bilmesi dahi elzemdir.

Fn 493: Binaberin insanin tahlile iftikarı derkar ve tahsilin yegane çare ve sermayesi ise ancak ilm ve maarif olduğu aşikardır.

Fn 494: Bilmcümle amel ve sanayi-i beşeriyenin feyz ve terakkine hizmet eden hüner ve maarifdir.

Fn 497: Cemiyetin her sınıfı: agniya ve fukera, gençler ve ihtiyarlar, alimler ve cahiller, rical-i devlet ve efrad-i millet ilm-i servetde bir kuvve-i fikriye ve ahlakiye bulurlar. Bunun neticesi olarak cemiyetde asayiş, mesai ve amel, mehasin-i ahlak, refah-i hal ve saadet mütezayid olur. Hakikaten: İstikbal ilm-i servetin kavaid-i esasiyesini en iyi bilecek ve en iyi tatbik olan milletlere aiddir.

Fn 501: O tenbel ve muzırr adami cemiyet-i medeniyyeden defetmelidir.

Fn 513: Say ve amel insanin medar-ı temiz ve vasıta-yı refah ve saadetdir.

Fn 517: Bu dünya her kimse boş yere vakit geçirmeyib; bir iş ile ugraşması, cenab-i hakkin emr ü iradesi iktiza bulunmuştur. Zengin, fakir, genç, ihtiyar, cümlenin yapabileceği bir iş vardır.… Ömürunde bir saat boşa gecirmemesi lazım gelir.

Fn 518: İnsan delima çalışmalı, her türlü meşakkate katlanmalıdır. Say ü gayret herhalde erbabını mazhar-i feyz ü saadet eder.

Fn 519: Oğlum, terakki çalışmak semeresidir. İşte bizde çalışalım.....hemcinslerimize faydalı olalım. Yüz sene sonra gelecek olan adamlar bizim icad ettiğimiz şeylerden istifade etmelidirler.

Fn 522: Kanaat denilen şey dahi sahibine rahat ve itibar verici güzel sıfattır: Yani yiyecek, içecek, giyecek vesaire şeylerde daha fazlasına bakmayıp Cenâb-ı Hakk'ın verdiği nimetlere razı ve müteşekkir olmaktır

Fn 523: Bir iş görürken ondan can sıkılmamak için daima say ve amel sevmek elzemdir....çalışmak ruha ferah ve neşe verir.

Fn 523: Dünyada herkes çalışır. Çalışmak saadettir.

Fn 528: Bir çocuk ne kadar muti olursa herkes onu o kadar sever. Herkes tarafından sevilen bir çocuk de feyziyab olur.

Fn 537: Bir kitab ne kadar hoş olursa olsun nihayet iki saatden fazla okunamaz.

Fn 545: (Leblebici) Köyden indim şehire şaşırdım birden bire Vış gökteki melekler Hepsi inmişler yere. Leblebiyi kavuram dumanını savuram. (Kadın) Bici bici leblebici taze mi kavurdun içi Üzüm ile karışık Tartsana yüz dirhemcik. Bici bici leblebici ah canım leblebici. (Leblebici) Terazi kantarım yok bende leblebi pek çok. Eğil bir yol öpeyim parasız yedireyim. Leblebiyi kavuram dumanını savuram. (Kadın) Haydi miskin haydi ahmak şunun yediği halta bak Kızları görünce azdı Ahlat armuduna bak. Bici bici leblebici ah canım leblebici. (Leblebici) Kızlar gidelim bize neler yedirem size. Pekmezli hem cevizli sucuk yedirem size. Leblebiyi kavuram dumanını savuram. (Kadın) Alışık değil midemiz cevizli sucuk yemeyiz. Haydi miskin haydi ahmak. Biz bişey istemeyiz. Bici bici leblebici ah canım leblebici. (Birlikte) Kızlar biz barışalım kol kola takışalım Kaşıkla oynayarak Köyümüze varalım. Leblebiyi kavuram dumanını savuram.

Fn 547: Arabacı sarhoş, müşterisi sarhoş. Aman aman bakışları bir hoş. Arabacı hey! Çal kamçıyı gidelim. Sazlı sözlü çakarak bir muhabbet edelim.

Fn 548: Bak senin için dağlara düştüm. Kuzu gibi sevda çekip dağlara düştüm ben çoban oldum.

Fn 573: Bir şakird de vücude lazım olan sıfatlar şunlardir: Mektebe her gün vakit ve zaman ile devam.

Fn 575: İşte evladım! Saat çaldığı zaman bir daha "Oh! Bir saat daha geçti" deme. "Bu geçen bir saat zarfında ne yaptım" diye düşün.

Fn 602: 'Bedenke, daß die Zeit Geld ist'…Daß es Geist des Kapitalismus ist, der aus ihm in charakteristischer Weise redet, wird niemand bezweifeln.

Fn 605: Au fil de temps, l'ottoman…était devenue, tout au moins l'homme des villes, un homme pressé.

Fn 611: Diyar-i baideden bir sene zarfında alınacak havadis bir saat içinde öğrenilir oldu.

Fn 612: Bir saat zarfında neler olmuş, neler yapılmışdır!...Ne kadar insanlar tarlalarda güneş altında çalışıyor, ve….büyük şehirlerin o karanlık fabrikalarda çabalıyorlar! Bir takim büyük adamlar ….çalışmağla ne büyük hakikatler bulmuşler, ne faydalı şeyler yapmışlar, yine kendi cinslerine ne kadar hidmetler görüşlerdir!

Fn 614: Ne kadar vakit ve zaman zayedilmesi icad eyledi.

Fn 615: İstihsal-i servet için birinci vasıta mübadeledir…...mübadele daima fayda hasıl eyler...umranin vasıta-yı asliyesi olduğuna nazaren mübadele.

Fn 616: Mübadele-i mütekabile…..Herkes beni-nevin hidmetine muhtaçdir. Zaten bu ihtiyacattan dolayı cemiyet-i medeniye dairesine girmişdir.

Fn 618: Zira herkes...birbirine hizmet görür. Bu insaniyet iktizasındandır...İşte üzerinizde giydiğiniz gömleğin tarihini dinleyiniz. Pamuk veren o güzel ağaç bizim memleketimizden Adanada ve sair sıcak memleketlerde bulunur. Adanada bulunan adamlar Osmanlıdır. Diğer adam orada çıkan pamuğu gemilere yükletirler. Daha başkaları arabalara, şemendöferlere koyarlar. Bu pamuk fabrikaya gelir. Orada işçiler ani iplik yapar....Size bir gömlek yapar. Daha sonra valideniz cebine on beş kuruş koyar, o on beş kuruşu bir gün çalışarak pederiniz kazanır...Bakın küçük bir gömleği almak için ne kadar zahmet, ne kadar eziyet çıkılıyor.....o robanızı temiz tutun! Zira anlar kıymetlidir. Sizin için çalışan diğer adamları de sevin! Siz de büyüdüğünüz vakit anlardan gördüğünüz iyiliği, hidmeti anlara etmeğe çalışın! Siz de diğer adamlar yani kardeşleriniz için çalışacaksınız.

Fn 621: Insanların yekdiğerini sevmeleri dahi usul-i muaşeret muktazasındandır. Dünyada muhabbetsiz bir sey yapılamaz.

Fn 624: Fakir olan bedenile işleyerek, zengin dahi parasıyla calışarak, her bir şey vücud bulur; yanı meydana gelir. Işte cenab-i hakkin emrine imtisalen, zengin ve fakir herkesin elbette iş görmesi lazımdır.

Fn 628: Mesela para kazanmak hayr-ı mutlaktır. Çünkü refaha maişete yardım eder.

Fn 629: Haydi ordan bol kıtırcı kıtipyozsun sen. Ceplerinde beş para yok pek tırılsın sen.

Fn 646: Bir adam gayet çalışkan, namuslu, ve mahir bir çilingir….Adamın sefaletten kurtulub...cemiyetin servet-i umumiye o nispetde tearakki vukua gelmesi...serveti mütemadiyen artacağından bir müddet sonra o da gayret ve ahlakına itimad olunabilenlere ikrazatde bulunarak hem alel'infirad ebna-yı cinsine hem de memleketine gayret nafi bir adm olur.

Fn 659: 'Al-Vakit nakd' kelam-ı hikmet-amizi dahi kelam-ı kibar-ı islamiyedendir.

Fn 661: Franklin bir dakika bile vaktini zayi etmek istemezdi.

Fn 669: Bir hanım kızın, veya genç bir hanımın mevki-i hakikisi hanesindedir.

Fn 672: Kadınların terbiyesinin ehemmiyetini meydana koyacak daha iki sebep vardır...kadınların adeta insan fabrikası hükmünde olmasıyla, ve onlar tarafından dünyaya getirilib, onlar tarafından terbiye olundukları münasebetle, kadınların terbiyesi evladlarına geçeceğinden, kadınların terbiye olmasıyla, istikbal için bütün nev-i beşerin terbiye edilmiş olacağı maddesidir.

Fn 673: Etfal – dediğiniz gibi – cemiyetin ümid-i atisi; ama bu şule-i ümidin matla-ı validelerdir...heyet-i içtimaiyemizin terakkisini temin edebilmek için...validelerin terbiyelerine hasr-ı himmet etmeliyiz.

Fn 676: Bir memleketde her türlü terakkiyatin ayarı kemalat-ı medeniyedir. Fakat derece-i temeddünün en doğru ayarı kadınların terbiyesidir....Medeniyet-i islamiyenin en parlak devirlerini teşkil eden asırlar....fevkalade kadınların vücuduyla şaysa-ı dikkattır.....[bu] delillerin günden güne arttığı....görmekle mesrur ve pür-ümid yaşıyoruz.

Fn 680: Hanımlar için güzel imla yazmak hoş ise de, yatak yapmayı ve cam temizlemeyi bilmek de lazımdır....Coğrafya mucib-i istifade bir fendir. Lakin yemek zamanı haneniz halkına arzın aksam-i hamsini veyahut bir memleketteki başlıca şimendifer hatların tadat etmek onların karınlarını doyurmaz.

Fn 681: Kadın ile erkek vücutları arasında bazı farklar vardır. Alelhusus dimağ, yani beyince, fark ziyadedir. Erkeklerin beyinleri kadınlarınkından daha büyük olduğu için, onların akılları daha mükemmeldir.

Fn 687: Evladım! Ben senin için hiç bir zahmetten çekinmem. Gece gündüz senin için çalışacağım.

Fn 688: Hakkıyla hanesinin hizmetini gören bir kadına, vaktini roman okumakla veya rasadat-ı nücumiye ile emrar eden bir kadını tercih eden erkek çok yoktur zanolunur.

Fn 704: İşte bir hanımının en büyük ameli hanesinin daire-i intizamda bulunması.

Fn 708: Bir kavmin ahlak ve mişvarı, bir ümmetin itikad ve ekfarı, ve elhasıl nev-i beni-i beşerin maye-i medeniyet ve itibari, hep sine-i maderde mahfuzdur.

Fn 743: Rekabet edemeyecek derecede ehvendir.

Fn 745: Halis tereyağları mutedil fiyatla bu kere küşat ettiğimiz.

Fn 746: Her nevi mobilya ve tefrişat için Baker Mağazaları taahhüdat kabul ederek gelin odalarını, haneleri mükemmelen ve mutedil surette tefriş eylemektedir.

Fn 756: Nikolaki Papadopoulos. Halis Zeytinyağı. Mamulat-ı Osmaniye. Hükumet-i seniyyenin ruhsat-ı mahsusasını haiz yıkanmış ve süzülmüş zeytinyağı ve halis sabon fabrikası.

Fn 761: Adab-ı milliyemize her cihetle muvaffak ve alemde nasıl her eve lazım ise hanım, her hanıma da işbu kitab öylece lazım.

Fn 766: Bu lambalarda fitil olmadığı gibi aslakoku his olunmaz, ayarlamak eziyeti yoktur. Daima temiz ve mükemmeldir. Tehlikesi katiyen mefkuttur. Bu lambalarda (Purferin) denilen bir nevi gaz müstamel olup petrole nispeten yüzde otuz ucuz geliyor.

Fn 767: Nezafet ve taharetin herkese ve bilhassa her bedere lüzumu vacip derecesinde olduğu kabul edilmiştir. Binaenaleyh temizliğe pek ziyade itina ile...her nevi edevatın cümlesi göz önünde temizlendiği gibi can sıkıntısına dahi meydan vermeksizin fevkalade sürat ile tıraş edilip.

Fn 771: Pek çok zevat-i kiram tarafından bir rağbet-i fevkalgayeye mazhar olduğundan....

Fn 790: Malumdur ki dünyanın her tarafında ekser-i adat-ı kavmiye ve medeniyenin mahall-i tatbik ve cereyanı pay-tahtdir. Bir kavmin söylediği lisandan, giydiği kunduraya kadar kaffe-i havas-ı tabiiye ve muktesebesi ve kaffe-i hacat-ı zaruriye ve medeniyesi, tarz-ı muaşeret ve muhalatati paytahtlerde cari olan usula tab'dir.

Fn 835: Qui, dove nei giorni feriali regna ordinariamente un profondo silenzio, la sera della domenica passa un torrente di gente e una processione di carrozze, tutta la società elegante di Pera, che va a spandersi nei giardini nelle birrerie e nei caffè di là dalla Caserma.

Fn 842: J’ai osé dire mon regret mélancolique de voir s’en aller les choses anciennes, de voir s’ouvrir et se transformer le grand Stamboul.

Fn 850: Dann erschallen am Abend und in den Mondnächten weiche griechische Gesänge….Die Schatten aller Art, die sich über sie herabsenken, können aber das pochende Leben nicht dämpfen…Und weiter hinaus erheben sich blaugraue Moscheenkuppeln und schlanke Minarets… Viele Bewohner Peras sehen dieses Tal täglich. Aber wenige wagen sich hinab…in dieses weitverzweigte quellenreiche Tal, das eine \Vohnstätte der Aermsten der Armen zu sein scheint….In Kassim Pascha bietet der Abendbasar ein buntes und unterhaltendes Schauspiel.

Fn 871: Sair milletlere karşı rezil oluyoruz...Beyoğlu'nda Frenk, Rum, Ermeni, Yahudi kadınları da geziyor. Öyle maymun gibi ağız burun, kaş göz işareti ediyorlar mı?

Fn 884: Kesret ise kesirü'l-nüfus büyük şehirlerde, her tarafı kapanmış dar hanelerde, pis kahvelerde oturubde ruhunu, fikrini, vicdanını teselli edecek hiç bir tabii eğlence bulamaksızın iztirabat-ı ruhiye içinde vakit geçirmektir…Saf bir havada berrak bir su kenarında yeşil çimenler oturubde yavan ekmek o ma-yı lezize batırıb yemek.

Fn 886: İnsanların meskinleri şehir ve kasabalar ile köylerdir. Sağlık için elbette köyler şehirlerden ve kasabalardan daha iyidir.

Fn 901: Herkes için mütalaası faydalı, gayet feci, müessir ve ibret-i amiz vakayi-i mütenevviayı müsavverdir.

Fn 903: Salih Efendi cuma günleri pederiyle gezmeğe gider. Başka zaman sokağa çıkmaz, çünkü sokakta oynamaktan asla hazzetmez....akşam üzere mektebden azad olunca doğruca ve usluca evine gelir.

Fn 910: Yalancılar herkesin emniyeti kayıp ederler.

Fn 931: Kış günlerinde şehrimizin sokaklarında, ba-husus köprü üzerinde pek çok dilenci çocuklar görünürüz...bu aç, çıplak, bikes çocuklar nedir? Sefaletin askeri! ne yapacaklar? Harap edecekler! Kiminle? Cemiyet-i beşeriye ile, ahlak ile.

Fn 947: İstanbul şehirlerin suları medeni bir şehire layık derecede temiz olmadığı için müstevli hastalıklardan biri de humma-yı tıfuiddir.

Fn 963: Bina-ı cemiyet-i beşeriyenin ilk temeli ailedir.

Fn 981: Rişte-i ittihad-ı izdivaç, ancak aşkdir. Bunun bulunmadığı hanelerde emniyet ve itimad yoktur.

Fn 982: Bizim şu usul-ı izdivaçla yüz münakehenin sekseni doksanı yine hüsn-i imtizaç ile netice-pezir olup, buna mukabil Avrupa'da alelumum be-muaşaka neticesi olan münakehenin kaddesinde hüsn-i imtizaç görüldüğü vaki değildir.

Fn 987: Birbirimizi seversek, bahtiyar oluruz.

Fn 990: Aile arasında muhabbet ve taaluk-i tabiiye ve şeriiye, muhabbet-i beşeriye ve uhuvvet-i insaniyenin bir numune ve timsal-i sahihidir. Buna binaen bir belde ahalisi de güya bir valide ve pederden müteşekkil aile efradına benzer.

Fn 994: Bir adam daire-i mahremiyet bulundukça istediği tavır ve hareketi icrada muhtardir. Keyfi isterse odasında bir gömlekle oturur. 'Muhtasibaren derun hanece kar' fakat hanesinden haricda bulundukça adab-i umumiye riayetle mükellef olduğunu unutmamalıdır.

Fn 997: Bir me'va ki insana mahsusdur bir takim şerait ve tedabir-i medeniyeyi cami olunması çaresiz.

Fn 1006: Esmer renkleri kasvet kalbı mevcub olacak kadar koyu olmaması dikkat edilmesi.

Fn 1007: Maişet-i medeniye muktezi olan haneler.....bir veya iki salon.....ibaret olduğundan...

Fn 1061: Her milletin musikisi ayrı olup bunları birbirinden ayırt eden şey kendi milli ahenkleri veya daha doğru tabir ile şarkılarıdır. İşte bu nağmelerden, bu şarkılardan herhangisi olursa olsun fen-i musikiye ittibaen tanzim edildiği halde bir musiki-i hakiki vücuda gelir...türkü nağmelerimizi şu fene nazaran tanzim edecek olursak basit ve tek nağmelerimizin husüle getirdiği mahzuziyyetten ziyade ruhumuz üzerine bir tesiri olacağı derkardır....(ve) Avrupa'nın bile mucib-i takdir ve tahsini olacaktır (Musiki-i Fen-i Osmanı veya Şarkı) vücuda gelmiş olur.

Fn 1082: Fakat ne kadar nota öğrenilir ise öğrenilsin bir beste veya şarkıyı tavr-ı mahsusunda okumak için yine bir muallime muhtacız.

Fn 1091: Çünkü terennüm ve teğanninin icabat-ı tabiiyyemizden olduğu derkardır. Ruh-i insanin musikiden telezzüz-i mahsusi olduğu nice hükema ve üdebamn beyanat-ı müdellelesinden müsteban ise de bu babda ihtisasat-ı zatiyyemizden büyük şahit olamaz; binaenaleyh tafsil-i makaleden bi'l-ictinab söze başlarız. Şark musikisi ki, sanatla tabiatın hüsn-i imtizacından mütehassıl ve sırf ruhu telezzüz eden nağamattan müteşekkildir.

Fn 1095: À peu prés tous le morceaux publiés de musique orientale, tant arabe que turque, ne doivent pas être considérés comme authentiques, et par consequent toutes les considerations se basant sur ces morceaux sont le plus souvent erronées.

Fn 1104: Il n'existe probablement pas de cités au monde où il y ait autant de fetes.

Fn 1108: Taksimlerdeki şevk-engiz nağmelerin tesirat altında ruhunun en rikkiyyat-i hissiyet ile lebriz ve cidd ve halet olduğunu duymayan var mı?

Fn 1118: En seçkin kadın sesiyle şarkı ve kantolar eski ve yeni besteler. Sadayı naturel surette çıkarır.

Fn 1118: Yeni gelen alaturka iki taraflı plaklar...Mezkur plaklar en meşhur müsikişinasan tarafından teganni edilen ve şimdiye kadar asla işitilmeyen havalan muhtevidir.

Fn 1121: …da sie durch erpriessliche und hervorragende Schöpfungen und Leistungen das Wohl der Menschheit heben und fördern.

Fn 1122: Bei den Gebeten und Gesängen lauschte die ganze Versammlung andächtig, gesenkten Hauptes, den Blick mir abgewandt, gen Osten gerichtet; so wie aber der humoristische Teil einsetzte, wurde die ganze Zuhörerschaft von der ungebundensten Ausgelassenheit angesteckt, dröhnendes Gelächter erfüllte den Raum, insbesondere die Weiblichkeit vergass meine Anwesenheit gänzlich, schrie und kicherte und wälzte sich förmlich vor Vergnügen.

English Abstract

The dissertation analyzes the link between morality, emotions, and political communities in the so-called Hamidian era of the late Ottoman Empire (1878-1908). Starting with the suggestion that moral values and norms can both delineate and structure social units, the thesis investigates how concepts of morals and norms related to conceptions of the political community. It places these moral concepts within three interdependent frames, which guided discussions on public morality not only among the Ottomans but also in many countries of an increasingly connected global space of the late 19th century. These were the debate on 'civilized' behavior and manners on an individual and societal level within the context of imperialism, a perceptibly needed new economic ethic for an empire ever more integrated into an industrialized and globalized economy, and the preoccupation with public order in a rapidly growing urban space.

To analyze morality debates in these frames, the thesis relies on source material ranging from printed books and newspapers to pictorial sources and examples from popular culture such as theater and music. Theoretically, insights from conceptual history, global history, and the history of emotions allow to conceptualize a link between morality, emotions, and the political community that moves beyond dichotomies of 'traditional' or 'modern', situates Ottoman debate within a productive regional and global framework, and highlights the increasing focus on the role of emotions both in public discourse and social practice. Geographically, the thesis focuses on Istanbul and the imperial center.

Analyzing the three interrelated debates on manners, the economy, and the city space, morality emerges during the Hamidian period as a crucial factor in forming a limited, strongly hierarchical, and stratified political community. Global intellectual and material resources were adapted and transformed by recourse to local trajectories. Universal referents, like 'progress' and 'civilization', had a temporal effect—they synchronized the individual with the community, the community with the world, and opened up potentialities for a dynamic future—but also, through a partial rejection, served to legitimize Ottoman particularism. Notions of morality were mainly formulated by urban middle classes, entailed strong gender boundaries and, although based on values, prominently stressed duties. While emotions were subject to a discourse of moderation and control, they figured prominently either as motivational forces or rewards for acting out desired behavior.

Additionally, new spaces of intense emotional mobilization emerged during the period, such as urban music culture, direct political action, or the household. Certain values and norms, such as 'obedience', 'industriousness', or 'order' were central to most writers of the Hamidian period and can at times even be traced across ethno-religious divides.

Yet both in practice and discourse, differences and conflicts also emerged. Particularly the leadership of the hierarchical and stratified political community was contested. Groups of intellectuals from different ethno-religious communities reared in diverse institutions and espousing different expertise—medical doctors, military officers, economists, bureaucrats, or journalists—competed with each other for the vanguard role in leading society. Individual norms and values were likewise debated, with articulations or emphasis varying according to genres, authors, and spaces of articulation. And finally, social practice differed, at times considerably, from the moral systems articulated. Consequently, the social structure tied to moral writings was essentially contested and differed substantially according to space and framework.

The creation of a stratified and hierarchical political community structured by morality could externally demonstrate the empire's civilization and internally integrate different classes and ethno-religious communities into the larger Ottoman community. The research thus suggests that the break-up of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century was not a necessary *telos* based on immutable ethno-religious loyalties and affiliation. Rather, it points towards the fundamentally political nature of the process and argues for returning agency to the period's actors.

German Abstract

Die Dissertation untersucht die Verbindung von Moral, Emotionen und politischen Gemeinschaften in der Hamidischen Zeit des Spätosmanischen Reichs (1878-1908). Ausgehend von der Idee, dass moralische Werte und Normen soziale Einheiten sowohl begrenzen als auch strukturieren können, erörtert die Arbeit, in welchem Verhältnis moralische Begriffe zu Vorstellungen der politischen Gemeinschaft standen. Die Moralbegriffe werden mit Bezug auf drei übergeordnete Prozesse untersucht, welche Diskussionen über öffentliche Moral nicht nur im Osmanischen Reich, sondern in vielen Staaten und Gesellschaften einer zunehmend global vernetzten Welt beeinflussten. Dies waren die Debatte über ‚zivilisiertes' Verhalten und Benehmen auf individueller und gesellschaftlicher Ebene im Kontext des Imperialismus; eine scheinbar notwendige neue Arbeitsmoral für ein immer mehr in eine industrialisierte und zunehmend globale Wirtschaftsstruktur eingebundenes Reich; sowie die Beschäftigung mit öffentlicher Ordnung in einem rasch wachsenden städtischen Raum.

Die Arbeit stützt sich zur Analyse der osmanischen Moraldebatten in diesen Bezugsrahmen auf Quellen wie Bücher, Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, bildliche Quellen, sowie Beispiele aus der Populärkultur, besonders Theater und Musik. Theoretische Anregungen aus der Begriffsgeschichte, der Globalgeschichte und der Emotionsgeschichte erlauben es, die Verbindungslinien von Moral, Emotionen und der politischen Gemeinschaft jenseits von klassischen Dichotomien wie ‚Tradition' und ‚Moderne' zu analysieren, osmanische Debatten in einen regionalen und globalen Rahmen zu integrieren, und die zunehmend prominente Rolle von Emotionen in sozialer Praxis und öffentlicher Debatte in den Blick zu nehmen. Der räumliche Fokus der Arbeit liegt dabei auf der Stadt Istanbul und dem imperialen Zentrum.

Über die Analyse der drei Makroprozesse wird Moral als zentraler Faktor in der Strukturierung einer begrenzten, stark hierarchischen und stratifizierten politischen Gemeinschaft deutlich. Global zirkulierende intellektuelle und materielle Ressourcen wurden dabei adaptiert und über eine Verbindung mit lokalen Entwicklungslinien verändert. Universelle Bezugspunkte, wie ‚Zivilisation' und ‚Fortschritt', besaßen dabei eine temporale Funktion, da sie das Individuum mit der Gemeinschaft sowie die Gemeinschaft mit der Welt synchronisierten, und eine dynamische Zukunft eröffneten. Zudem firmierten sie, qua partieller Zurückweisung, zur Legitimation eines

osmanischen Partikularismus. Moralbegriffe enthielten dabei feste Geschlechtergrenzen, betonten den Pflichtcharakter von Tugenden, und wurden vor allem von städtischen Mittelschichten formuliert. Obwohl Emotionen im allgemeinen gemäßigt werden sollten, fungierten sie dennoch zentral als Motivationsfaktoren oder als Belohnung im Falle erwünschten Verhaltens. Zudem eröffneten sich Räume intensiver emotionaler Praxis, wie die städtische Musikkultur, direkte politische Aktionen oder der private Raum der Familie. Bestimmte Werte und Normen, wie ‚Gehorsam', ‚Fleiß', oder ‚Ordnung', waren dabei für die meisten Autoren der Zeit zentral und wurden teils in den verschiedenen ethnisch-religiösen Gemeinschaften in ähnlicher Weise formuliert.

Dennoch lassen sich in Praxis wie Diskurs auch Unterschiede und Konfliktlinien feststellen. Die Führungsposition der Gemeinschaft war besonders umstritten. Intellektuellengruppen mit unterschiedlicher Herkunft, Expertise, oder Ausbildung – wie Mediziner, Offiziere, Ökonomen, Bürokraten, Journalisten – konkurrierten hierbei miteinander. Zudem waren bestimmte Werte oder Normen umstritten, und die Schwerpunktsetzung variierte je nach Autor, Genre, oder Artikulationskontext. Diese Vorgänge führten dazu, dass die über Moralbegriffe strukturierte Gemeinschaft stets umstritten war, und sich je nach Autor und Kontext teils erheblich unterschied.

Die Strukturierung einer stratifizierten und hierarchischen politischen Gemeinschaft über Moralbegriffe konnte diese extern als ‚zivilisiert' präsentieren und zudem intern verschiedene Klassen und ethnisch-religiöse Gemeinschaften in eine übergreifende Osmanische Gemeinschaft integrieren. Die Arbeit legt daher nahe, dass der Zusammenbruch des Osmanischen Reichs im frühen 20. Jahrhundert kein auf unveränderlichen ethnisch-religiösen Loyalitäten basierender notwendiger Prozess war. Dies weist auf die grundlegend politische Natur des Zusammenbruchs hin, und regt eine stärkere Berücksichtigung der Handlungsmacht der geschichtlichen Akteure an.