

"Patriarchal Bargain": Fatma Aliye's strategies of writing in
Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time

By

Defne Karakaya

*Submitted to
Central European University
Department of Gender Studies*

In partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies.

Gender Studies Department

Supervisor: Andrea Pető

Budapest, Hungary

2009

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I argue that a comprehensive analysis of Fatma Aliye (1862-1936), the first woman novelist of the Ottoman Empire, through her works on different genres is required to understand her strategies of writing in the male dominant frame of writing. I critically engage with two sections, “Mukaddime” (Introduction) and “Maârif” (Education) of her book *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*, which is the biography of her father Ahmed Cevdet Pasa (1822-1895), a bureaucrat and historian. The “Mukaddime” demonstrates the historical perception of Fatma Aliye and “Maârif” as a topic is among the major concerns of the Tanzimat period, as well as being crucial in other works of Fatma Aliye. Thus, these two sections help to conceive the political position of Fatma Aliye in this book. Applying a feminist reading to understand her strategies of male domain of history writing, I conclude that Fatma Aliye enters into “patriarchal bargain” in an intellectual level. She legitimizes herself as a historian through the intellectual heritage of her father and represents herself as the faithful student of Cevdet Pasa, yet, she instrumentalizes this legitimacy and the idea of continuity with her father to engage in a criticism of the 19th century political life. Therefore, she bargains with patriarchy through omitting the “woman question” from her political agenda in this book, even in the section of “Maârif”, on the contrary to her position in her other works.

Key words: Fatma Aliye Hanım, Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time, women's history, 19th century Ottoman historiography.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank to my supervisors Andrea Pető and Nadia Al-Bagdadi for the time and effort they invested in this study.

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Sevgi Parlak Bağ who raised me up to be a strong woman. She stood by me throughout the way I took to be the person I choose to be, while appreciating our differences. Without her support, this thesis would not be written.

My special thanks go to Çağlar Yüksel, whose emotional support and compassionate patience - against all kind of crisis I have been through- “made my life easier”. I am also grateful to him for the logistic support he provided by sending me books and articles I need from Turkey.

Thanks to Oya for her contribution with the discussions we had on my thesis topic and for sharing this challenging experience of thesis writing with me and thanks to Andra who also shared the pain and joy of this process. I am also grateful to Seda and Marija for being a part of this support group.

Thanks to the Turkish (imagined) community in CEU dorms whom I spent long hours in the study room and in the back yard during this writing process.

And finally, many thanks to all *gender kids* from whom I gained as much knowledge and insight as I did from the formal course trainings in my MA studies

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	II
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	III
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1 BIOGRAPHY AND THEORY.....	9
1.1 FATMA ALIYE'S LIFE STORY	9
1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	17
1.3 METHODOLOGY	22
CHAPTER 2 HISTORY WRITING AND THE FATHER	24
2.1 TANZIMAT AND 19TH CENTURY HISTORIOGRAPHY	24
2.2 THE TOPIC OF HISTORY	28
2.3 “SCIENTIFICATION” OF HISTORY AND TELLING THE TRUTH	32
2.4. FATHER AND DAUGHTER	35
CHAPTER 3: EDUCATIONAL REFORMS WITHOUT WOMEN: THE ROLE OF MÂARIF IN AHMED CEVDET PASA AND HIS TIME.....	39
3.1 EDUCATION DURING THE TANZIMAT PERIOD	39
3.2 FATMA ALIYE AND EDUCATION	43
3.3 EDUCATION IN AHMED CEVDET PASHA AND HIS TIME	46
3.3.1 <i>Gendered Silences</i>	46
3.3.2 <i>Education reforms without women</i>	49
CONCLUSIONS	53
BIBLIOGRAPHY	56

INTRODUCTION

*“The woman who could not make up to either of the sides”¹
Radikal²*

On January 2009, the new Turkish liras were put in circulation. For the first time, there was the picture of a woman, Fatma Aliye Hanım (1862-1936), the first Turkish female novelist, on the 50 lira bills.³ The Central Bank's choice of images for the money was criticized in general because most people were unfamiliar with the “famous” architect and scientist on the currencies of different values. However, the discussions regarding the first woman to appear on the banknote had a very different scope. The committee choosing the pictures was accused of trying to please the ruling Islamist-leaning⁴ Justice and Development party (AKP) in their choice of Fatma Aliye. With her “modern” as well as “conservative” standing, neither Kemalists nor Islamists were willing to accept Fatma Aliye with ease. Yet, the biggest criticisms were coming from the Kemalist side, since Fatma Aliye had the potential to be the new female role model for Islamist sects. In this debate, some introduce her as the first Ottoman feminist, while some labels her as a conservative Muslim intellectual. The public debate surrounding Fatma Aliye was very similar to the one that arose almost a century ago which was again based on different perspectives of modernizations and ended with her being forgotten altogether.

In this thesis, I will argue that the academic discussion of Fatma Aliye should go beyond attempts of fixing her into predefined categories. Whether she is a “modernist” or a

¹ “İki tarafa da yaranamayan kadın,” *Radikal*, 10 October 2008, Wednesday, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspxaType=RadikalHaberDetay&ArticleID=902585> (accessed May 25, 2009)

² *Radikal* is a daily, liberal newspaper with leftist tendencies in Turkey.

³ The Turkish liras are published as 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, and 200 banknotes. 50 lira equals approximately 25 €

⁴ Here, the identification of AKP as Islamist-leaning is not proposed by me, but used as it is introduced in the dominant discourse. Also, later in this section, the classification of the sides of discussion on the money, as Islamist and Kemalist sides, refer to the concepts which are defined within political power struggles. Although dividing the sides of the public political discussion into two definite groups is not possible, I used the terms “Islamist” and “Kemalist” to point to a certain political leaning in the course of the discussion.

“conservative,” and whether or not she is a feminist cannot answer the question of how she existed in the male dominated writing process. The religiously conservative aspect of her work is not an obstacle for a feminist analysis. In fact, it is just the opposite, as a feminist analysis is necessary to understand how she entered into the male domain of writing. I believe that an analysis focusing on her works that were on “women's question” creates problems of interpretation, since there appear confusions in terms of the assertions of the book and the position of the author. Thus, I will analyze a historical account of her, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and His Time*,⁵ to enable a perception of Fatma Aliye which will not reduce her to a discussion that places her into a single category. This thesis will be devoted to describing her negotiations of existence in the male domain of history writing.

A brief historiography of research on Fatma Aliye

Fatma Aliye Hanım is not the first woman writer in Turkish Literature; however she is the first woman who wrote in fictional prose, as new prose genres emerged in the 19th century in literature.⁶ She was discovered in the 1980s, during the proliferation of feminist studies that aimed to find texts written by women. Most of her biographical information comes from Ahmed Mithat Efendi's biography, *Fatma Aliye or the Birth of an Ottoman Women Writer*.⁷ The book covers the first thirty-three years of her life and includes letters from Fatma Aliye to Ahmed Midhat Effendi. There are also encyclopedia entries on Fatma Aliye, which concentrate mainly on her life and novels as the first Turkish women writer.⁸

⁵ Fatma Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Zamanı* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhanesi, 1332/1914).

In this study, I use the transliterated version from the Arabic alphabet to the Latin alphabet. Fatma Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Zamanı* trans. by Mehmet Şevki Eygi (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1995).

⁶ In the 16th century Mihrî Hatun, Zeynep Hatun, Ayşe Hubbî Hatun, in the 18th century Fitnat Hanım, and in the 19th century Nigâr Hanım, Leylâ Saz were among the famous poets of their era.

⁷ Ahmed Mithat Efendi, *Fatma Aliye ya da Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarın Doğusu*, transl. by Bedia Ermat (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 1994,[1895]).

⁸ Serpil Çakır, “Fatma Aliye” *Biographical dictionary of women's movements and feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th centuries*, ed. by Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova and Anna Loutfi, (Budapest: New York: CEU Press, 2006).; H. Emel. Aşa, “Fatma Aliye Hanım,”

The studies about Fatma Aliye mainly focus on her novels aiming to discover her perception of the “women question” during the 19th century, which was concerned about the women's right to education and occupational opportunities. Similarly, marriage, polygamy, and concubinage were defined as parts of the “women question” in her framework of analysis.⁹

To date, the most extensive study on Fatma Aliye's life and work is an unpublished PhD thesis by Emel Aşa, which is primarily an informative piece on her that includes summaries of her written work and an analysis of her thoughts.¹⁰ Mübeccel Kızıltan also published her work on Fatma Aliye Hanım in the same year with Aşa, after which the works on Aliye increased. Kızıltan wrote introductory articles about Fatma Aliye and pointed to her role in the Ottoman women's movement introducing her among the first feminists. Nazan Aksoy analyzes her first novel, *Muhazarat*, claiming that she did not depart from the male writers of the period, in terms of expecting the “change” of women for the well-being of the “dominant male culture”.¹¹ Since the first female writers could not challenge the developmental discourse, which was realized by their male counterparts, they were widely accepted by male writers.

Firdevs Canbaz in her MA thesis¹², on the other hand, criticizes Kızıltan and Aksoy for their presumption that Fatma Aliye was a feminist writer just because she supported the rights for women in education and occupation. According to Canbaz, Fatma Aliye does not

DİA, (İstanbul: 1995), XII:261-262.; İnci Enginün, “Fatma Aliye Hanım,” *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul, 1979), III: 166-167.

⁹ Some of the literature are as follows Firdevs Canbaz, “Women Question in Fatma Aliye Hanım's Novels, (MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2003); Handan İnci, “Fatma Aliye'nin Romanlarından Babalar ve Kızları,” *Kitaplık* 33 (Summer, 1998): 172-8.; Mehmet Nuri Yardım, “Fatma Aliye Hanım: Hayatı ve Eserleri,” *Edebiyat* 45 (Dec, 2002): 21-23.

¹⁰ H. Emel Aşa, “Fatma Aliye Hanım: hayatı - eserleri – fikirleri” PhD Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul University, 1993.

¹¹ Nazan Aksoy, “Fatma Aliye Hanım'ın muhazarat'ında kadın açısı” *Batı ve Başkaları* (İstanbul: Düzlem Yayınları, 1996), 85-102.

¹² Firdevs Canbaz, “The Woman Question in Fatma Aliye Hanım's Novels” (MA Thesis, Ankara: Bilkent University, 2005).

ask for equality between men and women, but rather she supports conception of the education of women, as it is the prevalent Tanzimat thought, which held that women should be educated to be “good mothers and good Muslims”. Thus, the feminist reading of Aliye's texts which is misleading and cannot be the only mechanism used for a clear understanding of her position on the women's question. Canbaz claims that this reading leads to a conclusion, which portrays Fatma Aliye as indecisive on her position in the women's question.

Another opposition to the feminist reading of Fatma Aliye comes from Fatma Karabıyık Barbarosoğlu who claims that a feminist reading does not help to explain “the reality of who Fatma Aliye Hanım was”.¹³ She agrees with Canbaz when she says feminist analysis showed her to be “hesitant, wavering, and undecided.” Before these discussions, Carter Findley asked if we might call Fatma Aliye “a feminist writer”.¹⁴ However, he complicates the picture by pointing out the empowerment of women in her novels. Findley says the fact that she “... had managed to put such a potent message before the public indicates the scope of Fatma Aliye's entitlement to a renewal of interest and attention.”¹⁵ Therefore, ascribing any political situation to Fatma Aliye is more complicated than applying a single label, but it is crucial to ask how she maintained her political agenda on women in the male dominant world of writing. In my thesis, I aim to bring a new perspective to the way Fatma Aliye has been read through analyzing her process of writing, which will bring out an understanding of her strategies.

¹³ Fatma K Barbarosoğlu, “Fatma Aliye Hanım without a table of contents” *Today's Zaman*, 30 October 2008, Thursday, <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=157267#> (accessed May 11, 2009). Barbarosoğlu also mentions this in second part of her novel, *Fatma Aliye: Uzak Ülke*. At this part, Barbarosoğlu writes about her experience of writing Fatma Aliye's novel and this concerns are revealed in her interview with Suna Selen, a theater actress and Fatma Aliye's grand-daughter. Fatma K Barbarosoğlu, *Fatma Aliye: Uzak Ülke* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2008): 243-249.

¹⁴ Carter Vaughn Findley, “Fatma Aliye: First Ottoman Woman Novelist, Pioneer Feminist,” *Collection Turcica*, Vol. VIII (Paris: Peeters, 1995): 783-794.

¹⁵ Findley, (1995), p. 794.

*Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*¹⁶

Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time is significant for the purpose of this thesis for three reasons. First, the book is Fatma Aliye' attempt to write a political history, as an already accepted novelist. Focusing on her novels as the only source of her relations and answers to the patriarchal society is not enough to conceptualize her writing process. Moreover, since the studies on her have mainly focused on the analysis of her novels, her struggle of writing as a historian was disregarded. Second, the book has a great significance in the intellectual history of Fatma Aliye since she undertakes a political opposition in the genre of history writing. Through the biography of her father she discusses the debates of the era. Third, this book demonstrates the intellectual father daughter relationship as the daughter attempts to write a historical account of her father, who was a historian himself.

Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time is the biography of Fatma Aliye's father, Ahmed Cevdet Pasa, and was published in 1914. The book starts in the year 1822 in which Cevdet was born and ends in 1855, before the Crimea war. The introduction indicates that, follow-up volumes are to be expected, yet, Fatma Aliye did not publish any books after *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*. The book was not written as an exact historical and chronological account of Cevdet Pasa's life, but written based on the themes not necessarily connected to

¹⁶ Other published books of Fatma Aliye:

1. *Meram* [Volonté]. George Ohnet, transl. A Woman [Fatma Aliye], (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1890).
2. *Hayal ve Hakikat*, A Woman [Fatma Aliye] and Ahmed Mithat, (İstanbul: Tercüman-ı Hakikat Matbaası, 1892).
3. *Muhâdarat*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1892).
4. *Nisvân-ı İslâm: Bazı a'dat-ı İslâmiyye hakkında üç muhavereyi havidir*, (İstanbul: Tercüman-ı Hakikat Matbaası, 1892).
5. *Ref'et*, (İstanbul: Kırkambar Matbaası)
6. *Üdî*, (İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1898).
7. *Levâiyih-i Hayât*, (İstanbul: Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete Matbaası, 1898).
8. *Taaddüd-i Zevcâta Zeyl*, Fatma Aliye and Mahmud Esad, (İstanbul: Tahir Bey Matbaası, 1899).
9. *Terâcim-i Ahvâl-i Felâsife*, (İstanbul: Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete Matbaası, 1900).
10. *Tedkîk-i Ecsâm*, (İstanbul: Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete Matbaası, 1900).
11. *Enîn*, (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1910).
12. *Târih-i Osmânî'nin Bir Devre-i Mühimmesi – Kosova Zaferi ve Ankara Hezimet-i* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1912).

each other.¹⁷ However, they refer to the main political debates of the Tanzimat period which were still important questions in the early 1900s, and thus of Fatma Aliye's time. She took a critical position toward the events she assessed and did not hesitate to defend the problematic figures, as they were declared as such, of the recent history. Fatma Aliye wrote this book to defend her father from the criticisms of the 1908 regime.¹⁸ The book was received with silence among the intellectual world, which became one of the many reasons that Fatma Aliye stopped publishing.¹⁹

Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time has never been the subject of a separate analysis, however, it was mentioned as a secondary source by some accounts of Cevdet Pasa's life and thoughts, and Tanzimat period.²⁰ Although this shows that her authority as a historian is not recognized in today's historiography, the book is very important in the personal history of Fatma Aliye, since she brings historical criticism to the abrupt changes of the early 20th century Ottoman Empire. She reacts against the established order and the oppressive political regime of the era.²¹ At the same time, Fatma Aliye enters into the debates on education, economy, foreign relations, and bureaucratic governance that were taking place at that time. In this thesis, to be able to manage an in-depth analysis in the available time and space, I will

¹⁷ For example, she has a small section named “Âlem-i Siyâsîde” (In the Political World) in which she mentions to the major foreign relations of the period. Then, she continues with a section on “Maârif” (Education).

¹⁸ In 1908, second constitutional monarchy was established by a group of revolutionaries who were inspired by Midhat Pasha. In 1883, Midhat Pasha was sentenced to death at a trial in which he was accused with the assassination of Sultan Abdülaziz. Ahmed Cevdet Pasha was the one who convinced him for a just trial, but then he voted for his punishment. Christopher Neumann states that the conflict between Midhat Pasha and Cevdet Pasha was not a life long rivalry, but they were representing “two wings of modernization”. Christopher Neumann, *Araç Tarih Amaç Tanzimat* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), pp. 46-47.

¹⁹ Kurtuluş İzbek, “Avrupa, Amerika ve Arap Basınında Bir Türk Romanı: ‘Dağarcıktan Ödemeler’”. *Edebiyat* (Dec., 2002): 24-27.; Aşa, p. 41.

²⁰ For example Neumann, (1999) p. 9.; Richard L. Chambers, “The Education of a Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Alim, Ahmed Cevdet Pasa, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* V.4 No.4 (Oct., 1973): pp. 440-464.

²¹ Kurtuluş İzbek states that the publication of the book was suspended due to its criticisms of the government, yet, he does not cite the sources of this information. This article is the only source that the ban on the book was claimed (İzbek, p. 26).

focus on two sections of the book. The first section is the introduction of the book in which Fatma Aliye presents her perception of history, why she was writing the book and mentions to the expectations of criticisms regarding her political assessments. The second section I chose, on education, serves a relatively different purpose. Education is the very basic theme of Fatma Aliye's novels and articles in terms of her approach to the “women question”. Thus, an analysis of the section on educational reforms will help in understanding the stylistic and political significance of this book in particular.

For the purpose of this thesis, in the first chapter, I will give a brief life story of Fatma Aliye to reveal the complexity of her life, character and position as a writer. Her education process, her relations with the men and women around her, her works, and her place in the Ottoman women's movement will be the focus of this section. Then, I will conceptually frame the assessment of Fatma Aliye's strategies to write and the feminist analysis of a text. Consequently, I will introduce the term “patriarchal bargain” which was coined by Deniz Kandiyoti and expand it through my analysis. I will apply feminist reading as the methodology, through following the feminist analysis as Elizabet Grosz proposed. I will expand upon the relation between the feminist analysis of *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* and patriarchal bargain that Fatma Aliye engaged in.

The second chapter will be dedicated to the strategies of Fatma Aliye to establish herself as a historian in the book. Legitimization through her father, the use of history writing as political criticism, and the selected historiography she employs to emphasize her connection to her father were among the strategies she applied in an attempt to be accepted in the male domain of history writing. The way she situates herself and her knowledge as the intellectual heir of her father and his authoritative knowledge in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* will be analyzed as the part of patriarchal bargain she enters. In this chapter, I will

indicate the strategies of Fatma Aliye in writing a historical account and will argue that the way she instrumentalizes Ahmed Cevdet Pasa's legitimacy is her strategy in her process of history writing. The analysis will be based on “Mukaddime” (Introduction) in which she writes about her historical perspective and the reasons behind her writing of this book.

The third chapter will address the feminist analysis of the education section to see how the sources of the patriarchal bargain, as elaborated upon in the previous chapter, are accomplished within this topic. I will argue that although Fatma Aliye revealed great concern for the issue of the education of women, in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*, the way she engages in this issue leaves women out, contrary to her political position which are revealed in her novels and journalism. Applying Elizabet Grosz's theorization for a feminist reading, I will ask the question of whether or not we can say that the text is a feminist text.

CHAPTER 1 Biography and Theory

1.1 Fatma Aliye's Life Story

*"If she were a man, had she been under regular education, she would be a real genius."*²²
Ahmed Cevdet Pasha

Fatma Aliye was born on October 22nd 1862 to gentry as the second child of Advaye Rabia Hanım and Ahmed Cevdet Pasa (1822-1895), a famous bureaucrat and historian of the time.²³ Her father's name and position came before her name through out her life, as his name appears in the first sentence of her biography. Fatma Aliye owed her educational opportunities to her father's position, as well as the privileges of her elite life. Yet, her gender was the most important criterion in determining her career path. As Cevdet Pasa noted, she would have been a genius of the 19th century, if she had been born a man. Cevdet's statement has two consequences for Fatma Aliye. The first one is that at a time when education seen as a right only for men, Fatma Aliye was left with limited resources to realize her potential. The second is that only a man could utilize the intellectual capacity of Fatma Aliye with proper education. The quote by Cevdet Pasa also reveals the concern of the era for education and specifically the education of women, as will be discussed in the third chapter.

Fatma Aliye's elder brother, Ali Sedat (1857-1900) was a member of the State Council. Her younger sister, Emine Semiye (1868-1944) was later known to be one of the first Ottoman feminist writers. There is no trace of supportive and close relations between the siblings. Although Fatma had also been taught by Ali Sedat's teachers, who gave her books

²² Quoted in Ahmed Mithat Efendi, p. 86.

²³ Most of the biographical information in this chapter comes from Ahmed Mithat Efendi's biography on Fatma Aliye named *Fatma Aliye or the Birth of an Ottoman Women Writer*. The book covers the first thirty three years of her life and includes letters from Fatma Aliye to Ahmed Midhat Effendi regarding to her life.

and newspapers, in the beginning of her career, Ali Sedat was not very support her writing and sent letters to Fatma Aliye's husband, Faik Bey, accusing Fatma Aliye of revealing the “private” life of Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and their family.²⁴ Emine Semiye, on the other hand, was not close in a similar line of thinking with Fatma Aliye. She was more radical in her expectations and claims regarding to the political position of women.²⁵ She married three times and had a tempestuous life. Emine Semiye was among the first politically active women of the time and her journal articles and in the books she published reflects this.

Emine Semiye is another important character in the Ottoman women's intellectual history. Although a comparison of her with Fatma Aliye is not within the scope of this thesis, a set of questions about the intellectual relation of these sisters is waiting to be answered.²⁶ It is known that Emine Semiye was also home-schooled; however, later she also attended to Darülmualimat.²⁷ Although Emine Semiye was also educated by private tutors as her brother and sister, and her knowledge was not the result of a formal education like Fatma Aliye, she was more critical to the education she gained.²⁸ She mentions to the educational dichotomy of being the daughter of a religious mother and a reformist father in her work. Contrary to Fatma Aliye, Emine Semiye attributes a role to their mother, Advıye Hanım, in her education, whereas Fatma Aliye disregards her contribution and points that she was bored during the

²⁴ Mübeccel Kızıltan and Tülay Gençtürk, *Atatürk Kitaplığı Fatma Aliye Hanım Evrak Kataloğu I*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Bekedıyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, 1993): p.69. Considering the dates of these letters, it is expected that the book Ali Sedat was mentioning is the biography of Fatma Aliye that was written by Ahmed Mithat Efendi.

²⁵ Şefika Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketinde Bir Öncü: Emine Semiye, Hayatı, Eserleri, Fikirleri* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2008).

²⁶ The influence of Fatma Aliye on Emine Semiye is an area of research that needs to be explored. Although Zihnioğlu touches upon this issue, she treats these two prominent writers with different tendencies as having the same agenda. See Yaprak Zihnioğlu, Fatma Aliye and Emine Semiye, *Tarih ve Toplum* 186 (June, 1999): 336-343.

²⁷ Kurnaz, p.30. Although there is not an official document of her graduation from Darülmualimat, Kurnaz says this conclusion can be made from her work and the fact that she worked as a teacher and educational inspector.

²⁸ Kurnaz, p. 26-31.

time she spent in the harem.²⁹

Emine Semiye was an Ottomanist who believed in the equality of people as “Ottoman citizens”. She was a member of the CUP³⁰ and later Osmanlı Demokrat Fırkası (ODP),³¹ and had been a political character. Although there is not much information on her political opinions between 1933 and the year she deceased, 1944, Şefika Kurnaz concludes from some of her publications from this period that she was a feminist who followed Atatürk's reforms and the Western style of education.³² Thus, Emine Semiye was more radical and more political than Fatma Aliye. Having two of the most prominent women “activists” and writers of the late 19th century from the same family shows the significance of the education they received. However, they were not completely on the same side. Fatma Aliye's political tools and life style were different than Emine Semiye. When Fatma Aliye wrote this book she was actually defending her father from the party of which Emine Semiye was once a member, the CUP.

Fatma Aliye learned how to read and write at the age of five.³³ She had her own teachers on different subjects throughout her education, like mathematics, Arabic, French, European and Arabic literature, and chemistry. From her childhood, Fatma Aliye mostly had memories of the time she spent in *selamlık*³⁴ with her father's acquaintances, until the age of thirteen at which she began cover her, according to the “tradition”. She states that she amazed those men with her eagerness to learn and ability to present her thoughts clearly. From the

²⁹ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, p. 61.

³⁰ The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) whose members made the 1908 revolution for the installation of II. Constitutional Monarchy.

³¹ Ottoman Democrat Party was established at 1909. Emine Semiye met with socialism after she got closer to this party. (Kurnaz, pp.142-6).

³² Kurnaz, p.147.

³³ Ahmed Mithat Efendi, 23.

³⁴ *Selamlık* is part of a big house in which the men spend time during the day to work and welcome their guests.

ages of three and five, when she was in Aleppo (1866-1868),³⁵ she only had memories of her “friendships” with her father's coffee-maker, who was a wise man, and the British consul, who was visiting Cevdet Pasa. Both the teachers coming her house to teach her and her conversations her father's visitors broadened her perception and eagerness to learn at a very young age. Fatma Aliye discovered Ahmed Mithat Efendi, who is a famous novelist of the Tanzimat era, a few years later when she was ten.³⁶ Her brother, Ali Sedat, gave her Ahmed Mithat Efendi's book, *Letâif-i Rivâyât*³⁷ (1870) which she enjoyed greatly. After reading this book, Fatma Aliye read every publication written by him, including his journal *Kırkambar*, which was a journal covering various topics from human physiology to literature. Then, they developed a close intellectual relationship beginning with letters about this journal delivered when Fatma Aliye was around fifteen years old.

From this point, until Fatma Aliye's first publications, Ahmed Mithat and Fatma Aliye developed a father-daughter relationship. Ahmed Mithat Efendi wrote the biography in 1893/4, just a few years after the publication of her first novel and the appearance of her articles in journals and newspapers. At the beginning of her career as a novelist, Fatma Aliye was criticized because her style supposedly resembled Ahmed Mithat's.³⁸ Later, however, she was accepted as being among the first Ottoman woman intellectuals. The father-daughter

³⁵ Due to Cevdet Pasa's appointment as the governor of Aleppo, the family lived there for tow year, 1866-1868. Fatma Aliye also traveled to Corfu when his father appointed as the governor of Corfu in 1874, however after his repost to the Ministry of Education the family moved back to İstanbul after a short stay in 1875. In 1878, Ahmed Cevdet Pasa gets appointed as the governor of Syria and the family moves to Damascus for a nine months stay. On the way back, the family stops at Beirut for three months waiting for the winter to pass to be able to travel (Aşa, pp. 27-35).

³⁶ Ahmed Mithat Efendi (1844-1912) is among the literary canon, who introduced novel in to the literature during the Tanzimat era. He published over 200 books on various genres like novels, short stories, biographies, historical accounts, and autobiography. He assumed the position of teacher in her books and aimed to inform his readers on the developments in Europe. Applying the European science and technology upon the basis of Ottoman cultural and moral values, his approach was critical to the abrupt Westernization of the period.

³⁷ *Letâif-i Rivâyât* is the first story book of the Ottoman literature. Ahmed Mithat Efendi published 5 volumes of this book in 1870 and the series finished at 1895 as a total of 25 volumes.

³⁸ Ahmet Mithat Efendi, pp.82-83.

relationship between Ahmed Mithat and Fatma Aliye was rooted in their teacher-student dialogue, which resembles the relationship that Fatma Aliye establishes with her father in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*.

Although Fatma Aliye spent most of her time with her father's visitors, she innately knew, starting when she was around ten, which her intellectual lineage was going to come from women. When she heard a superstitious belief saying that “eating the leftovers of learned people makes you learned,” she wanted to eat the leftovers of a respected *woman* who was coming to their house as her mother's the teacher.³⁹ She could have chosen an exemplary learned man, yet, she chose a woman as a role model for herself. Similarly, later in her writing career, she writes that “women must know their history”, i.e. the history of women who lived before them, as well as their intellectual production and deeds. Thus, although she highlights her intellectual relationships with the prominent men of her time, she associates herself with a female lineage. Fatma Aliye found the time she spent in *harem*⁴⁰ lonely and she attended to her mother's visitors as a matter of courtesy. She continued her education with female teachers who taught her French, as well as European and Ottoman literatures.

At the age of seventeen, although she was expecting to continue her scientific studies, the marriage issue appeared. She married Mehmet Faik Pasa, who was a *kolağası*,⁴¹ in 1880 which was arranged by her father.⁴² They had four daughters, Hatice (1880), Ayşe (1884-1967), Nimet (1900-1972), Zübeyde İsmet (1901-?) from oldest to youngest.⁴³ Both Hatice

³⁹ Ahmed Mithat Efendi, p. 23. Her mother was learning how to read and write, after which she wrote letters to Ahmed Cevdet Pasha. He was very pleased of his wives letters. For the family letters of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha see Ahmet Cihan, *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa'nın Aile Mektupları*, (İstanbul: Gökkuşbu, 2007).

⁴⁰ Harem is the part of a big house in which the wife of the house and children

⁴¹ A rank in Ottoman army, which is between a captain and a major. Faik Pasa was also an *aide-de-camp* of Sultan Abdül-Hamid II.

⁴² Ahmed Mithat Efendi, p. 74.

⁴³ Aşa, p. 36.

and Ayşe were home schooled. Ayşe eventually married to one of her teachers despite the objections of her parents. This was unacceptable for Fatma Aliye because the “teacher” was supposed to be a “morally” trusted person, which can be observed in the relationships she established with her teachers. After this incident, Nimet and İsmet were sent to a French school, Dame de Sion. Nimet wanted to change her school and thus was sent to Robert College. However, this brought another challenge and disappointment for Fatma Aliye, as her youngest daughter İsmet escaped to become a Catholic nun. Although she spent the entire inheritance from Ahmed Cevdet Pasa to find and bring her back, her daughter had vanished, except for a few letters.⁴⁴

Faik Pasa was an educated man; however, his education was not on the same level as Fatma Aliye's.⁴⁵ When Faik Pasa saw Fatma Aliye reading novels, he reacted and banned her from reading then since he believed that they were detrimental for the morals of a woman.⁴⁶ This ban lasted for eight years. It ended when Fatma Aliye caught a serious disease after giving birth to her second child, when Faik Pasa was away from home due to an appointment. After Fatma Aliye got recovered, Faik Pasa's attitude towards her reading had changed. Although she was still not conducting “research as she wanted to,” she was allowed to read novels. After a couple of years, Fatma Aliye wanted to translate Georges Ohnet's novel *Volonte*, which both Faik Pasa and herself enjoyed reading, from the French into Ottoman Turkish and Faik Pasa allowed her to do the translation. Fatma Aliye translated the novel with the name of *Meram* and published it under the pseudonym “Bir Kadın” (A Woman).

Ahmed Cevdet Pasa was surprised with the quality of Fatma Aliye's translation which

⁴⁴ Aşa, pp. 38-39.

⁴⁵ Ahmed Mithat Efendi, p. 76.

⁴⁶ Ahmed Mithat Efendi, p. 76.

led him to suspect that Ahmed Mithat Efendi had been helping her. Similarly, at first critics did not believe that this was written by a woman, and, after Fatma Aliye revealed herself they alleged that it was written by Cevdet or Ali Sedat. Yet, this publication, and the positive comments it received, encouraged Fatma Aliye to write. She wrote *Hayal ve Hakikat* [Dream and Reality] with Ahmed Mithat Efendi with the signature of “A Woman”. She published her first novel, *Muhâdarat*, using her name, in 1892. In 1893 she was invited to the World’s Colombian Exposition Women’s Library in Chicago. In conjunction, her biography and works were published in The Women’s library of the World’s Fair Catalog. In March 1900, she writes in the *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* [Newspaper for Ladies] that she was invited to Paris Fair; however, there is no evidence that she sent her books to this exposition.⁴⁷ Her books *Udî* and *Nisvân-ı İslâm* were translated into French and Arabic. Fatma Aliye actively produced between 1892 and 1915 using her name. However, after gradually declining, the traces of her writing life end in 1922. She had fourteen books published, as well as three unpublished manuscripts.⁴⁸ Fatma Aliye also wrote in journals and newspapers such as *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* [Newspaper for Ladies], *Kadınlar Dünyası* [World of Women] and *İnkılâb*.⁴⁹ In these articles, she wrote about various issues such as women’s education, polygamy, and political debates of the era. Journalism was an important part of her contribution to the women’s movement.

Fatma Aliye was among the pioneer’s of the Ottoman women’s movement, not only with her publications but also with her public visibility. She established a charity association named Cemiyet-i İmdadiye to support the families of the martyrs, namely women and children, and veterans from the 1897 war with Greece. She was given an imperial medal by

⁴⁷ Mübeccel Kızıltan, (1993): p. 5.

⁴⁸ The manuscripts are in Fatma Aliye Hanım’s Catalogue in Atatürk Library in Istanbul, Turkey.

⁴⁹ İnkılâb means non-violent revolution, reform.

the Sultan Abdülhamit II for her supports, making her the first woman to receive this medal. She was also a member of the Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti (today's Red Crescent) which again helped to the martyrs' families and veterans. Thus, Fatma Aliye was in public realm, both with a role to educate women, as well as providing assistance in the absence of their husbands.

Despite the fact that she had great educational opportunities, Fatma Aliye faced gendered education in her early years, as she kept facing gendered limitations later in her life. First, she did not get a regular education, but due to her eagerness to learn, some of her brother's teachers also gave her classes. Her education in French was based on her own efforts to learn the language, which were not rejected by her father and so a teacher was appointed. However, her French teacher did not take her learning French seriously enough to offer her an upper level dictionary⁵⁰, of which Fatma Aliye was greatly affected when she first saw it. Similarly, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha was not aware of the intellectual accumulation and capacity that Fatma Aliye had. She gained the opportunity to take history classes from her father, only after her translation of *Volonté* was published and accepted as a success by literary circles in 1890.⁵¹ The relation ship between father and daughter changed after Cevdet Pasha realized the capabilities of Fatma Aliye.⁵²

After the 1920s, with her gradual refrain from writing, Fatma Aliye had already been forgotten. With her husband's death in 1928, she was living with her daughter Nimet, who did not leave her until Aliye's own death on 14 July 1936. It is known from rental contracts and electric bills that, around the end of her life, she lived in apartment flats in the Beyoğlu

⁵⁰ Fatma Aliye was using a small dictionary for beginners although she could better use an upper level dictionary.

⁵¹ Ahmed Mithat Efendi, pp.78-79.

⁵² This relations will be analyzed in Chapter II under the Father and Daughter section.

and Pangaltı⁵³ neighborhoods in conditions to which she was not accustomed.⁵⁴ Both because of radical political changes that Fatma Aliye was not very willing to adjust and because her daughter İsmet had become a Catholic nun, Fatma Aliye removed herself from literary production.

Fatma Aliye's life story proves her intermediate position, in which she was translating norms into compatible pieces. In this process, writing in general was a social action for her and through history writing, she committed to political action as well. In the next chapters, I will review the ways in which Fatma Aliye survived in a male domain in a society that was based on the segregation of genders.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

Most detailed information about the first thirty years of Fatma Aliye's life comes from Ahmed Mithat Efendi's biography on her, yet this biography does not explore the way she was able to write and exist as an author.⁵⁵ Recent studies, as I mentioned in the Introduction, do not question the way through which she gained the right to write. However, understanding how she came to be the first woman writer of the Ottoman Empire will enable a more comprehensive understanding of the content and style of her works. In this section, I aim to conceptualize the way in which Fatma Aliye and her book *Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time* could be read to understand her strategies of writing. First, I am going to explain the term “patriarchal bargain” and expand it through my own use. Second, I will elaborate on the feminist analysis of the text which will help to make a feminist analysis of the “Mukaddime” [introduction] and “Maarif” [education] sections of the book. A feminist analysis of this book

⁵³ In Beyoğlu and Pangaltı the new bourgeoisie, who engaged in trade and were mostly non-Muslims, were living.

⁵⁴ Aşa, p.39.

⁵⁵ For a criticism on this issue, see Hülya Adak, “Gender-in(g) Biography: Ahmed Mithat (on Fatma Aliye) or The Cannonization of an Ottoman Male Writer,” *Querelles*, Vol. 10, (May 2005): 189-204.

will help to extend the notion of patriarchal bargaining within the framework of intellectual relations in the patrilinear tradition of writing.

Kandiyoti coined the term “patriarchal bargain”⁵⁶ to point out the strategies of women within the insecurities and oppression of the patriarchally constructed families and social life. Women develop a particular strategy within the internal logic of a given system of patriarchy. Kandiyoti uses the term to also point out the cultural, regional, and religious specificities of this bargaining.

“Systematic analyses of women's strategies and coping mechanisms can help to capture the nature of patriarchal systems in their cultural, class-specific, and temporal concreteness and reveal how men and women resist, accommodate, adapt, and conflict with each other over resources, rights, and responsibilities.”⁵⁷

Analyzing the narrowly defined, specific patriarchal bargains gives a better understanding of patriarchy, than an over-arching, ahistorical, and non-contextualized definition of patriarchy. Focusing on the mechanisms of the patriarchal bargain helps to grasp the complexities of a patriarchal system through which a more comprehensive understanding of patriarchy becomes available. More importantly, the relationships between men and women gain a different aspect, aside from being a relation between the oppressors and oppressed. The patriarchal bargaining gives agency to women within the logic of patriarchal suppression systems.

Deniz Kandiyoti writes that “women's strategies are always played out in the context of identifiable patriarchal bargains that act as implicit scripts that define, limit, and inflect their market and domestic options.”⁵⁸ However, the systematic analysis of women's strategies

⁵⁶ Deniz Kandiyoti, “Bargaining with Patriarchy” *Gender and Society* Vol. 2, No. 3, Special Issue to Honor Jessie Bernard (Sep., 1988), pp. 274-290. In the footnote, Kandiyoti clarifies that the act of bargaining takes place between two equal sides. However, she states that “women as a rule bargain from a weaker position” (footnote 1, p.286).

⁵⁷ Kandiyoti, p. 285.

⁵⁸ Kandiyoti, p. 285.

in patriarchal bargaining cannot be limited to their options in the market and domestic spheres. This study utilizes the term “patriarchal bargain” in terms of the characteristic of the act as an implicit script that defines, limits, and inflects Fatma Aliye's intellectual options and as her strategies of writing in a patrilinear tradition. I will use this term to analyze the patriarchal bargaining that Fatma Aliye engages in.

The significance of this argument for the purpose of this study is women writers' strategies of dealing with patriarchal oppression. Women's strategies are not necessarily destined to resist the patriarchy or subvert it. However, they seek to convert the detrimental affects of the practices of patriarchal tradition to a relatively advantageous position for themselves. By this means, a focus on Fatma Aliye's strategies complicates the picture of the patriarchal domination through revealing the bargaining that occurred between the male dominated realm of history writing and herself.

To understand the patriarchal bargain that Fatma Aliye engaged in during her life as a writer requires a sympathetic observation. Since her act of resistance, obedience and coping mechanisms are evident from her writings, the things she wrote and the ones she left in silence gain importance. Her mechanisms of coping with the patrilinear tradition of writing, and specifically history writing for the purpose of this thesis, demonstrates the pervasiveness of the patriarchal system in the process of writing and her fight for legitimacy. Thus, as an author, classifying or situating Fatma Aliye's work becomes a significant task to understand the patriarchal bargain she undertook in the course of her writing process.

The relationship between the author and the text is a complicated one, which has been discussed by various philosophers, historians, and literary critics.⁵⁹ According to Foucault,

⁵⁹ Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” *Modern Criticism and Theory*, ed. by David Lodge (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000): 146-150.; Michael Foucault, “What is an Author?” *Modern Criticism and Theory*, ed. by David Lodge (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000): 174-187.

“the author is the principle of thrift in the proliferation of meaning.”⁶⁰ This does not mean that the author is the only source of meaning. Yet, the author is the one who brings discourses into existence through limiting, including, excluding and choosing. Thus, the author mediates the text through the process of selection, limitation and exclusion which sets a discursive framework. The mediation in Fatma Aliye's book *Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time* gains significance as it occurs in multiple levels in her work.⁶¹ This is where I am tracing the patriarchal bargain of Fatma Aliye, on the textual level of history writing.

Bonnie Smith in her book *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* finds the question of “What is an author?” essential for it answers the question of how the “historian” is produced through the institutions of family, school, friendship, and marriage.⁶² This perception not only justifies the significance of Fatma Aliye's life story for this study, but also points to the importance of the way Fatma Aliye framed and produced Ahmed Cevdet Pasa as the “historian” in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*. Fatma Aliye focuses on the school and friendship in the biography her father. She mentions Cevdet Pasa's parents and grandfather in the context of his education, however, his own nuclear family is totally disregarded. The date of marriage, birth of children is omitted in this biography. Therefore, to be able to include Fatma Aliye in the history writing process a comprehensive analysis should be made in terms of her own relations to the above mentioned institutions in the process of emerging as a historian. Due to the scope of this thesis, I undertake a limited analysis on the intellectual relation between the father and the daughter in the second chapter.

Smith also points to the distinction between professional and amateur history in which the first one was shaped as a “nationally important, genderless truth, as a discipline for

⁶⁰ Foucault, p.118.

⁶¹ This claim will be explored in Chapter II.

⁶² Smith, Bonnie G., *The Gender of History: Men Women and Historical Practice*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, 1998) pp. 70-71.

men”.⁶³ During the end of 19th century American and English women were participating in higher education but their topics were “different” such as history of women, history of social life, high and low culture. Modern languages and literature were in the girls' curriculum while classics were under male domination. Gender was the central category in the construction of history as a discipline in 19th century Europe.⁶⁴ Through this category historical study was established as the male domain. Although later in the 19th century, women got history education in the undergraduate level, it took till the 1920s in Europe for professional women historians to emerge. Gisela Bock pointed out that the search for women in the history is a question of “previously neglected relations,” not a simple search for the object-woman in history.⁶⁵ Then, the analysis of historical accounts written by Fatma Aliye should be approached from a relational and comparative perspective rather than a crude emphasis on the themes that she indulged with in her works.

During the end of 19th century Ottoman, women were participating in the act of writing as their male counterparts, in terms of publishing novels and writing in journals. However, their contribution was not considered in the level of production of knowledge, since they still widely lacked the opportunity of formal education. Writing in journals, publishing books, and becoming visible in the public space were the characteristics of the intellectual production of women through the end of this century. Since women were not recognized in the professional domain of history writing, or knowledge production in general, understanding the strategies of Fatma Aliye becomes more important. Approaching Fatma Aliye's work and life through the theoretical lens of the concept of patriarchal bargaining will enable to understand the broader perspective behind Fatma Aliye's struggle in

⁶³ Smith, p. 9.

⁶⁴ Ilaria Porciani and Mary O'Dowd, “History Women”, *Storia della Storiografia*, 46 (2004): 3-34. quotation in p.5.

⁶⁵ Porciani & O'Dowd, (2004) p.4.

the patrilinear tradition of history writing.

1.3 Methodology

Elizabet Grosz in her article “Feminism after the Death of the Author” engages in a discussion about the feminist analysis of a text⁶⁶ after Roland Barthes said that “the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author.”⁶⁷ Grosz states that for a text to be designated as feminist or patriarchal the author, reader, and the content are not relevant to the analysis, but the *style* of the text is crucial. How the text is written is significant enough to determine the text's “alignment with, participation in, and subversion of patriarchal norms.”⁶⁸ The “discursive positioning” of the text gives different levels of relationships between the author, reader and the content, that enables a comprehensive understanding about the political position of the text.

The classification of a text as feminist or patriarchal is difficult and never explicitly complete since classification can only be momentary. It can be achieved only in parts, but not for all possible readings and effects. Here, the aim is not to attribute or reveal the characteristics of the feminist text through its content. Grosz highlights that there is no specific set of topics and objects for a feminist text, but any text can be read from a feminist perspective, through a focus on the discursive positioning of the text with regards to patriarchal norms. However, Grosz gives three factors that are necessary to be analyzed for the text to be judged with regards to its political status.

The first requirement is to consider the relationship between the text and the prevailing norms and ideas. The production, reception, and the assessment of the

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Grosz, “Sexual Signatures: Feminism after the Death of the Author,” *Space, Time and Perversion* (New York, London: Routledge): 9-24.

⁶⁷ Barthes, p. 150.

⁶⁸ Grosz, p. 17.

presumptions in the text are to be scrutinized. Second, a feminist text must problematize the standard masculinist ways of the authorial enunciation. Grosz emphasizes that this challenge need not be a radical one but, for example, challenging men's occupation of the position of authoritative knower might open up a feminist subversion of the patronym. Third, a feminist text must provide new ways of analysis and argumentation, new genres or forms, or new styles, namely new discursive spaces, which would enable questioning of the patriarchal norms.

Indulging in a feminist analysis of *Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time* will problematize the categories of patriarchal and feminist text through showing the *patriarchal bargain* that Fatma Aliye use as a strategy in her writing process. Fatma Aliye legitimized herself as a historian through her father. She uses the historical genre as act of criticism and political action and she a selected historiography to emphasize continuity with her father. Her whole writing career was part of a gendered act. Thus, the kind of strategies she developed in this process throughout her life is demonstrates the extent and harshness of this male domination for the female intellectual production. To fully grasp this bargaining strategy, an analysis of her written work is crucial. Consequently, the feminist analysis of this biographical work will enable a close detailing of her strategies of coping with the mechanisms of the patrilinear tradition of history writing. Thus, the next chapter will bring a feminist reading to the “Mukaddime” [Introduction] of *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* to analyze the patriarchal bargain that Fatma Aliye undertook.

CHAPTER 2 History Writing and the Father

Rooted in Elizabeth Grosz's feminist analyses of a text, as explained in the previous chapter, this chapter will analyze the “Mukaddime” [Introduction] of *Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time*. In this analysis, I will look at the relation of the text to the prevailing norms on historiography, the existence of problematizing masculinist ways of authorial enunciation, and the possibility of a new approach to historiography, through following the intellectual genealogy between father and daughter. Thus, taking Ahmed Cevdet Pasa as a representative of the male domain of history, Fatma Aliye's relation to this male domain will be scrutinized. First, I will give brief information on the significance of *Tanzimat* era and the themes of 19th century historiography. In the following sections, the way Fatma Aliye establishes the link with her father, as a historian, therefore, the way in which she presents two different historiographical perspectives will be analyzed. Continuing with this issue, the third and fourth sections will focus on this historiographical perspectives of the father and the daughter, in terms of their approach to “source of the Truth” and to “the topic of the History.”

2.1 Tanzimat and 19th Century Historiography

Tanzimat literally means “the reforms” and designates the period of the Ottoman Empire between 1839 and 1876. The period starts with the declaration of the Gülhane Edict.⁶⁹ Fatma Aliye describes the starting point as a political aim to establish an alliance with European countries in the crisis of Mehmet Ali Pasa⁷⁰ in Egypt, as well as the concern

⁶⁹ Eric J. Zürcher, *Turkey A Modern History*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), p. 51.

⁷⁰ Mehmet Ali Pasha was the governor of Egypt who rebelled against the empire and was ready to fight with his own army.

of a group of reformers led by Mustafa Resid Pasha to save the empire:

“It was Resid Pasha who renovated and brought new ways of doing things through diplomacy. Resid Pasha’s thought was to maintain an alliance with the European states and finding a solution to the Egypt problem with the pen [rather than the sword] and solving it. But he wanted to combine this with the declaration of Tanzimât-i Hayriyye [Tanzimat Edict] to be able to carry out them together.”⁷¹

European style reforms started during the reign of Sultans Selim III (1789 – 1808) and Mahmud II (1808 – 1839). The aim of the reforms was to keep the Islamic state and nation as compact as possible in the aftermath of serious defeats.⁷² Political controversies of the Tanzimat Period focused on the problem of finding ways to strengthen the empire. Being interwoven with the political debates, intellectually controversies concentrated on the self-image. Consequently, a series of reforms were introduced during this period in the legislation, education, bureaucratic functioning, and law, which resulted in the expansion of the role of government and triggered the formation of strong elite. The elite formation of the 19th and 20th centuries was observed in general in the Middle East.

“The imposition of Western administration and law has introduced a fresh complication both in the structure and the ideology of the Muslim society. By stabilizing at a given moment a transitional situation ... modernism ... brought to a sudden stop the circulation of authority and placed it in the hands of the fortunate few who happened to be in possession of it at that juncture. ... It is not always realized that this crystallization of authority had a marked effect in changing the nature of the relations between those who possessed it and those over whom it was exercise. ... This creation of vested interests came about not by the minor revolutions of the Islamic society itself, but as the result of the sudden imposition of alien ideas.”⁷³

Şerif Mardin states that the mechanisms behind the formation of the elite were more complex as complexity was a significant characteristic of the process of intellectual

⁷¹ Fatma Aliye, p. 44. All translations are mine.

⁷² Çetinsaya, Gökhan, “İslami Vatanseverlikten İslam Siyasetine” (From Islamic Patriotism to Islamic Politics), *Cumhuriyet’e devreden düşünce mirası: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet’in birikimi*, ed. Murat Belge (Cagaloglu, Istanbul: İletişim, 2006): p. 56.

⁷³ H. A. R. Gibb, “Social Reactions in the Muslim World,” *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XXI (Oct. 1934): p.548 quoted in Şerif Mardin, *The genesis of young Ottoman Thought: a study in the modernization of Turkish political ideas* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University PressSyracuse, 2000): p. 110.

“modernization” during the era.⁷⁴ The Ottoman elite were composed of intellectuals who were mostly salaried servants of the state, even though some were opposed to the status quo. Basically, there were no other career opportunities for an intellectual in the Ottoman society.⁷⁵ During Tanzimat era, the idea that the officials were slaves of the sultan shifted to the servants of the state which also brought the emphasis on the bureaucracy and law. Thus, the governmental elite saw themselves as the only means to work for the betterment of the empire. Education was the most significant component of this developmental frame, which also contributed to the strengthening of the position of elite.

Historiography was among the main sources of legitimization for the elite. It was an important part of the search for Ottoman identity. As members of the Ottoman elite found themselves weaker than European powers, they tried to reshape their legitimizing ideology, thus turned to history.⁷⁶ İbn Haldûn's *Mukaddima* had always played an important role in Ottoman historical thought, with his introduction of the constant cyclical change of the historical process. Although the 19th century Ottoman historiography was experiencing a paradigm change, the cyclical understanding of history was still prevalent. Historians, like Ahmed Cevdet Pasa, tried to incorporate the “life cycle” of Ibn Haldun to the newly appropriated secular order of history. Thus, in this new historical view, if taken precautions, Ottoman Empire could envision new centuries, each provided with its own life cycle.⁷⁷

According to Ercümet Kuran, adaptations from the European style history writing

⁷⁴ Mardin (2000), p. 396.

⁷⁵ Christopher Neumann, “Bad Times and Better Self: Definitions of Identity and Strategies for Development in Late Ottoman Historiography 1850-1900” in *Ottoman and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. by Fikret Adanır Suraiya Faroqhi (Brill, N.H.E.J., N.V. Koninklijke, Boekhandel en Drukkerij, 2002): 57 – 78, p. 59.

⁷⁶ Neumann (2002), 62.

⁷⁷ Neumann (2002), 60-61.

were made during the Tanzimat.⁷⁸ European influence brought the development of branches of history like the introduction of numismatics and sigillography, and the final organization of the Imperial Museum of Antiquities. Local histories which were previously devoted to the lives of local notables, now, were more a study of the past events of a region or town.⁷⁹ With the imposition of the books on European ideologies after 1860s, the European effect on Ottoman historiography was most visible. A group of intellectuals, who called themselves “Young Ottomans” took the European idea of nationalism and opposed Western imperialism to maintain the continuation of the empire, and were influential in producing an ideological interpretation of the history on the basis of nationalistic and religious motives. With the aggressions of Russia in Central Asia and World War I, another new ideology emerged promoting “Turkey for Turks”. The intellectuals recognized that the populations in these regions were Muslims and shared the same ethnic origin as Turks, like the most of the Empire. Then, they tried to “uncover” a rich Turkish culture and history covered in the Islamic tradition. Thus, historiography has always been the means to create an ideological position for the elite, which makes it crucial for the analysis of *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*. The Tanzimat elite is objectified through Fatma Aliye, whom herself was part of the elite. The topical choice of the elite also involves a degree of self-reflection.

Fatma Aliye says in the introduction that “as people seeing the good deeds of their ancestors in the history should try to follow them, people seeing the opposite should refrain from those, so that they can excel themselves.”⁸⁰ From this point on, her actors in the book are fixed as the state officials who were the new governmental elite and who had the control

⁷⁸ Ahmed Mithat imitated French *Universe* and wrote a summary of the histories of 15 countries, last being the Ottoman Empire. For more information see Ercüment Kuran, “Ottoman Historiography of the Tanzimat Period”, in *Historians in the Middle East* ed. by Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

⁷⁹ Kuran, p. 425.

⁸⁰ Fatma Aliye (1914) *Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time* transl. by Mehmed Şevki Eygi, Istanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, p. 18. All translations are mine.

over state affairs. Neither the sultan, nor the Ottoman society, which is attempted to be established as the citizens of the empire rather than the subjects of the sultan during the period, nor the political events of the period between 1822-1855 are the main aim of Fatma Aliye to convey to the reader. The focus is the function and the role of the governmental elite during the Tanzimat period through the example of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha.

2.2 The topic of History

In the framework of 19th century historiography, in this section, I will look into the possibility of new ways of analysis or argumentation that Fatma Aliye enters in through her choice of the topic of History. According to Christopher Neumann, in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*, Fatma Aliye transforms some parts of *Tezâkir*⁸¹ (v.40) into a biography of Cevdet Pasha.⁸² However, it is crucial to understand the significance of the frame that she Fatma Aliye puts Ahmed Cevdet Pasa's life in, which has differences from Cevdet. According to Cevdet, history is necessary, for it reveals the past events, for the society and informs the statesmen with the secrets of the past, which they should know. It satisfies people's need to know about the past and the future.⁸³ However, Fatma Aliye expects a wider audience to read her book and uses the historical genre to make social criticism.

Since the actors of Fatma Aliye are the elite, the focus of *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* is on the political thought and political events of the period. This choice of topic is consistent with Cevdet's perception of history because, for him, any event cannot be the topic of history, only those that are significant for the wider framework (vukuat-ı külliye ve mühimme). In this case, the responsibility of the historian is to contextualize events into a

⁸¹ A 40-volume book that Cevdet Pasa wrote for his descendant state historian about the events of period that he held the office.

⁸² Neumann, (1999) p. 9.

⁸³ Neumann, (1999) p. 155.

scheme of cause and effect relations.⁸⁴ Stating historical events as they happened meant separating the event from its context which causes the misunderstandings about the significance of the events. However, for Fatma Aliye “a biography of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha would inevitably include his personal life.”⁸⁵ In the book, she describes the characteristics of Cevdet Pasa, his relations with other people and his personal opinions about the other bureaucrats of the period. As it will be clarified in the unfolding of this chapter, Fatma Aliye follows the historical thinking of Ahmed Cevdet Pasa's school, yet she writes in a different historical genre.

When Fatma Aliye says “It is evident that the secrets of history are revealed more clearly with the passing time,”⁸⁶ she refers to the need to see the effects of the event, so that contextualization with a cause and effect relation could be done. Fatma Aliye assumes that history has secrets and some of them have certain significance, which leads them to be revealed eventually. Ahmed Cevdet Pasa also writes in his *Tarih-i Cevdet* that “history is the past that explains today's circumstances”⁸⁷ which holds that the contextualization of today within the past, can help to explain today's circumstances, as well as establishing a cause-effect relation. Second point is the time dimension that Fatma Aliye again follows Cevdet Pasa. “Historical imagination” requires a chronological separation between the historical event and the historian. Ahmed Cevdet Pasha explains this need by saying that during the process of writing history when it comes to the lived periods “not only the clear explanation of the truth of the circumstances but even the allusion gets difficult.”⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Ümid Meriç, *Cevdet Paşa'nın Cemiyet ve Devlet Görüşü* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi, 1975), p. 19.

⁸⁵ Fatma Aliye, p. 17.

⁸⁶ Fatma Aliye, p. 17.

⁸⁷ Meriç, p. 14.

⁸⁸ Neumann, (1999) p. 52. The original states that “hakaayık-ı ahvâli tasrîh değil telmîh bile güçleşiyor”.

Different from Cevdet Pasa, for Fatma Aliye historical account is part of doing political criticism.

“Although the constitutional monarchy brought the chance to talk candidly, as well the pieces of history that were written critically came into the open, has our society gained the level of understanding that is capable to grasp about what history means; so that the descendants of the mentioned people will be one of those who understand?”⁸⁹

This is a very self-revealing critique which targets the governmental elite from the second constitutional monarchy. Fatma Aliye does not see the results of these changes in general, including the people who were part of these changes. Because the new elite does not know the aim and purpose of history, she foresees that they will be offended by her account. In the rest of the book, when she writes on the Tanzimat period, she emphasizes the importance of choosing the experts for official positions for the future of empire. The corruption of bureaucrats and the conspiracies that they engage in slows down the chances of progress. For example, Reşid Pasa was replaced as a grand vizier several times due to the power grabbing conspiracies formulated by his opponents, which affected his position several times and risked his life. Although after getting his position back he was insisted on the reform agenda, these ruptures did not allow the reforms to be successful in all areas, education being the most significant.⁹⁰

During the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r.1876 – 1909), a number of historical works were published by journalists, high-ranking bureaucrats, and politicians, as a result of which state chroniclers had become insignificant. According to Neumann, Abdülhamid II’s censorship did not allow any other genre of prose to appear in political discussion.⁹¹ Considering that the novel as prose entered into Ottoman literature only during 1860s, the written criticism was not a tradition in the empire. The best histories of this period were

⁸⁹ Fatma Aliye, p. 18.

⁹⁰ Fatma Aliye, p. 48-49.

⁹¹ Neumann, (1999) p. 68.

written in the form of biographies.⁹² These biographies can be considered to be the emergence of the visibility of the individual in 19th century history writing. In this manner, Fatma Aliye's claim of writing the biography of Cevdet Pasha's history is more than about his personal history. She states that an account of her father's deeds will inevitably include details of his personal life, which is crucial in terms of including the individual the subject of history. Yet, it is also important in terms of signifying the emergence of individual as social subject. I do not mean to claim that Fatma Aliye is writing social or cultural history, thus parting from the classical history writing. She is bringing a new motif to the classical history, but not necessarily being different from it. She adds the personal history of Ahmed Cevdet Pasa to the bigger plot of the Tanzimat era and her aim in doing this is to project the important accomplishments of her father and the other Tanzimat bureaucrats.

The claim of Fatma Aliye to write a biography endorses the in-betweenness of the book. Her approach to the events of the Tanzimat period and the way she establishes the link between the Tanzimat and the second constitutional monarchy composes the historical digressions in her work that refer to the citationary nature of history. In the broader plot of events in the beginning of the 1910s, Fatma Aliye looks back to the Tanzimat era to demonstrate how certain events are repeating themselves, and incorporates them to her plot of the present day. Through this she seeks to reveal the secrets of history. Although this form of thinking is very in line with Cevdet Pasa's historical philosophy, Fatma Aliye brings a new viewpoint to the Tanzimat period. She contextualizes the reforms of the period through stating the need for them. She writes about the intentions of the Tanzimat elite in undertaking these reforms and investigates the reasons for the failure of the unsuccessful ones. However,

⁹² Kuran, p. 423.

she is not doing this in a “traditional” historical form but in a form, which enables a political discussion on the period.

2.3 “Scientification” of History and Telling the Truth

In this section, I will write about the relationship between *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* and the prevailing norms of 19th century historiography with regards to the scientification discourse which becomes dominant through the Western influenced reforms. In Europe, by the beginning of the 19th century, history was used as a means of reestablishing contact with the past and the European intellectual origin.⁹³ The quest for social and political order after the Napoleonic conquests and the restlessness of the decades of French Revolution disturbed the established regimes. Thus, a period of searching for the convincing foundations appeared among historians, as well as philosophers and lawyers. During this period, “the historian was to recover and read the lost languages of the mute past, and thus to unveil a history that both the rulers of the ancien régime and the new masters of Europe created by Enlightenment and Revolution had allegedly tried to ignore or deny.”⁹⁴ Thus, a political role was attributed to the historians because they could communicate with the past and were able to bring the past forward to avert the conflicts created by the break between the past and present. Starting from the second half of the century, historical writing was based on “scientific” foundations.

The Tanzimat period brought “the traditional” and “modern/scientific” ways of history writing together. The most important historical work of this period was Ahmed Cevdet Pasha’s *Tarih-i devlet-i ‘aliyye*. He was the commissioned by the Encümen-i Daniş [The

⁹³ Lioel Gossman, *Between history and literature*, Cambridge, (Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990) p. 256.

⁹⁴ Gossman, p. 258.

Science Academy] to write the history of the periods between 1778 and 1826. Thus, he was the first state chronicler commissioned by an institution.⁹⁵ *Tarih-i Cevdet* was an important step in the process of “scientific” history writing.⁹⁶ Cevdet had three premises in this work. The first one was the difference he assumed between history and *fenn-i inşâ*⁹⁷. Second, he claimed that daily or yearly repeated events should not have a place in history because they are not helpful in understanding the reasons behind historical events.⁹⁸ Third, he claimed to write unbiased histories, without favoring a particular person or a particular side.⁹⁹

“The time that he who spent to tutor this humble self shows not only how Ahmed Cevdet Pasa worked, but also at what time he worked.”¹⁰⁰ As it is stated at this quote, Cevdet Pasa is both the subject of the history and the means that we know it through. In the very beginning of the book, Fatma Aliye situates her source as her father since he was her primary teacher. In the following sections of the book, she supports this by using her father as the only source. For being the subject of the history, Fatma Aliye notes in the above quote that during her father's tutoring, she also learned about the time that he worked in, i. e. the Tanzimat period. Thus, Cevdet himself is part of the historical event. This relationship is reminiscent of his account *Tezâkir*, which was on the political and social events during his office as state historian, and the idea that Ahmed Lütî Efendi, the next state historian after Cevdet, would use them as sources for his own history.

According to Neumann, Cevdet's claim to write unbiased history is in opposition to the *vak'a-nüvis* (state historian) way of writing prejudiced histories in a partisan and

⁹⁵ Kuran, p. 423

⁹⁶ Neumann, (1999) p. 153.

⁹⁷ Figurative writing style.

⁹⁸ It is important to note here that Cevdet Pasa did not include the ceremonial events to his history. The repeating daily or yearly events should be considered in this frame.

⁹⁹ Neumann, (1999), p. 154.

¹⁰⁰ Fatma Aliye, p. 17.

opportunist way.¹⁰¹ Thus, the chronological separation is also necessary to write an “unbiased” history and to avoid the opportunist approach in history writing. At the same time, the scientification of history brought increasing analysis to history writing. The analysis of primary sources and the use of them in certain clusters and manners brought an interpretation bias. Fatma Aliye reflects on this tradition with an emphasis on telling the Truth. However, unlike her father she does not look for the truth in the archives, but takes the Truth as coming from her father.

Fatma Aliye states that “[m]y estimable readers should be confident with the truth of my exact transference of what he taught to me.”¹⁰² For her, history should be taught to the next generations and should be “loyal to the truth.” History as an account conveying the truth of the past has its significance for the development of society: “The importance of history in the continuation and progress of the nations, the strength and highness of science of history¹⁰³ requires the law of truth.” Thus, her concerns regarding the question of how history should be do not completely overlap with Cevdet Pasa's.

Moreover, the distinction between history and *fenn-i inşâ* is somewhat obscure in Fatma Aliye's writing, although Cevdet Pasa positions himself within the distinction of history and *inşâ*. Fatma Aliye choose to explain the “secrets of history” in a metaphorical way when she says the “events of history are such buds of the procedures of history writing that they blow in time and show themselves.”¹⁰⁴ Through controlling the literary characteristics of her historical account Fatma Aliye distances herself from the scientific notion of history writing. Also, the interpretation in her text becomes complicated through the intermingling of her own memory of events, her memory of the transmission of Cevdet's

¹⁰¹ Neumann, (1999), p. 159.

¹⁰² Fatma Aliye, p. 17.

¹⁰³ The original is stated as “ilm-i tarih”.

¹⁰⁴ Fatma Aliye, p. 18.

classes, and Cevdet's own memory of the events. This oral tradition and the different levels of interpretation in Fatma Aliye's writing make it difficult to assume that her work is a continuation to Cevdet's. Finally, Fatma Aliye writes this book as a result of Tanzimat criticisms in the aftermath of second constitutional monarchy. Therefore, an attempt to write history without favoring anyone or any group does not fit in Fatma Aliye's concerns in this book. Since it is one of her aims to defend her father, this argument becomes irrelevant.

2.4. Father and Daughter

In this section, I will look at the genealogical relation between the masculinist ways of enunciation that can be observed through the father daughter relationship between Fatma Aliye and Ahmed Cevdet Pasa. In the 19th century, the Ottoman family was also going through a period of transformations due to the state initiated changes and legal codes applied to family matters.¹⁰⁵ Together with educational reforms, these changes affected the status of women in terms of making them visible in the public space. Girl's schools, which were opened in the 19th century, were providing occupations for women in the areas of education and industrial production. Consequently, the education of the upper class women meant that the reforms were being observed within the executives at the first hand. İlber Ortaylı points out the obsession with the education of the daughters of the 19th century elite. Being exceptional in her desire to learn, Fatma Aliye benefited from this trend.

As mentioned before, Cevdet Pasa himself became Fatma Aliye's teacher. However, this was only after she proved herself in the intellectual arena with the translation of *Volonté*. After this success, the relation between father and daughter changed. Cevdet Pasa was not only teaching history to Fatma Aliye, but they shared conversations about philosophy and

¹⁰⁵ İlber Ortaylı, "Ottoman Family Law and the State in the Nineteenth Century" *Analecta Isisiana* X (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1994).

religion,¹⁰⁶ which lead to a close intellectual relationship between father and daughter. Through which we observe the transmission of wisdom from an older generation to a younger generation, adding most importantly the emergence of a woman intellectual.

Since Fatma Aliye was “both [Cevdet Pasa's] student and [his] confidante” a lot of people encouraged her to write “an elaborated biography” of her father and the “circumstances of the period in which he lived.” She states that since Cevdet Pasha told her to “Learn it by heart. Keep it. You could publish the things which I could not bring out” she already had the idea of writing such a book, because during,¹⁰⁷ one of their courses Fatma Aliye established the link between the master and student very explicitly. During the rest of the introduction part and she recalls Cevdet Pasha as her “master” in the unfolding. Fatma Aliye legitimizes herself as a historian through the encouraging of the authoritative figure of knowledge, her father, to write in a historical genre and an “explicitly” political book.

“I accept the words of people who reminded me that it is necessary to write this book. Because it is absolute that my deceased father Ahmed Cevdet Pasha’s great endeavor of conveying that much knowledge of history and of literary trainings to be able to write a book was not a fancy. ... it was of course to serve for spreading *maârif* (education).”¹⁰⁸

Fatma Aliye takes the responsibility to spread the *maârif*, as did Reşid Pasa and his followers, one of whom was Cevdet Pasa. The issue of education will be handled in detail in the following chapter, yet, it is necessary to note here that history was seen among the first steps of education for Ottoman intellectuals.¹⁰⁹ Taking this responsibility, she also takes over the authority to *know* and to decide on what to write as a contribution to spreading the *maârif*. Therefore, she challenges the patrilinear tradition of history writing as she puts herself forward in this male domain through acquiring the knowledge. Although she states

¹⁰⁶ Ahmed Mithat Efendi, p. 87.

¹⁰⁷ Fatma Aliye, p. 20.

¹⁰⁸ Fatma Aliye, p. 19.

¹⁰⁹ Meriç, 19.

her source of knowledge as her father, her female existence as the authoritative knower subverts the patronym.

A hasty interpretation might lead to the conclusion that Fatma Aliye fits in the father-son relationship of the Ottoman political thought and is not providing a different position of “knower”. The Tanzimat novelists were in search of their father when introducing the novel as a new genre in the 19th century Ottoman Empire. Jale Parla (1995), in her book about the father-son relationship in the Tanzimat novels, asserts the idea of father and son and the relation between them as one of the central elements of Ottoman political thought. The sultan is the father to maintain the justice and to guide his people. For Tanzimat writers, the reforms should have been based on the Islamic cultural norms and the value system. The sultan for the society, the father for the family and the writer for the literature should be protectors of this value system. At every level of the social life, there was a longing for a sultan who could be the “father of the nation.” Although the Ottoman culture could always fill the place of father in his absence, the introduction of new phenomena like economics that was new to Ottoman life required the guidance of the sultan.¹¹⁰

Yet, the existence of Fatma Aliye with in this system, with her female body, is enough to intimidate the patrilinear transmission of the heritage of writing. Fatma Aliye, writing historical accounts, breaks this continual tradition. As mentioned in her biography, Fatma Aliye knew that her intellectual standpoint must be part of a female lineage. That is why when she penned the book *Famous Women of Islam*, she questioned the lack of knowledge on women's own past.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri (Fathers and Sons: The Epistemological Foundations of Tanzimat Novels)*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), p. 19.

¹¹¹ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi (Ottoman Women's Movement)*, (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994).

In this chapter, I followed Elizabeth Grosz guiding conceptualization for a feminist reading. I analyzed at the Mukaddime (introduction) of *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* to speculate on the new ways that Fatma Aliye brings in to historical writing, to see the relations between the text and the dominant norms of the 19th century historiography, and to trace the intellectual heritage between father and daughter. I conclude that the legitimization she seeks from her father's authority as the “knower,” does not come from her complete acceptance of her father's position in the process of history writing. Although there is a strong emphasis of the chain of transmission from Cevdet Pasa to Fatma Aliye, she uses this to claim her right to write as the “historian”. I attribute this to a patriarchal bargain that Fatma Aliye undertakes. Within the male domain of history writing, Fatma Aliye claims to right through leaning to the authoritative knower position of Cevdet Pasa. Fatma Aliye has a genuine respect to her father, who was a very important scholar and bureaucrat of his time. Yet, the way she situates him as her master and her father is Fatma Aliye's strategy to be able to write within this patriarchal system. She has her own standing with regards to what to include to history writing and how to write it, yet she does not open it up, as it is a part of the bargain which she took part throughout her life.

Chapter 3: Educational Reforms without Women: The Role of Mâarif in Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time

A focus on the role of education in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* is important since education is fundamental to the Tanzimat reforms. In this chapter, I will continue applying feminist reading to the Maârif (education) section of *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*. I will specifically look at how Fatma Aliye approaches the issue of education in relation with the dominant patriarchal norms about it. Looking to the dominant framework of the way education was worked in Fatma Aliye's novels and the discursive position of women in this formative process, I will argue that she is not putting forward her political agenda for she is confirming her engagement in the history writing process. Women are not the concern in the political framework of this book. In the unfolding of this chapter, through a feminist reading of the education section, I will show that Fatma Aliye is bargaining with the patrilinear tradition of writing histories, through disguising her political agenda on women.

3.1 Education during the Tanzimat Period

As discussed in the previous chapter, historiography was the main source of the formation of elite ideology. Yet, the link between the elite and historiography was established through education, as well it was the means in the creation of elite. Education becomes the central discourse of development during the Tanzimat era, continuing later in the republican period. The main changes of Tanzimat were observed in the areas of bureaucracy, law, and

education.¹¹² The elite were writing on these issues in journals and newspapers developing the ideas about human rights, sovereignty of nationalities and patriotism.

Fatma Aliye sees the reason behind the Tanzimat Edict as the attempt of Reşid Pasha to establish a new tradition of diplomatic relations in international politics. A trade agreement was made concurrently with the Europe, which lead the Egypt to economic crisis due to the free trade article of the agreement. The government of Egypt had “a worse situation ideologically” because the people were more dependent on to the sultanate due to the reforms the empire is going through.¹¹³ She states, “Reşid Pasha did a great favor to the public by installing the Tanzimât-ı Hayriyye which protects the state security of life, honor, and property.”¹¹⁴ Fatma Aliye emphasizes this first article of the edict, although she does not solicit the idea in the rest of the book. She acknowledges the importance of this statement in the edict for the public, yet, she does not explain what she sees as the advantage of it. Considering the debates among the governmental elite of the empire, she asks “However, were everyone appreciating this, back then?” Since Reşid Pasha was in dialogue with the Europeans conservatives believed that he was not giving religion the preferential treatment in these new reforms. Education was the main arena of discussions between the conservative and reformist elites. The secularized curricula of the new schools were received with disdain by the conservative ulema.

The aim behind the Tanzimat reforms was to keep Islamic state and nation as compact as possible, as well as keeping the people aware of this necessity. This was primarily achieved through education, however, it was two sided in this scheme. It was both “the

¹¹² S. J. Shaw “Some Aspects of the Aims and Achievements of the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Reformers,” W.R. Polks & R.L. Chambers (eds.) *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century*, (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968).

¹¹³ Fatma Aliye, pp. 44-45.

¹¹⁴ Fatma Aliye, p. 45.

answer to all evil” but at the same time, it had the potential to be a substantial risk, due to the fact that missionary schools had increased in number by the end of 19th century. Thus, Tanzimat reformers tried to establish a centralized curriculum and education system. Different mediators of education were omitted, like medrese and dervish lodges, but the education was aimed to be concentrated in three levels: *Mekâtib-i Sıbyân* [primary school], *Mekâtib-i Rüşdiye* [middle school] and *Dar-ül-fünun* [high school].

During the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman some of the biggest medreses had curricula that included “rational” as well as “religious” sciences. However, starting from the second half of the 16th century, the non-religious sciences were not very popular in medreses. Medreses exclusively focused on the teaching of Muslim theology and law. Diplomas and posts as teachers were sold out to the sons of privileged and wealthy people, which caused the inadequate people to fulfill the teaching occupations.¹¹⁵ In the second half of the 19th century, Ottoman state assumed the role of an “educator state”. The aim was to produce an obedient population which internalized the values of the center as its own. This translated into the Ottoman context as dominance of religious education.¹¹⁶

The Tanzimat was the era that recognized the significance of education in reinforcing the ideological legitimacy of the existing social order which was increasingly threatened by changing world conditions and inadequate adaptations in the empire. It was during this era that the importance of women's education was also discovered. The improvement of the society as a whole was perceived to be possible only through the rise in the “status” of women which depended on women's education.¹¹⁷ Kandiyoti points that at the juncture between Tanzimat and the establishment of Turkish Republic “woman question became part

¹¹⁵ Chambers, (1973), p. 454.

¹¹⁶ Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, (London : I.B. Tauris, 1998) pp. 93-95.

¹¹⁷ Ayşe Durakbaşı, *Halide Edib: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizmi*, (Istanbul: İletisim,2007).

of an ideological terrain upon which concerns about the changing nature of the Ottoman order and the questions of Ottoman and Turkish national identity were articulated and debated”.¹¹⁸ Therefore, she states that in the novels of the late Ottoman and early republican periods “woman question” provided the terminology to debate the questions of cultural and national integrity, as well as the conceptions of order and disorders. Reformists of the Tanzimat this period were increasingly concerned with women's education. Authors like Şinasi (1824-1871) and Namık Kemal (1840-1888) were writing in newspapers and also novels on the questions of women's education and polygamy.

In the new schooling system, schools for women were opened. In 1842, courses on midwifery were offered for women in the school of medicine which was opened in 1827. In 1858, the first mekâtib-i rüştiye for girls was opened. Two vocational schools followed it 1865 and 1869. In 1870, Dârümuallimat (Teacher's School for Women) was opened to educate teachers to work in rüştiye's for girls. The first colleges for women opened under İstanbul Darülfünunu with the name of “İnas Darülfünunu” (Women's College) in 1914. İnas Darülfünunu had three branches of education, edebiyat (literature), riyâziyat (mathematics) and tabiiyat. In 1921, coeducation of men and women in Darülfünun was established and in 1922 for the first time seven female students were accepted to Medical School. Within this frame of reforms on women's education Fatma Aliye had a specific agenda related to education, which she communicated through her novels and newspaper articles.

¹¹⁸ Deniz Kandiyoti, “Slave girls, temptresses, and comrades: Images of women in the Turkish novel,” *Gender Issues*, 8:1 (March, 1988), 35-50.

3.2 Fatma Aliye and Education

The political agenda which Fatma Aliye addresses in her novels and journal articles, is highly concerned with family life and places a special emphasis on the women's role, as was common also among the male authors of the period.¹¹⁹ The “good” women characters that she portrays in her novels are those who are either well-educated or appreciates the importance of education and the importance of the women's role in the maintenance of the household. Education is not only the amount of knowledge that is gained, but also the process of patience that is required to acquire the wisdom. Therefore, the importance of the personality characteristics of the person is also emphasized. In *Enin* (Moaning), Sabahat is a well-educated and well-behaved young woman who is capable of incorporating her knowledge to life experience, whereas her half-sister Nebahat who receives the same education as Sabahat, becomes the “bad” character of the novel due to her personal ambitions.

The education of women also emphasized the need be good mothers and good wives. In *Muhâdarat*, the step mother Calibe, is not a well-educated and well-mannered person, and thus her children suffer the same fate. At the same time, education is a source that enables women's chances of survival without being had to marry. In *Udî* (Lutist), the main character earns her living by teaching music and offering lute lessons after her father dies and she divorces her husband. In *Ref'et*, the main character, Refet, works very hard to finish her schooling in the Dârülmua'llimat to become a teacher and to take care of herself and her mother. Refet makes a huge sacrifice to be able to finish the school and this sacrifice is represented as crucial for a woman to be able to stand on her own feet, to be able to live by

¹¹⁹ Durakbaşa, (2007), 94-96.

her and consequently to enter into a marriage that is not for protection, but for compassion and a shared life. Thus, education has an emancipatory purpose for Fatma Aliye.

Fatma Aliye is more assertive and direct about the place of woman in the society and what women should do to secure a respected status in her journal articles:

“To be treated as high as the earlier women in Islam, women should be like those women. Together with education, about knowledge and the sciences, a serious attitude should be acquired. Coquetry, affectation should be exclusive in the wife-husband relationship. As the male of the humanity, that is the most honorable of all animals are not bulls or roosters, the women are not milk cows or clucking hens. The women should pull themselves away from pink dreams and should rise to their position in the world of Islam and humanity.”¹²⁰

As mentioned in her novels, education itself is not necessary for women to be “respected,” but they should develop a respectable attitude through avoiding the stereotypes of “womanly behaviors” like coquetry and affection. It is important to note her rejection of the categorization of women as “milk cows or clucking hens” which refers to the mother discourse of womanhood. Thus, Fatma Aliye does not identify women as mothers which is an important point in terms of her position towards the role of education of women as a means to be able to raise good mothers. I believe Fatma Aliye expected a practical benefit from education in the improvement of women's position, rather than seeing education as a path to becoming good wives, good mothers and good Muslims.

She does not hesitate to address men as the obstacles in front of women's education:

“It is observed that the civilized nations first develop their men in the life sciences and then women follow them. From the moment men enter into that treasure, they become jealous of women and want to exclude women from the essence of this treasure. They attempt to use their advanced position selfishly to claim ownership and the right to control [the sciences]. This is always happened and reached our time like this. However, saying “this happened” means “they did it like this”. Otherwise, since the owner of all sciences, the God bestowed this right upon the male and female of

¹²⁰ Kızıltan, 1993, 89.

his servants, men's power cannot achieve to grudge this from women.”¹²¹

Referring back to her life story, the discontent she represents in this quote, is also an answer to the suppressed learning process she went through starting her childhood. Although she had the right to receive basic education as being the daughter of a reformist father and an aristocrat family, to be able to learn more she had to demand it and struggle for it through all possible means. As mentioned before, her husband Faik Pasa, banned her reading for around eight years, owing the fact that he believed reading would harm a woman's dignity. She did not have the best quality of books or dictionaries during her education, and thus she was denied to a proper learning experience.

At the same time, Fatma Aliye discusses her own education to exemplify the importance of education for the representation of women of Islam. In *Nisvan-ı Islam* (Women of Islam), in which she writes about three conversations with the European women on the issues of fashion, concubinage, marriage, and polygamy, the modern education she has helps to explain and correct the fallacies surrounding the perception of Ottoman traditions and life in the mind of these Europeans. Fatma Aliye's approach to education can be summarized under three main arguments. First, women's education makes them better mothers and wives. Second, the only way for a woman to have an honorary and decent occupation passes through education. Third, education is a right and has significance for social position of women. This right, which is taken by men, should be re-acquired by women to be respected in the male dominant society.

On the other hand, *Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time* brings a very limited approach to education. Education as a topic is treated in the context of the struggles of the application of reforms in the bureaucratic level. The rivalries between the strong governmental elite and

¹²¹ Fatma Aliye, “Bablulardan İbret Alalım”(Bas Blue), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 5 October 1895, quoted in Çakır, (1996), p. 29.

the complications in the way to implementing successful reforms were dealt on the decision making level. The discussion of the educational reforms was not occupied on the societal level. This shows both her perception of history and the historical events and subjects, as debated in the first chapter and also signals how reforms were imposed from the top, which points to the despotic enlightenment of the elites, and eventually the incapability of the reforms. For the purpose of this thesis, the way Fatma Aliye writes about the education in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time* will be approached in terms of its relation to the dominant norms of the Tanzimat era and her perception of history as analyzed in the first chapter.

3.3 Education in Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time

3.3.1 Gendered Silences

“The Queen Mother asked to the Queen-Mother's-Butler Huseyin Bey why there are fewer students in her school whereas there are many in the Mekâtib-i Sıbyân. Since Huseyin Bey was not a schooled man and had no idea of the ranks of the schooling he asked to Vehbi Molla who became happy as if he found wealth and said “Kemal Efendi is not accepting many students to the Queen Mother’s school to keep the reputation of his own invention, Mekâtib-i Rüşdiye. If it is ordered I can fill the school with students in a day. Hearing this the Queen Mother got very angry and gave the authority on the school to Vehbi Molla, who stuffed the school with students from Mekâtib-i Sıbyân, thus, a beautiful school was reduced to a children’s school. Though poor Kemal Effendi tried very hard to explain his intent, he could not succeed and had to flee to Europe.”¹²²

There are two instances in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time* in which there is a woman mentioned in an important position in a decision making process. These women are different women, one being the Queen Mother mentioned in the above quote, Bezmiâlem Sultan the mother of Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-61) and the other being Adile Sultan, sister of Abdülmecid I from a different mother. Fatma Aliye does not write about the significance of

¹²² Fatma Aliye, pp. 55-56.

the political role of the women and does not attempt to point out the existence of women in the political life. The reason for the necessity to think about the roles women played might be questioned. However, considering the above section Fatma Aliye and her perception of women's education and position, it is there have been quite successful studies on the women of imperial harem of Ottoman dynasty, emphasizing their roles as *de facto* rulers of the young sultans or as confidantes of the sultans¹²³.

In the aforementioned event, the Queen Mother is portrayed as an ignorant woman, who cannot catch up with the changes and who has to trust the men around him for the information they give to enlighten her. In contrast to Fatma Aliye's statements in her books and articles, in one of the two times that a woman's name appears in this book, it suggests the ignorance of the mentioned woman. Here, I find the things she did not point out more significant than the ones she stated. She does not mention to the importance of the education of the "imperial women" which would help to avoid such misunderstandings in the political level. She does not elaborate on the significance of the authority of the Queen Mother outside the realm of the imperial harem. Although it is known that later in his career Cevdet Pasha had direct support from the palace, besides gaining the grace of the sultan he had good relations with the Queen Mother Pertevniyal Sultan,¹²⁴ she does not elaborate on the place of these women who affected the political decisions.

The other point she mentions to a woman is while writing about the conflict between Reşid Pasha and Mehmed Ali Pasha during the Russian war. Since there is a very delicate

¹²³ For the power relations within the imperial harem and the political roles imperial women held Leslie Peirce, *The imperial harem: women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). The political role the imperial women played was also emphasized through the construction of mosques, schools, baths and other public buildings. For an example see Lucienne Thys-Senocak, *Ottoman women builders: the architectural patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006). For the letters that the sisters, mothers, daughters, and favorites of the Sultans wrote, which will help to figure the extent to which women were involved in politics, see M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem'den mektuplar I*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956).

¹²⁴ Neumann, (1999) p. 47.

situation Reşid Pasha wants to send Mehmet Ali away to not to be bothered with him. Fatma Aliye states that “however, he had to find a medium to disguise his aim for he could not act rude to his [Mehmed Ali Pasha's] associate Adile Sultan”.¹²⁵ These quotes point to the alliances that the imperial women had with the political elites and to the significance of them in the internal affairs through these alliances. Yet, Fatma Aliye does not put these women in the center of the inquiry in any possible way.

Considering Fatma Aliye's previous works, the lack of emphasis on the influence of the women in the political debates between the new political elite is telling. Although this does not point out to a dilemma regarding to the inconsistency of the position she takes in the “women's question”, it points out to a strategy which she applied to be accepted as an authority in the male domain of history writing. Fatma Aliye supports a better access to education and money earning opportunities for women. She looks at the history and finds Muslim women scholars who were actually teachers of famous male scholars and asks why the women are ignorant of the history of women of Islam in her book.¹²⁶ Thus, it is suspicious for her to not to notice and comment on the role of women in politics. On the other hand, it is possible that the difference of her political agenda in this book as opposed to her other works was a determinative factor in the course of her writing a historical genre.

Although she was very precise on the need that women should have a higher position than they had at the moment, and they should not only be the objects of the gaze but have to educate themselves to be respected, in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time* she does not mention any of her concerns regarding to women's position. The representation of the history as a legitimate site for recognition shows itself which is consistent with her aim of writing the book at the first place as an answer to the debates on her father.

¹²⁵ Sister of Abdülmecid, daughter of Mahmud II. She was a poet.

¹²⁶ Çakır, (1996), p. 30.

I assume two reasons to the lack of women in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and His Time*. First, Fatma Aliye always emphasized she was a student of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha. Thus, she did not part from the path that Ahmed Cevdet Pasha opened for her which followed the patriarchal tradition of history writing in which the histories were created and written by men. The historical genre in which she was writing did not let her to write about the political role of the women in the imperial harem. Second, since she was writing the book during the second constitutional monarchy, the “women question” was changing its scope. Fatma Aliye had always emphasized the Muslim character of the women and her novels of which she mostly published in the late 19th century, the ideal women were “good Muslims, good mothers, and good daughters.” However, during the era of the Young Turks and later in the Kemalist era women were observed as the producers and symbols of the “Turkish” nation.

3.3.2 Education reforms without women

“If Reşid Pasha were not demoted several times, he would have taken a great way in reforms and development. Nevertheless, he managed to work on the reinforcement of Tanzimat-ı Hayriyye and the development of the reforms and maarif.”¹²⁷

Fatma Aliye approaches *maârif* as the the most important component of the Tanzimat reforms. Tanzimat reforms on education were criticized by different sects. As the Turkish thinker Peyami Safa wrote in 1935, the “Islamists” and “Turkists” criticized the reforms with its direct imposition without adopting it to the local culture. On the other hand, the Westerners were criticizing the reforms because it created the “school” vs. “medrese”¹²⁸, dichotomy which furthered the secular vs. religious debate of the character of modernization.

It is very interesting to see the shift in the education style that Ahmed Cevdet Pasha

¹²⁷ Fatma Aliye, p. 48.

¹²⁸ A boarding school in which Islamic theology was thought. The graduates were appointed either as *muderris* (teacher of a medrese) or as *kadi* (judge). These schools were not opened by the sultan but by the grants of individuals, vakfs.

got and the one that the Tanzimat reformers, among which Ahmed Cevdet served as Ministry of Education for a short period, were trying to establish. Fatma Aliye describes in detail the education that his father undertook, which also says how the learned people of the empire were educated before the educational reforms. The male children of the wealthy families were educated at home by private tutors to a certain age and later on were sent to the medreses or to the palace school. The classes were based on the oral transmission of a book to the students and the discussion following it. The diplomas were given separately from each course and it depended on the knowledge of the student when to get the diploma from a course. Cevdet Pasa did not limit himself with the theological education, but received courses on sciences like logic, arithmetic, chemistry, and astrology. From Fatma Aliye's account we learn that, later, the curriculum of these schools was changed and the life sciences were removed. She attributes the graduation of the incapable students from medreses to this change in the curriculum which justifies the education reforms.

The education reforms advocated by the Tanzimat bureaucrats were setting a three leveled schooling system in which aimed to be controlled by a central institution with a centralized curriculum. The classes that will be taught were organized in order to produce the 'excellent' graduates of these schools.

"After the proposals, it was decided that the students from the *Mekâtib-i Sıbyân* [primary school] would go to the *Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyye* [high school] for 2 years and then to *Dar-ül-fünun* [college]. Kemal Effendi organized in a way that the classes to be taught in the last year of the *sıbyan mekteb* were taught in the first year of *Rüşdiyye*. He added some classes from *Dar-ül-fünun* to the last year of *Rüşdiyye*. Thus, it was aimed that the students graduating from the *Rüşdiyyes* would have an excellent education."¹²⁹

In the curriculum of the first Mekteb-i Rüşdiyye there were courses on Arabic, Persian, algebra, and geography.¹³⁰ This level of schooling was the most emphasized one among the

¹²⁹ Fatma Aliye, p. 69.

¹³⁰ Fatma Aliye, p. 54.

others since the the results of Tanzimat reforms in long-term was not foreseen, but the instantaneous outcomes was expected. Yet, as Fatma Aliye puts, it this was not a successful reform attempt for the betterment of education.

“However, although the education of the commoners (*maârif-i umumiye*) was *Mekâtib-i Sıbyân* (children's school), the reformation of those schools were not accomplished yet. This was not an easy thing. The removal of the map education from the schools, claiming that the children were taught of drawing; Vehbi Molla's disposal of maps in the lavatory holes; and the attempts to execute Resid Pasha's followers because of all these were not long ago.”¹³¹

Vehbi Molla was among the conservative *ulema* of the period. The introduction of new subjects to the curriculum was responded by suspicion and rejection from the most of the *ulema*. His reactions was both to the modernization of the education system and with this modernization the new visibility that was brought to the *commoners*. Map drawing classes had a special meaning in terms of the visibility of the borders of the empire to the people. Thus, the shift from being the subjects of the sultan to begin the servants of the state is ideologically being implemented in the consciousness of the subjects. Also, the shrinking borders of the empire at the time and visibility of this to the people was another concern. Fatma Aliye does not elaborate on the reasons of reactions of *ulema* to the changes in the education system since she presents them as challenges to be handled at individual level.

Education in this new modern term was required not only to control the commoners, but also to maintain the new bureaucratic elites able to meet the needs of the new era of the empire. This brings Foucault's power-knowledge theory in so that power is based on knowledge and makes use of knowledge through producing its own fields of operation.¹³² During this period of the Ottoman political thought, the use of knowledge, through education, was changing to establish a different set of relations in the transition from empire to state and

¹³¹ Fatma Aliye, p. 55.

¹³² Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1, (London: Penguin, 1990) pp. 92-102.

from subject to citizen. This shift in the knowledge production is mostly visible in the attempts of transformation of language. Fatma Aliye appreciates the renovation in the language and Mustafa Resid's merit of explaining his thoughts in simple Turkish¹³³ in the state correspondences as opposed to the previous practices of using Persian and Arabic words.¹³⁴ She states that Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and Fuat Pasha worked together on writing a book about the rules of the Ottoman language and Cevdet Pasha himself wrote pamphlets in Turkish to be taught in the Rusdiyes. The simplification of the language was among the important discussions of the era in the literary circles as well. Writers like Ahmed Midhat and Namık Kemal also supported the use of plain Turkish released from the influences of foreign languages, especially Persian and Arabic.

In this chapter, I argued that although education has a significant role in general in Fatma Aliye's publications, in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* she approaches the issue from the bureaucratic level of the reforms on education, while confirming the gendered segregation in education. The role and situation of women during this process is completely ignored. However, I interpret this as a bargain with the male dominated sphere of history writing. The "woman question" is replaced with the political criticism of the reforms in the genre of history writing.

¹³³ Here, the simple Turkish means refraining from the redundant use of the Persian and Arabic words and expressions.

¹³⁴ Fatma Aliye, p. 50.

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, I critically engaged with Fatma Aliye's book *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* to go beyond the discussion of situating Fatma Aliye within feminism and to open a debate on the assessment of Fatma Aliye as a historian. I claim that a narrow focus on Fatma Aliye's novels, with regards to the “women question,” does not provide a complete picture of Fatma Aliye's political perspectives and views. Moreover, it does not make it possible to understand the complexities of her position in different political situations. The different genres that she was writing in must be reconsidered and juxtaposed to see her strategies of existences in different levels of intellectual production. Thus, instead of hastily labeling her position as hesitant or contradictory between these different genres, a comparative analysis reveals the mechanisms behind her writing process. Having a major claim to open up further studies, this thesis is a minor contribution in terms of an analysis of Fatma Aliye's writing process, which will in the long term help to provide a comprehensive understanding on Fatma Aliye's political standing. For this purpose, I indulge in an analysis of a historical account of her to understand her mechanisms of writing in this male dominated genre.

Therefore, to conceptualize Fatma Aliye's writing strategies, I introduced the term “patriarchal bargain,” which characterized the strategies of Fatma Aliye working within the system to alter the scope of the dominant frame of writing and to open a space for her work in the genre of history writing. This process is not necessarily a subversion of the dominant history writing system, yet it is understood as a play between the dominant frame and Fatma Aliye as one of the first intellectual women. Concurrently, doing a feminist reading, as proposed by Elizabeth Grosz, allowed an observation of those strategies in their relation with

the dominant norms, authorial enunciation, and the way of argumentation and genres. The analysis focused on the “Introduction” and “Education” sections of *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*. These two sections were chosen because they focus on two important aspects of 19th century Ottoman history. The “Introduction” section answers to the historiographical concerns about the book, as well as allows Fatma Aliye to situate herself in the process of history writing. Education as a concept is crucial for analysis since it is the central theme of the Tanzimat era and a very important point of Fatma Aliye's political position in terms of asserting women's rights.

In the “Introduction”, Fatma Aliye reveals her historical perspective and her reasons for writing this book. An analysis of this chapter shows that Fatma Aliye legitimized her history writing through her father's intellectual heritage. Using history writing as political criticism and the selected historiography, she emphasizes her continuity with her father's historical accounts. Thus, the way Fatma Aliye situates herself and her knowledge is as the intellectual heir of her father, as well as having assumed his authoritative knowledge. In *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time*, assessed as a part of patriarchal bargain, she enters into the domain of history writing. However, she pursues a different, yet not strikingly altered, path in history writing. I concluded in the analysis of this chapter that Fatma Aliye instrumentalizes Ahmed Cevdet Pasa's legitimacy in history writing, to embark on political criticisms of the Tanzimat era, and implicitly her times, the era of the second constitutional monarchy. Although she pointed to Cevdet Pasa's school as her intellectual home, she departed from him in the scientification of history. Thus, Fatma Aliye's attempt to write a historical account was not solely for a contribution to the history as a discipline but to use the genre of history to write a social and political criticism of her times.

The feminist analysis of the “Education” section showed how the source of the

patriarchal bargain has been dealt with concerning this very important topic of late Ottoman and early Republican history, education. I argued that, although Fatma Aliye revealed great concern for the issue of the education of women, as presented in her novels and journal articles, in *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* she leaves women out of her discussion on the issue of education. Fatma Aliye approaches the debate of education on the reformist level, which was an elitist, top down process. In the contrary of her other works, she remains silent about the “women's question” during the Tanzimat era, and consequently during the second constitutional monarchy. Although Fatma Aliye criticizes the upper level bureaucracy in her book, she does not mention to the education of women, and I attributed this silence to the gendered choice of historical topic.

This thesis was aimed at understanding the writing strategies of a prominent 19th century women, Fatma Aliye in her book *Ahmed Cevdet Pasa and His Time* and to reconsider her status within the different genres in which she wrote, in this case history. The historical accounts of Fatma Aliye are crucial for study of the gender history of the 19th century Ottoman Empire. An assessment of Fatma Aliye as a “historian” is still substantial gap within this literature. For a comprehensive understanding of Fatma Aliye, as a historian, her book *Kosova Zaferi-Ankara Hezimet* (Kosovo Victory-Ankara Defeat) needs to be analyzed as well. I hope this study will encourage further studies in Ottoman history to reveal women historians and reconsider their works from a variety of perspectives, including the intersections of gender and class.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahmed Mithat Efendi, *Fatma Aliye ya da Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarın Doğusu*, transl. by Bedia Ermat (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 1994,[1895]).
- Ahmet Cihan, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa'nın Aile Mektupları, (İstanbul: Gökkuşbu, 2007).
- Carter Vaughn Findley, "Fatma Aliye: First Ottoman Woman Novelist, Pioneer Feminist," Collection Turcica, Vol. VIII (Paris: Peeters, 1995): 783-794.
- Christopher Neumann, *Araç Tarih Amaç Tanzimat* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999).
- Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy" *Gender and Society* Vol. 2, No. 3, Special Issue to Honor Jessie Bernard (Sep., 1988), pp. 274-290.
- Fatma Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Zamanı* trans. by Mehmet Şevki Eygi (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1995).
- Fatma K Barbarosoğlu, "Fatma Aliye Hanım without a table of contents" *Today's Zaman*, 30 October 2008, Thursday, <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=157267#> (accessed May 11, 2009).
- Fatma K Barbarosoğlu, *Fatma Aliye: Uzak Ülke* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2008): 243-249.
- Firdevs Canbaz, "Women Question in Fatma Aliye Hanım's Novels, (MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2003).
- H. Emel. Aşa, "Fatma Aliye Hanım," *DİA*, (İstanbul: 1995), XII:261-262.
- Handan İnci, "Fatma Aliye'nin Romanlarından Babalar ve Kızları," *Kitaplık* 33 (Summer, 1998): 172-8.

- Hülya Adak, “Gender-in(g) Biography: Ahmed Mithat (on Fatma Aliye) or The Cannonization of an Ottoman Male Writer,” *Querelles*, Vol. 10, (May 2005): 189-204.
- İlaria Porciani and Mary O’Dowd, “History Women”, *Storia della Storiografia*, 46 (2004): 3-34.
- İnci Enginün, “Fatma Aliye Hanım,” *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul, 1979), III: 166-167.
- Kurtuluş İzbeke, “Avrupa, Amerika ve Arap Basınında Bir Türk Romanı: ‘Dağarcıktan Ödemeler’”. *E Edebiyat* (Dec., 2002): 24-27.
- Mehmet Nuri Yardım, “Fatma Aliye Hanım: Hayatı ve Eserleri,” *Edebiyat* 45 (Dec, 2002): 21-23.
- Michael Foucault, “What is an Author?” in *Modern Criticism and Theory*, ed. by David Lodge (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000): 174-187.
- Mübeccel Kızıltan and Tülay Gençtürk, *Atatürk Kitaplığı Fatma Aliye Hanım Evrak Kataloğu I*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, 1993): p.69.
- Nazan Aksoy, “Fatma Aliye Hanım'ın muhazarat'ında kadın açısı” *Batı ve Başkaları* (İstanbul: Düzlem Yayınları, 1996), 85-102.
- Richard L. Chambers, “The Education of a Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Alim, Ahmed Cevdet Pasa,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* V.4 No.4 (Oct., 1973): 440-464.
- Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” in *Modern Criticism and Theory*, ed. by David Lodge (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000), pp. 146-150.
- Şefika Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketinde Bir Öncü: Emine Semiye, Hayatı, Eserleri, Fikirleri* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2008).

Serpil Çakır, “Fatma Aliye” *Biographical dictionary of women's movements and feminisms:*

Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th centuries, ed. By

Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova and Anna Loutfi, (Budapest: New York:

CEU Press, 2006).

Smith, Bonnie G., *The Gender of History: Men Women and Historical Practice*, (Cambridge,

Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, 1998).

Yaprak Zihnioğlu, “Fatma Aliye and Emine Semiye”, *Tarih ve Toplum* 186 (June, 1999): 336-

343.

“İki tarafa da yaranamayan kadın,” *Radikal*, 10 October 2008, Wednesday,

<http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspxaType=RadikalHaberDetay&ArticleID=90258>

5 (accessed May 25, 2009).