GRADUATE SCHOOL
ISTANBUL MEDENIYET UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OTTOMAN STUDIES

THE IDEA OF SELF-RELIANT INDIVIDUALS: IMAGINING DILIGENT HEROES IN LATE OTTOMAN FICTION

Master's Thesis

Ali Atakan Erol

September 2024

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THESIS JURY APPROVAL

This master's thesis titled "The Idea of Self-Reliant Individuals: Imagining Diligent Heroes in Late Ottoman Fiction" written by Ali Atakan Erol at the Department of International Ottoman Studies was accepted by our jury.

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STATEMENTS

Style and Reference Manual Statement

Having reviewed this thesis written under my supervision, I confirm that it has been written in accordance with Chicago Manual of Style and used its footnote reference format consistently throughout the entire text.

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Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that all information in this dissertation has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conducts, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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GENİŞ ÖZET

Kendi Ayakları Üzerinde Duran Bireyler Fikri: Geç Dönem Osmanlı Kurgu Metinlerinde Gayretli Kahramanları Hayal Etmek

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Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Uluslararası Osmanlı Çalışmaları Anabilim Dalı

Danışman: Prof. Dr. İsmail Hakkı Kadı

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On dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Türkçe yazan Osmanlı yazarları yeni tanıştıkları edebî türlerde eserler ortaya koymaya başladılar. Bu türden eserlerin erken örneklerinde yazarlar çoğu zaman yaygın olarak tartıştıkları kültürel, sosyal, ekonomik ve bazen de siyasî meselelere değindiler. Bazı örneklerde olduğu üzere doğrudan bunu yapmadıysalar dahi bu meselelere göndermelerde bulundular. Sözü edilen türlerden edebî eserler, Osmanlı başkentinde basın hayatının başlamasının getirdiği imkanlardan güç alan yazarlar tarafından genellikle etkili birer eğitim aracı olarak kullanıldı. Birçok yazar kurgu metinlerinde idealize edilmiş rol modelleri örnek teşkil etmeleri için okurlarına sundular. Ayrıca yazarlar, birçok meseledeki rahatsızlıklarını da kurguladıkları olumsuz karakterler ya da olaylar üzerinden ifade ettiler. Buna uygun olarak, dönemin en velut yazarı diyebileceğimiz Ahmed Midhat Efendi'nin romanlarında dikotomik anlatı tarzı birçok kez karşımıza çıkar. Onun bu tarz romanlarında idealize edilen akıllı karakterler hikâyelerin sonunda ödüllendirilirken, çoğunlukla züppeler olarak ifade edebileceğimiz olumsuz karakterler ise hatalarının karşılıklarıyla yüzleşirler. İlerleyen yıllarda farklı motivasyonlara ve üsluplara sahip diğer bazı yazarlar da öncekilerle benzer temaları birçok kez ele aldılar. Ortaya koydukları eserler eğitim aracı niteliği ya da toplumsal kaygı taşımıyor olsa dahi, birçok örnekte olduğu üzere, sözü edilen yazarların da işledikleri temalar itibariyle evvelki yazarlarla bir devamlılık içerisinde bulundukları söylenebilir.

Kendi kararlarını verebilen, kendi idealleri olan, çalışkan, üretken, eğitimli, tutumlu, özel hayatında dikkatli, değerlerine bağlı ve diğergâm Osmanlı insanı ideali birçok edebî eserde takip edilebilir. Edebî eserlerde olumlu tasvir edilen karakterler yukarıda sözü edilen niteliklerin bir kısmını çoğunlukla taşırlar. Bahsettiğimiz bu ideal tiplerin Osmanlı edebiyatında ortaya çıkmasında belli başlı saiklerden söz etmek gerekir.

Kendi kararlarını verebilme ve ideallerinin peşinden koşma temalarını bireyselleşme ile açıklamak uygundur. Geç dönem yazarlarının benimsediği

yeni yaklaşıma göre bireylerin hayatları artık sırf toplum içindeki ya da devlet karşısındaki konumlarıyla belirlenmemelidir. Bu bağlamda yazarların mevcut toplumsal pratiklere eleştirileri oldu. Bireyin kendi mesleğini ya da eşini seçme hakkı gibi konular yazarlarca ciddî birer mesele teşkil ettiğinden ebeveyn baskısı yazarların hedefi oldu. Görücü usulü evlilik mezkûr bağlamda temel bir sorun olarak ittihaz edildi.

Çalışkanlık ve üretkenlik açısından ekonomik bağlamı işaret etmek gerekir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin yöneticileri, ekonomik ve siyasî sebeplerden dolayı mezkûr yüzyılın başlarından itibaren klasik Osmanlı ekonomik yönetim anlayışını terk etmeye ve liberal bir anlayışı benimsemeye başladılar. Bir süre sonra meydana gelen sürekli ithal edilen ürünlerin tüketicisi olma durumu, modern dönemde çeşitli sebeplerden dolayı ihtiyaç duyulan finansmanı sağlamak maksadıyla başvurulan dış borcun Osmanlıların başına açtığı dertlerin getirdiği huzursuzlukla birleşince Tanzimat döneminin yönetici sınıfı, özellikle yüzyılın ikinci yarısında yazarlar tarafından topa tutuldu. Artık hem kapitalist kalkınma hem de millî sorunlar birçok yazar için birer meseleydi. Çalışkanlık ve kazanç haricinde girişimciliğe de yazarlar özel önem verdiler. Kalkınma konusunda Osmanlı basınında karşımıza çıkan görüşlerin dönemin romanlarında da bazı yansımaları oldu. Diğer yandan, tembellik bu dönemde topluma karşı bir suç addedildi. Devlet memurları birçok yazar için tembelliğin ve işe yaramazlığın sembolü haline geldiler. Halkın memuriyete olan yoğun ilgisi de yazarlarca eleştirildi. İlaveten; lüksün, israfın ve mirasyediliğin edebî eserlerde yoğun şekilde tenkide tutulması Osmanlı Devleti'nin içine düştüğü durumla ve daha önce bahsedilen yönetici sınıfa yazarların bakışıyla da alakalıdır. Tutumluluk, kurgu metinlerdeki birçok ideal tipin öne çıkan bir vasfı oldu.

Konunun kültürel tarafına gelirsek, modern dönemde iletişim ve ulaşım teknolojilerinin daha geniş kesimlerin kullanımına sunulmasıyla çeşitli alanlardaki etkileşimler yoğunlaştı. Bu da eski yapıların hızlı dönüşümlere uğramalarının yanında, kültürel anlamda da daha yoğun karşılaşmaları beraberinde getirdi. Batının çoğu alanda hegemonyası barizken ve Osmanlı modernleşmesinin öncüleri Avrupa ve Amerika'daki gelişmelere övgülerini dile getiriyorken; Osmanlı kimliğini korumak ve zararlı olarak tanımlanan unsurlardan uzak durularak yalnızca faydalı olanları ithal etmek birçok yazar için önemli bir hedefti, hiç değilse söylem düzeyinde. On dokuzuncu yüzyılın modernleşmiş ideal kurgu karakterlerinin yerlilikleri yazarlarca vurgulanırken; reddedilen, alaya alınan ve küçümsenen züppe kurgu karakterler ise alafrangalık ile malul oldular.

Bireyin özgürlük alanı genişlerken, kültürel etkileşimler yoğunlaşırken ve bunlar yazarlar tarafından desteklenirken; aynı yazarların dikkat çektiği üzere

modern Osmanlı insanının tehlikelere karşı da dikkatli olması gerekirdi. Söz konusu yazarlar aile hayatı ve eğlence gibi konularda okurlarının karşılaşabilecekleri tehlikelere karşı onları uyarmayı ihmal etmediler. Onlara meşru sınırlara dair uyarılarda bulunarak hem rol modelleri hem de olumsuz örnekleri kurguladıkları karakterler aracılığı ile sundular. Ayrıca yeni ideal insanlar hırsları uğruna temel ahlak kurallarını çiğneyemezlerdi. Güzel ahlak ve nezaket sahibi olup çevrelerindeki insanlarca saygı görmeliydiler.

Son olarak, kendi ayakları üzerinde duran bireyler projesi yeni bir toplum tahayyülünün ürünüydü. Yazarların yeni ideal insandan toplum, millet ve de devlet bağlamlarında beklentileri vardı. Yazarların dünya görüşlerinde ve kurguladıkları karakterler arasında farklılıklar göze çarparken kendi çıkarlarını kovalayan bencil insanlar yerine ailelerine, yakınlarına, topluma, millete ve devlete faydalı kurgu karakterler Osmanlı romanlarında, öykülerinde ve tiyatrolarında ideal tipler olarak yerlerini aldılar.

Her ne kadar elinizdeki tez incelenen olumsuz karakterler ve bahsedilen konular açısından da çeşitlilik arz etse de geç dönem Türkçe Osmanlı edebiyatında karşılaştığım ve "kendi ayakları üzerinde duran bireyler" olarak adlandırarak bir başlık altında topladığım kurgu karakterleri merkeze almaktadır. Bu çalışma; on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ortalarından başlayan ve son olarak 1922 yılını kapsayan bir dönemi ele almaktadır. İncelenen birincil malzemeden kaynaklı olarak ele alınan dönemin başlangıcı tam olarak tanımlanmamıştır. Bu tezin edebiyat özelinde bir iddiası olmayıp daha ziyade incelenen konunun dönemin edebiyatındaki izlerini ekonomik, kültürel, sosyal ve siyasî yönlerden takip etmeyi hedeflemektedir. Tez kapsamında öyküler, romanlar ve tiyatrolar temel birincil metinler olarak incelenmekte olup şiir türündeki eserler ise kapsam dışı bırakılmıştır. Ele alınan döneme ait bazı makalelere ve kitaplara da tezdeki savlara destek sağlamak maksadıyla atıfta bulunulmuştur. Genel anlamda ise dönemin entelektüel hayatını takip edebilmek maksadıyla ikincil çalışmalara dayanılmıştır. Çoğunluğu İstanbul'da Türkçe ile üretilmiş olan ve çoğunluğu Türk olmak üzere Müslüman unsurlardan olan yazarların eserleri bu tezin kapsamındadır. İmparatorluk bağlamını bütünüyle ıskalamamak adına gayrimüslim yazarlara ve Arap coğrafyasından önemli isimlere de tezde az sayıda olmakla beraber bazı atıflar yapılmaktadır.

Tezin giriş bölümü tez içeriğini tanıtmaktan başka edebiyatın bir tarih çalışmasında nasıl kullanılabileceği meselesine de kısaca değinmektedir. Edebî metinler yazarların zihin dünyalarına dair çok fazla ipucu verseler bile, hatta birçok durumda olduğu üzere onların kanaatlerini doğrudan aktarsalar dahi, sonuçta gerçekliğin kendisi değildir. Bunun da dikkatli davranılmadığı takdirde yol açacağı bazı sorunlar olacaktır. Bölüm içeriğine dönecek olursak,

Osmanlı özelinde edebî metinlerin bu bağlamda ne sağlayabileceğine değinilecektir. Birçoğunun doğrudan okuyucuya ekonomik, kültürel, toplumsal ya da siyasi mesaj verme niyeti taşıması, Osmanlı kurgu metinlerini düşünce tarihi açışından kullanışlı kılmaktadır.

İlk bölümde kendi ayakları üzerinde durma meselesine odaklanılmaktadır. Dört alt bölümün ilkinde kendi yolundan giden karakterler merkezdedir. Osmanlı yazarları kendi hayallerinin peşine düşen kahramanları okurlarına takdim ettiler. Ayrıca zorluklara rağmen kendi yolunda direten ya da herhangi bir şekilde baskı altına alınmayı reddeden karakterler de vardır. Kölelik kurumuna birçok yazar karşı çıksa da bu kuruma tümüyle itiraz etmeyen yazarlar mevcuttur. İkinci alt bölümde kendi parasını kazanmayı tercih eden ya da bunu yapmak zorunda kalan idealize edilmiş karakterler ele alınmaktadır. Girişimcilik, dönemin yazarları açısından önemli bir mesele olduğundan, bu konunun edebiyattaki yansımaları da fazla oldu. Bu nedenledir ki tezde bu konuya özel bir alt bölüm ayrılmaktadır. Ekonomi politikaları ve kalkınma gibi bazı alakalı konulara da burada değinilmektedir. Son alt bölüm ise profesyonelleşme, okullaşma ve iletişim imkanlarının çağında; Osmanlı kurgu metinlerinde örnek karakterlerin kendilerini nasıl yetiştirdiklerini ele almaktadır. Burada sözü edilen konuların tamamında Osmanlı modernleşmesinin öncülerinin kadınların hakları ve kadınların gelişimine atfettikleri değer kadar Osmanlı feminist söylemini de not etmek gerekir.

İkinci bölüm çalışma etiğine dair olup iki alt bölüme ayrılmaktadır. Bunların ilki çalışkanlığa dair iken ikincisi ise meşru yollardan kazanca dairdir. Modern çağda Osmanlıların da çok çalışması, çok üretmesi ve çok kazanması gerekiyordu. Sadece kendi geçimlikleri için yeteri kadar çalışanlar değil, toplum refahı için daha fazla çalışan insanlar artık daha makbuldü. Tembelliğe tahammül gösterilmesi imkansızdı. Yazarlara göre tembeller başkasının ürettiğini yiyerek ve de kimseye fayda sağlamayarak suç işliyorlardı. Yazarların bu etiği benimsemesi ile Osmanlı düşünce dünyasında birçok kavram yeniden yorumlandı. Buna uygun dinî yorumlar da ortaya çıktı. Duyûn-ı Umûmiye ve Balkan Savaşları gibi travmatik vakaların etkisi agresif fikirleri tetikledi. Öte yandan, yazarların gayrimeşru kazancı meşrulaştıracak bir söylemleri olmadı. Zira onlar genellikle İslam ahlakına riayet eden çalışkan bireylerin peşindeydiler. Zalim bir yerel yönetici, rüşvetçi bir makam sahibi, iffetinden vazgeçen bir kadın ya da bir harp zengini Osmanlı yazarlarının kahramanları değillerdi. Yine de bazı yazarlar dara düşen çaresiz kadınlar ya da dilenciler gibi bazı kesimlerle empati kurmayı ihmal etmediler.

Üçüncü bölüm özel hayatı ele almakta ve üç alt bölüme ayrılmaktadır. İlkinde ahlaklı ve itidalli tavır konu edilmektedir. Yazarlar meşru sınırları aşmayan

ve sorumlu bir şekilde hayatın tadını çıkaran kurgu karakterlerini okurlarına tanıttılar. Öte yandan alafrangalık, işret, kumar, zina ve kabalık gibi problemlerle malul karakterler de okuyuculara ibretlik olarak yazarlarca takdim edildiler. İkinci alt bölümün tutumluluk meselesine ayrılmasının bir sebebi var. Yazarlar bu konuyu hem olumlu hem de olumsuz karakterler üzerinden ele aldılar. Alafranga züppelerin öne çıkan ortak özelliklerinden biri de onların müsriflikleri idi. Bu tezde incelenen metinler Osmanlı yazarlarınca üretiliyorken hesapsızca yapılan harcamaların ve borçlanmaların iki acı sonucu (Duyûn-ı Umûmiye ve bu idarenin de kurucusu olduğu Reji Şirketi) Osmanlı ülkesinde artık birer karar alıcıydı. Yazarlar bir taraftan okuyucularına özel hayatları için uyarılarda bulunuyorken, diğer yandan da daha önce belirtildiği üzere Tanzimat devri yönetici sınıfına müsrif karakterler üzerinden göndermede bulunmuş oluyorlardı. Son alt bölüm ise aile saadetini konu etmektedir. Ele alınan dönemde eş seçimi ve ebeveynlik hakkındaki görüşlerin dile getirilmesinden başka, aile saadetini bozabilecek tehlikeler de yazarlarca konu edildi.

Tezin dördüncü bölümü önceki bölümlerden farklı olarak kendi ayakları üzerinde duran kurgusal karakterlerin kendi bireysel niteliklerinden ziyade aidiyet duyguları ile çevrelerine, topluma, millete ve devlete sağladıkları katkılara dikkat çekmektedir. Buradaki üç alt bölümün ilkinde yazarların kültürel anlamda Osmanlı toplumuna aidiyet vurguları, kurgu metinlerdeki dinî içeriğin ve İslam ile ilişkinin mahiyeti, ayrıca kimliği müdafaa çabaları ele alınmaktadır. Alafranga züppeler burada bir kez daha olumsuz karakterler olarak fakat bu sefer kültürel bağlamda zikredilmektedirler. İkinci alt bölüm dönemin önemli bir olgusu olan milliyetçiliğin edebiyata yansımalarını incelemektedir. Erken metinlerde kapsayıcı anlamda Osmanlı kimliğine bağlılık daha yaygın görülürken özellikle yirminci yüzyılın başından itibaren Türk milliyetçiliği kurgu metinlerde daha yoğun şekilde tebarüz etti. İkinci Meşrutiyet döneminin ilk yıllarında yeni kurgusal züppe tipleri ortaya çıktı. İdeoloji şarlatanları bazı metinlerde sahne alırken, Ömer Seyfeddin birçok hikâyesinde "milliyetini inkâr edenler" olarak tarif ettiği Türklere, onları karikatürize ederek hücum etti. Son alt bölümde ise örnek karakterlerin kendi çevrelerindeki insanlara iyilikleri ile topluma, millete ve devlete yaptıkları hizmetlerden söz edilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Geç Dönem Osmanlı Tarihi, Kurgu Metin, Birey, Çalışkanlık, Ahlaklılık

ABSTRACT

The Idea of Self-Reliant Individuals: Imagining Diligent Heroes in Late Ottoman Fiction

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Master's Thesis, Department of International Ottoman Studies

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While Ottomans had to transform themselves to cope with modern economic, cultural, social, and political challenges, Ottoman intellectuals emerged as prominent actors for guiding people. They started to employ some new genres of literature as useful means for both expressing their opinions and educating the society from mid-nineteenth century onwards. Thus, early samples of modern Ottoman fictions reflect the Ottoman reality to some extent, however, more importantly, they convey much about mentality. As a significant tendency, many authors felt a necessity for new types of individuals. In accordance with some popular themes that were debated in Ottoman intellectual life, intellectuals commonly appreciated some personal characteristics and actions whereas they were criticising some others through their fictional characters. Having own ambitions, being educated, industriousness, morality, adherence to Ottoman identity, and benevolence were some of the major approved personal characteristics. To examine Ottoman authors' such approaches under one heading, I prefer naming such idealised figures in fictions as "self-reliant individuals". They were fictional individuals that exhibit Ottomans' some common tensions. These characters had their own ambitions, but they were expected to contribute the society, the nation, or the state. Moreover, their Ottoman identity was so crucial, but this was a modernised and recreated version of Ottomanness. This study aims to scrutinise Ottoman authors' varying imaginations about new individuals and these authors' differing approaches to related sub-topics. Nevertheless, this study which centres fictions has no contention in the academic realm of literature. Rather, it has an intention of examining literary texts through abovesaid challenges of the mentioned period. The study focuses on literary texts written in Turkish by Muslim authors. In addition, as the title gives the clue, it covers novels, plays, and stories while excluding the poetry.

Keywords: Late Ottoman History, Fiction, Individual, Industriousness, Morality

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Above all, I am indebted to my family members who are the ones who have been labouring for me throughout all my difficult processes—my mother Bilge, father Eyyüp, brother Mustafa Çağatay, and grandmother Saime. Then, I must express my thankfulness to my relatives for all their assistance, especially to Bülent Sayan for his endeavour during my difficult and tiring days.

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout the late Ottoman period, both Ottoman rulers and intellectuals sought ways for coping with modern challenges in political, economic, social, and cultural spheres—the latter group that I mean took the stage since the midst of the nineteenth century, mostly lived in the imperial capital, and were Turkish-speaking Muslims (most of them were Turks). The thesis you have been reading is interested in the intellectuals' side through fictions they produced. In the age of drastic changes and emerging questions, mentioned people engaged in so many matters at both state and societal levels. They embraced new genres of literature due to their usefulness for expressing comments and for employing them as means of education. Early samples of Ottoman fictions usually had direct messages to their audiences.

Generating educated, industrious, and decent individuals; preparing them for not only a life that they enjoy their wealth that are outcomes of their own labours, but also serve their inner circles, the society, the nation, and the empire… As can be clearly seen in early fictions, and its traces can be followed in later literary products; this was a common intention among Turkish-writing authors, which has both explicit and implicit samples in late Ottoman literature. I prefer naming idealised individuals in Ottoman authors' imaginations as "self-reliant individuals", to scrutinise many fictional samples under one common heading. These are fictional individuals that exhibit Ottomans' some common tensions. For instance, these characters have their own ambitions, but they are expected to contribute the society, the nation, or the state. Moreover, their Ottoman identity is so crucial, but this is a modernised and recreated version of Ottomanness.

I attempt to scrutinise literary texts from the midst of the nineteenth century, but mostly from an almost fifty-year period—from the 1870s to 1922. It should be noted that some earlier modern literary texts exist before the 1870s. Specifically, I do not omit İbrâhim Şinâsi's play *Şâir Evlenmesi* (A Poet's Marriage) in my study. However, as it was published in 1860, it seems like an outlier. The abovesaid fifty-year time is the very period that provides so much useful material for this study. It is not possible to reduce themes of literary texts that were produced within an interval of almost fifty years in a few basic generalizations—as this interval includes the late period of the rule of Tanzimat pashas at the Sublime Porte, the Hamidian regime, and

the second constitutionalist era that was mostly dominated by the Committee of Union and Progress (herein after "the CUP"). As previously said, idealised fictional characters are at the centre of this study. Yet, they are not only examined ones in this study as disapproved fictional characters who set bad examples are also included. On the other hand, all examined literary texts do not have a common aim of encouraging their readers to be diligent self-reliant individuals. Using texts that do not carry this idea, I focus on sub-topics of the mentioned idea and how different authors approached them at different times throughout the specified period. All these literary texts provide an opportunity to follow continuities and transformations among intellectuals' approaches to popular matters with also presenting emerging new ones. I evaluate material that I have found in literary texts. Hence, only related aspects of examined topics are scrutinised in the study. For instance, large fields like gender issues or nationalism are not evaluated widely but evaluated as needed regarding the approaches of authors and details inserted by them in their literary texts. Another intention in the study is to engage in conditions and incidents that paved the way for the abovesaid common idea and some related common ideas in the Ottoman capital. I must highlight a crucial point which I elaborate more in coming paragraphs. This study is a thesis on late Ottoman history, not late Ottoman literature.

As the title gives the clue, the topics in this thesis on "Ottoman fiction" are examined through tracing hints in literary texts written in Turkish including novels, plays and stories. The poetry of the period is excluded from the thesis project because it requires more experience, knowledge, energy, and time than I have. Turning to covered materials, as primary texts, I use some articles and books from the studied period to support my claims. In general, I follow the intellectual life in press of the determined period through secondary works. It is previously said that I focus on Turkish-speaking Muslims. To not completely miss the imperial context, I mention some literary works by non-Muslim Ottomans and Arab intellectuals a few times, usually in footnotes.

Selection of literary texts to be used was a significant step. My aim was to cover a good number of useful materials. Let's open a parenthesis for Ahmed Midhat here—an astonishingly-productive author, a pioneer of Ottoman modernisation who influenced many others, honoured by some respectful titles, and the one who created

so much “self-reliant individuals” in my expression and anti-heroes. I always found fitting materials for my project in “the first master”s [*Hâce-i Evvel*] fictions. Nonetheless, I had believed that I had gathered enough material from “the forty-horsepower-writing machine” [*kırk beygir gücünde yazı makinesi*] two times and had decided to stop. Fortunately, I could succeed at the third trial as I had to stop somewhere. Turning to the thesis, I could read almost all literary texts that I refer to. Nonetheless, there are a few that I did not read. My knowledge on these literary texts depends on studies of other researchers. To make readers able to distinguish the unread ones, I refer to the unread texts through emphasising the secondary source I use. After all, readers are able to find the read texts in the bibliography.

In accordance with the objects mentioned above, I should note that this thesis is a study on the late Ottoman period from perspectives of cultural, social, economic, and political history. History of literature is not a main objective as I do not have competence to engage in such a realm. Thus, I do not take a seat in discussions like whether Ahmed Midhat’s some texts should be defined as long stories rather than novels, issues related to literary movements, or how these texts have been evaluated or how they have had an impact. It is probable that literary historians or those who have knowledge of literature would find so many deficiencies or would not be satisfied with this study.

It would be appropriate to specify some familiarities and main differences of this master’s thesis. Firstly, Sehirians and those who follow Mustafa Özel’s works and lectures are familiar with the idea of using fiction for social sciences—mainly for business, economy and politics. There is a significant difference with him and the author of this thesis. Özel is a real novel-lover whereas I decided to focus on fiction due to the necessity for determining certain limits for the content of my project. Thus, readers should not expect the literary taste that they find in Özel’s lectures and works. Secondly, I engage in a topic that I have already found in some precious works that I refer many times in my study. Popular matters that pointed by late Ottoman writers like some social inadequacies, necessity of education, lack of entrepreneurial skills, high demand for jobs in civil service, and necessity for hard work have been dealt by

various researchers.[1] Among authors of the secondary sources I use, Melis Hafez and Deniz T. Kılınçoğlu are ones who have specific chapters for literary texts in their books and I was inspired by them—the former researcher engages in the emerging culture of "productivity" in late Ottoman society, while the latter's work is on late Ottoman economic thought. I can also mention some works on Ahmed Midhat's texts—as he is a prominent and productive name of the era.[2] What I do is to place the abovesaid common intention among Ottoman literati at the centre of the study with adding more texts to the ones these researchers draw attention and expanding the number of sub-topics that examined through fiction. As almost all required texts have been latinised and published, I feel lucky for being able to cope with such a task with spending less energy and time.

Due to the centrality of fiction in this study, it is necessary to touch on how literature can be employed for historical research. Here, I rely on Güneş Işıksel's statements in his short article titled "Relations between History and Literature". At the beginning of the article, Işıksel mentions three positions that historians take in this matter. Supporters of the first position claim that literary texts cannot be evaluated as sources for historical research. According to those who are adherent to the old differentiation between sciences and arts, and academic division of knowledge; literature can only have functions of adornment and supplementation. Those at the opposite end assert familiarities between two realms pointing the fictive nature of historical research and materials it uses. In the intermediate zone, there are those who consider the realm of literary production as a research object in itself, beyond considering literature as a resource of quotes and historical knowledge. To some

[1] For a few such precious studies, see Kenan Demir, 'Osmanlı'da İktisadî Dergicilik (1857–1923)' (PhD Thesis, İstanbul, Istanbul University, 2014); Melis Hafez, *Inventing Laziness: The Culture of Productivity in Late Ottoman Society* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021); Deniz T. Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2019); and Haci Sarı, *Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde Emek Düşüncesi: 1862-1922 Arası Osmanlı Süreli Yayınları* (İstanbul: İktisat Yayınları, 2021).

[2] For such texts that I benefit, see Yahya Ayyıldız, 'Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Girişimcilik: Teori ve Pratik' (Master's Thesis, İstanbul, Marmara University, 2017); Esra Başak Gülali, 'Ahmed Midhat'ın Romanları Üzerinden Geç Dönem Osmanlı Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapısına Dair Bir Değerlendirme' (Master's Thesis, İstanbul, Istanbul University, 2016); and Erol Ülgen, *Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Çalışma Fikri* (İstanbul: Ahilik Araştırma ve Kültür Vakfı Yayınları, 1994).

researchers of the last group that Işıksel indicates, literature provides new knowledge through deep reading. A historian enriches his or her thinking through content critique and discourse analysis. Some other of them draw attention to benefits of contextualisation of production and reception processes of literary texts. [3]

In coming pages, Işıksel touches on issues like contextualisation and different types of usage of literature. He presents some examples of how literature can contribute our knowledge in historical spheres like daily life and emotional universe. He also does not forget underlining possible risks and the necessity to be attentive. One of Işıksel's claims seems directly related to the task in my study—regarding both the methodological warning he makes and the example he chooses:

> As Şerif Mardin's statements on Bihruz Bey and similar ones[4] have become so much ingrained to reveal a social type, we cannot think on the late Ottoman social history without them. Nevertheless, it would be an illusion that considering an array of social behaviours or character-types that are depicted in novels as if they apply to almost an entire social class: it should not be internalised that all people that can be described as members of the officialdom [*Kalemiye mensupları*] were dandies [*züppeler*] who make fools of themselves considering themselves as Western with their broken French. In other words, literary texts are not sources that are ready for using directly like statistical data; we can make them object of knowledge after processing them in attentive operations.[5]

Keeping Işıksel's warning in mind, it would be appropriate to remind that fictional characters in Ottoman literature are used in this study for catching hints of authors' mindset—especially their ideals and criticisms towards the Ottoman society. Here, let's elaborate more on how Ottoman fiction would be useful. Late Ottoman literary texts in Turkish enable us for the tasks specified before due to especially the

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[3] See Güneş Işıksel, 'Tarih ve Edebiyat Arasındaki İlişkiler', in *Tarih Bilimi ve Metodolojisi*, ed. Mehmet Yaşar Ertaş (İstanbul: İdeal Kültür Yayıncılık, 2019), 151–55.

[4] Mardin's statements that Işıksel mentions are expressed in his famous article titled 'Tanzimat'tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma' (Over-Westernisation after the Tanzimat). All coming references to Mardin in my study are to this text. For the full article, see Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991), 23–83.

[5] Işıksel, 'Tarih ve Edebiyat', 154.

reason that Kılınçoğlu points in his book on Ottoman economic thought during the modern era:

> Humans are the only species that have recourse to fiction to make sense of the world around them. From the earliest traditions of mythology to organized religions, human beings created and passed on to following generations many stories that are supposed to unravel the complexities of the natural and social life and the best ways to act in it. Muslims have referred to traditional narratives about the lives of archetypical figures (such as the *hadith* literature about the Prophet Muhammad) to inspire in tackling problems in their own lives. In the increasingly secular and Eurocentric nineteenth century, Ottoman intellectuals discovered new (European) fictional forms—such as the novel and short story—and used them in reaching the hearts and minds of the masses for social change. In this respect, the Ottoman social novel of the late nineteenth century not only provides us with detailed pictures of Ottoman social and economic life of the era, but also reflects Ottoman reformists' projections for an ideal future for the empire in the age of capitalist modernity.[6]

To mention a more specific realm, it is economic thought, we can mention another text from the same researcher. In his article on literature as a source for history of economic thought, Kılınçoğlu draws attention to the close relationship between the Ottoman economic thought literature and Ottoman novels. As he states, though the former had been met by the Ottomans during the first half of the nineteenth century, both developed simultaneously since the 1870s. In the article, he evaluates some literary texts—almost all of them are also examined in this study—regarding economic thought and economic history of the late Ottoman era.[7]

For providing an introductory information about the literary texts that I examine, I want to categorise them into two groups mainly. The former one covers fictions that have direct messages to their audiences through fictional heroes and anti-heroes while the latter enables us to follow how authors expressed their comments and criticisms on various matters.

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[6] Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 160.

[7] See Deniz T. Kılınçoğlu, 'İktisadi Düşünce Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Edebiyat: Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Üç Örnek', in *İktisat ve Diğer Bilimler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 231–33.

Let's start with the first one: Didactic style through concrete fictional characters. Intellectuals like Ahmed Midhat, Fatma Aliye, and Mîzancı Murad are prominent authors of literary works that I put in this first group. Ahmed Midhat is the most outstanding one among them. He has a style in many of his novels that presents two characters who are friends, one is the approved hero whereas the other is the dandy anti-hero. These are "industrious effendis" and "Ottoman dandies" [*züppeler*] of novels in Hafez's words.[8] We can mention here the most well-known examples: Râkım Efendi is an approved hero whereas Felâtun Bey is a ridiculed dandy.

Beyond these exemplary successful characters and failure cases, this type of fictional texts targeted certain Ottoman people. We can initiate with Ahmed Midhat. His novels and stories are full of numerous success stories of individuals from low or middle classes and advice on life for such readers. Kılınçoğlu draws attention to this as one aspect of Ahmed Midhat's development vision:

> Ahmed Midhat's way-to-wealth stories remind us of the genre of rags-to-riches stories, which was immensely popular in Europe and especially in United States during the same era. However, it is essential to note that Ahmed Midhat's characters do not start from "rags." His successful characters generally hail from the newly rising middle classes, just like himself. Thus his target audience is not the desperately poor, but middle-class youth. Moreover, it is also possible to read his stories as a metaphorical development strategy—through hard work and education—for a country of modest means. In this sense, his stories imply that the non-industrialized and underdeveloped Ottoman Empire could achieve industrialization and development if its citizens received a good education, worked hard, and created wealth through entrepreneurship despite the country's relative lack of wealth. In short, Ahmed Midhat's stories provide a dramatic presentation of the dominant approach to economic development in the Ottoman economic thinking in the era.[9]

Hafez makes a familiar statement about target audiences of such literary texts, differently, not only indicating Ahmed Midhat:

> In many of these literary works, the leading figures, both dandies and industrious effendis, are almost always young and male. Youth and their position in the reforming

[8] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 147.

[9] Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 173–74.

society occupied a central place in the minds of these authors. Male youth symbolized the future: they possessed the energy that the Ottoman society needed to reform itself. Certain anxieties, however, accompanied this idealization of youth. One important problem, as perceived by the reformists, was the misuse of youthful energy in futile endeavors. According to these novelists, youth was capital for investment, a national resource, and they feared it was being used recklessly.[10]

Mîzancı Murad's novel *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?* (Mature or Unusual?) is an example of the mentioned didactic style. Abdullah Uçman notes that Mîzancı Murad had a self-image as an exemplary character and had a strong belief in the correctness of his own ideas.[11] In accordance with this, the abovesaid novel fits this self-image, narrating the story of an entirely idealised, brilliant and always right leading character whose name is Mansur. In the same direction with Uçman's comment, Kılınçoğlu notes: "It is easy to see that Mansur's biography has a strong resemblance to that of Murad Bey, and many details in the story have strong parallels in Murad Bey's memoirs that he published later."[12] As a feminist case, Fatma Aliye's (Topuz) two novels narrating success stories of woman individuals should be noted here—*Refet* and *Ûdî* (The *Oud* Player).

The second group is constituted by other literary texts. Authors of these texts expressed their social criticisms and ideals. Social criticism can be followed in earliest novels. One of the most apparent issues was arranged marriage they touch on. Şemseddin Sâmi Frashëri's novel *Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* (Love between Talat and Fitnat), Nâmık Kemal's play *Zavallı Çocuk* (The Miserable Child), and Şinâsi's play *Şâir Evlenmesi* were some of oldest criticisms of the so widespread concern among the late Ottoman Turkish-speaking literati. Passing to another social issue; Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem's dandy character Bihruz in the novel *Araba Sevdâsı* (Love of Vehicle) with Hüseyin Rahmi (Gürpınar)'s two dandies named Şöhret and Meftun in his novels *Şık* (The Chic) and *Şıpsevdi* (Quick to Fall in Love) are different depictions of lazy, know-it-all, and wannabe *alla franca* dandies. Hüseyin Rahmi deserves to be underlined here. This talented author is a treasure to get information about social life

[10] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 189.

[11] Abdullah Uçman, 'Mizancı Murad', in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2020), 215, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mizanci-murad.

[12] Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 176.

and stereotypes of both late Ottoman and early republic years, thanks to his observation and depiction skills. Hüseyin Rahmi was also a storyteller whose social criticisms are embedded in his narratives. As another topic, gender issues can also be followed in texts of authors like Hâlide Edib (Adıvar) and Emine Semiye.[13] Fatma Aliye's novels are mentioned above. Hâlide Edib's two novels *Yeni Tûrân* (The New Turan) and *Seviye Tâlib* provides some clues of women's rights and reflections of women's internal world in the Ottoman literature. Emine Semiye's novels—Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's little daughter, Fatma Aliye's younger sister, and one of the prominent pioneers of Turkish feminism—are examined in this thesis especially for her interest in problems of lower-class women. Lastly, I want to mention three authors for nationalism. The first one is Şemseddin Sâmi. His play *Besâ yâhud Ahde Vefâ* (George W. Gawrych's translation: Pledge of Honor or Loyalty to an Oath[14]) expresses both his strong senses of Albanian nationalism and Ottoman patriotism. The second one is Ömer Seyfeddin. As a prolific author and a flag name of Turkish nationalism, he produced a good number of stories on various issues that can help us scrutinising last years of Turkish people as Ottoman citizens from the eyes of a fiery flag name of Turkism. The last is Hâlide Edib. Her abovesaid novel *Yeni Tûrân* is an intriguing novel that narrates the competition between two fictional political parties that embrace different ways of nationalism—Ottomanism and Turkism.

It seems that the popular didactic style of literature led weak narrations in the early experience of mentioned new genres in the Ottoman land. This is obvious especially in many early literary texts. Ahmed Midhat's dichotomic and too auspicious narratives look too childish even for a beginner in reading novels. Familiarly, according to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, it is possible to reduce Nâmık Kemal's plays in his ideas like patriotism, Islamic unity, and human rights. In Tanpınar's opinion, it is futile to seek talents from Nâmık Kemal, that should be demanded from a playwright. Tanpınar notes that Nâmık Kemal's characters are inanimate because of his lack of

[13] Even though Emine Semiye's surname is given as 'Önasya' in many sources, it should have been 'Yularkıran' according to Tuğba Sivri's explanation. See Emine Semiye Hanım, *Sefalet*, ed. Tuğba Sivri (İstanbul: VakıfBank Kültür Yayınları, 2020), 9.

[14] George Walter Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 1.

imagination.[15] Tanpınar's opinion about Ahmed Midhat is also quite negative—because of both his literary style and his position close to Abdülhamid II.[16]

On the other hand, a few texts that I examine in the study do not fit in abovesaid styles. Due to their usefulness for my task, I also use such literary texts that have no intention to convince readers for any of modernization projects or any certain ideology. I can mention here Hâlid Ziyâ (Uşaklıgil) as a good example, who habitually engages in his characters' inner worlds. Özel indicates him as one of the two bazaar children who introduced money in Turkish literature—Ahmed Midhat is the other.[17] Differing from Ahmed Midhat, Hâlid Ziyâ's novels were not handbooks for modernising youth. Let's mention *Mâi ve Siyah*'s (Blue and Black) leading character Ahmed Cemil. This hardworking man with entrepreneurial spirit has all attributes for a success story that brings him a happy future in Ahmed Midhat's standards—he is a typical self-reliant individual in my expression. Ahmed Midhat's such characters have usually good luck in both their working lives and their private lives throughout his novels. However, due to the fact that Ahmed Cemil's creator is Hâlid Ziyâ, despite his intensive work for his goals, unfortunate Ahmed Cemil fails in each of his three tasks at the end of the novel: He dreams of being a lead author, but gives up his career has been worsening since a harsh criticism; hopes a happy marriage for his sister İkbal, but she is killed while her pregnancy by her coarse husband; and hopes to marry the girl whom he loves, Lâmia, but she is married to someone else.

Now, I introduce the chapters in this study elaborating their contents. The main body of this study is organised into four chapters. These chapters are titled as "Self-Reliance", "Work Ethics", "Private Life", and "Sense of Belonging".

The first chapter engages in the self-reliance issue and examines Ottoman authors' minds. It consists of four parts. "Making Own Way" is the first part that presents authors' imagination of independent individuals. Firstly, this part touches on

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[15] Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *On Dokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2021), 373–74.

[16] For Tanpınar's views about Ahmed Midhat, see Tanpınar, 437–65; for a short evaluation on Tanpınar's these views, see Mehmet Yılmaz, 'Ahmet Mithat Efendi Jön Türk Romanını Neden Yazdı?', *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Araştırmaları* 13, no. 26 (2021): 129–31.

[17] Mustafa Özel, *Roman Diliyle İktisat* (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2018), 237.

how individualism and demand for autonomy became matters among intellectuals during the late Ottoman period. In coming pages, prominent fictional characters for this study are introduced with a few other specific cases from literary texts—both appreciated characters and disapproved ones. Some social issues like parental pressure, gender roles, and slavery are matters in this part. "Earning Own Livelihood" is the second part that presents authors' diligent characters getting outcomes of their labour. Some of these successful characters are ones who decide earning their livelihood while some others have no other option. While passing to the third part, it would be better to underline numerous Ottoman authors' common enthusiasm for entrepreneurial activity and concerns about the weakness of the Ottomans in this regard, as they felt. Thus, a special part is dedicated to this specific way of earning own livelihood with some related matters and some information about its contexts. "Education & Self-Improvement" is the fourth and last part of this chapter. As education and getting required skills are indispensable in the age of schooling and professionalisation during the modern era, many examined literary texts in this thesis also appreciate education. Nevertheless, education is not the only type of learning. There are some other cases that characters improve their abilities to gain specific skills in fictions.

The second chapter titled "Work Ethics" consists of two parts. The first one engages in the topic told in its title: "Industriousness". In the modern age, Ottomans who had to tackle some difficulties, especially in economic and political realms, should work, produce, and earn so much, as many of authors agreed. There was no room for laziness, which was a kind of crime. As intellectual mind was shaping under the impact of this spreading modern approach, required moral and religious reinterpretations accompanied the process. Nonetheless, earning was not the only task, it should have been done in legitimate ways. Thus, an oppressor ruler, a briber, a usurer, a woman that gives up her chastity, or a war profiteer would not have been heroes of Ottoman authors. Self-reliant individuals should have been ones who are adherent to moral values. The second part titled "Earning an Honest Penny" scrutinises authors' approaches to legitimate and illegitimate ways of earning and life.

The third chapter "Private Life" views authors' advice and warnings for a both joyful and responsible life—this is especially correct for Ahmed Midhat's novels, who

describes his heroes in scenes of joy many times. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first is titled "Decency". During the years of phenomena like intensifying relations with the Western world, transforming old social structures and norms such as spaces separated by gender, and increasing freedom of individuals; authors did not forget introducing positive and negative samples of fictional characters for their readers. Their idealised Ottomans were decent individuals who get respect from other people due to their courtesy, know their limits, and live confidently. Many authors engaged in warning about possible dangers can be emerged from reasons like alcoholism, gambling, illicit sexual actions, and false love relationships with immoral people. "Prudence" is the second part here. While examined texts in this study were producing by authors, the Ottoman Empire was facing bitter results of huge state debt. Most of these authors were furious with the Ottoman rulers of the Tanzimat period about their extravagance, wastefulness, wrong economic policies, and unconscious borrowing. Accordingly, it is not surprising that didactic Ottoman fictions include so many reflections of prudence and wastefulness. Accordingly, one of apparent characteristics of wannabe dandies was prodigality. "Family Bliss" is the last part. Authors presented many characters to their readers, drawing attention on their actions and behaviours mostly as spouses but sometimes as parents. Authors' advice, warnings, and social criticisms abound also here.

Finally, the fourth and last chapter titled "Sense of Belonging" comes. In previous chapters, the idea of self-reliant individuals is mainly evaluated in terms of their personal specifications. Differently, this chapter focuses on idealised individuals' relations with their environments—let's say inner circle, culture, society, nation, and state. "Loyalty to Own Cultural Values" is the beginning part. In this part, idealised characters are scrutinised regarding their relations with Ottoman cultural values, Islam, and their embracement of their own identity. *Alla franca* dandies are examined in this part as those who represent false examples and show authors' criticisms. It is also possible to find some material related to many Ottoman intellectuals' reactions against Orientalist discourses towards themselves. The second part titled "A Member of the Nation" traces how different authors embraced different approaches of nationalism in the examined fictions. As a general trend, while inclusive discourses of Ottomanness were apparent in earlier texts, later texts include so many traces of the narrowing empire which had more Turkish-Muslim population proportionally and experienced

violence. In those years, Ömer Seyfeddin introduced a new type of fictional dandy that emerged in accordance with his Turkish-nationalist ideology. The third part of this chapter is "Benevolence: Altruism in Inner Circle & Serving the Nation". The project of self-reliant individuals was primarily a new vision of intellectuals who were concerned for the future of the empire. Thus, ideal heroes in their imagination were not selfish and greedy interest-seekers, but altruist ones who both earn for themselves and benefit others. In this part, appreciated cases of benevolence from the literary texts are presented at two levels—benevolence as moderate endeavours and serving in the sake of great ideals about the nation or the state.

Before closing this introduction part, I should make some explanation about spelling styles that I use in this study. In general, I embrace the style that is used in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* for spelling Turkish personal names, work titles, and words—Nâmık Kemal, Mîzancı Murad, Tanzimat, etc. I do not mention Ottoman authors with their surnames that they took after the empire. I just give their surnames in parenthesis when I mention these authors first, as I do in this introduction part. For spelling names of fictional characters who are non-Muslim Ottomans or foreigners, I spell them how I have found in the texts I use—Cuzella, Can, Helvila, Mösyö Makferlan, etc. I use basic English forms of common Islamic and Arabic terms —*hadith*, *tafsir*, *ulama*, *al-Nahda*, etc. On the other hand, for spelling Arab personal names, work titles from the Arab geography, and some Islamic terms that are uncommon in English, I follow *IJMES Transliteration System for Arabic, Persian, and Turkish*—Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Ghābat al-Ḥaqq*, *sabab al-nuzūl*, etc.

CHAPTER 1: SELF-RELIANCE

> Favour comes from only yourself to you in a deed if needed
> Give up hope of the victory if help from someone else is needed[18]
>
> Nâmık Kemal

> (…) the oppression [of the Hamidian *ancient régime*] against the Turks and largely the Ottoman Muslim elements had risen from not one or a few men but our mode of sustenance and societal inadequacies (…)
>
> Prince Sabahaddin[19]

This initial chapter presents the way of self-reliant characters. "Making Own Way" is the first part here. I examine authors' varying imaginations of independent individuals who determine their own ways. "Earning Own Livelihood" is the second part that presents authors' industrious characters that getting outcomes of their labour. "Entrepreneurial Spirit & Private Initiative" comes as the third part . Here, I try to a give not only a brief view of Ottoman authors' endeavour to encourage their readers for profits from entrepreneurial economic activities but also for improving entrepreneurial character. The fourth and last part "Education & Self-Improvement" engages in authors' narratives of how idealised fictional characters improve themselves and get required abilities for their goals at school, at home, at work, or outside.

1.1. Making Own Way

In her master's thesis, Müge Uzbilek Akkuş deals with the demand for individualisation and autonomy in the Ottoman Empire during the modern era. Referring to several researchers, she points the demand for individualisation in the endeavour of late Ottoman intellectuals. In brief, the old tradition [*âdet-i kadîme*] and its system of values had strictly determined roles of Ottoman subjects both politically and socially. The old system of values, which had been already started to erode, were opened to discussion by Tanzimat intellectuals; with an idea of "new human" who is

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[18] *Sana senden gelir bir işde ancak dâd lâzımsa / Ümîdin keszaferden gayrıdan imdâd lâzımsa*

[19] M. Sabahaddin, *Teşebbüs-i Şahsî ve Tevsi-i Mezuniyet Hakkında Bir İzah* (Dersaâdet: Matbaa-i Kütübhane-i Cihan, 1908), 6, http://isamveri.org/pdfrisaleosm/R093727.pdf.

after his own ambitions and makes his own decisions. Accordingly, İbrâhim Şinâsi and Nâmık Kemal criticised and re-interpreted common perceptions of some notions of fate such as predestination [*kader*] and submission [*tevekkül*]. While some early samples of the process that Uzbilek Akkuş points could be seen in the upper ruling class, it became apparent in both lives and works in Tanzimat intellectuals. The latter group also undertook a role of pathfinder while the old authority was weakening. They did not only used the imported modern means but also the old literature in their works. In the thesis, Uzbilek Akkuş also indicates the realm of Tanzimat novels, which is an area that the demand for individualisation can be seen.[20]

Regarding the individualism matter, Hafez puts the emphasis on the national objective in this paragraph:

> Morality books in the nineteenth century attest to a new set of assumptions about the self. Self-regulation had long been one of the most recognized religious and moral practices, but in this particular period, the construction of a new subjective interiority reflect [sic] the centrality of a reformed self in the overall reform project of the empire, establishing a direct connection between the development of character and unfolding of the future of the empire. Because of this assumed connection, the individual infirmities and immoralities are now seen as social diseases in need of rectification. Productivity is not only a means to achieve this rectification, but also its goal.[21]

Upon this short introduction for individualisation, let's move on with late Ottoman authors starting with Ahmed Midhat—as he was an early and outstanding novelist that encourages his readers for their own ambitions. Ahmed Midhat's working life began when he was a child. Upon his father's early death, he had to fend for his family. He was not only the most productive men of the late Ottoman literature, but also a diligent man who occupies with various jobs throughout his career—such as apprenticeship in the Spice Bazaar, officialdom, authorship, education, trade, and translation. The stress on work is so strong in his writings.[22]

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[20] For the full text, see Müge Uzbilek Akkuş, 'Bireyselleşme/Özerkleşme İstenci Üzerinden 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Modernleşmesi' (Master's Thesis, Ankara, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2019).

[21] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 50.

[22] See Ayyıldız, 'Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Girişimcilik', 126–38; Ülgen, *Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Çalışma Fikri*, 3–4.

In his article written in 1879, "Sevdâ-yı Sa'y ü Amel" (Kılınçoğlu's Translation: The Passion for Effort and Labour[23]), Ahmed Midhat likens reaching the demand to a lover's coming together with his beloved.[24] He also enthusiastically describes the pleasure that emerges from a person's own product at another page of the same article.[25] Determining own personal goal and endeavouring as much as required to reach that goal are Ahmed Midhat's expectations from his readers. In the same direction, in another article written in the same year and titled "Teşrik-i Mesâî – Taksim-i Mesâî" (Cooperation – Division of Labour), the first master asks: "What is in the world that its first form was not a dream?". Then, he continues elaborating his answer. He says that a dream transforms to a decision by thinking it over, then performance turns a decision into reality. "If we do not start even dreaming now", he says, "we would have been started nothing".[26] Ahmed Midhat makes this explanation while talking about topics related to development. Yet, life stories of his many diligent lead characters fit this view. They have dreams and they perform what are required for making them come true.

Nasuh, the impressive Turk in Paris, is the first one I want to mention as a determined novel hero who realises his own ambitions. He is a well-educated young man who has a great desire to explore. He experiences various environments including even among rakish people. The problem he faces is to find an appropriate job that will facilitate him to satisfy this strong desire. Thus, while rejecting civil service and craft, he thinks on the best option for a while. Finally, he determines authorship as his goal. To make this goal true, Nasuh decides to travel to Europe, the place where the scientific maturity impresses him.[27] Vahdetî in *Para!* (Money!)[28] is another hardworking and resolute youngster. He is a student at the Imperial Military School of Medicine. Contrary to his dandy (so lazy) friend Sulhi who plans achieving wealth through

[23] As Kılınçoğlu notes, *Sevdâ-yı sa'y ü amel* is Ahmed Midhat's Turkish translation of the French expression *l'amour du travail*. See Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 47, 75.

[24] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Sevda-yı Sa'y ü Amel*, ed. Hakan Kartal (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2019), 31–32.

[25] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 41.

[26] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 85.

[27] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, ed. Erol Ülgen (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2020), 131–33.

[28] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Para*, ed. Fatih Altuğ (İstanbul: Vakıfbank Kültür Yayınları, 2023).

marriage, Vahdetî's goal is to gain skills that will pave the way for a happy future. After graduation, Vahdetî wants to marry a clever girl named Latife. But he is not welcomed by her father Yazıcıoğlu Hacı İsmâil Ağa because of his poverty, even though Vahdetî is a doctor. Vahdetî maintains his work and gets promotion. Latife's father accepts Vahdetî for his daughter this time. *Bahtiyarlık*'s (Bliss)[29] Şinâsi is a familiar lead character with Vahdetî: a student at the Imperial High School of Galatasaray [*Mekteb-i Sultânî*]. Following his father's advice, Şinâsi is determined to settle in rural for occupying with agriculture, craft, and trade. As a clever and industrious character, he achieves his goals. The successful man does not only enjoy his wealthy life, but also contributes to development of the village he settles in.

The last example from Ahmed Midhat I want to indicate here is Julie from *Diplomalı Kız* (The Graduated Girl)[30]. With this character, I move on to some self-reliant female characters in Ottoman fiction. As touched on more in the coming parts, women's participation in both labour force and social life was a topic that caused discussions in Ottoman press life—well-known prominent names of late Ottoman intellectuals were mostly supporters. Getting back to Julie, she has some apparent differences from the previous self-reliant ones—she is female, starts in a severe poverty, and not an Ottoman. As Ahmed Midhat explains the root of the story, he had read this story that is written by an author named Dick May in the journal *Levant Herald*. Ahmed Midhat himself did not only translate this story, but also expanded it rewriting. He claims his intention as touching on an important social issue: women's education.[31] The story takes place in Paris. Julie is a clever girl who has degree from a teacher training college. However, she cannot find a job for a while—neither as a teacher nor another job. At the same time, she suffers severe poverty with her family. Though Julie's father Jean gets over pneumonia, he cannot continue working as before. During hard days, Julie's mother Polini is not content with her daughter because she had spent her opportunities with persisting in education. Contrarily, Jean supports Julie. One day, Julie begins selling flowers with using her talent of declamation. She

[29] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, ed. Nuri Sağlam (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2020).

[30] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Diplomalı Kız*, ed. M.Fatih Andı (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2021).

[31] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 9.

succeeds in this attempt and attracts the attention of press. At the end, she is hired at a theatre to give lectures and conferences.

In Mardin's words, "there was a remarkable consensus on women's freedom among the Ottoman upper class".[32] Fatma Aliye is the first woman who springs to mind in this context. One might consider Fatma Aliye's novel *Refet*[33] as abovesaid Julie's Turkish version. Ahmed Midhat writes an appreciation for *Refet*, presenting Fatma Aliye's young heroin as a role model of diligence despite her harsh conditions of poverty for fathers, mothers, young males, and young females.[34] Refet passes her childhood suffering from her weak body and illnesses that deprive her from playing with other children. Her inflicting pain makes her an unloved and bad-tempered child. When she starts school, little Refet shines out at her classes. The bad-tempered child becomes a clever and hardworking student at school, whose dream is to become a teacher. Refet's protector in her success story is her mother Binnaz, who accepts difficult works and who also suffers some health problems. Though Refet must face severe poverty and health issues as her mother, she succeeds at the end—yet her devoted and selfless mother does not live long enough to see her daughter's achievement.

Julie and Refet are educated city-dweller women who are after their own goals. There are two other women appear as self-reliant heroines from other examined literary texts in this study. Differently, these women who walk in their own paths are from rural and appear with their heroisms. The former's name is Vâhide, an Albanian mountaineer in Şemseddin Sâmi's play *Besâ yâhud Ahde Vefâ*. Sâmi Frashëri expresses his deep Albanian nationalism and Ottoman patriot emotions in the play. Abovesaid Vâhide gets armed and departs single-handedly to avenge her murdered husband Zübeyr and save her kidnapped girl Merûşe from the bandits.[35] Kezban is the latter heroin who takes place in Ömer Seyfeddin's "Yalnız Efe" (The Lone Efe).[36] She is the

[32] Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV*, 36.

[33] Fatma Aliye, *Refet*, ed. Nurullah Çetin (İstanbul: L & M Yayıncılık, 2007).

[34] Fatma Aliye, 13–14.

[35] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Semseddin Sami'nin Tiyatroları*, ed. Enver Töre (İstanbul: Assos Yayınları, 2008), 107–8.

[36] Hülya Argunşah notes that this story has two versions. The first seems complete in itself whereas the other is an incomplete version of Ömer Seyfeddin's novel project. See Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, ed.

daughter of a respected man called Yörük Hoca, who is killed by Eseoğlu's men. Eseoğlu is an influential notable and uses his power for saving his men blocking the Yörük Hoca case—In addition, he is also a usurer who oppresses peasants seizing their properties—Young Kezban cannot get anything from legal ways. Then, she decides to live in the hills as a lone bandit. She avenges her father killing the murderers and Eseoğlu.[37]

The last example of self-reliant women for this part is from the last year of the empire. She is Feride in Reşad Nûri's *Çalıkuşu*, again a teacher. She leaves Istanbul not because of her idealistic dreams (nor deep patriotism) but her anger against her fiancé Kâmuran upon receiving a letter that claims his relationship with another woman. Feride has already got a good education at French Lycée Notre Dame de Sion Istanbul. Having a gravely confident and self-reliant nature, she applies to the Ministry of Education for being appointed to an Anatolian school even in the worst conditions. She succeeds but the treatment she faces in the ministry drives her crazy. According to an official, women like Feride should not be teachers, but should engage in artisanry. She might earn her livelihood if she works and becomes a seamstress.[38]

All clever lead characters are not lucky like lead characters of abovesaid fictions. Besides, many of these good-ending stories are tutorials for youngsters. As an example of lead character of a failure story, Hâlid Ziyâ's Ahmed Cemil in *Mâî ve Siyâh* is presented in the introduction chapter. This youngster plans his future in details and fulfils the required labour. However, his career, which starts with a dream at a blue night, ends with an early give up at a black night. For Mîzancı Murad's Mansur, achieving his goals in a lifetime is not possible. Because he is a devoted Ottoman who differs from Ahmed Midhat's exemplary characters whose intentions are their own lives. Mansur has great dreams for the empire and lays down his life for the empire at the end of the novel. Nevertheless, Mansur usually seems successful during his life story. He gets a graduate degree from a medicine school in France. He establishes his

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Hülya Argunşah (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2020), 815; turning to the title, *efe* is a word used for valiant men in Western Anatolian (Aegean) regions. See İlhan Ayverdi, 'Efe', in *Kubbealtı Lugatı*, accessed 10 August 2024, https://lugatim.com/s/efe.

[37] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 815–21; Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 2*, ed. Hülya Argunşah (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2022), 268–305.

[38] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Çalıkuşu*, ed. M. Fatih Kanter (İstanbul: İnkılâp Yayınları, 2022), 160–64.

workplace in Istanbul and is appointed as an official. On the national level, Mansur makes contribution in rural development where he settled later.

Self-reliance sometimes appears as not a requirement for a specific future ideal, but a personal characteristic or attitude related to matters like freedom or self-esteem—just as previously said female characters Vâhide, Kezban, and Feride. An exemplary case can be given is abovesaid Mansur's first experience in Istanbul. Mansur visits first his uncle Şeyh Sâlih Efendi when he arrives at the imperial capital. His uncle and his cousin İsmâil welcome Mansur with an intensive insistence of hosting him, but Mansur's plan is different: "To be free with no associate in every act in a small flat with one or two rooms". However, the uncle prevails at the end. Mansur sacrifices one of his goals with an experience that makes him disappointed on a very early stage: "I feel that there are more differences than I have supposed between theory and practice."[39]

There are a few more that can be mentioned here in familiar contexts. Ahmed Midhat in his *Hasan Mellâh yâhud Sır İçinde Esrâr* (Hasan the Sailor or Mystery in Mysteries) shares a few pages for the Mamluks [*kölemenler*]. Emphasizing their persistent and heroic characters, he claims that they have a nature cannot accept being in debt to anyone even if their lives are at stake.[40] Hüseyin Câhid's (Yalçın) story "Muallim" (The Teacher) narrates a young and self-reliant teacher's anxiety. The young teacher rejects consuming livelihood that is not outcome of his own labour, even if it is his father's earning. Hence, he accepts to teach a rich family's child to earn his own money. However, the young man feels himself since the first day as one the ornaments of the house which can be thrown away one day. He is distressed because of working for the fee from rich people who can buy his labour.[41]

A later and so popular story in a familiar context is Ömer Seyfeddin's "Diyet" (The Blood Money). Koca Ali (Ali the Great) is the son of an executed beg. His uncle wants to protect Ali and provide him an honourable and comfortable life. However,

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[39] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?: Millî Roman (İnceleme - Metin - Sözlük)*, ed. Oğuzhan Karaburgu (İstanbul: Kesit Yayınları, 2016), 124.

[40] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh Yahut Sır İçinde Esrar*, ed. Ali Şükrü Çoruk (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2020), 245–49.

[41] Hüseyin Câhid Yalçın, *Seçme Hikâyeler*, ed. Özge Şahin (İstanbul: Kesit Yayınları, 2011), 123–30.

Ali has a nature that never asks for favour nor accepts living indebtedly. Ali leaves his place and visits many Anatolian cities to live as a self-reliant man. He makes a name as a talented smith producing best quality of swords. One day, he is accused of theft and murder whereas he has no relation. Ali is convicted of only theft, which means amputation of his arm. Some soldiers—who are concerned for Ali like town-dwellers—applies to a rich but stingy butcher Hacı Mehmed. The rich butcher accepts paying the blood money if Ali accepts serving him. The soldiers convince Ali indicating Mehmed's old age. Then, he starts to serve Hacı Mehmed. While his service, Ali cannot stand Mehmed's taunting words on Ali's debt due to the blood money. Finally, Ali cuts off his own arm and gives "the thing that he has paid its blood money" to Mehmed.[42]

Making own decisions by the youth themselves is a matter related to how much their parents allow them. Hence, parental pressure was a popular issue among the Turkish-writing intellectuals in the imperial capital. Uzbilek Akkuş points Nâmık Kemal and Şemseddin Sâmi as two prominent critical names of the prevalent practices. Nâmık Kemal's likening a man's way of bringing up his children to how he keeps his cat can be pointed here as an early critical example.[43] One of the most featured subheadings of this matter is arranged marriage. According to writers, young individuals would be allowed to choose their spouses. Hence, arranged marriage became the target in many literary texts. I view this subheading of parental pressure in Ottoman fiction in the part titled "Family Bliss" of the third chapter "Private Life". Another commonly criticised aspect of the parental pressure issue is choice of profession. Some authors expressed their criticisms against parents about the way that they canalise their children's efforts for choice of profession. The context here was usually Ottomans' lack of abilities in some sectors—I scrutinise this topic in the part on entrepreneurship in this chapter.

Let's visit one play and one novel by Nâmık Kemal as early examples of Ottoman fiction in these contexts. The play is *Zavallı Çocuk* which narrates the tragedy of a fourteen-year-old girl Şefika, who cannot marry her beloved medicine student Atâ. Şefika's mother insists of the groom candidate who is a forty-year-old pasha whereas

[42] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 712–13.

[43] Uzbilek Akkuş, 'Bireyselleşme/Özerkleşme İstenci', 113–34.

the father empathises with his daughter. Two parents discuss on the candidates on a stage. The father appreciates Atâ's talents and his promising brilliant future. In contrary, the mother rejects the earning comes with labour—she prefers fixed salary.[44] Nâmık Kemal's novel *İntibâh: Sergüzeşt-i Ali Bey* (Awakening: Ali Bey's Affair) is a warning to the Ottoman youth; narrates Ali's disaster because of a wicked woman he loves. At the beginning of the novel, Ali's mother is proud of his well-educated and hardworking son who is late to return home due to his work in a government office—indeed, he is in ambivalence because of love. Nâmık Kemal expresses his discontent with Ali Bey's mother saying that in the Ottoman country, especially among women, the greatness is only with getting promotion in government service.[45]

Mansur's comrade Doctor Mehmed in *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?* is another exemplary character of the novel but he faces parental opposition about his way. His poor father living in Çankırı sends Mehmed to his brother for a job probably in bathhouse. Nonetheless, Mehmed impresses the employer whom his uncle serves. Thus, Mehmed is enrolled in school. Mehmed's father does not support this attempt and receives the news as if it were a disaster that will only cause losing time. Mehmed becomes one of the most successful students at the school. However, his father does not live long enough to see his son's success at school.[46] It seems that some jobs were considered as worse among Ottoman people. In Hüseyin Câhid's story "Görücü"[47], the mother asks details about a groom candidate for her daughter Seniha. She shows her anger when she learns that the candidate is a journalist and an absentee at a government office. She yells that she prefers a craftsman in the Long Bazaar [*Uzun Çarşı'da bir çıkrıkçı*] rather than such a vagrant man.[48] It seems suitable to mention here a real-life experience that Kılınçoğlu tells. The name here is an *al-Nahda* intellectual: Jurjī Zaydān. As Kılınçoğlu notes, Zaydān received an adverse reaction from his family on his decision to become a journalist. His father wanted his son to study something more

[44] Namık Kemal, *Zavallı Çocuk*, ed. Emine Kolaç, trans. Ezgi Aslan and Gönül Yüksel (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2019), 15–16.

[45] Namık Kemal, *İntibah: Sergüzeşt-i Ali Bey*, ed. Fatih Altuğ, trans. Bengü Vahapoğlu (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2022), 50–51.

[46] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 130–31.

[47] *Görücü* means a woman sent to a bride candidate for a male family member.

[48] Yalçın, *Seçme Hikâyeler*, 58–59.

"decent", such as medicine or law.[49] An article written in 1910 remarks parents' restrictive behaviour against children as a reason that weakens children's talents for private initiative.[50] Some jobs were not welcomed by parents as can be inferred from various texts contain writers' criticisms. Some parents did not prefer husbands occupied with unpreferred jobs for their daughters. Officials were preferred ones rather than artisans or merchants according to an earlier article in 1908.[51] Dates of these articles show how Ottoman writers' concerns lasted long for the same issue since the 1870s.

We can close this part with slavery issue—an issue that does not seem in accordance with self- reliance, but the most mentioned author in this study did not feel too much discomfort with it. The first attempt against slave trade by the Ottomans state is the abolition of the slave market in Istanbul. This attempt did not end the trade completely. It was followed by some other steps that banned trading black slaves. The ban of trading white slaves who were mostly Caucasian was declared in 1909. However, slavery as an institution continued until the end of the empire.[52] Among late Ottoman intellectuals, Ahmed Midhat and Fatma Aliye were apologetic about this matter. Zeynep Çelik indicates the intellectual cooperation between these two names in the context of defending Muslim women against Orientalist claims. Ahmed Midhat was already Fatma Aliye's teacher—Ahmed Cevdet Paşa had convinced Ahmed Midhat to undertake his brilliant daughter's education.[53] In *Nisvân-ı İslâm* (Islam's Women), Fatma Aliye hosts a few European women travellers and makes explanations to correct their views on Ottoman women. In the first conversation, Fatma Aliye talks about Ottoman female slaves [c*âriyeler*]. She claims that it is a kind of humanitarianism rather than concubinage or slavery in their minds, presenting living

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[49] Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 60.

[50] Demir, 'Osmanlı'da İktisadî Dergicilik', 331.

[51] Demir, 266.

[52] See Mehmet Âkif Aydın and Muhammed Hamîdullah, 'Köle', in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2002), 245–46, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kole; and Nihat Engin, 'Osmanlılar'da Kölelik', in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2002), 248, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kole.

[53] Zeynep Çelik, *Avrupa Şark'ı Bilmez: Eleştirel Bir Söylem, 1872-1932* (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2020), 35.

conditions of the Ottoman slaves.[54] A so similar approach can be found in Ahmed Midhat's novel *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi*. Râkım buys a clever and polite female slave named Cânan, whom Râkım educates at home. Two English sibling girls that are given lessons by Râkım meet Cânan at Râkım's house and want to get more information about her. When they receive answers from Râkım and face with Cânan's freedom; they are so surprised enough to say, "I would even like to be a slave like that."[55] In *Müşâhedât* (Observations), Ahmed Midhat claims the comfortable living conditions of slaves contrary to Europe and expresses his anger against the Europeans who ridicule the slavery in Muslim societies.[56] Yet, that attitude did not fit with the prevailing tendency can be followed among Ottoman authors. Erol Ülgen points Ahmed Midhat's difference from many other novelists who handle slavery as a social problem. Contrary to them, Ahmed Midhat mostly handles the issue as the base of a romantic emotion.[57] His slave characters are usually awarded at the end. Ülgen mentions some of them including abovesaid Cânan, Arslan in *Hasan Mellâh yâhud Sır İçinde Esrâr*, and Şehlevend in *Hüseyin Fellâh* (Hüseyin the Farmer).[58]

For the opposite position, there are three authors from Istanbul I want to draw attention.[59] The first is Nâmık Kemal. Mardin draws attention to Nâmık Kemal's position against slavery through a scene in *İntibâh*. In that moment, Ali behaves rudely

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[54] Çelik, 36–37, 168–76.

[55] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun Bey İle Râkım Efendi*, ed. Necati Birinci (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2020), 127–32.

[56] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, ed. Fazıl Gökçek (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2021), 164.

[57] Ülgen, *Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Çalışma Fikri*, 49.

[58] Ülgen, 100–105.

[59] I want to note that some loud-voiced objections were uttered by some Arab intellectuals from *al-Nahda* circles during the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Arab land. The most prominent figure of the Beiruti circle, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, mentions two major themes that were discussed in the circle. One of them was legitimacy of possessing slaves. As an objection from another prominent circle, a significant literary work was written by Alepine intellectual Francis al-Marrāsh in 1865: *Ghābat al-Ḥaqq* (The Forest of Justice). In Peter Hill's words, this work "stages a war between the Kingdoms of Civilisation and Slavery as an allegory of the violent suppression of sectarian violence in Syria after 1860 and the institution of the Ottoman Tanzîmât project". In the mentioned civilisation utopia, al-Marrash expresses his objections against slavery through the story of two Sudanese enslaved siblings named Yāqūt and Marjān. See Peter Hill, *Utopia and Civilisation in the Arab Nahda* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 17, 32–33, 220.

to a female slave Dilâşub whom his mother buys for him.[60] Mardin claims, "Actually, this is because he is in love with someone else. However, his discomfort against the institution of female slavery is also clear."[61] In Nâmık Kemal's abovesaid play *Zavallı Çocuk*, female slave Tâbende is always exposed to insulting words of other characters. A familiar view is apparent in Nâbizâde Nâzım's novel *Zehra*. Nâzikter is the female slave in this novel who gets no respect from her owner Zehra. Sırrıcemal is another character in the novel. Her adventure is different, but she also suffers during her slavery days. This novel is mentioned and summarised later.[62]

Sâmipaşazâde Sezâî's novel *Sergüzeşt* (The Adventure) is the most well-known one of Ottoman fictions that condemns slavery, which defines it as "the old Asiatic savagery"[63]. The novel narrates a heart-breaking tragedy. Lead character Dilber is a Circassian and beautiful child who is kidnapped. She is sold first to a house in Istanbul where she is always insulted and persecuted by the household. Later, she is sold a better place where she meets Celal. However, Dilber is sold by Celal's mother Zehra who is concerned about the love affair between Dilber and Celâl. Now, Dilber is at a palace-like mansion of a rich Egyptian merchant. At the end, Dilber cannot put up with her sufferings and commits suicide jumping into the Nile. Sâmipaşazâde attacks on slavery in every page of the novel. To give some examples; he describes slave trader Hacı Ömer who brings Dilber to Istanbul as a man has insensitive and merciless heart that reflects on his wild look in his eyes. In the novel, slaves live under whipping when they are at the hands of traders. When Dilber is sold to Âsaf Paşa's mansion, Celal treats Dilber as if she were a toy and dresses her in various ways to paint her pictures before he falls in love with her. His attitude makes Dilber feel humiliated. At the Egyptian merchant's mansion, Dilber is prisoned because of rejecting to be a concubine. A black eunuch Cevher Ağa loves Dilber and decides to send her to Istanbul. Unfortunately, he dies because of getting injured seriously during performing the plan. This is how Sâmipaşazâde depicts Cevher's looks: "It can be said that he

[60] Namık Kemal, *İntibah*, 110–14.

[61] Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV*, 35.

[62] Nabizade Nâzım, *Zehra*, trans. Necati Tonga (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2019).

[63] Samipaşazade Sezai, *Sergüzeşt*, ed. Mert Tokur (Istanbul: Can Yayınları, 2022), 31.

curses the nature because he is a black, and he curses the Sudanese because he is a eunuch."[64]

To sum up, approved fictional characters in Ottoman authors' imaginations were ones who use their autonomy for fulfilling their own dreams and reject pressure of others. Accordingly, these authors made several criticisms in related matters towards the Ottoman society.

1.2. Earning Own Livelihood

Here, I directly start focusing on earning fictional characters. However, it should be added that it is not possible or plausible to present all earning diligent characters as they constitute a high number. Rather, I present here some characters who earn their own livelihood through their motivations. In addition, I share some examples of negatively depicted anti-heroes. Some specific aspects of the matter are also mentioned.

As said before, Ahmed Midhat encourages his readers narrating the pleasure of own product. In line with this, there are two scenes of his characters' happiness due to their first earnings. Industrious Râkım's first business success is the former one. Râkım is a young man whose father passes away first and later his mother during his early ages. Râkım lives in unfancy conditions with a devoted woman for him like his mother: his family's Arab slave and Râkım's nanny Fedâi. One day, one of Râkım's friends who is a pressman asks Râkım for translating a book in French (has one hundred fifty to two hundred pages) into Turkish. Completing the task in twelve days, Râkım gets a fee of twenty liras. What he does first is to bring that money happily to his nanny Fedâi. Albeit Râkım has been already working in a government office. The important point here is that the mentioned earning is the outcome of Râkım's own business.[65]

The second one by Ahmed Midhat is the moment that Madam Hamparsun enjoys her first earning. The novel she takes place is *Karnaval* (Carnaval). Madam Hamparsun is a positively portrayed character. However, she bears the consequence of her love affair. She is the wife of an old man who gives material wealth to her wife but

[64] Samipaşazade Sezai, 105.

[65] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 21–22.

not love of a husband. He sleeps in another room as Ahmed Midhat tells. The madame loves Resmî—the clever lead character of the novel and a close family friend of the Hamparsuns—and secretly hosts Resmî in her room at night. Monsieur Hamparsun learns this affair and finds traces of a man in the room. He shows his anger to his wife and evicts her from his home. Henceforth, desperate Madam Hamparsun must earn her livelihood. As she knows how to sew, she produces hats that her true-hearted servant Madam Küpeliyan sells. They make a good amount of money. Madam Hamparsun shows her excitement to her servant telling: "My sister! I handle the outcome of my labour for the first time in my life."[66]

Working fictional characters of the late Ottoman novelists have different motivations. Some of these are well-educated or talented ones. They use their knowledge for earning their livelihood. Râkım is such a character, who occupies with three professions together: He is a translator, an author, and a teacher.[67] Şinâsi in *Bahtiyârlık* enjoys his wealthy and peaceful life in the countryside with his wife.[68] Three successful doctors are introduced before—Ahmed Midhat's Vahdetî in *Para!*, Mîzancı Murad's Mansur, and Mansur's comrade Mehmed. Nasuh in Ahmed Midhat's *Paris'te Bir Türk* earns his livelihood correcting errata during his years in Paris.[69] Two diligent characters from Hüseyin Rahmi's *Şık* (The Chic) can be added here. One of them is Mâşuk, who is the anti-thesis of the dandy lead character of the novel named Şöhret. While continuing his job at a government office, diligent Mâşuk also engages in some other jobs that bring more income. The second is his polite and clever girlfriend Adel. As this young woman's French father and Italian mother had passed away before, the lone girl fends for herself as a seamstress.[70] Some others also can be added like Resmî in *Karnaval* and Arslan in *Hasan Mellâh yâhud Sır İçinde Esrâr* as characters who engage in small businesses.

A small number of characters manage their large businesses. Ahmed Midhat's Seyyid Mehmed Nûman in *Müşâhedât* is an apparent one. This experienced man is an

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[66] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Karnaval*, ed. Necati Tonga (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2019), 355–57.

[67] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 133.

[68] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 29–43.

[69] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 169.

[70] Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, *(Ayna) Şık*, ed. Dilek Herkmen (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2021), 93–101.

idealised character who appears with his wisdom, benevolence, patriotism, and interest in trade.[71] *Hasan Mellâh yâhud Sır İçinde Esrâr* presents a familiar North African character with Egyptian Seyyid Mehmed Nûman: Hasan's father Sîdî Osman. Ahmed Midhat portrays this Maghrebi man as a patriot and benevolent rich man who occupies with agriculture and commerce. He also undertakes prominent positions in government. He wants his son Hasan to receive maritime training to maintain his commercial business.[72] A third North African Hüseyin Fellâh also can be added to them: an Algerian farmer who has his own business operating among Mediterranean countries.[73] It seems that Ahmed Midhat has a good impression of North African Muslims' trade activities. Thus, all his appreciated characters who manage large-scale businesses are from the North Africa.

In some fictions, difficulties can force characters to earn their own livelihood. Fatma Aliye's Refet is already introduced. One of Refet's prominent motivations to complete her education that would facilitate her to work is her opinion about her appearance. Considering herself ugly, Refet is hopeless to find a husband. Thus, she herself must win her own bread.[74] Fatma Aliye narrates another woman who struggles against difficulties and must fend for herself in another novel: *oud* player Bedia. This decent woman leaves her husband who cheats on her. Bedia must fend for not only herself but also her nephew Mihriban and their old servant Rüstem. After difficult days, Bedia starts to earn giving *oud* lessons. Yet, the novel ends with not a happy future but Bedia's death because of illness.[75]

We find some selfless breadwinner characters as the backstage heroines of success stories in fictions. I want to mention here a few examples. When Râkım's father passes away, his mother and their servant Fedâi devote their lives to earn the livelihood of their small family and Râkım's future. While Râkım's mother engages in various handiworks and sometimes goes to housework; Fedâî sells these handiworks

[71] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 177–91.

[72] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 135–39.

[73] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hüseyin Fellâh*, ed. M.Fatih Andı (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2020), 124.

[74] Fatma Aliye, *Refet*, 53.

[75] Fatma Aliye, *Udi*, ed. Bilgin Güngör (İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2021).

and goes to housework on other days.[76] Another strong backstage heroin is Refet's mother Binnaz. She suffers too much from poverty, her relatives' attitudes, and health problems. Binnaz accepts various works—doing laundry, housecleaning, and sewing—before an illness that weakens her health. Since a serious health issue, she is not able to maintain her labour at the same level. However, she continues the only work she can do, cooking, to win her own and her daughter Refet's bread. Refet herself also contributes with sewing and giving lectures during those hard days.[77] Hasnâ from *Hüseyin Fellâh* can be added here. She is an honourable woman who lives a wealthy life before his husband dies. After this death, Hasnâ becomes homeless with her daughter Şehlevend. They survive begging for a while. Tricking her mother by saying that she marries a man in Egypt, Şehlevend sells herself to a slave trader with a hope of providing better living conditions for both her and her mother. Hasnâ stays alone until she learns the truth. During that time, the honourable woman earns her own money doing laundry.[78] A last example is from a later novel: Hâlide Edib's *Yeni Tûrân*. Oğuz, the leader of a fictional political party named *Yeni Tûrân*, tells his life story at the end of the novel while he is living his last hours because of a deadly attack against him. As he tells, Oğuz's mother was a Tatar woman living in Yıldırım of Bursa, whose husband had passed away young. She both worked to earn and kept her house which was always clean. She worked in her garden and sold its products. Moreover, she occupied with needlecraft. The devoted diligent mother provided his little son Oğuz's all needs best as she could. Besides all these, as an educated woman, she undertook the education of Tatar pupils of the local school upon the pupils complained from the teacher who keeps off the school and beats the children.[79]

Working female characters take place in Ottoman fiction as women's participation in working life was one of major modern matters. Serpil Çakır draws attention to a point that causes delusion about women's participation in labour force. Reminding the agricultural society in the Ottoman Empire, she remarks that Ottoman women had already actively participated in labour force—in various areas even including mining. However, their limited occupation with jobs in city life or

[76] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 19.

[77] Fatma Aliye, *Refet*, 42-43 161-162.

[78] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hüseyin Fellâh*, 65–67.

[79] Halide Edip Adıvar, *Yeni Turan* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2014), 123–24.

government offices causes the delusion of inmate women.[80] The modern problem should have been a different one related to the requirements of modernity. The Ottoman women were increasingly getting more place in working life. The very moment that this trend gather speed was the World War I as many witness authors claimed. Women themselves, the society, and the state needed their labour under the war conditions. Ottoman women also undertook roles in humanitarian activities such as saving orphans and nursing.[81] We are able to find a reflection of this transformation in Hâlide Edib's *Yeni Tûrân* which is published in 1913—the fifth year of the Young Turk Revolution and one year before the Great War. The novel narrates a fictional near-future Ottoman politics dominated by two parties. The Turkish-nationalist and decentralist *Yeni Tûrân* is the approved party in the novel, which maintains the CUP tradition. The other one whose name is *Yeni Osmanlılar* (the New Ottomans) embraces Ottoman-nationalist and centralist policies. Hâlide Edib describes devoted women members of the New Turan, who participate in labour force as teachers, nurses, industrial labourers, or charity employees.[82]

Ahmed Midhat is an early supporter of women's participation in labour force. He praises American women who prioritised the passion for effort and labour to the passion for marriage. Mentioned women could live obligating their husbands for their livelihood. However, they chose another way earning themselves. He indicates women activity in various areas. Some occupations have been held by women while they have been competing with males in some other areas.[83] He has an enthusiastic manner to encourage women, especially for education. His enthusiasm is already expressed through some characters of his novels previously. Using more texts, Esra Başak Gülali gives more details of his approach to women in working life, mostly in the same direction above. Nevertheless, referring to his novel *Jön Türk* (The Young Turk), she indicates Ahmed Midhat's contradictory opinions. To Ahmed Midhat, spread of feminism is the result of the attitude against women in Europe whereas the Ottoman society has positive differences due to Islam's effect. Women's independence and their

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[80] Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994), 343–44.

[81] Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği* (İstanbul: Metis, 2016), 82–83.

[82] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 18–20.

[83] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Sevda-yı Sa'y ü Amel*, 49–53.

participation in work life has brought Europe closer to the collapse.[84] This view that Gülali points should have been a result of Ahmed Midhat's later experiences or opinions that probably have a political background. After all, *Jön Türk* was written during the early years of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and Ahmed Midhat was known as a close name to Abdülhamid II.[85]

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's daughters were two of the lead figures of the woman movement. Fatma Aliye was the more known one, while her sister Emine Semiye seems less famous. Both sisters were concerned of possible difficulties that women would face. They wrote a few novels on such issues. The outstanding difference between their novels is their themes. Fatma Aliye's two novels mentioned above show the way of the salvation should be followed to her readers. Emine Semiye engages in presenting women in suffer to utter certain problems. Differently from the two novels mentioned above but similarly to her sister, Fatma Aliye's incomplete novel *Enîn* (Groan) presents unhappiness of a few youths.[86] This novel is touched on later as a fiction examined for the arranged marriage issue.

Çakır points that the ones who started women's magazine publishing were male intellectuals whose quality of life had been negatively affected by the separation of women and men. Then, she gives a brief story of Ottoman women's magazines where many female authors wrote. To paraphrase Çakır's pages, these magazines dealt with subjects that can be considered coherent with the traditional gender roles (marriage, family, childcare, housekeeping, fashion, etc.) but they did not omit new opportunities for women (education and participation in working life).[87] *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Magazine for Ladies) is the most well-known one among them. *Kadınlar Dünyâsı* (The Women World) is the magazine that Çakır centres in her study on Ottoman women's movement. In the context of women's participation in working life, she elaborates the contribution of *Kadınlar Dünyâsı* which made publications on matters

[84] Gülali, 'Ahmed Midhat'ın Romanları', 76–79.

[85] For an article on this novel, which also includes some comments on the specific issue above, see Yılmaz, 'Ahmet Mithat Efendi Jön Türk Romanını Neden Yazdı?'

[86] For Ayşe Demir's explanations about the novel, see Fatma Aliye Hanım, *Enîn*, ed. Ayşe Demir (İstanbul: Kesit Yayınları, 2012), 13–27.

[87] Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 59–86.

such as women's success stories, benefits of working, how to manage house while working, introducing private initiative, global developments, and national intentions.[88]

Another researcher, Haci Sarı, indicates two opposite approaches on the matter. Opposer circles were mostly conservatives or Islamists while there were other groups approached woman participation in working life together with civilisation. Main arguments of the opposers were typical ones that claiming points like lacking in own housework, oppression of working life, harms of competing with men, and possible damages to family.[89] Sarı gives examples from İbrâhim Pertev and Sabiha Zekeriyâ (Sertel) as supporters. To support women in labour force, they underlined possible difficulties in life that woman would have to get over, liberating effect of working, necessity to be individuals, and not being only consumers.[90]

As a third study, Çiğdem Oğuz examines disputes on morality especially between prominent Turkish nationalist and Islamist publications during the difficult conditions of the Great War. The Ottoman state and society faced serious moral problems like prostitution and war profiteering.[91] In the context of the topic here, Oğuz says:

> Similar to contemporary debates about morality, the issue of women was central to morality discussions. The war created a common anxiety about the consequences of the broader participation of women in social and economic life vis-à-vis the future of the patriarchal order. As most women had to fend for themselves during the war, concerns about the degradation of norms surrounding the patriarchal family dominated morality debates. A common anxiety was evident in debates on what should replace the old moral order. In the highly politicized atmosphere of the war, nationalism met morality, marking a moment of transformation between the old moral order and a new one.[92]

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[88] For her evaluations on articles from that journal, see Çakır, 343–89.

[89] Sarı, *Emek Düşüncesi*, 291–300.

[90] Sarı, 300–305.

[91] See Çiğdem Oğuz, *Moral Crisis in the Ottoman Empire: Society, Politics, and Gender During WWI* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2021).

[92] Oğuz, 150.

Upon closing the gender aspect of the topic, it is better to share a few negative cases here to understand authors' views in the context of earning own livelihood. Şemseddin Sâmi's play *Besâ yâhud Ahde Vefâ* gives us a good example of a common modern attitude among Ottoman intellectuals. Zübeyr Ağa who is a shepherd sees Selfo and his friends while they are leaving the place he enters. The mentioned friends live in mountains under Demir Bey's protection. Zübeyr complains to himself that these young, vigorous, and giant boys produce nothing or do nothing beneficent. They just care their weapons. While some people produce, men like them eat the product all together with the labourers. Then, he talks with his girl Merûşe. Warning her about Selfo and his friends' actions to captivate her, he asserts that he will not give permission to marry any of them if she loves. Zübeyr expresses his dislike of their vagabondage and tells her to marry a worker, a shepherd, or a farmer.[93]

Failure stories of dandies should be indicated here. These are lazy characters that do not produce anything. They usually lavish their inheritance, have jobs in government offices whereas they do not really work, or both are true for some characters. Râkım's friend Felâtun, Vahdetî's friend Sulhi in *Para!*, Şinâsi's friend Senâi in *Bahtiyârlık* from Ahmed Midhat; Şöhret in *Şık* and Meftun in *Şıpsevdi* from Hüseyin Rahmi; and Bihruz in *Araba Sevdâsı* from Recâizâde are such dandy characters.

I close this part with an interesting criticism by Ahmed Midhat on his positive character Seyyid Mehmed Nûman. As said before, Seyyid has various merits and one of them is his benevolence. However, the first master criticises Seyyid Mehmed Nûman's way of supporting a clever Armenian girl Siranuş. According to Ahmed Midhat, Siranuş has talents to earn her own livelihood if he helps her to get a job. The problem with Seyyid's behaviour is that he treats her as if she were a beggar and prevents her from earning her own money.[94] As Ottoman authors appreciated individuals who labour, earn their own livelihood, and contribute the Ottoman society; such a support that prevents someone from working was not an acceptable way of assistance.

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[93] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Semseddin Sami'nin Tiyatroları*, 62–65.

[94] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 267–70.

1.3. Entrepreneurial Spirit & Private Initiative

Özel points a remarkable situation he sees in Hüseyin Rahmi's novels. In Özel's words, Hüseyin Rahmi is known with "holding an oval mirror to the life of his age". He wrote forty-one novels between 1889 and 1944 that contain about one hundred thirty characters. However, there is no real entrepreneur among them. None of the twenty-three freelancers among these characters are portrayed with neither favourable specifications nor their admired activities.[95] In the novels that examined here, entrepreneurs mostly appear as role models created for readers, not characters inspired by real life—as it is well-known, the early industrial enterprises were established by the state, not individuals. Ottoman intellectuals who were feeling the lack of their own society drew attention to entrepreneurship. While examining fictional characters, it would be better to touch on the economic, intellectual, and political contexts that caused Ottoman intellectuals to feel a necessity for generating such a new type of economic agent.

I start with the common approaches to business in the empire, which became insufficient in terms of modern necessities. Kılınçoğlu briefly depicts rulers' understanding of economic policy and some developments in business until the nineteenth century. He remarks, "based on limited research, however, we know that the political administration of the Ottoman Empire in the 'classical age' (*c.*1300–1600) was usually business-friendly and economy-conscious." Then he elaborates touching on some statesmen that were active in business, roles of the *waqf* system in terms of the imperial economy and private interests, tax revenues from trade, roles and transformation of guilds, emerging military members in economic activity, and lastly the symbiotic relationship between the guilds and janissaries. Among his mentioned summary, there is a point I want to underline here: "Although the Ottoman state had usually business-friendly policies for fiscal reasons, preserving the socio-economic—thereby political—status quo through social immobility constituted a conspicuous objective of Ottoman economic policies." In this context, again with his words: "(…)

[95] See Mustafa Özel, *Roman Diliyle İş Hayatı* (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2019), 93–95.

the central state used the practice of confiscation to stop alternative dynasties appear through capital accumulation".[96]

Now, let's move on to Baki Tezcan's famous work *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* and the dervish story at the beginning of the first chapter. Tezcan's work is a well-known study which engages in transformations in various spheres (political, economic, military, and social) of the empire—monetisation of the economy was a leading factor. In the dervish story, the significant socio-economic change is shown through a few drinking men who have their own career goals. Tezcan remarks:

> (…) the dervish story highlights a new channel of social mobility that was opening up for men who lived in the Ottoman domains: financial entrepreneurship. Men whose power came from economic and financial activities rather Ilian military ones began to enter the privileged classes of Ottoman society in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[97]

It is also possible to find several cases that can be scrutinised and studies on this transformation from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in this context—businesses of janissaries, their relations with artisans[98] and *ulama* members, emerging notables [*âyânlar*], big farms, factionalism, novelties in tax-farming, etc.[99]

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[96] Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 14–17.

[97] Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 14–17.

[98] *Esnaf* is an inclusive term that usually used for referring to tradesmen. Nevertheless, it also refers to artisans and craftsmen. I translate this term in a context-dependent manner throughout the study.

[99] I mention here a few of them to exemplify. For relations between janissaries and artisans, see Gülay Yılmaz Diko, 'Blurred Boundaries between Soldiers and Civilians: Artisan Janissaries in Seventeenth Century Istanbul', in *Bread from the Lion's Mounth: Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in Ottoman Cities*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 175–94; for a case of artisan-*ulama* collaboration, see Marinos Sariyannis, 'The Kadızadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a "Mercantile Ethic"?', in *Political Initiatives 'from the Bottom up' in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2012), 263–89; for an Ottoman attempt for new tax-farming system, see Mehmet Genç, 'Mâlikâne', in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2003); for *âyân*s, see Ali Yaycıoğlu, 'Provincial Power Holders and the Empire in the Late Ottoman World: Conflict or Partnership?', in *The*

For establishing a background information before moving on to views on business and entrepreneurship in Ottoman press and fiction, reminding the transforming economic approaches of Ottoman decision-makers and competing approaches of intellectuals throughout the nineteenth century would be helpful. For the economic policies of the classical age, Mehmet Genç's theorisation of the three principles/tendencies in Ottoman decision-makers' minds is always a referred one by researchers—provisionism, traditionalism, and fiscalism.[100] According to Yahya Ayyıldız, on the macro level, the Ottoman economic life proceeded in the framework of these three guidelines claimed by Genç. For the micro level, Ayyıldız mentions Sabri Ülgener's view that describes a submissive human model of the Middle Age.[101] Kılınçoğlu indicates two factors that caused waning of the old system: the military and economic superiority of the Western European rivals and the Ottomans' acquaintance with modern (post-Smithian) economics as a discipline set of principles which explained the rise of Europe.[102] In accordance with the approaches that signal the second half of the eighteenth century and Selim III's reform project [*Nizâm-ı Cedîd*] as the beginning of the Ottoman modernisation, Fatih Ermiş draws attention to the same periods (especially the latter) for the changing economic mind. While the old understanding was still influential, the Ottomans were seeking new solutions and met some new European approaches. An intriguing detail from the economic ideas I would like to share here is import substitution.[103]

Ottoman World, by Christine Woodhead (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 436–52; and Yuzo Nagata, *Tarihte Âyânlar: Karaosmanoğulları Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997).

[100] For Mehmet Genç's articles on this matter, see Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2007), 39–92.

[101] In his analyses, Ülgener claims that early perceptions of notions like predestination [*kader*] and submission [*tevekkül*] among Muslim people, which had been putting the emphasis on the will, were replaced by more passive ones later. For Ayyıldız's summarisation of Ülgener's analyses, see Ayyıldız, 'Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Girişimcilik', 55–61; for a few pages from Ülgener's analyses, see Sabri F. Ülgener, *Dünü ve Bugünü ile Zihniyet ve Din İslâm, Tasavvuf ve Çözülme Devri İktisat Ahlâkı* (İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2006), 86–90; and Sabri F. Ülgener, *İktisadî Çözülmenin Ahlâk ve Zihniyet Dünyası* (İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2006), 76–94.

[102] Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 17–18.

[103] Fatih Ermiş, *A History of Ottoman Economic Thought: Developments Before the Nineteenth Century* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2014), 121–62.

While liberal ideas were spreading worldwide and states were recognising individuals, the Ottoman Empire correspondingly followed a familiar path. The very moment that liberal policies started to prevail in Ottoman economic rule is the early Tanzimat Era as almost all researchers claim—I mean here the wide definition of Tanzimat including Mahmud II's reign. Especially the 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of Balta Liman, the 1839 Edict of Gülhane, and later the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 were three remarkable events for the liberal policies—as they have been pointed in various studies. Liberal economic thought also dominated the intellectual realm. Nevertheless, as criticisms towards liberal economics and German economist Friedrich List's approach of national economics spread in countries that were adversely affected, some criticisms and alternative approaches emerged in the intellectual life of the Ottoman capital. Accordingly, the dichotomy of free trade and protectionism took its place in debates on economic policies. Ahmed Midhat, a repeatedly mentioned name in this study, was one of the critical names of the *laissez-faire* economics who embraced a historical approach.[104]

As it is a watershed of the modern era, the Edict of 1839 has been a popular subject of historiographic debates. Here, I refer to two names for an aspect of the edict related to the topic examining here. The first is Uzbilek Akkuş whose thesis on individualisation is previously mentioned. As she states, one of the features of the edict that makes difference is to provide basis for a new experience of agency [*faillik*] and self-recognition [*özneleşme*] that is no longer bound to the ruling power and being a subject that is able to exist for own desire.[105] The second name is Ahmed Güner Sayar,

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[104] For detailed information from the sources that I benefitted in this paragraph and evaluations of the adventure of economics in the Ottoman Empire, see Ahmed Midhat, *İktisat Metinleri*, ed. Erdoğan Erbay and Ali Utku (Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2005); C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2004), 134–38, 284–302; Ömer Karaoğlu, *Osmanlı İktisat Tasavvuru Ve Modernleşme: 19. Yüzyıldan Portreler-Olaylar-Belgeler* (Topkapı, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2018); Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 12–84; Erdem Özgür and Hamdi Genç, 'Sarantis Archigenes (Serandi Arşizen), Pellegrino Rossi and the Spread of the Classical Approach in the Ottoman Empire', *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 21, no. 3 (June 2014): 421–47; Ahmed Güner Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması: Klasik Dönem'den II. Abdülhamid'e* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2021), 225–390; and Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908 – 1918* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019), 53–90.

[105] Uzbilek Akkuş, 'Bireyselleşme/Özerkleşme İstenci', 81.

a respected academic who is an economic historian. As Uzbilek Akkuş considers the edict as a step for recognising the individual, Sayar says this in the context of economic activity. To him, the edict paved the way for a new understanding of economics which protects private property and indirectly private initiative.[106]

Let's continue with the place of entrepreneurship in the late Ottoman intellectual life. Kenan Demir reminds the liberal policies in the aftermath of the Treaty of 1838. The state followed policies that encourage the public for private initiatives and the press made publications correspondingly throughout the long nineteenth century. The name in that context Demir mentions is Mehmed Câvid—one of the most prominent liberals of the last decades but also a prominent name of the economic rule of the CUP. In the opinion that Demir quotes, Mehmed Câvid suggests private initiative for public works.[107] According to Sarı, the praise for entrepreneurial spirit at a high level by Ottoman intellectuals was the voice of capitalist intentions that placed in the background of their minds, even though this situation was considered with some practical reasons. Praises for entrepreneurship were also related with averseness of civil service and national development ideas.[108] Ottoman writers who were seeking a capitalist imperial progress made various analyses about the reasons of the lack of entrepreneurial spirit among their society such as demand for jobs in civil service, upbringing in family, being the ruling nation [*millet-i hâkime*], values, and geography.[109] It would be suitable referring to a tendency in Ahmed Midhat's fictions that Kılınçoğlu points: "A chronological analysis of Ahmed Midhat's stories about economic success shows us that his emphasis shifted from hard work to capitalist entrepreneurship between the early 1870s and the late 1880s."[110] There is another point about the popularity of the idea of entrepreneurial activities in the Ottoman intellectual life. Although, we have reasons to assume that the Ottoman press primarily targeted men, same issues related to this topic were discussed in women's magazines in the prevailing direction. It is already told that the women's magazines supported women's participation in labour force. Private initiative was also an emphasised matter. Other

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[106] For Sayar's comments, see Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması*, 227–32.

[107] Demir, 'Osmanlı'da İktisadî Dergicilik', 208–9.

[108] Sarı, *Emek Düşüncesi*, 138.

[109] For details, see Sarı, 145–51.

[110] Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 173.

related matters such as directing children for jobs in civil service or becoming pashas also took place in critical articles of an enthusiastic one for working women: *Kadınlar Dünyası*.[111]

In accordance with his diverse occupations previously told, Ahmed Midhat fictionalises a large variety of characters from different occupations. Even so his favourites are ones who have entrepreneurial characters. Some heroes in his novels prefer their own businesses to civil service. Râkım decides to leave his job at the government office due to receiving so many works from the print house.[112] The virtuous businessman Seyyid Mehmed Nûman rejects government jobs. To him, these jobs are not for earning and making profits but for serving. He indicates Egypt as a good model; there, statesmen are mostly landowners or tradesmen. All of them provide their families' livelihood through cultivation and trade.[113] Hasan Mellâh's father Sîdî Osman who is a statesman at a significant position shares the same idea. He earns his own livelihood by cultivation and trade. He undertakes the position in the government due to his patriotic feelings—a sincere patriotism, he dies during a rebellion whereas he has opportunity for deserting.[114] Mîzancı Murad's Mansur also shares a familiar view. Due to his intention to serve the empire, Mansur seeks an official position, especially in the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs. He thinks that the wage comes from there is not enough for him. Nonetheless, he can earn his money with medicine.[115] As a last example, Hâlide Edib's Oğuz in *Yeni Tûrân* is another one who does not desire civil service for himself. While narrating his indecision about occupations during his youth, he says, "I want to think so much, live so much, do lots of things. But not a government job. What will I do? I am thinking?"[116]

As already quoted in the introduction from Kılınçoğlu, "Ahmed Midhat's successful characters generally hail from the newly rising middle classes, just like himself. Thus his target audience is not the desperately poor, but middle-class

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[111] Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 361.

[112] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 23.

[113] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 177–78.

[114] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 135–36.

[115] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 127.

[116] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 126.

youth."[117] Let's remember here Râkım, Şinâsi, and Nasuh. The same is also true for Mîzancı Murad's Mansur. I want to add here a different story of entrepreneurship success. Unlike the success stories of male characters from the middle class in Ahmed Midhat's or others' novels, the lead character here is a zero-to-hero entrepreneur. The story is written in 1895 by an author whose name is Mehmed Tâhir and is not a well-known man but some information about him can be followed in bureaucratic records.[118] The title of the story is "Netîce-i Sa'y" (The Outcome of the Labour) and narrates a child who must beg at the beginning and becomes a rich businessman. Kılınçoğlu says that we do not have information about how much influence "Netîce-i Sa'y" had.[119] In the story, our hero is a nameless child who comes to Istanbul from a coastal town of Arabia. His poverty can be inferred from his appearance. He has nothing at the beginning. He cannot afford the fee of the waterman takes him to Sirkeci. Thus, the child appeals him for not taking any fee. Initially, the lead hero makes a little money by begging. His remarkable characteristic shows up here; he decides saving it to make a capital instead of buying food. He saves more and then he buys the food he needs with some of his savings. On the next stage, he begins selling water as his first business. Then, he writes letters in front of the New Mosque of Eminönü. He both earns money and gets respect of people due to his competence and kindness. Thanks to his reputation, his businesses continuously grow. At the end of twenty years, he becomes the good man of a regal family.[120]

It is appropriate to note another aspect of Ahmed Midhat's approach to entrepreneurship in his novels. Not only characters who occupy with entrepreneurial jobs, but also some others who have entrepreneurial spirit glitter in Ahmed Midhat's novels.[121] Ahmed in *Henüz 17 Yaşında* (Still 17 Years Old), Ulviye in *Dürdâne Hanım*, Ahmed Midhat himself in *Müşâhedât*, and Osman Sabri in *Esrâr-ı Cinâyât* (The

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[117] Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 174.

[118] Mehmet Tahir, *Dersaadet'te Emek: Netice-i Sa'y ve Kayınvalide*, ed. Çimen Günay-Erkol (Konya: Palet Yayınları, 2019), 7.

[119] D. Taner Kılınçoğlu, 'Veblen, Weber ve Ahmet Midhat Efendi'nin Kahramanlan', in *Kurumsal İktisat*, ed. Eyüp Özveren (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2007), 259.

[120] Mehmet Tahir, *Dersaadet'te Emek*, 17–36.

[121] For some evaluations (that I have benefitted from) on how entrepreneurship and some other socio-economic matters took place in the modern Ottoman literature, see Kılınçoğlu, 'İktisadi Düşünce Tarihi Kaynağı'.

Mysteries of the Murders) are characters can be defined with curiosity or audaciousness.

The first one of the mentioned characters is an ex-brothel customer. One day, Ahmed reads Ahmed Midhat's story "Mihnetkeşân". The story narrates a brothel customer Dakik, his feeling of mercy for a newly brought girl, his decision to save her, and his remorse for visiting brothel. Being touched by the story, Ahmed gives up his habit. However, he must take refuge in a brothel in a rainy day that does not allow him and his friend Hulûsi to return home. Ahmed sees a very young girl who looks so innocent and whose name is Kalyopi. Ahmed continues to visit the brothel as if he were a customer for a while to learn Kalyopi's story and rescue her. Kalyopi does not want to tell her story, but Ahmed maintains his endeavour. Finally, Ahmed convinces Kalyopi to tell her heart-breaking tragedy and how much should be paid to set her free. Then, Ahmed prepares the amount and rescues Kalyopi.[122]

Ulviye is the strong woman of the mentioned novel above. She uses her entrepreneurial spirit to have some fun for herself at first—for an impudent deed: getting some news about her neighbour Dürdâne's private life. First, she secretly observes Dürdâne's room. Then, as a very innovative entrepreneur, Ulviye buys a telephone—which was a novelty—and secretly places it in her neighbour's room. Ulviye learns Dürdâne's relation with his boyfriend Mergub, her pregnancy, and Dürdâne's sufferings because of Mergub's unwillingness for marriage. As Ulviye decides to help Dürdâne, she disguises as a man to smuggle a midwife with a few men for Dürdâne to give birth secretly. Later, Ulviye also supports Dürdâne against his boyfriend Mergub.[123]

Ahmed Midhat is the narrator character in *Müşâhedât*. He comes across some incidents between a few passengers while he is on the ship. As a curious journalist, he decides to trace these passengers and learn their story to write a novel. He meets these passengers and writes his novel.

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[122] See Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Henüz 17 Yaşında*, ed. Nuri Sağlam (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2020).

[123] See Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Dürdane Hanım*, ed. M.Fatih Andı (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2020).

The last one is Osman Sabri. He is a coroner [*müstantik*] who is after clarifying a few interrelated murders. Ahmed Midhat emphasises Osman Sabri's curiosity and his competence in his job throughout the novel. Presenting him as a skilful and curious coroner who takes his job seriously, the first master claims: "Likewise, no matter what class nor profession, the thing that makes a doer skilful consists of just his curiosity. It doubtlessly seems that if a man is curious of his profession, he precedes all his fellows and peers."[124]

Here let's turn back to the economic history. The Ottoman press embraced modern financial and commercial novelties from the heart—such as banks, cooperatives, corporations, exchange markets, and insurance. They both introduced them and reported on the events within the empire especially with a strong desire of development and ever-increasing nationalist discourse.[125] These financial novelties take place in the Ottoman fiction. Let's leave characters who set bad examples such as usurers for a while and focus on approved ones. Mîzancı Murad's Mansur is the first one I want to indicate. He sets a joint-stock yarn factory that I give more detail about it in a following paragraph. Hâlid Ziyâ's hero Ahmed Cemil is also familiar with modern finance. His blue dreams take their share: Ahmed Cemil makes bookseller Fâiz Efendi to buy a newspaper license, he himself becomes the lead author, brings his friend Hüseyin Nazmi with him, issues shares that each of them worth five liras, opens a print house, the shares are annihilated with incomes, the print house is left to Ahmed Cemil.[126] Another character is Ahmed Midhat's Şinâsi. This time, the hero is just a credit-consumer. The clever hero loans a 7% interest-bearing credit from the Imperial Ottoman Bank to complete the remaining money for the properties he plans to buy.[127] A later story written by Edhem Nejad in 1913 is "Çiftlik Müdürü" (The Farm Manager), which narrates how a capital-owner and his manager build up an excellent farm. Turhan uses his inheritance establishing a bank with participation of some other in Konya. Bâyezid Ferid, who is appointed by Turhan as his farm manager, creates a

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[124] Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Cellât; Esrâr-ı Cinâyât*, ed. Nuri Sağlam and Ali Şükrü Çoruk (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2000), 228.

[125] For detailed information and the sources that I try to summarise in these a few sentences; see related parts in both Demir, 'Osmanlı'da İktisadî Dergicilik'; Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*.

[126] Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Mai ve Siyah*, ed. Enfel Doğan (İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 2007), 88–89.

[127] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 82.

stunning farm using scientific methods, technology, and modern business. Meanwhile, Bâyezid Ferid's friend Tukuz tells in his letters that some of their friends engage in innovative agricultural initiatives in various places of the empire like Mosul and Yemen.[128]

A major discussion topic of the late Ottoman economic thought was the Ottoman way of development: Which sector should be prioritised? It seems that many Ottoman authors agreed on the importance of trade. However, they differed in others—agricultural development or industrialisation? In the age of factories dominated by the European, supporters of agriculture-centred development claimed reasons like the Ottoman inability for competing with Europe and central place of agriculture in production. Supporters of industrialisation does not seem to omit agriculture, but they indicated reasons like its indispensability for progress and defence.[129] We are able to find some footprint of differing views in the Ottoman fiction through exemplary entrepreneur characters.

Despite Ahmed Midhat was one the intellectuals highly interested in economics; he has no certain choice for prioritisation in his novels. We can see his enthusiasm for trade through his characters like Seyyid Mehmed Nûman, Sîdî Osman, and Hüseyin Fellâh. It should be noted that these people can engage in trade with products of agricultural activities—accordingly, the last character is a farmer as can be inferred from his name. Another role model occupies with agriculture is Şînâsi. He succeeds in his goal and enjoys his peaceful life in rural. At the same time, Şinâsi uses his knowledge to contribute to development of the village he settles in. He introduces and applies innovations that enhance productivity.[130] There is a detail that can be mentioned here, which presents how Ahmed Midhat gives importance to agriculture. One of his criticisms against the universality of the *laissez-faire* economics in his book titled *Hallu'l-Ukad* (Untying the Knots) focuses on how Adam Smith approaches to agriculture. In Ahmed Midhat's opinion, Smith stresses trade so strongly whereas he

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[128] Ethem Nejat, *Ütopik Hikâyeler*, ed. Bilgin Güngör and Nilgün Büyüker Güngör (İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2022), 23–51.

[129] For more evaluations about this issue, see Demir, 'Osmanlı'da İktisadî Dergicilik', 213–16, 345–54; Karaoğlu, *Osmanlı İktisat Tasavvuru Ve Modernleşme: 19. Yüzyıldan Portreler-Olaylar-Belgeler*, 113–15; and Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*, 280–84.

[130] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 29–43.

gives little place to agriculture. This situation is not an outcome of a universal science but the British economy.[131] Nonetheless, Ahmed Midhat also has interest in industrialisation. After presenting some of related examples from Ahmed Midhat's writings on industrial institutions and factories, Üllgen indicates Seyyid Mehmed Nûman. The wise man of *Müşâhedât* shares his own evaluations on economy and each sector. The turn of industry also comes. The point Seyyid draws attention is the lack of public interest in industry. According to him, "our state" has been aware of the value of factories. Hence, various factories were founded to accustom our public. However, people did not understand the aim here. The result is a failure: needed staff was not trained, and some factories were completely closed whereas some have been remained idle.[132]

Mîzancı Murad is another intellectual I want to add here. He was a true believer of agriculture-based development. His magazine *Mîzan* remarked the priority of agriculture for development of trade and industry.[133] As can be expected from him, his hero Doctor Mansur endeavours for rural development. Mansur settles in Velîler Farm in Manisa. Here, he establishes an agricultural school and eases the tax collection method which previously burdens peasants.[134] His entrepreneurial attempt in the farm is the abovesaid joint-stock yarn factory, which is founded with peasant partners. In his letter to his mate Mehmed, Mansur expresses his concern for the imported yarns from Europe which are produced from the Ottoman wool and cotton. He also tells his intention to accustom peasants for seeking profits.[135]

Hâlide Edib's the New Turan Party contributes to progress in various areas thanks to its strong organisation and devotedness of its members—while both in power and in opposition. It can be said that their attempts in rural are so apparent throughout the novel. A prominent name of the party, Lütfi Paşa lives in a village named Saraylı during his last years with her daughter named Sâmiye (or Kaya). The pasha is loved by the villagers due to his compassion. After he passes away, Kaya undertakes a role

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[131] Ahmed Midhat, *İktisat Metinleri*, 270.

[132] Ülgen, *Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Çalışma Fikri*, 158; Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 181.

[133] Demir, 'Osmanlı'da İktisadî Dergicilik', 215.

[134] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 333–37.

[135] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, 337–38.

to contribute to the village. She opens a school for both boys and girls. In addition, she manages children for construction of road. Thanks to Kaya's endeavour, the village gets an orderly view.[136] On the imperial scale; during the years that the New Turan Party is in power, various Anatolian cities like Adana and Bursa enjoy progress in agriculture, infrastructure, industry, and trade.[137] The children of Anatolia strive in their own fields: these are young farmers with New Turan membership, who were trained in Europe.[138]

Another author who prioritises agricultural progress is Edhem Nejad—a Turkish nationalist, then a communist who was killed with Mustafa Suphi and others in the well-known assassination in 1921. Let's elaborate more the abovesaid story "Çiftlik Müdürü". Turhan decides to appoint an agriculturalist Turkish youth to the directorate of his farm that will be operated by scientific methods. Young Bâyezid Ferid is the one who meets the required qualifications that Turhan determines. The project succeeds at the end of a five-year period. There is no moment of trouble in the linear utopian story. The agricultural production roses enough to even facilitate the farm engaging in exportation. The farm generates its own electricity which allows them to utilise electrical devices effectively. Automobile is also used rather than working animals in difficult tasks. The village is rebuilt whiile the infrastructure is improved. The farm reaches an advanced level of mechanisation and prioritises utilising domestic products. Moreover, living conditions of workers are improved while their number also rises with the mechanisation—they are not adversely affected; they enjoy mechanisation. An agricultural school for kids is also founded.[139] In Edhem Nejad's story, agricultural progress paves the way for industrialisation in accordance with the vision of supporters of agriculture-based development plans.

It would be plausible to touch on an economic history issue of the early twentieth century related to business. Edhem Nejad's story is a product of a nationalist author during the early CUP rule. This was the era that the policy of national economics was started to being applied. In short, the Young Turk tradition had been

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[136] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 129–30.

[137] Adıvar, 105–6.

[138] Adıvar, 106.

[139] Ethem Nejat, *Ütopik Hikâyeler*, 23–51.

targeting the economic policies throughout the Tanzimat Era, the new rulers of the empire aimed following policies in accordance with their developmentalist-nationalist dreams with entrepreneur Muslims and irritation from foreign influence through reasons like capitulations and external debt. The harsh challenges of the Balkan Wars and the World War I paved the way for more radical economic policies as it fostered the nationalist outcry and hostility against the non-Muslim Ottomans.[140] During this period, the number of Turkish companies (especially joint-stock companies) significantly rose. Zafer Toprak draws attention to the CUP's policies of national economics to explain this fact.[141] Nonetheless, a different perspective is offered by Muhammet Kazım Baycar in his article on Ottoman joint-stock companies (OJSCs). According to him:

> Undoubtedly, the National Economy perspective has significant explanatory power in understanding the rise of OJSCs. However, various company cases existent in the Ottoman documents and the above-mentioned surveys indicate that this perspective is insufficient and sometimes even misleading in explaining the overall trend of establishing OJSCs.[142]

Baycar's suggestion here is a market-oriented perspective. He has four points. Two of them are related to the inclusive targets of the related laws to the Ottoman citizens regardless of their religious or ethnic origin while the others are about what the new companies actually were.[143] As Baycar states his view at the beginning of his work:

> (…) new market opportunities and war conditions may very well have paved the way for the establishment of many such companies. In other words, OJSCs were not merely

[140] For a short summary, see Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*, 1–31.

[141] Toprak, 144.

[142] Muhammet Kazım Baycar, 'The Rise of Ottoman Joint Stock Companies during a Period of Economic Fragilities (1908-1924)', in *Living in the Ottoman Lands: Identities, Administration and Warfare*, ed. Hacer Kılıçaslan, Ömer Fâruk Can, and Burhan Çağlar (İstanbul: Kronik OSARK, 2021), 167.

[143] Baycar, 169–71.

the product of intentional policies by the government, they were purposefully founded by entrepreneurs seeking to make a commercial profit in a novel environment.[144]

Though private initiative [*teşebbüs-i şahsî*] became a magical word among Ottoman writers, there was a special name from the last decades, who wrote on it with a theoretical approach: Sultanzâde Mehmed Sabahaddin (mostly known as Prince Sabahaddin)—who had been one of prominent names of the Young Turk opposition against the Hamidian regime, but later parted ways with the CUP. As a true believer of the Anglo-Saxon individualism, he offered a comprehensive individualistic reform program including social, economic, political, and even educational realms. Prince Sabahaddin credited sociology for the reform program called "the Social Way" [*Meslek-i İctimâî*].[145] Related to his enthusiasm for private initiative, he also advocated decentralisation [*adem-i merkeziyet*]; otherwise, it was not possible to establish an efficient decision-making system and pave the way for private initiative in his opinion. An important detail here should be underlined is that decentralisation does not mean administrative autonomy. Responding the accusations towards the idea of decentralisation, he puts the emphasis on this matter. He clarifies his position explaining another term he credits and usually confused with *adem-i merkeziyet*: it is *tevsî-i mezuniyet*. As the prince states, it means "extension of powers [of lower-level decision-makers]" and it is not the name of *adem-i merkeziyet* but its definition. Prince Sabahaddin himself rejects administrative autonomy.[146]

I want to close this long part with a novel of disappointment, which was a satire of private initiative failures after the Young Turk Revolution. *Teşebbüs-i Şahsî* was published by a supporter of freedom and constitutionalist Sufi Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî (Olgun)[147]—who was inspired by the idea of private initiative, opposed to the Hamidian regime and became a member of the CUP for a while. Throughout the novel, Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî ridicules and satirises various types of Ottomans such as *alla franca*

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[144] Baycar, 158.

[145] For the sources I use for this short paragraph, see M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 213; Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 109–10; Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*, 3–4.

[146] For Prince Sabahaddin's explanations, see M. Sabahaddin, *Bir İzah*, 6–15.

[147] The novel was published in 1330 according to the Rumi Calendar; thus in 1914 or 1915. For the text I use, see Tahir'ül Mevlevî, *Teşebbüs-i Şahsî*, ed. Nurcan Şen (Ankara: Kurgan Edebiyat, 2014).

ones, ordinary people, journalists, intellectuals, and nationalists. The main theme of the novel is Ottoman individuals' eagerness to engage in irrelevant professions to them or economic activities without knowledge. Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî was one of the intellectuals seduced by the vitality of press aftermath of the Young Turk Revolution. He founded a company with his friends to publish a journal named *Rehber-i Vatan* (The Guide for the Country). However, the first issue was published including too many errata. Upon the following one also was published with so many errata because of the lack of experience, the attempt for private initiative ended with failure. The novel narrates a familiar story.[148]

There are two failure cases of private initiative in the novel. The first one is the project of publishing an anti-oppression journal. Each step of the initiative is another farce—capital, journal name, content, advertisement, office, printing house, and distribution. The eager team agrees with an Armenian print house to publish the journal *Reh-nümâ-yı Memleket*—has a meaning almost same with the author's failed project. The first issue is published with too many errata that make the issue impossible to read. Then the same becomes true for the second one despite all the endeavour for avoiding a such situation. The team abandons the journal project like its creator Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî. The second initiative in the novel is a stock-company project to maintain a school which cannot afford its expenditure. The most prominent figure of the novel, Neşâti, is a diligent teacher and wants to keep the school up. Being inspired by new financial instruments, he catches up with an idea of setting up a joint-stock company and giving shares to the teachers instead of paying them fees. When Neşâti is asked about how he can pay dividends from a school that cannot afford even its expenditure, Neşâti humorously answers that they will not pay anything—because the school will not make any profit.[149] This project does not work and three options are considered: finding credit, organising a picnic, and selling the school out. The last one happens at the end.

Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî's characters are usually incompetent literary men or pseudo-intellectuals. Neşâti appears as a more level-headed one than others—he tells the closing message of the novel at the end. To exemplify the incompetence of the

[148] Tahir'ül Mevlevî, 5.

[149] Tahir'ül Mevlevî, 111.

characters, we can mention here Neşâti's presentation of *Reh-nümâ-yı Memleket*'s editorial office. Hâlis Bey is interested in literature and an expert of writing poems in Turkish and Persian extemporaneously without no intention of meaning. Ferdi Bey engages in Armenian and is an expert of exhibiting some unusual languages. Neşâti Efendi is famous with not mincing his words in Persian. Hüseyin Râşid Bey is a talented doctor who wrote a medical work about that eating halva alone causes itching in the body. İzzet Bey has a good grasp of the colloquial language. Vâsıf Bey has extensive knowledge on fashion. Şâkir Bey claims that there is no sweet word in French he is qualified in as the Turkish word "*baklava*" and he says, "I am *désorienté*" to verbalise the meaning of "I lost my way".[150]

The author touches on the popular but ambiguous expression of private initiative among people. At a page, a group of characters are depicted when they arrive at the bottom of a slope. Tired Sühâ asks Resmî to carry him up for a fee of one penny [*kuruş*]. Resmî rejects first but agrees with Sühâ when he offers five pennies. Later, our characters including Neşâti discuss whether this is a proper act. They finally agree that it is a kind of private initiative upon Resmî claims that his own action is a private initiative like their journal project.[151]

Let's put the end to this part with Neşâti's words when he and his friends give up the project because of numerous errata in the second issue that annoy them:

> At the beginning of the constitutional period, we superficially [*lafzen*] learnt many words and expressions that we had not known before. I say superficially because we were completely indifferent to their real meanings. One of them was private initiative. When this expression spread, everyone attempted to practice. Some opened grocery store, some ran to bonds. We [similarly] initiated to publish a journal. We attempted, worked, and endeavoured like our fellows without thinking whether we have competence in this profession. We have been tired. We have ended up losing materially and spiritually. Through experience, we have understood that incompetence produces its failure in private initiative. Let's keep it in mind, therefore, let's initiate

[150] Tahir'ül Mevlevî, 112–13.

[151] Tahir'ül Mevlevî, 123.

> in professions that we can do and let's give up journalism leaving it to its professionals.[152]

Due to its nature that fits capitalist intentions and its opportunities for generating wealth, entrepreneurial activities (with also its spirit) had been appreciated by Ottoman authors and suggested to their readers. These authors also made some criticisms towards their society indicating some concrete problems. Yet, when Ottoman individuals engaged in such activities enthusiastically but without required skills, the result was paved the way for Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî's satire above.

1.4. Education & Self-Improvement

In modern times, the first things come to mind about education are educational institutions of states. Schooling has become an indispensable matter for the modern society to generate required human source in the age of professionalisation and nation-states. Communities also benefitted from educational institutions for the same purposes. M. Şükrü Hanioğlu gives a brief picture of early Ottoman steps for a modern education system:

> The Ottoman educational system underwent significant change during the Tanzimat era. First, the reformers attempted to centralize and standardize the system of education. In 1845, a Council of Education was founded, followed by a Ministry of Education in 1857. In 1869, the administration issued detailed regulations standardizing education. The new Regulations for Education, issued under the inspiration of Jean-Victor Duruy's secular reform program in France, laid out a blueprint for a new educational system featuring preparatory, middle and high schools, as well as colleges with modern curricula, including European languages. They also instituted a chain of military schools at middle school, high school, and college levels. In addition, the law permitted communities and individuals to establish their own schools. Having revised the schooling system, the reformers sought to use it to inculcate the new state ideology. They made elementary education compulsory and enrolled students from different ethnic and religious groups in the new schools as Ottomans. They failed in this due to low enrollment numbers, a dearth of competent educators, and the privileges that had been granted to foreign and community schools. The Tanzimat reformers also invigorated the educational system for training civil

[152] Tahir'ül Mevlevî, 179.

> servants. The establishment of the School of Administration in 1859 was a major step toward creating an educated bureaucratic elite. Unlike their predecessors, who still clung to the illusion that the medreses could be transformed into modern institutions of learning, the Tanzimat statesmen founded scientific societies and a university. In 1851, the sultan attended the opening ceremonies of the Academy of Science with twenty-two Muslim and eleven non-Muslim permanent members. However, this institution, modeled on the Académie Française, did not live up to the great expectations of the Tanzimat statesmen. The Dârülfünûn (University), which opened in 1870 and accepted students the following year, fared no better; it was closed in 1871, due to a combination of financial difficulties and controversy sparked by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's comments on the art of prophecy at a university lecture. In education as in all other fields, the grand ideals could not be fully realized at once; at the same time, the success of the Tanzimat in equipping the new elites with a modern education cannot be overemphasized.[153]

The Ottoman press was also so enthusiastic for modern education—not only for generating ideal citizens, but also for qualified labour force. Suggestions for opening schools usually took place in authors' suggestions for progress in sectors and professions.[154]

Beyond all these progressive and national purposes, education is a gate that opens to one's dreams—maybe we should say the permitted dreams by teachers for modern people. Here, let's remember Ahmed Midhat's educated characters. Ahmed Midhat's exemplary lead heroes are usually well-educated men whose parents usually care about their children's education—like Râkım, Şinâsi, Nasuh, Resmî, Hasan Mellâh. Education is the major theme in *Para!*. Two medicine students in the novel do not share the same opinion about education. Whereas Vahdetî endeavours to succeed in his classes, Sulhi fails as the lazy one. He is expelled from school because of failing two consecutive years. Being out of bad feeling, wiseacre Sulhi confidently expresses his view to Vahdetî: There is no need to sweat over the degree. Education is just a tool

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[153] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 102–3.

[154] Someone who scans Demir's PhD thesis can find lots of samples of such suggestions for agriculture, artisanry, trade, industry, workmanship, and even apprenticeship. The two parts which are titled "İktisat Eğitimi" (Economic Education) give brief pictures. See Demir, 'Osmanlı'da İktisadî Dergicilik', 227–31, 367–74.

for a wealthy life, but not the only one. The important thing is money itself.[155] The novel ends with Vahdetî's successes and Sulhî's failures. In the epilogue, Ahmed Midhat advises his readers to endeavour for giving merits like education and ability (like Vahdetî has) to their children.[156] We can also add many others to these types of heroes from other authors such as Fatma Aliye's Refet and Mîzancı Murad's two doctors Mansur and Mehmed.

The woman issue in the Ottoman capital is addressed in the first part. Education is a weighty aspect of women's progress which found many advocates. However, options had not been possible. As Çakır notes, the only schools where girls could go were infants' schools [*sıbyân mektepleri*]. Due to the religious obligation of separation of women's and men's places since the puberty[157], it was a necessity to open separate schools for girls after the primary education. Later, such schools on different levels were opened though some inconveniences.[158]

One of the earliest novels touches on the issue of girls' education is Şemseddin Sâmi's *Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat*. Two sufferer girls in the novel are Talat's mother Sâliha and Talat's beloved Fitnat; because of two types of the parental pressure issue mentioned previously—the main one is arranged marriage. Sâliha must leave the school when she turns twelve. She cries because of remaining ignorant—in addition, remaining separate from her beloved Rifat. When she appeals to her father, she receives his consolation that claiming she can improve herself at home with his support. The father unhappily asserts, "What can we do? We have not still had schools for girls and [required] woman teachers."[159] At least, Sâliha has luck to convince her parents for marrying her beloved. Unlike her, Fitnat's story is a complete tragedy caused by parental pressure. Fitnat is a girl living with her stepfather. When she turns eight, her stepfather Hacı Baba withdraws Fitnat from school and secludes her at home

[155] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Para*, 118–19.

[156] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 192–93.

[157] For a short evaluation of the modern transformation of Ottoman private and public spaces in terms of gender, see Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambrige University Press, 2005), 151–60.

[158] For a brief history of Ottoman women's schools, see Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 297–303.

[159] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat*, ed. Fatih Altuğ (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2020), 28–29.

until her fourteen.[160] Being deprived from education, Fitnat can just read texts without understanding.[161] She is also unfortunate because of arranged marriage. Fitnat, who is married to a rich man named Ali, commits suicide. Another tragedy occurs at the end of the novel when Ali learns that he had married his daughter.[162]

Ahmed Midhat writes Julie's story in *Diplomalı Kız* to present a role model for young females. In the epilogue, Ahmed Midhat asserts the necessity of girls' education and training even if they will be florists—remember here how Julie becomes famous. According to him, girls need education as how boys have. The future will refute opposites who dare to deny "in the contemporary times". This concrete refutation will occur when physicians, pharmacists, surgeons, midwives, authors, philosophers, teachers, and others from women spread mounting up.[163] It should be reminded here that Fatma Aliye's heroin Refet achieves her goal through insisting on her education.

The brilliant and completely idealised character Mansur's only fault in Mîzancı Murad's novel is maybe his attitude against his cousin Zehra during their childhood. In their uncle Ahmedu'n-Nâsır's mansion; Mansur, Zehra and their uncle's three children are educated together. Zehra is a clever student and competes with Mansur. This competition causes envy between two cousins. Zehra cares the animals in the henhouse while her odd moments. Her messy looking leads to be bullied by her classmates. One day, Mansur teases Zehra in a quarrel alleging that her hair is lousy. Other childrens' laughter embarrasses Zehra. Her hair becomes the children's joke matter since that day. She cannot stand ridicules and does not continue to the class. A few months later, Mansur moves to France to continue his education.[164] While Mansur feels a deep remorse, Zehra holds a grudge against him until they realised their love to each other after many years.

A last example for girl's education is from the post-revolution period. Hâlide Edib expresses an intense wish through the New Turan Party. Though the party's attempts for equal education for girls, it cannot succeed in passing the required laws.

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[160] Şemseddin Sâmi, 48–49.

[161] Şemseddin Sâmi, 60.

[162] Şemseddin Sâmi, 119–28.

[163] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Diplomalı Kız*, 121.

[164] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 80–85.

Moreover, the only problem is not the opponent New Ottoman Party; the New Turan Party also suffers from its own members. While the New Ottoman Party rejects the laws and propagandises with a religious discourse to galvanise an Islamic bigotry, some New Turan members incline to restrict the party's bills of law.[165]

The only place for self-improvement is not school. Some lead characters improve their knowledge out of school. Râkım, Nasuh, Şinâsi, and Refet present examples of extending their knowledge in addition to the school education. Râkım and Nasuh spend their time in libraries.[166] Şinâsi reads books on agriculture and rural during his school years. He also goes to Kasımpaşa for working as a gardener and gaining knowledge from gardeners.[167] Fatma Aliye's heroin Refet should be added here. Being inspired by her classmates, she realises that she would be only a teacher if she graduates. There are more to be a scholar. Refet and her comrade Şûle start to one of their classmate's aunt's lectures on *Iḥya' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, *Mathnawī*, and Hafez.[168]

Fatma Aliye's other heroin Bedia is an exemplary character who does not improve her *oud*-playing skills at school but receives from his father first and improves herself with her own endeavour later. Bedia's father Nazmi is a music lover at heart. He trains his three children in music but only Bedia has musical talents. Bedia receives a special interest and a very good knowledge from his father during her childhood.[169] Bedia advances in *oud*-playing in the years ahead. In Cairo, she is impressed by *oud*-playing there and studies upon realising her weakness in comparison to here.[170] When she comes to Istanbul, she encounters the music notes for the first time; learns to read music from a master and starts to play using them.[171] Emine Semiye's lead character in *Muallime* (The Woman Teacher) is another exemplary woman model who is trained out of school. The lead character named Behbûde comes to a house as the tutoress for the naughty daughter of the house. She both educates the little girl as a polite child and shares her knowledge with the household, which changes them in a religious direction.

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[165] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 98–103.

[166] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 20; Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 165.

[167] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 39.

[168] Fatma Aliye, *Refet*, 159–62.

[169] Fatma Aliye, *Udi*, 16–22.

[170] Fatma Aliye, 53.

[171] Fatma Aliye, 101.

When Behbûde is asked for whether she has a graduate degree from the Women's Teachers' Training College, she answers that she has been trained by only her father.[172]

There are two cases of girls' education by their smart husbands in Ahmed Midhat's novels. The former one is Râkım's slave Cânan, who is trained by his master. When Râkım starts to train two English girls, he also decides to train Cânan with them. In a very short time, it becomes so clear that clever Cânan will be more successful in classes than her mates. Cânan also aspires to play the piano. Râkım, who is not happy to allow Cânan to go outside, buys a piano for her despite its cost and finds a teacher for Cânan. The teacher named Josefino is actually the teacher has been training Cânan.[173] The latter is Vahdetî's beloved Latife in *Para!*. When Vahdetî meets her first, he is impressed from Latîfe's intelligence. Vahdetî wants to marry such a clever girl. At the same time, Vahdetî cannot refrain himself to dream of educating her.[174]

Education is a cultural and national matter.[175] Even it was the primary matter for a nation according to Mîzancı Murad's Mansur. He disagrees with his uncle Sâlih and Ahmed Şunûdî in their long discussions about how the Algerians' struggle against the French invaders should be. In Mansur's opinion, education and development precede even political independence for Muslims contrary to his opposites' pro-war ideas.[176] For another case of the national level, let's visit Hâlide Edib's favourite the New Turan Party. Oğuz's mother's and Kaya's endeavours for local children has been already mentioned. Enthusiasm of the party members for education repeatedly appears in the novel. Within the early years in power, the party opens schools throughout the empire and introduces the compulsory education.[177] In addition, I want to remind here the role of the press. Not only schooling, but also literature was employed as a mean

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[172] Emine Semiye Hanım, *Muallime*, ed. Tuğba Sivri Çınar and Ebrar Begüm Üstün (İstanbul: Vakıfbank Kültür Yayınları, 2022), 19–20.

[173] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 29–39.

[174] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Para*, 158.

[175] Especially during the last decade of the empire, national aspect of educational policy was debated between some intellectuals. Sâṭi' al-Ḥuṣrī and Ziyâ Gökalp appear as two dominant actors of debates on education. For a summary of mentioned debates and some evaluations, see Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019), 245–66.

[176] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 209–24.

[177] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 105.

of education for reaching the large masses. At the beginning of its first issue, *Halka Doğru* (Through the Public)—a Turkish nationalist journal which was active between April 1913 and April 1914—publishes a story that narrates some authors who have the same dream. In this dream, the authors see a poor and old woman approaches them in a plain. The woman asks them first whether they have recognised her. Upon the authors cannot do, she introduces herself as the public whom they do not care and always accuse whereas she always works hard though her difficult conditions. Also complaining about their sciences that she cannot understand, she tells them that she has no hope from them. Henceforth, she is determined to walk through the progress by herself. Stating the necessity for a new language and literature, she asks the authors for working with her. After waking up, the astonished authors interpret their dream and decide to publish *Halka Doğru* "for supporting that poor woman".[178] The stressed criticism on upper-class people (both rulers and intellectuals) because of their approach against the public is noteworthy in this story.[179]

In the context of cultural and national values, missionary schools led anxiety among some Ottoman intellectuals. In *Bahtiyârlık*, Ahmed Midhat applauds Abdülhamid II's schooling steps appreciating them as institutions can teach Ottomans' own values. Ahmed Midhat complains about the tendency of the parents to attain foreigner teachers for their daughters and sending them to foreigner schools in the absence of domestic options. In the novel, İskender Bey from Alexandria's two children Mansur and Nusret frightened of a rough hodja who teaches them Turkish and Arabic, whereas they love and respect their compassionate teacher Madam Terniye. In the hands of Madam Terniye, daughter Nusret gets a good education but becomes fully alienated to the Ottomans.[180] Marrying this *alla franca* girl is one of the disproved actions in dandy Senâi's failure story. Mîzancı Murad's Mansur, the natural-born

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[178] Abdullah Gündoğdu and Cağfer Güler, eds., *Halka Doğru Mecmuası ve Halkçılık Düşüncesi* (İstanbul: Mavi Gök Yayınları, 2023), 78–79.

[179] It would be appropriate pointing here the first modern Arabic short story "Fī al-Qiṭār" (In the Train) written by Muḥammad Taymūr in 1917. The story narrates a debate among a group of Egyptian people on whether farmers should be educated. The narrator, a young student, and an arrogant intellectual support farmers' education while a rough cleric, a Circassian landowner, and a rural headman opposes. For a Turkish translation and an evaluation of the story, see Musa Yıldız, 'Arap Edebiyatında İlk Modern Öykü; Muhammed Teymûr'un fî'l-Kitâr'ı', *Nüsha*, no. 4 (2002): 43–55.

[180] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 55–62.

Ottoman, is extremely irritated by what he sees related to Europe or the western influence in the capital of the empire. On the deck of the ship brings him to Istanbul, Mansur gets shocked when he hears that a high building that he has been supposing a national charity is indeed an American missionary school named the Robert College.[181] Towards the end of the novel, Mansur has initiatives to open domestic schools in Tunis but cannot accomplish because of an intrigue by the French Consulate. Then, he decides to open the school in Beirut to blunt the missionary schools. Because of the prolongation of the bureaucratic process, Mansur gets disappointed and leaves the process to another character in the novel.[182]

Competence in jobs is also an expectation of authors; people should receive the required knowledge for their jobs. Ahmed Midhat's characters usually engage in and succeed in a few jobs as the previously mentioned ones. Also keeping in mind how he gives importance to trade, an opposite example takes place in *Süleyman Muslî*. The lead character of the mentioned historical adventure novel is a clever and dedicated soldier who struggles against the Crusaders first, then Hasan Sabbāh's Order of Assassins. During a conversation, Süleyman asks a caravan master for what he would demand from the king. The master replies that he would demand a few young and vigorous animals instead of his aged animals. Surprised Süleyman asks him some amount of money and a new job. The caravan master tells him first how the unearned money is detrimental, then he asserts that being a lord or a merchant require training from the cradle. He himself was born and trained as a caravan master.[183] Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî's previously mentioned satires about people who engage in activities that they have no competence should be recalled in the context here.

As an outstanding pioneer of the Ottoman modernisation, Ahmed Midhat is so enthusiastic about embracing novelties of the modern era. He expostulates those who do not lean towards required innovation. When some workers dislike Şinâsi's practises in the field, a character named Köse Muhtar angrily reminds them how Şinâsi's innovations have enhanced productivity. While these workers feel embarrassment,

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[181] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 65.

[182] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, 315.

[183] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Süleyman Muslî*, ed. Ali Şükrü Çoruk (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2018), 133–34.

others approve Köse Muhtar.[184] Hasan Mellâh's father Sîdî Osman is killed during a rebellion as said before. The reason behind the rebellion is negatory attitude spread against Sîdî Osman's new methods that save the country which was on the edge of collapse. Ahmed Midhat accuses bigoted ones who reject innovations labelling them "infidels' inventions" and galvanise the public reaction.[185] Artisans/craftsmen who were struggling because of several reasons were targeted by Ahmed Midhat.[186] *Hüseyin Fellâh* starts with a criticism on craftsmen:

> Do you know Çubukçular Bazaar on Galata side? Actually, [it is] the Çubukçular craftsmen's bazaar that had collapsed by the void cause of "we saw this from our fathers", whereas they should had been advanced in their profession to a higher degree in the age that tobacco consumption spread even among five-year-old children.[187]

In the age of professionalisation and schooling, to be self-reliant and benevolent members of society, Ottoman individuals should have got required knowledge and skills. Thus, exemplary characters above were introduced by Ottoman literary people.

[184] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 30–31.

[185] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 139.

[186] For an evaluation of this occupational class, see Ahmet Tabakoğlu, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2018), 486–98.

[187] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hüseyin Fellâh*, 9.

CHAPTER 2: WORK ETHICS

> Coming into the world is for the sake of working. If there were no work, people would not come into the world.
>
> (…)
>
> Twelve years after arriving in Istanbul; this enduring [*sabûr*], trustful [*mütevekkil*], and steadfast [*metânetkâr*] [poor child who had worked and earned so much] found himself as the goodman of a magnificent family.
>
> As his good moral character was the cause of everyone's satisfaction, he truly led a very happy life, and did not neglect effort and labour.
>
> Mehmed Tâhir[188]

As self-reliant individuals are industrious characters in Ottoman fiction, the former part of this chapter on work ethics approaches to the modern understanding of effort and labour among intellectuals, and these intellectuals' tangible reality which made them stress hard work. Accordingly, laziness became an enemy, a crime, a shame that should have been eliminated. As another concern, self-reliant individuals should have been ethical—kind, honest, rightful, and aware of their limits. Though they were encouraged for their own ways, of course, their "own" ways should not have been ways that do not fit with progressive goals of authors and "Ottoman values" that writers claimed. The latter part examines how authors commented on required courtesy and illegitimate ways of earning that should be avoided.

2.1. Industriousness

Sarı's study is a beneficial source which provides abounding materials and evaluations about the topic that is specified in its title.[189] Stating that the prominent role of the Ottomans' relations with the Western world during the modernisation process, Sarı reserves a chapter for developments and transformations in the West in terms of approaching labour. To sum up, work had not been an appreciated notion for the Greek, the Roman, and the early Christianity (accordingly, it had been linked with the Original Sin). The words that employed for labour and work had carried meanings

[188] Mehmet Tahir, *Dersaadet'te Emek*, 35.

[189] See Sarı, *Emek Düşüncesi*.

like oppression, suffering, or birth pain. Nonetheless, laziness had not been an approved situation and providing benefit to society had been considered valuable. Later, the tenet of living in harmony with nature was eroded by some factors: mainly; the geographical explorations, mining, and secularisation (earthly paradise). The mother earth was not the role model anymore. Through technique and labour, human's creating power was emphasised. In this transformation, Sarı indicates three processes: scientification [*bilimselleştirme*], commodification [*iktisadileştirme/metalaştırma*], and humanisation [*insanileştirme*]. Later, he touches on the profound impacts of the Industrial Revolution on various aspects of life with the new understanding of labour.[190]

The remaining chapters of Sarı's study focuses on the modern Ottoman approach to labour. In the second chapter, Sarı engages in Ottoman notions. He presents words and phrases for labour and work with their transformations such as *sa'y*, *amel*, *emek*, *verziş*, *gayret*, *çalışmak*, *sa'y ü amel*, or *sa'y ü gayret*. The chapter also engages in topics like religious-moral discourses—which seem so prevailing—about modern labour and some varying approaches on classes and workers. The third chapter focuses on the Ottoman reality: social and economic bases of the discussions on labour. Some prominent matters here that the researcher engages in are the absence of entrepreneurs, the desire for civil service, productive occupations that should be given importance, and workers. Lastly, the fourth chapter comes. Theoretical approaches in the Ottoman intellectual life are the subjects in this chapter—mainly abstract philosophical contents like existence, need, piety; economic aspects like classes, division of labour, poverty; and social issues like laziness and women's participation in labour force.

Another precious study that also examines the matters above and I want to draw attention here is Hafez's work.[191] She reserves the first chapter "Moralizing Productivity in the Age of Reform" for modern approaches to productivity. Familiar with Sarı's study, this chapter presents many samples of criticisms on established understandings, moral and religious emphases on productivity—including re-interpretations of notions like submission [*tevekkül*] and Islamist (more specifically

[190] Sarı, 21–76.

[191] See Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*.

"real Islam"ist) discourses. Hafez also indicates exclusionary and criminalising discourse towards laziness. The intention of saving the state (especially from the worsening financial situation) was pointed by her as a motivational factor behind the culture of productivity.[192]

To make a conclusion relying on both these works, we can link the strong emphasis on notions above (industriousness, productivity, labour, work, and negative ones like laziness) to macro reasons, majorly the worry for the empire and the Ottoman society. In many cases, even the individualistic approaches in the Ottoman intellectual life were the products of intellectuals whose main agenda item was the future of the empire—nonetheless, some literary circles emerged during the Hamidian period, whose individualistic intentions were not related to great ideals for the empire.

Working is an appreciated virtue in modern Ottoman literary texts in accordance with the summarised Ottoman intellectual mind. Let's initiate with early fictions in the Ottoman Empire. Hafez states:

> Reading Ottoman novels provides several perspectives into the moral worlds intersected by the authors and their readers. The moral worlds of these novels are comprehensible and cohesive in their own right. One of the functions of the moral realism of novels is to provoke readers to probe themselves. It is important to note that, very early in the Ottoman world, novels were linked to morality. François Fénelon's *Télémaque*, one of the first novels translated into Ottoman Turkish (1859), is, not surprisingly, centered on diligence and industry. Yusuf Kamil Pasha (d. 1875) presented the book not merely as a story (*hikaye*), but as a "morality book whose essence is wisdom."[193]

Şemseddin Sâmi's *Besâ yâhud Ahde Vefâ* gives us a few early samples. Father Zübeyr's opinion about Selfo and his friends who do not engage in favourable deeds is mentioned in the previous chapter. A familiar mind can be found in Zübeyr's wife Vâhide. In a scene, her daughter Merûşe's friend Sâide asks Vâhide about Merûşe. As has been upset with Sâide's desire to meet her friend too frequently, mother Vâhide advises Sâide working. Sâide defends herself saying that she works hard knitting on

[192] For her evaluations, see Hafez, 35–96.

[193] Hafez, 154.

the loom, then shows the sock she has been knitting. Vâhide says "Well done!" being glad. The axis of the whole conversation is the responsibilities of wives towards their husbands—two young girls will marry someone one day in near future as Vâhide reminds.[194]

Once again, it is Ahmed Midhat's turn. He was not only the most productive author who justly deserves the nickname of "forty-horsepower-writing machine", but also a diligent self-reliant man who endeavoured throughout his entire life. Ülgen places a quote from Ahmed Midhat at the beginning of his study on this industrious man. Ahmed Midhat's views are repeatedly referred in this thesis. Thus, sharing this short quote here instead of summarising all his texts would be sufficient:

> I don't want [even] my one minute to pass idle. I work. I love so much working and the gain that is outcome of it. [Those] who see how much effort I put in for a work worth five [or] ten pennies almost pity me. However, this effort is my pleasure. After compilation by writing [*yazıp, çizip*], printing, [and] binding; the turn for collection and usage of its income comes. At that time, my duty is completed.[195]

This is Ahmed Midhat's way in his own life. So, what should be done for the Ottomans? For the answer, I visit again his article "Sevdâ-yı Sa'y ü Amel", one of the articles of the modern Ottoman literature that aims to encourage people for *l'amour du travail*. From the first master's perspective, the thing should be done is not to invent a motive that has not been existing. The passion for the labour has already existed in human nature. Pointing the European society as an exemplary case, he states disciplining the mentioned passion as the goal.[196]

Turning to his industrious and lazy characters in his novels, Ahmed Midhat habitually rewards his diligent (usually male) heroes at the end. The award is usually a happy future that mainly contains happy marriage with a clever young woman, success in business, and wealth. On the other hand, his lazy dandy anti-heroes are punished by losing what they possess.

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[194] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Semseddin Sami'nin Tiyatroları*, 74–75.

[195] Ülgen, *Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Çalışma Fikri*, 1.

[196] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Sevda-yı Sa'y ü Amel*, 22–25.

I want to mention here four dichotomic cases from the first master's novels. The characters in the first case are Râkım and Felâtun. In a part of the novel, two friends enter a dialogue about their lifestyles criticising each other. Felâtun's manner is more sardonic against Râkım's industriousness whereas Râkım maintains an advising tone showing his discontent with Felâtun's rakishness. Felâtun tells Râkım to spend what he earns during his bloom. To answer, Râkım states his need to work for his livelihood. He warns his friend to not spend what he earns and to control his rakish life, especially his gambling habit. They cannot agree and leave politely reaching negative conclusions about each other.[197] At the end of the story, Râkım has been still enjoying his successful business. In addition, he has already married clever Cânan. The other, lazy spendthrift Felâtun, lavishes all his inherited wealth. He is also left by an impudent woman—whose name is Polini, establishes relationship with Felâtun, and encourages him to play (and lose) in gambling more. Desperate Felâtun, who does not only lose his whole wealth but also gets into huge debt, expresses his regret to his friend Râkım. As he has been appointed to an island, Felâtun tells his intention to work and live prudently herein after.[198]

Two medicine students Vahdetî and Sulhi in *Para!* are the characters of the second case. Hardworking Vahdetî is rewarded by Ahmed Midhat at the end with a promoted position and a happy marriage with his beloved Latife. On the other hand, freeloader Sulhi who seeks wealth through marriage lavishes all his inheritance from her aunt in that way. Moreover, he causes financial loss of his family involving in illegitimate deeds. At the same time, Sulhi suffers from his *alla franca* wife Şerife and his mother-in-law who constantly force him to spend more.

Diligent Şinâsi and his lazy friend Senâi are the characters of the third sample. While Şinâsi lives happily with his wife Zeliha in their farm, lazy Senâi loses his wealth gambling in Europe—where he goes to study but does not complete his education. After he comes back, Senâi marries Nusret tricking everyone about his wealth. Senâi lives in wealth for a short time spending the money that comes from selling everything what his family possesses and putting them in debt. At the end, Senâi

[197] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 86–94.

[198] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 170.

flights to Switzerland with an amount of money. In the letter he writes to Şinâsi, he expresses his goal to save his second capital after all the disasters.[199]

The lasts are Nasuh and Zekâ. Nasuh is the diligent hero of *Paris'te Bir Türk*. He uses his time in Paris productively learning, earning, and enjoying life there. At the end, he returns to Istanbul with her wife Virginie who converts to Islam.[200] Dandy Zekâ is the other Turk in Paris. Having typical Tanzimat dandy characteristics as his equivalents in other novels, he is presented as an opposite example of Nasuh—as someone who returns to Istanbul without doing any beneficial work and getting no respect in Paris.

Speaking of anti-heroes, we can move on to the topic of laziness. As Hafez states, Muslim-Turkish moralists moralised, nationalised, and Islamised productivity "while branding laziness as a sin, a disease, a crime, and even a form of treason".[201] To have a better grasp of the process, it would be appropriate to quote here her rows below:

> Neither laziness nor its condemnation are new inventions. However, perceiving it as a social condition that afflicts a *nation* (or *race*) is. The idea (and ideology) that the indolence of a given population (construed ideologically as a nation or race) could be eradicated through social, institutional, and moral reform, usually led and guided by those who see it as their responsibility to navigate them out of this condition, is even more recent. Just as the assumptions of nationalism spread around the world, so did the idea of social diseases. Laziness as a social disease, as in the above example[202] and many others voiced throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is seen as a condition that afflicts nations, in this case that of the Ottomans, to such an extent that it defines them and their position in the international system, and hinders their march to progress.[203]

I want to return to novels after the quoted explanations above. There are more materials from Ahmed Midhat that can be added here. Inertia is a kind of illness

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[199] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 95.

[200] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 599, 605.

[201] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 39.

[202] This is an editorial in *Cerîde-i Havâdis* from 1843 that Hefez mentions in the previous page.

[203] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 2.

according to the first master. In *Müşâhedât*, he criticises people who do not do anything to produce. To paraphrase; finding every personal needs ready and feeling no responsibility to other people is not the bliss. This situation which can be considered equal to exact inertia [*atâlet*] is a real misfortune for a human. Even misfortune is not enough to express the situation: it gets the shape of an illness. Then, reminding the idiom "The processed iron shines", he concludes, "The iron that is not processed rusts. Inertia withers human".[204] In *Esrâr-ı Cinâyât*, Ahmed Midhat directs some criticism to lazy journalists. He asserts that even though a good number of newspapers exist, many authors do not reach information and news by themselves; some used to plagiarise, and some add incidents that they find in their own imaginations.[205] A third and last one I want to mention here is from *Hasan Mellâh yâhud Sır İçinde Esrâr*. The leader of the pirates in the novel decides to get rid of a Corsican man in the ship. The Corsican is known with his laziness—albeit he is not a lazy man but a gentleman who cannot comply with banditry. The leader Pietro, a merciless villain who is executed at the end, expresses his opinion with maybe his only sentence that Ahmed Midhat can approve: "A man should deserve the bread he eats."[206]

Lazy dandy figures also appear in other authors' novels. Bihruz in *Araba Sevdâsı* who is a very typical ridiculed *alla franca* dandy does not produce anything but consumes the inheritance. Hüseyin Rahmi's chic named Şöhret is a familiar one who has a dandy nature. The former one is the son of a pasha whereas the latter compensates the absence of his noble ascendents inventing a noble title for himself: Şatırzâde. Bihruz's financial situation gets worse and worse throughout the novel. The same is true for Şöhret, nevertheless, he is also jailed for theft.

Ottoman decision-makers and later authors had too many concerns about officials, but ones related to laziness (such as inefficiency and absenteeism) seem major during the long nineteenth century. For scrutinising this matter, Hafez reserves a chapter named "Criminalizing Laziness: Punishment, Reward, and Negotiation in the Ottoman Bureaus" in her study. Her examination points some early concerns as early as the reign of Selim III. Hafez gives some samples of how Ottoman decision-

[204] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 73–74.

[205] Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Cellât; Esrâr-ı Cinâyât*, 212.

[206] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 78.

makers handled the problem and authors' criticisms (accusatory in many samples).[207] I want to point the three intriguing samples from the first page of the chapter that Hafez quotes, which present some lines from annoyed Ottoman authors. The first is from Şemseddin Sâmi's Turkish dictionary *Kâmûs-ı Türkî*. One of the explanations for the word *tenbelhâne* is given by Sâmi as "*Memurları iş görmez daire*"[208]—with Hafez's translation, "*Tenbelhane* [House of Lazy]: A government office where the officials do not do their work.". Hafez's second quote is from Celâl Nûri (İleri): "Around seventy idling creatures… seventeen clerks per chair" .The last is from a satirist, Refik Hâlid (Karay). In this longer quote Hafez shares, Refik Hâlid satirises the scene of misery in a government office where he had been an apprentice.[209]

Having a job in civil service is a characteristic of most of the mentioned dandies—as probably an indicator of not only their social status but also their laziness. Officials became Mîzancı Murad's target in his novel as they were targeted by many other writers. When Mansur comes first to the government office where he is appointed, he supposes that everyone whom he sees has specific duties. When he asks the chief about his own duty, the chief replies him saying that there is no specific duty, but he will be tasked when needed. Until the evening, Mansur is not tasked with anything, and many others do not do anything. In addition, what he sees here irritates him: the officials drink, eat, yawn, and roam. Furthermore, he learns that the situation is same every day. He intends to go to another office before realising that others are the same.[210] Mansur has some other concerns about officials like overstaffing, high wages, incompetence, and lack of education.[211]

Diligent officials in the examined literary texts are scrutinised in the last part of the fourth chapter, as ones who serve the state. I do not engage in them here. The matter I prefer noting here is a phenomenon which was not related to industriousness nor laziness. Differently from the view above, officials are mentioned in some later literary texts through not accusations for laziness during the last decade of the empire,

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[207] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 97–146.

[208] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî* (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2007), 442.

[209] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 97.

[210] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 138–39.

[211] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, 140, 264–65.

but their worsening conditions. Zafer Toprak states this situation of officials during that time. As a step of the CUP's policies to cope with financial challenges, officials could get half of their salaries—albeit because of early symptoms of increasing cost of living caused by the Great War, this step for forced saving was terminated. Moreover, the wartime inflation hit officials eroding their purchasing power gradually though insufficient salary increases. While suffering these difficult conditions, officials took place in caricatures of newspapers as ones begging in the street.[212] The changing status of Ottoman officials during the CUP rule can be seen in Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî's novel *Teşebbüs-i Şahsî*. Neşâti is a sufferer official who has not been paid for a while.[213] He writes some poems for depicting difficulties that officials must cope with—which are given in early pages of the novel.[214] In Edhem Nejad's "Çiftlik Müdürü", Tukuz reminds his friend Bâyezid Ferid that the elders had not wanted them to occupy with neither agriculture nor civil service. The reason behind the first one is their lack of capital while the reason behind the second is the difficulty of achieving a position.[215]

Turning back to industriousness, utilising the nights is a matter I can find some traces in literary texts. Again, let's refer to Hafez for Nâmık Kemal's approach as an early view about the matter:

> (…) in an 1871 article titled "Civilization," Namık Kemal strongly supported the street lighting reform, mainly because an illuminated city would allow the "people of work" (*ashab-ı sa'y*) to engage in "six or seven hours of extra work and commercial activity, adding one more life to their lives." Such a change in the urban realities was welcomed not only because it would turn nights into days, ending the concept of the sunset as the end of the day, but also because it would support the efforts of making the entire city a worksite, and city dwellers industrious and productive.[216]

I present here two samples from Ahmed Midhat related to this matter. Along a few pages of *Müşâhedât*, Ahmed Midhat talks about working at night. Asserting the importance of work life at nights; he depicts various working people in Istanbul and

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[212] Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*, 453–55.

[213] Tahir'ül Mevlevî, *Teşebbüs-i Şahsî*, 9.

[214] Tahir'ül Mevlevî, 18–20.

[215] Ethem Nejat, *Ütopik Hikâyeler*, 36.

[216] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 68.

how these people make ready their products as outcomes of their labour. He points two capitals of developed nations (London and Paris) as the places where people's needs are produced at nights.[217] In accordance with this view, Râkım can be pointed as a fictional character who utilises his nights. As said previously, he is a translator, an author, and a teacher. Râkım goes to lectures for training two English siblings two nights a week.[218]

In the article mentioned above on civilisation that has a progressive approach appreciating the success of Europe, Nâmık Kemal shares his last paragraphs for issues related to moral values—obscenity is one of mentioned problems but not specifically in the context of street lighting.[219] Interestingly, street lighting led a tension later that Oğuz states:

> When the streets began to be illuminated in the nineteenth century, the night became subject to the growing control of state authorities. However, as Nurçin İleri argues, there was a paradox between a more efficient system of surveillance and controlling the night and the "cultivation of nocturnal sociability." The illumination of the night created new spaces for leisure activities that came to be associated with disorder and immorality—and at the same time with modern life and economic progress. The "moral order" defenders, thus, not only targeted the entertainment places but also established parallels between moral decline and European cultural influence based on the fact that such entertainment places were the products of Western civilization.[220]

Industriousness appears in Hâlide Edib's *Yeni Tûrân* in the context of political competition. I want to indicate Kaya as a positive example. During her days in Saraylı village, diligent Kaya grumbles in a manner that no one can resist when she sees someone sits in the coffeehouse.[221] Even though this case is not directly related to her political affiliation, it shows the character of a prominent New Turan Party member. The second name that I point is Âsım—who is the narrator of the novel and a member

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[217] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 71–75.

[218] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 135.

[219] Namık Kemal, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesinin Meseleleri: Bütün Makaleleri 1*, ed. İsmail Kara and Nergiz Yılmaz Aydoğdu (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2019), 358–61.

[220] Oğuz, *Moral Crisis*, 100.

[221] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 129.

of the New Ottoman Party. This case directly clarifies the difference between two parties as Âsım indicates hardworking for the reason of success of their opponent:

> I think that all these successes of the New Turan are not from its policies, but from its renunciant, hardworking, and capable children. The deficiency of us, the New Ottomans, are not reason, sense, or lack of education but laziness and selfishness.[222]

A very nationalistic tone for industriousness is overt in Edhem Nejad's two stories. In "Çiftlik Müdürü", the six requirements in Turhan's advert for the manager position include "being young, [and] vigorous" and "should do exercise".[223] This approach is much more intensive in "Yiğit Türkler" (The Brave Turks), which puts the emphasise on exaggerated physical strength of members of the Turkish nation as whole. This narrative is stronger especially in the first part that narrates the 10th of July celebrations.[224] The national euphoria peaks in the events that inspired by a Turkish culture abounding in "invention of tradition" cases[225] and the Sultan also graces with his presence. Various sports competitions including running, wrestling, and cycling are organised with a heroic and national sense. The Turks present their heroism and physical power in events that impress invited foreign press members. All the Turks at the event are brave, heroic, and strong ones including children, aged people, and women. The last competition of the celebrations ends upon the decision of the referees. This is because the two heroes do not seem to stop. One of them is a seventeen-year-old girl whose name is Günseli while the other is a twenty-one-year-old young man Oğuz.[226] The second and third parts of the story narrate how these two heroes (who marry each other, then have a son and a daughter) are raised so powerful both mentally and physically as devoted fiery members of the Turkish nation, who always work hard dreaming of revenge in every action.[227]

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[222] Adıvar, 106.

[223] Ethem Nejat, *Ütopik Hikâyeler*, 29.

[224] 10th of July is the date of the restoration of the constitution in 1908.

[225] If it is expressed with the famous conceptualisation introduced by Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger.

[226] Ethem Nejat, *Ütopik Hikâyeler*, 57–69.

[227] Ethem Nejat, 70–80.

Someone familiar with the last decades of the empire can notice the nationalistic outcry led by the Balkan Wars as the main reason of all these stresses on exaggerated body power and the desire for revenge. In Hafez's study, a chapter named "Militarizing the Body Power" scrutinises nationalist intentions of forming productive bodies during that period. Hafez denotes many details of the matter such as ideological background (mainly social Darwinism), rising interest in gymnastics, boy scouting, demands from women, criticisms to old practices and institutions, religious discourses, and awareness in schools.[228] The rows I prefer quoting here from her study are ones can provide an intellectual context for Edhem Nejad's enthusiastic stress on rural. Hafez points two military men who credits rural—Hafız Hakkı Paşa and Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz (called Goltz Paşa by the Ottomans).[229] In those pages, she outlines:

> In his description of the inactivity and indolence of city people, Hafız Hakkı Pasha portrayed them as morally corrupt and effeminate, while peasants only lacked the basic necessities of life, and hence, might still retain their masculinity. Whereas property and wealth increased the likelihood of a peasant's success on the battlefield, city people were in need of character-improving activities, like sports.

And the quote below is Hafez's outline for the latter name:

> (…) Goltz believed in the "martial character of the Turks," formed by "a hard rural life," religious conviction, and imperial pride. In a private correspondence (…), he contrasted these characteristics with the weakening of the martial spirit in Europe, which was a result of factors such as urbanization.

These are some industrious heroes and lazy anti-heroes that Ottoman authors introduced for their readers. It can be said that whether there are emphases on national claims in these stories, all of them somehow have national intentions.

2.2. Earning an Honest Penny

As one might expect; approved, idealised, and successful self-reliant characters in Ottoman fiction are presented with their courtesy and commitment to moral

[228] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 194–220.

[229] Hafez, 209–10.

values—as many of these fictions were employed as a means of education and none of their authors embraced philosophical approaches (or satires) like Bernard Mandeville's "private vices, publick benefits".

Courtesy was also a matter that discussed by some writers in the context of economic activity. Demir provides examples from the Ottoman press in his PhD study. In journal *İrtikâ* (The Ascend), an author whose name is Müftüzâde Ali İhsan wrote a series of seven articles titled "Ticâretimiz" (Our Trade) in 1899 and 1900. In the fifth article, the author mentions careless treatment towards consumers as one of the factors hindering the progress of trade in the empire.[230] Other example I share here is related to workers. In his article published in journal *Sanâyi* (The Industry) in 1917; while discussing what should be taught in workers' schools, Âgâh Orhan indicates etiquette [*ictimai kanunlar*], manners [*terbiye*], morals [*ahlak*], courtesy [*nezaket*], and essentials required by civilization [*medeniyetin icap ettirdikleri hususlar*].[231]

It would be appropriate to remind here some successful lead heroes who are respected due to their kindness and rightness in their businesses. Ahmed Midhat's Julie succeeds with her grace while selling flowers.[232] The zero-to-hero entrepreneur child's goodwill and courtesy are emphasised by Mehmed Tâhir throughout "Netîce-i Sa'y". The story ends with telling the child's continuing endeavour for labouring despite he has already achieved wealth, and his positive image on the eyes of people due to his morality.[233] Lastly, let's remember Ömer Seyfeddin's Koca Ali, who cannot stand with the attitude of his master who has paid the blood money for his arm. Conviction of Koca Ali saddens people and pushes them to find a solution due to not only Ali's competence in his job but also his rightness.[234]

Let's go on with how modern Ottoman writers addressed illegitimate ways of earning; initially, focusing on rulers. As previously said, one of the main matters in the Gülhane Edict of 1839 is safety of life and property. This was a task for the Ottoman rulers which requires saving the subjects from the oppression of local notables. For

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[230] Demir, 'Osmanlı'da İktisadî Dergicilik', 178–79.

[231] Demir, 370.

[232] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Diplomalı Kız*, 72–73.

[233] Mehmet Tahir, *Dersaadet'te Emek*, 35.

[234] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 709–10.

exemplifying a specific case, I want to point Cengiz Kırlı's article that presents expectations of the people of Vranje from the Tanzimat project—as they were exhausted from the oppression of their governor.[235] Accordingly, crediting the Tanzimat project against local tyrants was not omitted by a Balkan playwright Şemseddin Sâmi in his *Besâ yâhud Ahde Vefâ*, which takes place in Albania. Selfo's protector influential Demir Bey brings Zübeyr to his presence to force him to marry his daughter Merûşe to Selfo. Upon Zübeyr's rejection despite Demir Bey's threats, the dialogue between them proceeds as follows:

Demir Bey—What is the value of a man like you? Now restraining you in the barn, abducting your daughter, I will give her to Selfo by force! What can you do?

Zübeyr—You could do such things once upon a time, you cannot do today! May God bless our sultan with long life! *Tanzîmât-ı Hayriyye* is in effect today by his grace! Today, our sultan is the guarantor of our lives, honour, [and] property. The days you mention passed! Passed!

Upon Zübeyir's words about the greatness of the Sultan (in the capital) madden the armed highlander Albanian beg rather than impress (as one might expect), a chase between Demir's men and Zübeyir begins.[236]

In Ahmed Midhat's *Bahtiyârlık*, we find an example of an oppressor tax-farmer. Although tax-farming system was an efficient way of tax-collection, it paved the way for harassment of peasants. Tax-farmers who hold the right for a specific period paying a specific amount, abused their power to both recover that amount and make profit as much as they could in the limited period. Thus, combining with some other conditions, Ottoman rulers sought some alternatives like introducing *mâlikâne*.[237] Later, the Tanzimat reforms introduced regulations for taxations.[238] As, Kırlı states, "taking into consideration that the ordinary person's relation with the state is essentially a fiscalist relation that defined with taxation, we can say that the popular perception of the

[235] See Cengiz Kırlı, 'Tyranny Illustrated: From Petition to Rebellion in Ottoman Vranje', *New Perspectives on Turkey* 53 (2015): 3–36.

[236] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Semseddin Sami'nin Tiyatroları*, 99.

[237] See Genç, 'Mâlikâne'.

[238] For a study for the regulations of taxation during the Tanzimat period, see Coşkun Çakır, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Maliyesi* (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2001).

Tanzimat is identified with the new taxation regime."[239] Returning to Ahmed Midhat's novel, the oppressor's name is Yamalı Mûsâ Ağa, who is dandy Senâi's father. In addition to being a landowner who possesses a huge wealth including a factory, an inn and fifteen shops; he engages in tax-farming to earn enormous amounts without labouring. This notable oppresses peasants demanding too high shares from their products. He also gets support from influential people at both local and central levels.[240]

Types of corruption took place in some modern Ottoman fictions, which was a new concern with its modern content. Kırlı scrutinises the early history of modern corruption in the Ottoman land in his article.[241] As he states, corruption was defined first in the empire by the Criminal Code of 1840. The main statement from the article that I should point is early implications of the law were motivated by factional conflicts—as Kırlı underlines the arbitrariness in trials and how "corruption" was employed as weapons against opposing sides by factions. Another detail which is useful for my task is introduction of "bribery" as a crime by the reforms—this was because of that the old gift economy became outdated.

As early as 1860 for the modern genres of literary texts in the Ottoman Empire, bribery takes place in Şinâsi's play *Şâir Evlenmesi*. The lead character Müştak is married to not the beautiful girl he loves, but her ugly old sister Sâkine. The issue is solved when the imam is bribed. The imam named Ebullaklaka (the chatterer) explains to the crowd that when he said "bigger", he did not mean "older" but "longer". Then, he turns to the briber whose names is Hikmet: "Tell [me] if there are anything else wrong, I will correct them as required. Because I feel proud myself for this kind of favourable services".[242]

Some traces of such problems can be found in *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?*. As said previously, Mansur has too many discomforts because of officials. He

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[239] Cengiz Kırlı, 'Yolsuzluğun İcadı: 1840 Ceza Kanunu, İktidar ve Bürokrasi', *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 4 (2006): 60.

[240] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 12.

[241] See Kırlı, 'Yolsuzluğun İcadı'.

[242] Şinasi, *Şair Evlenmesi / Müntahabat-ı Eşar*, ed. Gökhan Tunç, trans. Ebru Özgün and Buğra Oğuzhan Uluyüz (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2019), 17–19.

expresses his discontent in a long dialogue with Emin Paşa. One of the problems he points is corruption.[243] Mansur is also suffocated when he thinks on overt bribery in government offices.[244]

Moreover, Mîzancı Murad touches on another type of corruption in his novel: favouritism. Mansur is an honest man who rejects benefiting nepotism. Mansur applies to the Medicine School for an appropriate job. Being obedient to his principles and ideals, he does nothing about appealing his influential uncle or someone else for favouritism. However, his uncle Sâlih secretly writes a letter about Mansur. Thanks to this letter, the young idealist man is admitted by the school easily. Though the staff of the school nurtures enmity towards Mansur because of the favouritism, the professors like and appreciate Mansur upon meeting him and seeing his diploma.[245]

Let's go beyond corruption and continue with further criticised ways of earning. Crime rings are punished in a few cases in Ahmed Midhat's novels. In *Hasan Mellâh*, Pietro, the cruel leader of the pirates, is executed due to being convicted of deluding the ship staff for banditry. Pietro himself jumps into the sea upon his executioner Zerno's request.[246] In *Hüseyin Fellâh*, honest farmer Hüseyin rejects joining the ruling people in Algeria—who are known as *dayılar*[247] and are indeed bandits who trick people as if they were miracle worker pious men.[248] Hüseyin tells them that there is no benefit of the money earned by firing the world. Farmer Hüseyin also reminds his own businesses.[249] On the other hand, the bandit rulers cannot succeed in their plans throughout the novel. Şehlevend, who is a bandit's slave and pretends that she is mute, blocks the bandits' plots with Civelek Mustafa's and Hüseyin Fellâh's help. The bandits lose their power defeating by another notable because of Şehlevend's and Civelek's plot.[250] The members of a crime ring in *Esrâr-ı Cinâyât* are also punished

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[243] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 258–69.

[244] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, 270–71.

[245] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, 124–26.

[246] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 294–98.

[247] Here, *dayı* means protector [*hâmi*]. See İlhan Ayverdi, 'Dayı', in *Kubbealtı Lugatı*, accessed 6 May 2024, lugatim.com/s/dayı.

[248] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hüseyin Fellâh*, 87–107.

[249] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 124–25.

[250] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 322–23.

by Ahmed Midhat. These members are involved in crimes such as counterfeiting, smuggling, and murder. Halîl Sûrî is killed by Kalpazan Mustafa (Mustafa the counterfeiter). The leader Hediye becomes a sight beggar at the end. Kalpazan Mustafa—who is in love with Hediye and becomes a kind of slave doing her dirty deeds within her hands—dies falling from tree.[251]

In the literary texts that are examined here, there are examples of disproved characters who seek wealth through marriage, plot, or combining both. Sulhi's failure in Ahmed Midhat's *Para!* is already shared. Events in another novel from Ahmed Midhat titled *Eski Mektuplar* (The Old Letters) develop as the result of a plot including marriage for taking possession of the wealth of someone else. The mentioned novel has a different style from the author's other didactive works which have happy endings. In the story, Sâim wants to marry his daughter Meliha with her beloved Kenan. However, Sâim's brother Dâim wants Meliha for his son Sâdık. Dâim and his wife seek plots to prevent the marriage due to their aim at capturing Sâim's wealth. While Kenan is away for his education, developing events end the relationship between Meliha and Kenan. Upon Dâim accepts the offer made by a man named Muhsin, Muhsin's son Ârif marries Meliha and squanders her wealth.[252]

Such a plot is organised in *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?*. Râşid plans to marry his son Kâzım with Ahmed Şunûdi's daughter Sabiha—then capturing the wealth after getting rid of other inheritors. İsmâil dies (indeed killed) in an accident and Sabiha dies (she too) because of a false drug. Then, the mansion is fired by Râşid. However, Mansur realises the plot. Later, Râşid falls from a height into the sea while grappling with Mansur. The chemist who prepares poisons for Râşid's plans also gets arrested.[253]

In *Şıpsevdi,* Hüseyin Rahmi narrates the plans of two characters who covet each other's wealth. These are the dandy lead character Meftun and Kâsım. Meftun plans to marry her sister Lebibe to Kâsım's son Mâhir, while planning to marry Mâhir's

[251] Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Cellât; Esrâr-ı Cinâyât*, 388, 436–38.

[252] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Eski Mektuplar*, ed. Ali Şükrü Çoruk (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2022).

[253] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 279–80, 283–85, 292, 310–12.

daughter Edibe. Meftûn's great plan is to capture Kâsım's wealth.[254] At the same time Kâsım plans the same for Meftun—because Kâsım believes the lie that Meftun has won the lottery.[255]

Emine Semiye's two novels *Muallime* and *Sefâlet* give place for plots to capture wealth. The first one narrates a plot for seducing the households whereas the second is plotted to deprive the inheritors. In *Muallime*, teacher Behbûde's sister Meşhûde (from the same mother but from a different father) establishes relationship between Refah's (the girl educated by Behbûde) mother Saadet and Süheyl whereas she attempts to entice father Muhassıl. Meşhûde's plot damages Saâdet's and Muhassıl's happy family.[256] Saadet dies in regret. Nonetheless, Meşhûde is killed before Saadet dies when the plot comes to light. Her murderer Çakır Furat recognises that he is actually Meşhûde's father and Behbûde is her sibling.[257] In *Sefâlet*, the lead character, Sâbite, is the victim of her relatives whose purpose is to capture the inheritance she has. Mâhir seizes Sâbite's wealth winning the inheritance case with forged documents and false witnesses. Sâbite must survive in deep poverty and illness. She endeavours in terrible conditions with Gayret—her old servant, comrade, and mentor. Two other old ex-servants in her previous wealthy days live with them—now, they are not able to work. Sâbite succeeds in regaining her wealth at the end of long and harsh days whereas Mâhir decides committing suicide instead of being on trial.[258]

I want to turn to *Şıpsevdi* again to switch the topic. Through this novel, there are two more issues that I want to pass in the context of undeserved earning. These are usury first and then lottery.

Given that interest is banned by the *sharia*, Muslims societies have been opposing "principally" this phenomenon. However, interest has been an evident fact in Muslims' economic activity just as it has been in the world-wide monetised economy. On one hand, Muslim scholars had showed the legal ways for interest-

[254] Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, *Şıpsevdi*, ed. Habibe Demir (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2021), 186, 193.

[255] Gürpınar, 381.

[256] Emine Semiye Hanım, *Muallime*, 117–18.

[257] Emine Semiye Hanım, 93–94.

[258] Emine Semiye Hanım, *Sefalet*.

bearing transactions before the Ottomans. In the debate on cash *waqf*s during the sixteenth century, interest was not a primary matter, but an element of auxiliary arguments. Regarding this, Genç points the Ottoman scholars' attitude as a surprising and complex matter that should be thought on. On the other hand, there were many cases that Ottoman subjects did not feel any necessity to cover their interest-bearing transactions at the court. These were not limited; credit relations within the empire were so wide-ranging. As stated before, the modern Ottomans did not hesitate to benefit from modern institutions for credits which they had to use—though the mentioned anxiety has been continuing.[259] For the usury side, it was a condemned act as it is a certain cruelty. However, usurers could operate within the empire and even were intriguingly recognised by the state in some cases.[260] The usury case I want to

[259] The cash *waqf* debate seems like a mere technical *fiqh* matter if we just focus on the *ulama* members' arguments. Nevertheless, there were further motivations and realities. In Tezcan's words, "The cash *wakf* was first and foremost the product of a developing market society in which there was a certain degree of capital accumulation". For the motivations side, Hasan Karataş points contexts like personal matters between *ulama* members, their new political role (from *homo academicus* to *homo politicus*), and the Sufi interest in cash *waqf*s. It should be noted that these orders actively utilised cash *waqf*s and the prominent names of the debate also give a clear hint of this aspect of the controversy. For a short evaluation for credit relations in the empire, see Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadî Tarihi 1500-1914* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 75–80; for the evaluations mentioned above and details, see Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, 54–55; Hasan Karataş, 'The Cash Waqfs Debate of 1545-1548: Anatomy of a Legal Debate at the Age of Süleyman the Lawgiver', *İnsan & Toplum Dergisi (The Journal of Human & Society)* 1, no. 1 (30 June 2011); Tahsin Özcan, *Osmanlı Para Vakıfları : Kanuni Dönemi Üsküdar Örneği* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003), 28–50; and Tezcan, *Second Ottoman Empire*, 30–34; lastly, for a historical analysis of the Muslims' relations with the phenomenon of the interest, see İbrahim M. Turhan, 'İslam İktisadı ve Para: Nasıl Bakmalı?', in *Geçmişten Bugüne Müslüman Toplumlarda Para ve Faiz (Gerçeklik, Algı, Kuram, Uygulama)*, ed. İbrahim M. Turhan (İstanbul: Kuramer, 2023), 1–84.

[260] Firstly, I want to say is that usurers were still active especially in the countryside during the nineteenth century. Many people who were occupied with fields were constantly in debt to usurers. See Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadî Tarihi*, 215–16; secondly, I want to point an older historical matter. Appointment of usurers for meat provision has been considered by many researchers as a way of punishment—as it was a difficult task with a high risk of bankruptcy. Nonetheless, Antony Greenwood claims that Istanbul's meat provision was a serious matter that should not have been risked. To him, a heavy *celepkeşan* responsibility can be construed as a form of punitive capital tax, but "one should not draw the conclusion from these examples that the *celepkeşan* status was intended to be essentially punitive". Then, Greenwood points extensive precautions. See Antony Greenwood, 'Istanbul's Meat

point from the novel is Kâsım's business. Kâsım is depicted as a completely irritating character by Hüseyin Rahmi. First, he is a bigoted one like his wife Azize. Both consider every modern innovation came from Europe as eviler—though Kâsım is a usurer and Azize is an expert gossiper. Second, he is a stingy man who impresses Meftun with his stinginess.[261] Last, he is a usurer who never appreciates commercial partnerships that he considers them as only dodges. He only operates his money practicing usury on excessive rates. Never trusting banks, he saves his money in jars.[262]

Lottery became widespread within the empire from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. The Ottomans had to consider issues like religious prohibition of gambling and lack of regulations. Thus, Ottoman decision-makers took some steps to ban lottery when they faced first. However, it seems that the state made required regulations for lottery upon that it was welcomed by some parts of the Ottoman society and was utilised as a mean of finance. Revenues generated by lottery were used for matters like emigrants, martyrs' relatives, railway construction, defence industry, education, and philanthropy.[263] Let's return to the novel after this short story of lottery. In a conversation with Meftun, Mösyö Makferlan (the bizarre European man in the Ottoman country who comes to seek opportunities) offers him spreading the rumour that he has won the lottery to achieve his goal.[264] Meftun puts the plan into action, and it works. The rumour spreads over Istanbul and people aspire to Meftun's prize in a short time. Many of them tell the prize each other while some others decide to buy tickets.[265] Hüseyin Rahmi expresses his criticisms on the Ottoman society at this point. To him, the Ottoman society does not aspire to the wealth that earned as the outcome of serious initiatives and great endeavours finding it ambiguous, obscure, and uneven. However, people yearn for the money for jam like the lottery prize. Some engage too much in it regardless of the very low probability of win. The endeavour of

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Provisioning: A Study of the Celepkeşan System' (PhD Thesis, Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago, 1988), 83–84.

[261] Gürpınar, *Şıpsevdi*, 186.

[262] Gürpınar, 379.

[263] For the source I use and more details about the adventure of lottery in the Ottoman Empire, see Mesut Yolal, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nde Şans Oyunları ve Kumar (1800-1923)' (PhD Thesis, Gaziantep, Gaziantep University, 2018), 165–235.

[264] Gürpınar, *Şıpsevdi*, 353–54.

[265] Gürpınar, 363–64.

the government falls short to discourage these profit-seeking ones from foreign lotteries. Then he turns to the story back. Being aware of the public interest, journalists keenly publish the news about the prize that Meftun won.[266] Kâsım who does not like Meftun before and rejected his request for marriage with Edibe, changes his attitude this time and respects him. Kâsım is ready to accept Meftun's request now and feels sorry for his previous attitude.[267]

Women's chastity was a prominent moral expectation while the old gender-separated spaces were eroding and women were becoming more active in city life. Accordingly, it unsurprisingly became a subject in Ottoman fiction. Approved woman characters are dignified whereas some immoral women take place in fiction as sources of evils. On the other hand, some innocent woman characters whom authors empathise with them can take place as fallen ones or hesitating decent women who are put in difficult situations. Here, I postpone elaborating the matter of chastity to the next chapter and just focus on the current sub-topic of earning the (let's say) legitimate penny.

The first example here is from Ahmed Midhat. Halîl Sûrî, one of the evildoers in *Esrâr-ı Cinâyât*, has a beautiful and kind wife. A consul woos this kind woman in a ball. The disturbed woman tells the situation to her husband. Halîl who has a relation with the consul due to an inheritance case shocks his wife asking her to keep the consul satisfied. Halîl invites the consul for a dinner and warns her wife about her attitude. At the end of the night, the woman gets depressed. Later on, she dies in sorrow because of an illness she caught.[268] For another case, Fatma Aliye's fictional characters Bedia and Helvila have a conversation about earning while protecting self-honour. The honourable lead character adheres to her own values while the other takes the opposite stand. Helvila is a dancer who seduces Bedia's husband Mâil. The conversation starts with Helvila's apologise. She says that her intention was not what Mâil gives to her, but her love for him. Bedia does not credit this coquettish woman's words about love. Then, they talk about Helvila's profession. Helvila defends herself indicating the necessity of earning her livelihood. Bedia tells her there are other honourable jobs.

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[266] Gürpınar, 364–65.

[267] Gürpınar, 366–67.

[268] Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Cellât; Esrâr-ı Cinâyât*, 339.

Helvila answers claiming the low income of these hard works. Accusing Helvila of covering up her evils, Bedia insists on protecting honour and not being afraid of even death. Nonetheless, she is affected by Helvila's words about women's need to earn.[269] Ömer Seyfeddin's story "Zeytin Ekmek" (Olive [and] Bread) is another example of narrative advising being adhered to honour. Honourable, young, and poor Nâciye suffers hunger. She has just some bread and a few olives at home. While her husband is conscripted, her friends who live in wealth bring her to a man for a night. Nâciye is irritated first but she decided to accept for eating something while resisting against the man until the morning. However, there is no food at home that night; the man sends his servant to find some food despite there is no open grocery. When Nâciye sees some bread with a few olives (the same with what she had possessed before), she starts to cry because of her decision and leaves the place in a deep sorrow.[270]

On the other hand, it is possible to find some empathetical narratives in Ottoman fiction. Innocent Kalyopi in a brothel is mentioned before. In Julie's story, Ahmed Midhat depicts her parents' desperation because of hunger. One night, job-seeking Julie returns home very late but bringing home some food. The whole family hungrily eats together without asking any question to Julie. Ahmed Midhat says, "Jean Depres was so happy eating the food and drinking two glasses of water, he was ready to conclude that his daughter bought these on the cheap even if she had given up her chastity."[271] In *Gayyâ Kuyusu* (The Gayya Abyss)[272], Emine Semiye presents prostitutes who live in terrible conditions and suffer hunger.[273] In the novel, Yektâ, who is one of the main characters, joins them because of consequent events. She is sexually assaulted by a house member named Safâi. Then, she is exposed by the households being accused of another crime fabricated at that moment. While she walks around the streets, poor Yektâ is deceived by her immoral friend Cilve, who says to Yektâ that she

[269] Fatma Aliye, *Udi*, 56–66.

[270] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 2*, 314–34.

[271] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Diplomalı Kız*, 57.

[272] *Gayyâ kuyusu* refers to a terrifying abyss in Hell. Accordingly, it is used for describing dreadful situations. See İlhan Ayverdi, 'Gayyâ Kuyusu', in *Kubbealtı Lugatı*, accessed 10 August 2024, https://lugatim.com/s/gayyâkuyusu.

[273] Emine Semiye, *Gayya Kuyusu*, ed. Ruken Alp et al. (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2015), 203–8.

will take her to the old woman named Pembe Nine but sells Yektâ.[274] The last for here is from Hüseyin Rahmi. He depicts the difficult years with poverty, hunger, and pandemic after the Great War in *Hakk'a Sağındık* (We Have Taken Refuge in God). Hüseyin Rahmi indicates girls who earn money by prostitution during their childhood. He narrates the story of three siblings who lose their parents and must survive on the streets. Nâciye and Nûriye must accept everything to survive including prostitution. The smallest one, Mustafa, dies because of not having the opportunity for getting treatment.[275]

Ömer Seyfeddin's, Emine Semiye's and Hüseyin Rahmi's narratives are products of a period that the Ottomans (including the state, the society, and intellectuals) alarmed because of disasters that brought by the World War I. Prostitution became such a disaster during that period with some related moral or concrete issues like hunger, venereal disease, family, and national image.[276]

During the same period, the Ottomans finally reached their Muslim, diligent, entrepreneur, and of course patriot businessmen—though not in the same form that they had dreamed. These not only self but also state-reliant individuals, shortly war profiteers, emerged as another major moral corruption of the war. If we start from about a decade, the CUP's policies for encouraging Muslim-Turkish citizens for entrepreneurial business started to bear fruit before the war and paved the way for the national economy policies before the war.[277] As Toprak notes, the CUP's contribution was significant in the Muslim-Turkish corporation activities. The CUP considered possible illegitimate profits thinking with the final benefit. Then, Toprak gives reference to a speech by the Ministry of Finance Mehmed Câvid in 1917, which was in the same direction.[278] In addition to the intention of generating corporations for the national policies, the CUP also had to manage the provisioning issue during the war. Thus, it followed interventionist economic policies that paved the way for illegitimate

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[274] Emine Semiye, 180–87.

[275] Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, *Hakk'a Sığındık*, ed. Duygu Turp Kaya (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2021), 146–63.

[276] For more details and evaluations from the sources I use, see Oğuz, *Moral Crisis*, 65–96; and Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*, 482–86.

[277] For a detailed evaluation of the process, see Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*, 118–44.

[278] Toprak, 144.

profits and war profiteers who became targets in the press.[279] Upon failures of provisioning, the CUP decided to tackle the problem of speculation during the last year of the war. To Toprak, the fight against speculation constituted their fundamental contradiction—a middle-class that the CUP can rely on one hand, and deteriorating income distribution on the other.[280] The picture above summarised from Toprak is portrayed from the political perspective. Oğuz indicates a view from intellectual's perspective about war profiteers:

> The authors of articles dealing with war profiteering approached the issue as a moral problem. For them, getting rich off the war was the result of an individualist, self-seeking morality. War profiteers only pursued their own interests, not only economically but also socially. Refik Halid (Karay) wrote an article titled "The War Rich" in *Yeni Mecmua* and expressed that there were two major calamities in the country: louse-borne typhus and war profiteers. According to him, the newly rich thought that being wealthy meant wandering around like a turkey with a full stomach and running after females in the streets. Such rich people, for Karay, did no good for their homeland. They ate, drank, had fun, and showed off. Their money, Karay said, did no good for the country; these newly rich never donated to charity. On the contrary, their way of spending money harmed the public good. At the end of his article, he emphasized that these newly rich had emerged within Ottoman society; they were "domestic products."
>
> Such a description of the war profiteering problem indeed had long- lasting echoes, particularly in literary works. Strikingly, the problem was not deemed a consequence of the economic policies of the ruling party. Instead of discussing the failure of the economic policies of the government, intellectuals concentrated on the immorality of businessmen.[281]

War profiteers and people who gain illicit wealth due to their political connections—while poverty was spreading—were attacked in Ottoman literature. Ömer Seyfeddin, in his story "Niçin Zengin Olmamış?" (Why did not He Become Rich?), expresses his criticisms depicting an interest group. The lead character of the story, who is a teacher and a translator, suffers from the difficulties of war conditions.

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[279] For more evaluations from Toprak that I try to summarise, see Toprak, 407–82.

[280] Toprak, 468, 474.

[281] Oğuz, *Moral Crisis*, 61.

One of his friends makes huge money from trade thanks to a profiteer called Topal İsmâil Hakkı. The lead character joins them, then he also becomes rich. However, he realises that this wealth is generated by a profiteering web whereas people are dying because of hunger. He donates what he earns. Finally, her returns to his modest life.[282]

Hüseyin Rahmi directs harsh accusations in early pages of *Hakk'a Sığındık* against the CUP circles for the reasons like corruption, injustice, favouritism, profiteering, and poverty. In these pages, while depicting the hunger and the poverty that people live in, he presents two notables who enjoy wealth—Hacı Ferhat Efendi and Hâfız İshak Efendi. Both achieve great fortunes with their family members due to their political connections. Hacı Ferhat is not only a favoured man by the CUP rule, but he was also a fortunate one during the Hamidian period. His neighbour Hâfız İshak holds a few significant positions that make him influential.[283]

The last example is from Refik Hâlid's *Ago Paşa'nın Hâtırâtı* (Ago Paşa's Memoires). Refik Hâlid satirises the uneven political atmosphere starting from the Hamidian period until the end of the Empire. Ago Paşa is not neither a soldier nor a notable despite what readers infer from his *paşa* title at first glance. But he is a Senegalese bird, an intelligent parrot. He tells his memoires in Ottoman Istanbul. Throughout his life story, Ago strives to keep satisfied his owners repeating words that they like. The problem he must cope with is the changing owners and the uneven political atmosphere. Ago's words make his owner content one day but makes him or the next owner angry another day during the political clashes and the turmoil.[284] Abovesaid "domestic products" cannot escape from Refik Hâlid's satire. In a period of time, Ago shouts "Long live the final victory!" whereas he actually wishes to shout "Long live peace!". Because he suffers from the famine by the war. He will be able to eat goober if the peace is declared. Meanwhile, he is sold to a war profiteer for two sacks of sugar. Seduced by the abundance in the profiteer's house, he realises that war is quite a good thing. Now, he shouts "Long live war!" wholeheartedly, of course with the enthusiasm of patriotism this time.[285]

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[282] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 2*, 212–21.

[283] Gürpınar, *Hakk'a Sığındık*, 33–42.

[284] Refik Halid Karay, *Ago Paşa'nın Hatıratı* (Istanbul: Inkılâp, 2009).

[285] Karay, 22–23.

Religious hypocrisy should not be omitted in this part. Various types of hypocrites who exploit religion for their own personal interests can be found not only in modern secular Turkish political or intellectual repertoires, but also in the Anatolian folk culture plentifully. However, religious hypocrisy does not appear as much in the literary texts examined for this work. It can be the outcome of intellectual intentions like seeking modernisation projects compatible with Islam, avoiding public reaction, or the pressure of the state. Nonetheless, we are able to find some kinds of these negative types as mentioned before—*dayılar* in *Hüseyin Fellâh* as ones who exploit people's religious feelings; Kâsım, his wife Azize, and his daughter Edibe in *Şıpsevdi* as bigotedly-pious ones who engage in usury (Kâsım[286]), gossiping (Azîze[287]), or adultery (Azize and Edibe[288]); Hacı Ferhad and Hâfız İshak as two notables who enjoy wealth they have accumulated thanks to their political connections during the scarce of the war, whereas they are dubbed religious titles. It seems appropriate to add here the New Ottomans Party from Hâlide Edib's *Yeni Tûrân* as an example in terms of political competition. The mentioned party accuses and slanders its opponent the New Turan Party for violating Islam.[289] As a result of this propaganda, a man fatally attacks the New Turan Party's leader Oğuz and justifies his action claiming the New Turan's stance against the *sharia* and *hijab*.[290]

The last crime that I do not want to forget for this part is traitorship. In the age of patriotism, traitors (or people who have been labelled as in most of cases) have been the biggest internal enemies. A character named İbrâhim in Şemseddin Sâmi's heroic play *Seydi Yahyâ* takes place as a traitor merchant who is only concerned for his profit. After a conversation with İbrâhim on what to do against the enemy, Seydi Yahyâ speaks to his slave Osman complainingly:

> How great to be a merchant! There is no one lives a comfortable life as merchants! Anything except trade is not their duty… Look, the guy causes surrender of his homeland, [but] he goes happily!... It does not prick his conscience. Rather, he is

[286] Gürpınar, *Şıpsevdi*, 379.

[287] Gürpınar, 418.

[288] Gürpınar, 533–34.

[289] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 20, 98.

[290] Adıvar, 113.

satisfied because the disruption to his trade will be extinguished. Because his endeavour for surrendering the city is for this.[291]

These are reflections of Ottoman authors' imaginations in fiction about legitimate and illegitimate ways of earning.

[291] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Semseddin Sami'nin Tiyatroları*, 161.

CHAPTER 3: PRIVATE LIFE

> Wow! Râkım has such enthusiasms, huh!
>
> Why not? Have [people like] Râkım been introduced to you as who don't eat [nor] drink, they don't have masculinity [nor] femininity?
>
> Ahmed Midhat[292]

This chapter focuses on how self-reliant individuals (should) live their private lives. I initiate with decency, as most of authors (not all) did not aim generating bloodless robots working non-stop, but respected individuals living felicitously. The main context of this part is how authors guided their readers for savouring life delights safely—let's say hobbies, habits, love, or sexuality. Then, I continue with prudence, in the context of financial one. This was a major topic of intellectuals of a country that had to cope with both state indebtedness and some social issues arising from spreading means of leisure. Lastly, I focus on family life in Ottoman fiction—issues related to marriage (like arranged marriage and choosing the right spouse) and sound parenting.

3.1. Decency

Let's initiate this part on decency in private life with the explanation quoted from Hafez below, to indicate the general picture which I have found the same in many novels:

> Note that the industrious character is not portrayed as a "good" person, who practices a sublime level of ethics, much less Islamic norms, in novels written by Muslim authors. Neither the heroes nor the anti-heroes were particularly pious. The former, however, functioned within an ethical realm that upheld public security and complied with laws, without particularly referencing religion. Both "good" and "bad" characters engaged in illicit sexual activity. The "heroes" were not presented as saints in terms of controlling their sexual desires. They even engaged in adulterous relationships. Resmi Effendi (a character in *Karnaval*) has a love affair with the young wife of an elderly rich man, who fully trusts Resmi. Elsewhere the dandy (of *Şık*, a novel by Hüseyin Rahmi) wines and dines in night clubs and gets into brawls, while one of the "good" characters, after a long day at work, buys alcohol (*rakı*) and drinks at home (the fact that it is less expensive this way is emphasized), albeit moderately, with his

[292] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 45.

> friends and a lady partner, with whom he sees no shame in cohabiting outside wedlock. These "good" characters were portrayed as good because they were keenly aware of their duties as citizens: they were diligent in their work, frugal, and they understood their position within a larger social organism. They, too, had fun – but their fun prepared them for the next workday.[293]

Courtesy is the first matter I want to touch on related to these "good" and "bad" characters. While Ottoman social life was undergoing drastic changes brought by modernity (such as erosion of separation of spaces by gender as a specific phenomenon, or westernisation as a meta-narrative), proper etiquette [*âdâb-ı muâşeret*] should be taught to the modern Ottoman citizen according to many intellectuals—on the other hand, we should not forget other conservative ones who rejected adopting any cultural value that are products of the West.

We can see how Ahmed Midhat differentiates his exemplary lead (male) heroes and dandy anti-heroes (they too) in gentlemanly behaviour. Râkım is a respected gentleman whom people show their respect many times in the novel—during a dinner or in the theatre. He can establish close relationship with women—he can visit or host his friend Josepino at home and can pass time with his two English girl pupils for fun whereas their parents feel no discomfort from the situation. When Felâtun enviously asks Râkım about his friendships with women, Râkım signals his behaviour that does not attempt to ingratiate them. On the contrary, the dandy anti-hero cannot get respect in any place. In addition, Felâtun appears as a character with his clumsiness and donnishness.[294] *Bahtiyârlık*'s dandy Senâi is an example of rusticity. He is the son of a rural notable and lusts for living in city, especially in European cities. Despite all his endeavour for assuming a pose of westernised man in luxury, he cannot be satisfied while his rusticity makes him ridiculous.[295] We find another example in *Karnaval*. Clever hero Resmî becomes a family friend for the Arslangözyans impressing them with his gentlemanliness. His dandy friend Zekâi meets the Arslangözyans thanks to Resmî's presentation. He also gets respect at first glance due to the reputation of his family. However, while enjoying the wealth provided by his father, Zekâi is kept on a

[293] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 164–65.

[294] For a few cases from the novel, see Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 48, 52–53, 57, 59–61, 68.

[295] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 19–28.

tight leash by him. As a result, Zekâi has little experience of life and thinks that he can achieve whatever he wants with his money and command. When arrogant Zekâi desires Madam Hamparsun Arslangözyan, he declares his love confidently. Madame makes a warning to Zekâi to not do the same again, then she threats him upon his insistence. Zekâi considers all her reaction as a stage of affectation.[296] Later on, after Hamparsun Ağa dismisses Madam Hampursun because of her affair with Resmî, Zekâi dandyishly visits and talks to the madame with the intentions of both revenging and acquiring her. As this attitude drives Madam Hamparsun crazy, she shows her fury against Zekâi.[297] Coming back to Resmî, we can add another detail from *Karnaval* to underline the reputation of the hero. When Madam Hamparsun tells her fellow servant Madam Küpeliyan about her interest in attending a ball during the season of Carnival, she expresses her desire for Resmî to accompany her.[298]

Nasuh and Zekâ of *Paris'te Bir Türk* present another contrast of courtesy and set a different case which enables us to see Ahmed Midhat's feelings against the Europeans and his endeavour to correct the Ottoman image in their eyes. I think one might conclude that being a son of an *ulama* member[299], Nasuh is an Ottoman who has strong ties with his own identity since his early years. A few times in the novel, he debates with some Europeans about their views on the Ottoman people, Islam, and the Europeans.[300] In a *soirée* in Paris, Nasuh participates in the event where people drink and gamble. The confident Ottoman gentleman makes explanations about polygamy for defending Islam. A few women there who look down on this Ottoman man and seek some fun ridiculing him feel embarrassment upon facing Nasuh's knowledge and gentlemanliness.[301] In addition, this self-confident man like Râkım can talk with his female friends freely (but also soberly).[302] In contrast, dandy Zekâ in the novel who jealously competes with Nasuh in Paris gets into trouble because of his unkind,

[296] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Karnaval*, 61–71.

[297] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 329–30.

[298] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 194–95.

[299] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 127.

[300] See Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 39–47, 294–304, 596–99.

[301] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 170–83.

[302] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 189–205.

womaniser and fun-loving character. This laughingstock of French newspapers presents a bad sample of Ottomans in the European eyes.[303]

Nonetheless, Ahmed Midhat does not omit warning his readers about being tough when needed. Here, I draw attention to an anecdote about him first, which is as follows: Three Greek youths [*palikaryalar*] are sent to Pavli's coffeehouse to beat Ahmed Midhat up, where he loves writing there. Yet, Pavli secretly tips Ahmed Midhat off. In a short time, Ahmed Midhat comes. Pointing three men, he asks Pavli whether these are "those hoodlums". While Pavli becomes tongue-tied, Ahmed Midhats beat all those youths up severely. The police comes and rescues two of them whereas the other flees.[304] Familiarly, in a night that Nasuh carries a significant amount of money (that he earns from gamble), two thieves threat him drawing out their daggers. Taking out the skewer hidden in his walking stick, he gets into a fight with both until the police comes.[305] Parallels between Ahmed Midhat and his characters are pointed in this study a few times. Those who are more knowledgeable about his writings probably would find more of such cases.

Let's continue through characters and themes in Ottoman fiction about savouring life delights. I want to refer here to Ahmed Midhat's Râkım and Nasuh as his role models of industrious self-reliant characters—who know how to get pleasure out of life never overstepping the mark. Râkım's interest in theatre is already said. The seventh chapter of *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* is dedicated for a happy picnic day. Râkım goes to Kağıthane with Josepino, Cânan, and Fedâi. Râkım invites Josepino for staying overnight to be able to go early next day. The joy starts at home previous night with eating, drinking, and listening to Cânan's piano. They pass a beautiful day including drinking, eating, boating, and playing together.[306] Other examples from Râkım are mentioned later. In *Paris'te Bir Türk*, Ahmed Midhat makes an explanation for Nasuh's confident lifestyle in every circumstance: "Probably, there are some among my readers who think that propriety and chastity are just being grown within

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[303] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 605.

[304] See Taner Ay, 'Ahmed Midhat Efendi ve palikaryalar', *Karar*, 31 July 2023, https://www.karar.com/gorusler/ahmed-midhat-efendi-ve-palikaryalar-1773131.

[305] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 372–73.

[306] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 95–114.

exact deprivation, [and] not learning anything." After a few rows, he mentions a story from Sādi Shīrāzī narrating how a lone ascetic gives up all his devotion being seduced by the pleasure in a city when he comes there from the mountain where he was living.[307]

In accordance with the quote from Hafez a few pages back, Ahmed Midhat's message for his readers through his novels is to not exceed (some) limits and to not let their joy to infect their duties. While some feelings and a confusion arouse in Râkım's heart due to his position between Josepino, Cânan, and two English girls; Râkım never neglects his duties. He spends what he earns for the household—nanny Fedâi and Cânan. When he has extra, his nanny saves the surplus.[308] In the same direction, Ahmed Midhat makes a statement in *Hüseyin Fellâh*: "For instance, you can have some emotions !.. But your adherence to duty strives for prevailing over these emotions until they vanish."[309] Mîzancı Murad's Mansur should be added here as one, who is more attached to religious and traditional values. An event that Mansur show his professionalism (or let's say self-control) goes like that: Sabiha who desires the charismatic doctor malingers to exhibit her body to Mansur. She lies down on the bed and tells that she has a pain in her chest. Whereas Sabiha tries to seduce the doctor showing him her breasts, the lusting woman's endeavours make no impression on the serious doctor who gives all his attention for seeking the problem. During the examination, Sabiha gets steamed up when Mansur refers to her breasts as flesh [*kaba et*].[310]

There is a specific point about Ahmed Midhat that I want to draw attention, regarding to the subject of hobbies. The first master expresses his passion for the sea through Râkım and Sulhi. They both relish passing time in the sea. Ahmed Midhat depicts Râkım's moments during boating with his English friend Misters Ziklas and Ziklas's two daughters—who are Râkım's students. After the depiction of how they enjoy, Ahmed Midhat feels a necessity to make an explanation about industrious Râkım's habits about enjoying life stating that he is a human who has desires, but a

[307] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 466.

[308] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 64–65.

[309] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hüseyin Fellâh*, 230.

[310] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 176–78.

decent man who can control them—accordingly, Ahmed Midhat makes familiar explanations a few times in the novel. At the same place with this depiction of Râkım's and the Ziklas family's fun while boating, Ahmed Midhat narrates one of their occasions that Felâtun accompanies them. Biggish waves lift the boat and then crash it to the water surface under the southwest wind. The English family enjoys this so much while the dandy of the novel yells "Mommy!" being scared. The English have fun with wannabe dandy Felâtun's behaviour.[311] Sulhi in *Para!* is also interested in boating. Although he is the dandy of the novel who has many disapproved habits and manners, Ahmed Midhat defends his anti-hero's interest in the sea. He denounces some authors who write even in newspapers against the interest in the sea, calling them "lots of wiseacres" [*pek çok ukala*]. To disprove them, he remarks that all activities even the safest ones have dangers. Later, he compares it with hunting claiming that the interest in the sea is gentler. The interest of a public in the sea helps navigation which leads development in industry, trade, politics, and science. Then, Ahmed Midhat asks, "Besides, is the pleasure aspect of sea a thing that is not liked?"[312] In my opinion, these rows remind Ahmed Midhat's assertions on the Turks' shortcomings in terms of sedentarism, which are elaborated more in the "A Member of the Nation" part of the last chapter.

Before engaging in some fun affairs in novels (mostly illicit ones which are subjects of authors' warnings), it would be proper to share some place for prominent places of entertainment where many events in Ottoman fiction usually take place.[313] Beyoğlu (Pera) is one of the most prominent places for the late Ottoman Turkish literature as a place of cultural diversity, relations with Europeans, entertainment; and related anxieties like self-awareness, own values, and moral questions. In the novels examined here, the entertainment place of many events is Beyoğlu. Nonetheless in general, the entertainment there is not approved, describing Beyoğlu is the place of drunkenness, adultery, gambling, and shaggy entertainment centres. In *Para!*, Ahmed Midhat shares a few paragraphs for entertainment places in Beyoğlu. Despite his negative depiction in the novel, Ahmed Midhat appreciates dandy Sulhi's sense and

[311] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 45–46.

[312] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Para*, 33–34.

[313] For a short evaluation of the places mentioned here (from a study that I use) in the context of social life, see Gülali, 'Ahmed Midhat'ın Romanları', 61–66.

experience due to not preferring entertainments in Beyoğlu. To the author, there is the place of inferior funs where spendthrifts lavish their money. Ottomans who have self-respect should not go to these places, yet even its inhabitants seldom visit.[314] Mardin also draws attention to Ahmed Midhat's negative view on Beyoğlu underlining the contrast between peoples of two sides of the Golden Horn; "(…) the Muslim people of old Istanbul both hate and are afraid of people who are improving steadily and look down on them with insolence of self-confidence in the opposite side of the Golden Horn."[315]

Kağıthâne appears as the picnic area in some novels—*Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* and *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?* are the ones examined in this study. National gardens [*millet bahçeleri*] were remarkable places of social life for the Ottoman society the nineteenth century. Two failed lead characters—Bihruz in *Araba Sevdâsı* and Ali in *İntibâh*—meet their beloveds in the Garden of Çamlıca. In Refik Hâlid's *Ago Paşa*, these gardens are mentioned in a political context. During the Hamidian period, specifically Ago's first days in Istanbul, Ago lives in a bird shop across Sultanahmet Square. Upon Ago yells "Let's go to the national garden!", two policemen come to the shop. Because of this event, Ago infuriates the shopkeeper. He starts to teach Ago not say "the national garden", but "the municipal garden".[316]

Now, we can continue with love affairs and sexuality cases in the examined literary texts. In previous chapters, women's participation in social life is scrutinised in terms of labour force. This time, the context here is love affairs. Hanioğlu notes these a few sentences for new relations between men and women during the nineteenth century: "The new visibility of women led to new forms of flirtation; one method employed by Istanbul's pedestrians was to try to grab the attention of women in passing coaches by waving or passing notes to them."[317]

In the context of increasing encounters of men and women in daily life, there are many examples of failed characters including dandies in late Ottoman literary texts—who suffer from immoral women whom they fall in love with. Nâmık Kemal

[314] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Para*, 29–30.

[315] Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV*, 42.

[316] Karay, *Ago Paşa'nın Hatıratı*, 9.

[317] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 105.

narrates two lead characters in one novel and one play: Ali in *İntibâh* and Âkif in *Âkif Bey*. The former one is the tragedy of a young diligent man who falls in love with an evil woman Mehpeyker. When Ali learns who his beloved really is, wants to get rid of her. At the end, Ali can do this only when he kills her. However, not only his life but also his small family is also ruined by his affair with the evil woman.[318] One might say that Âkif's story follows a familiar path. Âkif is a patriot Ottoman soldier and marries an imposter woman named Dilrübâ. When Âkif joins the army due to the Crimean War, he leaves her beloved wife. Dilrübâ is a wicked woman who always deceives men through marriage. This time, Dilrübâ deceives everyone telling them Âkif has died in the war and targets another man named Esad. Dilrübâ makes ready the required people like false witnesses for her plot. Âkif suffers deep desperation when he realises Dilrübâ's deed. At the end of the play, Âkif and Esad kill each other, then Âkif's father Süleyman kills Dilrübâ.[319] A few other examples from Ahmed Midhat's characters who face consequences of having relationship with immoral women are previously mentioned—remember two couples: Felâtun and Polini, Mustafâ and Hediye. Another dandy case in this context is narrated by Hüseyin Rahmi in *Şık*. Dandy Şöhret's story ended in the jail because of an immoral woman named Madam Potiş, who involves Şöhret in crime.[320] A last one is from Nâbizâde Nâzım's novel *Zehra*. Suphi leaves her wife Zehra for his slave Sırrıcemal, then he does the same to Sırrıcemal for Urani. The last one is a woman who is trained in the brothel since her childhood, arranged by Zehra for revenge, and succeeded in but killed by Suphi. At a page through the end of the novel, desperate Suphi—who loses his wealthy life and family because of his affair with Urani—compares his previous sweet life with his current firefighter one, with feeling ashamed of himself and a remorse with old memoirs.[321]

In addition to males, authors touched on women's side in terms of chastity. A few examples are previously mentioned. Let's remember some of cases that set bad examples—Madam Hamparsun's regret after her affair with Resmî in *Karnaval*, Dürdâne who finally commits suicide at the end of the novel titled with her name[322],

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[318] Namık Kemal, *İntibah*.

[319] Namık Kemal, *Akif Bey* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2019).

[320] Gürpınar, *(Ayna) Şık*.

[321] Nabizade Nâzım, *Zehra*, 155.

[322] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Dürdane Hanım*, 157.

and Helvila who seduces Bedia's husband Mâil in *Ûdî*. The matter is dealt in some novels through regret of extramarital pregnancy as in *Dürdâne Hanım*. In *Hasan Mellâh Yâhûd Sır İçinde Esrâr*, a modest woman named Madame İlia struggles for a while because of her husband's escape from her. During her sad and confused mood, a depraved man named Trillo from the crew of the ship they live on entices Madam İlia. The regretful woman jumps into the sea in shame upon feeling the baby she bears.[323] In those pages, Ahmed Midhat warns about great evils that lust can bring, the pain that the child will have to suffer, and women's responsibility to their families in terms of their chastity.[324] Lastly, Hüseyin Rahmi depicts regrets of two characters named Rebia and Zarâfet because of extramarital pregnancy in *Şıpsevdi*. Differently, their regrets do not stem from their chastity, but the pain they suffer during secret abortion at night.[325] The author uses a teasing tone for narrating such immoralities. The novel includes some other cases of adultery. For a notable one, in later pages in the novel, three thieves enter the house nightly, but they do not steal anything. Finally, it is understood that these are not thieves, but men visit Meftun's sister and Mâhir's wife Lebibe, Kâsım's wife Azize, and Meftun's wife Edibe.[326]

As authorities carried some concerns for new types of relationship among people in the new public places[327], some criticisms on obscene relations between men and women can be found in some novels. When Râkım invites Josepino to Kağıthâne, she is reluctant to go first. As she tells her experience, she went there on a Sunday with some of her friends; but did not enjoy the place because of being caged in the vehicle while the others had fun with womanisers roaming around them like thieves.[328] Mîzancı Murad describes some familiar scenes from Kağıthâne. Mansur and Zehra are irritated in occasions there independently from each other. Mansur goes to Kağıthâne with İsmâil. İsmâil realises that Mansur is an obstacle for his fun at the first time and

[323] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 241.

[324] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 229–31; Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Karnaval*, 323.

[325] Gürpınar, *Şıpsevdi*, 403–9, 323.

[326] Gürpınar, 530–36.

[327] For a sample of such concerns, Çelik notes the prohibition of Turkish women from walking or riding in carriages in the Taksim Garden. See Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 70.

[328] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 95.

does not tend to go with Mansur again. Likewise, Mansur absolutely decides to not accompany him even if İsmâil implores. During her early years in Istanbul, Zehra visits Kağıthâne with her relatives. Obscene relations with foreigners (that also her relatives engage in and enjoy) drive Zehra crazy. Disappointed, embarrassed, and furious Zehra stays at the mansion and does not go out with them again.[329] Another sample is from *Şıpsevdi*. Many characters of the novel lose their self-control and engage in relationships openly and recklessly in an *alla franca* ball. After all the uproar, the lead character Meftun—who is the teaching prophet of the European way of life—decides to give coquetry lessons.[330]

Another phenomenon related to the sexuality issue in the late Ottoman times that Hanioğlu notes was "the intrusion of European sexual mores into Ottoman society, and the consequent stigmatization of homosexuality". Quoting some lines from Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's observations on the mentioned issue, he states, "apparently, this factor was partly responsible for a shift in sexual behavior among men of the elite, from the traditional preoccupation with boys to an increasing interest in women."[331] In accordance with this, only two cases of homosexuality take place in the examined novels—both are criminal and from Ahmed Midhat. The first one is from *Hüseyin Fellâh*. In early pages of the novel, Şehlevend and Hasnâ saves Civelek Mustafa who is left by his janissary murderers who suppose him dead. This event that ends with attempt to murder begins with a janissary's sexual desire towards Civelek in a tavern. Chaste and brave Civelek smacks on the janissary's face and grapples with others.[332] The second case is from *Dürdâne Hanım*. A clever character of the novel named Sohbet kills a rough man named Cemal who sexually bullies him before. This case is elaborated more in the coming part.

Alcohol consumption is a habit authors gave place in their literary works but approaching it varyingly. I want to make a few quotations for introduction. Abdülhamit Kırmızı claims a "rising trend of global alcohol consumption" which "continued in the

[329] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 150, 155–61.

[330] Gürpınar, *Şıpsevdi*, 487–511, 515.

[331] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 105.

[332] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hüseyin Fellâh*, 19–30.

Hamidian era".[333] In his same article on alcohol consumption in the late Ottoman bureaucracy, he concludes that "what mattered was keeping social order intact and avoiding public disturbances" for the authorities' treatment to drunken officials.[334] Oğuz also makes her statements almost in the same direction. After reminding some regulations during the Tanzimat era, she gives a brief picture of the Ottomans' varying modern approaches:

> A closer look at prohibitive measures shows that they were far from effective. Along with financial interests, the factor of "resistance of drinkers" contributed to the failure of prohibitive projects. (…) Until the nineteenth century, this habit was "hidden" from the public. Starting in the second half of the nineteenth century, alcohol consumption was embraced by the Ottoman Muslim elite as "an indicator of the modern lifestyle." This allowed religious critics to label alcohol consumption the result of "over-Westernization" and to identify it with the decline of Muslim morality. This moralistic discourse was later reinforced by the rise of a medical discourse against alcohol.
>
> Starting in the nineteenth century, both prohibitive and liberal discourses regarding alcohol had political and cultural implications. Embracing such habits or rejecting them constituted the basis for discussions about perceptions of European civilization. In religiously motivated circles, prohibitive discourses on alcohol served the purpose of establishing moral authority. In this respect, the morality discourse went hand in hand with the contest over the public space.[335]

A detail that should be examined here is the link between alcohol consumption and westernisation. Although many Ottoman people, Ottoman writers and contemporary historians have considered alcohol consumption with westernisation, according to Kırmızı, "its rise in the Tanzimat times did not necessarily relate to an enlightened ruler or reforming ruling elites".[336] For proving this, Kırmızı indicates alcohol-consuming officials from provinces who did not get high education and some other ones from *ulama* circles.[337]

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[333] Abdülhamit Kırmızı, 'The Drunken Officials of Abdülhamid II: Alcohol Consumption in the Late Ottoman Bureaucracy', *Revue Des Mondes Musulmans et de La Méditerranée*, no. 151 (2022): 89.

[334] Kırmızı, 103.

[335] Oğuz, *Moral Crisis*, 111–12.

[336] Kırmızı, 'Drunken Officials', 89.

[337] See Kırmızı, 90, 96–98.

We can turn to fiction again. Despite Ahmed Midhat's all Islamic emphasises in his novels, he does not seem to show any religious sensitivity against alcohol. Even for a too insistent position that seeks ties with one of the *Hanafi* views—which claims that wine is prohibited while others can be consumed unless drunkenness[338]—it is not easy to find a sensitivity in his texts. First, the consumed amounts are not small in many scenes that his exemplary characters depicted drinking. Second, Ahmed Midhat narrates an occasion that Nasuh drinks wine with students in Paris.[339] Not only Nasuh but also many of his exemplary characters freely consume alcohol—including Ahmed Midhat himself in *Müşâhedât*. Further, one might say that he encourages drinking at some pages. *Dürdâne Hanım* starts with the author's descriptions of bars in Galata.[340] His narration does not follow neither an irritated man's nor stranger's manner despite a few rows on criminals. In a scene that Râkım and Josepino drink while listening to Cânan's piano, Ahmed Midhat tells Fedâi's discontent with drinking occasions. But Dadı Kalfa Fedâi does not express her discontent to the idealised man of the novel.[341] After all, Ahmed Midhat's all approved alcohol-consuming heroes drink responsibly. Drinking is one their means for enjoying life. They never lose themselves or hurt anyone. Not surprisingly, Ahmed Midhat rejects intoxication. In *Karnaval*, a drunken character named Nizâmi laments for his beloved Elena who flights to Europe as dandy Zekâi's mistress. The desperate vagabond becomes addicted to alcohol. Even though he receives treatment, one day, he jumps off a minaret claiming that he flies. Ahmed Midhat closes that part praying God for protecting drunken people before they perish in such a consequence.[342]

In *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?*, Doctor Mehmed is a clever and pious man who performs five-time prayer. On the other hand, he consumes raki whereas his mate Mansur never drinks. As Mehmed consumes small amounts, Mansur does not say anything to him. It is assumable that Mîzancı Murad displays religious sensitivity as

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[338] For a short evaluation of views in the *Hanafi* school, see Mustafa Baktır, 'İçki', in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2000), 460, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/icki.

[339] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 415–23.

[340] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Dürdane Hanım*, 9–14.

[341] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 104–5.

[342] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Karnaval*, 373–77.

his appreciated fictional character consumes alcohol in accordance with the limits of one of the views within the *Ḥanafī* school.[343]

Alcohol appears as a reason of calamity or a false cure of desperate days in some fictions. Nâmık Kemal's Âkif drinks too much in suffer upon he realises that he is deceived by his wife Dilrübâ.[344] Alcohol takes place as the reason of a family disaster in Fatma Aliye's *Ûdî*. Bedia's father Nazmi seems as that he has given up his habit of debauchery which he had enjoyed but then regretted so much during his youth. "He seems" because indeed he continues secretly while the family members act as if they are not aware of Nazmi's situation. However, Nazmi is sincerely regretful and does not want to his son Şemî to be used to the same faults as him. When Nazmi sees Şemî—who has been already used to consume alcohol—while drunken at home one night, a big fight breaks out.[345]

The last matter for this part is gambling, which is also criticised in novels. It has been an uncelebrated action as prohibited by Islam. However, like alcohol, gambling too has been also spread among public. Mesut Yolal reserves the first part for a brief history of gambling in the Ottoman Empire, in his PhD thesis.[346] In short, it was an act that was punished in accordance with the *sharia* in various ways. The period that kinds of gambling spread over the empire was the nineteenth century. This phenomenon brought many moral criticisms and worries for public order as expected. The moment that gambling became a serious issue that tackled with measures was the Armistice period, the last years of the empire. It became a signifier of corruption—such as in cases of unemployed people who spend time for gambling during the difficult war conditions or leaving religious practices.[347]

For the fictions' side, Ahmed Midhat's some dandies go bankrupt because of gambling. Due to Polini's exacerbation for playing more and more (which is indeed a plot), dandy Felâtun loses huge amounts in gamble.[348] Senâi—the dandy in *Bahtiyârlık*

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[343] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 135.

[344] Namık Kemal, *Akif Bey*, 80.

[345] Fatma Aliye, *Udi*, 31–48.

[346] See Yolal, 'Şans Oyunları ve Kumar'.

[347] Yolal, 25–55.

[348] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 117–18.

who dreams of living in European cities—goes to Europe for legal education but returns without completing his education. His achievement there is to lose his possessions gambling and getting into trouble.[349] Mîzancı Murad also touches on gambling. In his novel, İsmâil used to go to Beyoğlu for gambling. At the occasion he goes to Beyoğlu with Mansur, the lead hero does not let İsmâil to approach the table.[350] Distinctly, exemplary hero Nasuh in Paris is not targeted by Ahmed Midhat for gambling. After a long conversation in an event, Nasuh is invited for playing whist. The Ottoman man hesitates first but accepts to not offend his mates. Nonetheless, as can be expected from a clever and sparing hero created by Ahmed Midhat, he feels ease due to leaving the game with neither profit nor loss.[351] In a place on later pages, Nasuh gambles again and wins. He gives the money to a woman and explains his gambling to another woman friend indicating fierce insistence of others.[352]

The examined Ottoman fictions in this study contain so many materials related to the realm of private life. Ottoman authors' worries about Ottoman people, especially youths, are clear in most of these literary texts. They had warnings to their audience about living (or in other words, enjoying) cautiously and honourably during the period that entertainment opportunities spread, including harmful ones.

3.2. Prudence

It would be proper to start with reminding the summary of the economic and political contexts that many Ottoman authors felt a necessity to put the emphasis on financial prudence. As touched on in the part on entrepreneurship in the first chapter, the old Ottoman understanding of economic rule was replaced by a liberal one during the last years of Mahmud II's reign, which prevailed during the Tanzimat period. Later, some reactions to the liberal policies were expressed by some writers who were worried for the weakening empire in the political and economic realms *vis-à-vis* the Europeans.

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[349] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 45–54.

[350] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 150–51.

[351] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 183.

[352] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 370–75.

For the financial side, the Ottomans had to manage huge financial deficits occurred by various reasons related to the modern world—including ones which were necessities like required sources for reforms or war finance, and other fancy ones like palace expenditures. To overcome the problem, Ottoman decision-makers employed various means of finance instead of the classical one which became outdated: debasement [*tağşiş*]. As one of the financial novelties during the nineteenth century, *kâime*s were introduced—as government bonds first and then as paper money. It should be mentioned here that earliest modern financial institutions in the Ottoman capital were founded for providing required sources for the state finance during the mid-century. External debt was another new source of funds for the Ottomans. Nonetheless, rather than solving problems, the last caused one of the bitter experiences of the last century for the empire, which was an early well-known event of the Hamidian period.[353] Quoting Hanioğlu's short evaluation on the Ottoman Public Debt Administration would be proper:

> In spite of the sultan's determined efforts to downsize the bureaucracy and balance the budget, the Ottoman debt ballooned after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78, precipitating a grave financial crisis. In 1879, the government formed a special administration to manage the payment of interest and amortization on a loan of Lt 8.72 million borrowed from Galata bankers. This authority collected certain taxes and monopoly revenues to pay off the debt. In 1881, the sultan decreed a restructuring of the Ottoman debt. Consequently, the debt was reduced from 239.5 million to Lt 125.3 million, and yearly interest and amortization payments dropped from 13.2 million to 7.6 million. A new Public Debt Administration, formed in 1881 in fulfillment of one of the stipulations of the Berlin Congress, was to administer all Ottoman debt, including the payment of war indemnities to Russia. Its management consisted of a representative of the Galata bankers as well as representatives from the Netherlands and all the Great Powers but Russia. The Administration assumed collection duties for various Ottoman revenues, such as those accruing from the salt monopoly, the fisheries, and the tobacco tithe, and used them to pay off 5 percent of the Ottoman debt each year (consisting of 1 percent principal and 4 percent interest). Between 1881–82 and 1911–12, the income of this body rose from Lt 2.54 million to Lt 8.16 million,

[353] For more information and evaluations from the source I use here, see Şevket Pamuk, *Uneven Centuries: Economic Development of Turkey Since 1820* (Princeton, New Jersey; Oxford, UK: Princeton University Press, 2018), 103–11.

> and its share in the total revenues of the state from 17 percent to 27 percent. Negative public reaction to the Public Debt Administration played a significant role in the emergence of Turkism and, later, of Turkish nationalism.[354]

While some Tanzimat bureaucrats were discussing about what to do[355], intellectuals (from not only the Tanzimat era, but also the Hamidian and the Constitutional period) directed their criticisms towards the decision-makers and upper-class people of the Tanzimat period. These critics indicated causes of the problem they were facing such as extravagant lifestyle at the palace, unconscious borrowing, wrong policies, overstaffing, and waste.[356] Here is an intriguing anecdote from Coşkun Çakır's study that exhibits extravagance and unconscious borrowing of the period:

> There is an event that takes place in the process of the building of Dolmabahçe Palace, which is meaningful for displaying both the mentality of the period, and the accumulation [of knowledge] and attitude of statesmen on these matters. While Sultan Aziz is inspecting the palace that is under construction, he asks the minister of the Imperial Treasury about how much costs the building. The answer he receives is "3500 *kuruş*". Meaning, [the minister] tells the cost of the required paper and ink for printing the money spent. If taken into consideration that one *kâime* of one million *kuruş* costs 10 *kuruş*, it comes into view that the real cost is 3.5 million *kuruş*.[357]

The difficult situation that the Ottoman Empire fell in because of the huge external debt finds some footprint in the literary texts examined for this thesis—these footprints also manifest some common criticisms towards the Tanzimat rule. There are two examples that I want to point from Mîzancı Murad. The first one is from the beginning of the novel, the scene that Mansur looks ahead from the deck without giving no attention to anything other. This is the first time that the young man comes to the imperial centre—he was born in Algeria to a Circassian mother, a native Turkish-speaker, and has strong feelings of Ottomanness. His demeanour changes for short whiles at the moments he hears words about Büyükdere and embassies. This view repeats when Mansur hears the Royal Pier [*Hünkâr İskelesi*] and Balta Liman. For the

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[354] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 135–36.

[355] For more details, see Çakır, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Maliyesi*, 141–75.

[356] For more details, see Çakır, 177–215; and Demir, 'Osmanlı'da İktisadî Dergicilik', 193–97, 301–9.

[357] Çakır, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Maliyesi*, 82.

second one, let's remember the discussion mentioned before on officials and some governmental issues between Mansur and Emin Paşa. The budget deficit and the current fiscal policy of debt spiral annoy Mansur. But these are not the only problems. Mansur is also shocked by Emin Paşa's recklessness for the future. When Mansur asks Emin Paşa for his decisions, Emin Paşa answers him putting emphasis on prioritising saving the day. Upon disappointed Mansur asks Emin Paşa whether he is joking, the pasha gets angry. Mansur also asks him whether he has a clear conscience. The pasha replies that he does as he has found and what he is obligated. This answer drives Mansur crazy, but he objects hiding his anger.[358] These cases reflect Mîzancı Murad's and many others' negative opinions about the period which had started with the Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of Balta Liman and brought the Ottoman Public Debt Administration.

Another sample of the same discontent is from Ahmed Midhat, which targets the Régie Company. In *Henüz 17 Yaşında*, at the end of a long effort, lead hero Ahmed convinces Kalyopi to tell her story of falling in the brothel. Seventeen-year-old Kalyopi starts with her father Yorgaki's business to tell her own tragedy: He was a tobacco merchant who owns two shops—one in their village and one in Istanbul. He cohabitated with his brothers in their house can be said that has upper-middle conditions for a village. Since the Régie Company, his fathers' business started to get worsen. Kalyopi's father sold the company's tobacco and cigarettes for a while. Upon realising it has no benefit, Yorgaki begins barkeeping. Kalyopi defines their new living conditions tolerable.[359] Nonetheless, the Régie Company affects their lives. The important point here, I think, all in all, the company is at the beginning of Kalyopi's tragedy that Ahmed Midhat fictionalises.

These were economic and political contexts of the intellectual interest in financial prudence. For the social aspect of the issue, Mardin points the negative public reaction against extravagance of upper-class people and mentions some well-known names—like Ahmed Midhat, Ali Suâvi, and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa who wrote in this direction.[360] One of Mardin's main arguments in the same article is that the dandy type

[358] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 267–68.

[359] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Henüz 17 Yaşında*, 161.

[360] See Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV*, 47–55.

displayed by Bihruz and other wannabe, lavish, know-it-all ones in fictions was one of the modern reflections against the Ottoman upper-class.

Now, let's continue through how characters in fictions live their private lives in terms of prudence. Ahmed Midhat's lead heroes and anti-heroes differ in how they use their opportunities. The diligent heroes make wealth whereas the anti-heroes lavish theirs, which are usually inherited. Râkım is the winner of his story while his friend Felâtun loses his whole wealth at the end. Combining with his habit of gamble, Felâtun's lavish lifestyle takes away his extravagant life from him. Felâtun is used to extravagance since his childhood as his sister. Ahmed Midhat tells that their *alla franca* father Mustafa Merâkî was obliged to buy first and dress his children up with whatever in vogue in Beyoğlu.[361] In another story, *Bahtiyârlık*'s hero Şinâsi is a prudent man who intelligently uses his money. Accordingly, he has an economic mind that does not refrain from getting into required debt for his investments. Contrarily, his friend, the loser dandy, the anti-hero of the novel, Senâi's extravagance starts during his education. The rude young man from rural lusts for a wealthy life in city. He becomes so active in nightlife. Senâi hopes to achieve a high social status spending more. Because of his extravagance, he lavishes his valuable goods provided by his parents.[362]

Beyond these dichotomic narratives, there are some other characters by Ahmed Midhat that should be presented here. These characters take the stages with their financial prudence. At the end of her story, Julie talks with her parents about her ledger that contains the account of five weeks. She also tells her parents that she can tell their annual budget if they want. Then, her mother Polini takes a pen and writes on paper what Julie tells.[363] Sohbet in *Dürdâne Hanım* is Ahmed Midhat's another prudent hero. He is a young slave at the beginning of his story. During his youth, Sohbet smartly uses the money he earns and saves a good amount. Unfortunately, he cannot enjoy his small capital because of a man named Cemal Ağa. Cemal disturbs Sohbet molesting him frequently. Sohbet's resist against Cemal's bully makes Cemal furious. Slandering Sohbet, bully Cemal sends him to jail for theft. After getting out of jail, Sohbet kills

[361] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 11.

[362] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 23–28.

[363] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Diplomalı Kız*, 118–20.

Cemal.[364] Sohbet is of course sentenced and suffers the consequences. Leastwise, he is awarded by Ahmed Midhat at the end of the novel with marrying the strongest character of the novel, Ulviye.[365]

I want to add here a prudent hero and a lavish man from another author. Mehmed Tâhir's child hero is presented as an exemplary figure for prudence. As said before, the young boy saves his very small amount of money instead of buying food until he makes enough capital though he suffers hunger.[366] In the next page, Mehmed Tâhir slots a scene of a chic man. The chic ignores our lead hero who is begging. Then, he pays for cartage to not walk until Eminönü. There, he pays again this time for boatage to go to Galata. Mehmed Tâhir expostulates the chic because of the amount he spends instead of walking and giving such an amount to a poor in need.[367]

Spendthrifts should not be omitted while engaging in lavish characters. Recâizâde's Bihruz, consumes only the inheritance for his extravagant life. As a lazy official who goes to work seldom, he spends his time for entertainment. His passion for taking a ride by vehicle, his fondness for fashion, and his *alla franca* habits vanish his inherited properties. Only a few ones remain. However, Bihruz thinks that there is no end of the property just as all other spendthrifts.[368] High interest in fashion and adornment are also Şöhret's characteristics in Hüseyin Rahmi's *Şık*. Nevertheless, this dandy has not financial power like typical spendthrift dandies.[369] Contrary to Bihruz and Şöhret, Refet in Ahmed Midhat's *Müşâhedât* is a spendthrift who smartens up. His notable father passes away while Refet's youth. The young boy wastes the inheritance that he possesses in the same way with many spendthrifts. Differently, Refet is a clever youth who comes to his senses. He starts to serve under Seyyid Mehmed Nûman. Now, he keeps his hopes for future. Ahmed Midhat presents Refet as an exemplary model

[364] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Dürdane Hanım*, 106–16.

[365] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 158–59.

[366] Mehmet Tahir, *Dersaadet'te Emek*, 26.

[367] Mehmet Tahir, 27.

[368] Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası: Musavver Milli Hikâye* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2021), 24–28.

[369] Gürpınar, *(Ayna) Şık*, 36.

for spendthrifts.[370] It should be reminded that the first master himself has such a period during his youth.[371]

In two cases from the examined novels, we can assume a warning to wealthy people for getting ready for difficult days as it might be needed suddenly. A few positively depicted characters fail in prudence while their later hard times. These characters are members of wealthy families but lose their prosperous life when the goodmen of their houses pass away. Şehlevend and her mother Hasnâ are the ones from Ahmed Midhat's *Hüseyin Fellâh*, and Sâbite is another from Emine Semiye's *Sefâlet*. They must live in horrible poverty during a period of their lives. Because of their habituation of spend in wealth and lack of saving praxis, they lose their little possessions during early days of the mentioned new difficult stages.[372]

Extravagance is not the only refused extreme, greed is also another refused one by authors. In Ahmed Midhat's *Karnaval*, Hamparsun Ağa whom Resmî frequently visits his house sets a bad example in this sense. The Arslangözyans and Resmî talk about Hamparsun Ağa's investments on fields which are going to increase in value. Hamparsun Ağa willingly tells his plans for buying more fields that will appreciate ten times and will provide him a life like English lords. Hamparsun Ağa is still fifty years old, he is going to be a seventy-year-old man according to confused Resmî's thinking. Resmî is astonished when he thinks on people's distant dreams as if there were not the thing what is called death in this world.[373] Another bad example of greed is from Hâlid Ziyâ's *Ferdi ve Şürekâsı* (Ferdi and His Associates). The greedy character here is Ferdi who runs the company he inherited from his father. His four employees make transactions with huge amounts, but they do not earn enough despite their tiring job.[374] In Hâlid Ziyâ's depiction, Ferdi is a man who is arrogant, cold, and fearsome. Money is at the centre of his life. "He is a man believes that money is everything, everything is anything."[375] Yet, Ferdi's manner to his daughter Hacer is so sincere. When Ferdi

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[370] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 97–100.

[371] Ülgen, *Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Çalışma Fikri*, 3.

[372] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hüseyin Fellâh*, 239; Emine Semiye Hanım, *Sefalet*, 177.

[373] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Karnaval*, 144.

[374] Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Ferdi ve Şürekâsı*, ed. Mustafa Çevikdoğan (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2016), 16.

[375] Uşaklıgil, 23.

learns Hacer's love to his employee İsmâil Tayfur, Ferdi decides to marry them.[376] The action Ferdi takes is to offer half of company profits to İsmâil Tayfur.[377] Confused İsmâil Tayfur who is in love with Saniha finally accepts marrying Hacer because of his poverty. After the marriage, Hacer learns İsmâil Tayfur's love and sets aflame the house. While the house is burning, Ferdi worries for the safe box.[378] For the last case to point here, I want to remind again usurer Kâsım from Hüseyin Rahmi's *Şıpsevdi*. This character does not produce or spend anything. He has no positive characteristic expressed by Hüseyin Rahmi. Kâsım just accumulates money more and more.[379]

In *Eski Mektuplar*. Ahmed Midhat gives place to several characters who plots for achieving wealth or live consume wealth with rakish lives as previously told. In one of the middle pages of the novel and before depicting a prodigal character named Şöhret; Ahmed Midhat distinguishes people who are not content with their share from life and the ones who are content. The first ones who seek more cannot understand the value of the felicity they achieve. The second ones live in satisfaction and enjoys the life. Then, he adds a third group of people, who cannot get anything even though they desire so much.[380] While scrutinising a story from Ahmed Midhat—which is titled "Teâvün ve Tenâsur" and I did not examine—Kılınçoğlu points Ahmed Midhat's idealist young heroes who are ready for possible "dignified poverty" [*namuslu fakirlik*] in future.[381]

In his article that Kılınçoğlu scrutinises Ahmed Midhat's characters in terms of institutional economics[382], he draws attention to traces of two matters. The first one is conspicuous consumption. Kılınçoğlu claims some familiarities in Ahmed Midhat's lines with Thorstein Veblen's well-known analyses. Three failed characters that Kılınçoğlu points in this regard are Felâtun, Senâi, and Sulhi. All of them are extravagant figures who openly exhibit their luxury and wealth—as the first does this spending enormous amounts of money for his mistress and gamble, the second (Senâi

[376] Uşaklıgil, 148–49.

[377] Uşaklıgil, 32–33.

[378] Uşaklıgil, 185.

[379] Gürpınar, *Şıpsevdi*, 379.

[380] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Eski Mektuplar*, 80–81.

[381] Kılınçoğlu, 'İktisadi Düşünce Tarihi Kaynağı', 245.

[382] See Kılınçoğlu, 'Veblen, Weber, Ahmet Midhat'.

de Berrak Pınar) imitates European landlords, and the last creates an image for himself as a rich man who does not work but lives with the revenue he gets from his immovable property.[383]

In the same article, the second matter that Kılınçoğlu seeks in Ahmed Midhat's fictions is Max Weber's Protestant Ethic. Kılınçoğlu states that Ahmed Midhat's industrious characters have many specifications of the capitalist entrepreneur defined by Weber:

> They work hard, save money being prudent, stay away from temporary pleasures, do not pay much attention to indicators of social prestige they achieve in this way, reflect a certain modesty in their lives, and after all accumulate a significant amount of capital.

Nonetheless, in the following lines, Kılınçoğlu underlines that these characters cannot transform into capitalist entrepreneurs because of the lack of capitalism in their environment. Referring to the same three stories mentioned in the context of conspicuous consumption, this turn, he points the heroes (Râkım, Şinâsi, and Vahdetî) regarding the mentioned specifications. Şinâsi is the exception of these three men, who succeed in accumulating capital.[384]

Ayyıldız is another researcher who evaluates Ahmed Midhat in terms of the Protestant Ethic. In the part on "Saving" in his study on Ahmed Midhat's approach to entrepreneurship, he first gives samples from the first master's texts that appreciate saving and reprimand wasting. Then, he claims that Ahmed Midhat carries specifications of not the Puritan capitalist but the traditional entrepreneur. This is because Ahmed Midhat seeks wealth for a happy life rather than capital accumulation. Ayyıldız asserts, "Building a mansion with twenty rooms on the Beykoz shore and living there cannot be considered an ascetic lifestyle". The character Ayyıldız indicates in this context is Râkım, whom Ahmed Midhat presents him in a few lines as a clever man who loves making money for happiness.[385]

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[383] Kılınçoğlu, 448–60.

[384] Kılınçoğlu, 460–69.

[385] Ayyıldız, 'Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Girişimcilik', 112–15.

Lastly, I want to add two approved characters while completing this part—one as an example of contentment [*kanaatkârlık*] and one as submission to God's will [*tevekkül*]. The first one is the caravan master in Ahmed Midhat's *Süleyman Muslî* who is mentioned before. Let's remember: Süleyman asks him for his demands and encourages him to answer giving some examples of great favours, the caravan master who only says a few animals also points how detrimental the unearned money is.[386] The approved example of submission is Emine Semiye's Gayret in *Sefâlet*. During the harsh days of poverty, Gayret both guides and accompanies Sâbite with her strong sense of submission and piety.[387]

To sum up, as Ottoman intellectuals were suffering consequences of irresponsible spendings, borrowing, and financial management; they had no tolerance for extravagance. Accordingly, they introduced both exemplary role models and failed characters in their fictions regarding this issue. They also did not credit any extremes.

3.3. Family Bliss

According to Serpil Çakır, we do not exactly have information about family in Ottoman society of the classical age. She claims at the same paragraph that approaches to the family relies not on empirical information but on the assumption of full implementation of the *sharia* rules.[388] Nevertheless, some basic features can be

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[386] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Süleyman Muslî*, 133.

[387] Emine Semiye Hanım, *Sefalet*, 43–44.

[388] For shedding light on an important point, it would be beneficial mentioning Dror Ze'evi's article on how to use *sharia* court records as a source of historical research. In a previous footnote about the phenomenon of interest in the Ottoman economy, I assert that it was a fact of economic activities in the empire though the well-known prohibition of the *sharia*. In addition, some of interest-bearing transactions were allowed by scholars who showed some juristically legitimate ways. Familiarly, as Ze'evi underlines, the *sharia* could feature only in some cases as a part of legal procedure, not the reality itself. A divorcement case Ze'evi examines is a clear example of this situation. Though the right to divorce belongs to the man according to the *sharia* and the process in the mentioned case went on in accordance with this divine rule; there were more details in the background, which gives a very different picture—there were bargains between two sides in this case. In early pages of the article, Ze'evi indicates the revised approaches in recent research and a new picture of Ottoman women who enjoyed more rights and freedom than had been supposed. See Dror Ze'evi, 'The Use of Ottoman Sharīʿa Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal', *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 1 (1998): 35–56.

identified. To exemplify, Çakır mentions the dominance of males, practices stemming from the importance given to reproduction, and polygamy related to men's financial situation. In addition, she states that modern writers who discussed intrafamily relationships agreed on lack of candour. The old features started to change, the transition to nuclear family accelerated, and intrafamily relationships changed during the nineteenth century.[389] In women's magazines, Ottoman women also expressed their discontents, criticisms, and demands about matters such as intrafamily relationships, gender roles, arranged marriage, polygamy, and the right to divorce.[390]

Arranged marriage is the first matter I address here, as it was one of the most criticised social issues in late Ottoman Turkish literature—an apparent indicator of parental pressure, violation of one's (an individual's) right to choose.[391] One of the prominent pioneers of the modern Turkish journalism, Şinâsi publishes *Şâir Evlenmesi* as a criticism of the social problem as early as 1860. The play starts with poet Müştak's happiness due to supposing that he will marry Kumru. In fact, he marries her older ugly sister because of the "first-in-first-out" custom, if defined with the accounting language. Yet as a result of the neighbours' involvement in the matter, Müştak must choose between marriage and jail. Fortunately, a character named Hikmet saves him bribing the imam and provides the chance to Müştak for marrying Kumru.[392]

Şemseddin Sâmi's *Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* is an early tragic narrative that deals with arranged marriage. Let's remember, as Uzbilek Akkuş underlines, Şemseddin Sâmi was one of prominent names supported more freedom for women criticising some traditional practices and wrote a pamphlet titled *Kadınlar* (Women)

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[389] Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 261–63.

[390] Here, I try to summarise a paragraph from Çakır's study, which gives a brief picture at the page 263. For more details including some other issues like female slavery (remember here that the journal Çakır focuses on is *Kadınlar Dünyâsı*), see Çakır, 263–96.

[391] It can be noted here a trace of the same anxiety from the Arab geography. I want to indicate here the first modern novel in Arabic. It is Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's *Zaynab,* published in 1913. The lead character of the novel is a young woman named Zaynab, who suffers being deprived from making her own decision for choosing her husband. For a study that compares this novel with Şemseddin Sâmi's mentioned one and points some familiarities between them, see Pınar Coşkun, 'Muhammed Huseyn Heykel'in "Zeyneb" ve Şemsettin Sâmî'nin "Ta'aşşuk-ı Tal'at ve Fitnat" Adlı Romanlarının Muhteva ve Teknik Açısından Karşılaştırılması' (Master's Thesis, Ankara, Ankara University, 2008).

[392] Şinasi, *Şair Evlenmesi / Müntahabat-ı Eşar*, 1–24.

just before the mentioned novel.[393] As previously said, the novel includes two cases of suffering girls. The first is Talat's mother Sâliha. She loves Rifat, who is her mate until she could go to the school. At a moment that Sâliha waits her fate in pain because her father agrees to marry her with a rich man, her mother gives the good news about her father's permission to marry Rifat.[394] The second case is Fitnat's marriage. Her intolerant stepfather who restrains Fitnat at home agrees with Ali for her—Ali is a rich man and in fact Fitnat's father. Fitnat commits suicide because of marrying a man other than Talat. Her beloved also dies in pain. Upon realising that he married his daughter, Ali loses his reason.[395] Nâmık Kemal's play *Zavallı Çocuk*—was published in a very close date with Şemseddin Sâmi's novel—ends tragically like Fitnat's and her beloved's story. Young Şefika's parents, especially her mother, wants her to marry a pasha who has power to recover the family's worsening financial situation and save her father from being imprisoned because of debt. However, Şefika loves young doctor Atâ and cannot tell this to her father Halil. The mother Tâhire insists of her daughter's marriage with the pasha. Whereas Atâ commits suicide, miserable child Şefika dies getting a fatal illness within arms of her regretful parents.[396] We can add a story here from Mehmed Tâhir, which is titled *Kayınvâlide* (The Mother-in-Law). The lead character in this story is a mother, who wants her son to marry an ugly woman who cannot draw his son's interest completely. She finds an ugly bride, but the son loves her so much due to her beautiful manner. The angry mother leaves home upon failing in forcing his son to divorce his wife. The couple seeks her trace but cannot learn anything. Five years later, the mother sends a letter before she dies of her sorrow.[397] In the texts examined in this work, Ahmed Midhat does not intensively touch on the mentioned topic. Nonetheless, the adventure in *Hasan Mellâh yâhud Sır İçinde Esrâr* starts with Alfons's plan to marry his daughter Cuzella with a rich merchant Pavlos whereas Cuzella has no intention for this marriage.[398]

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[393] For her examination of the mentioned pamphlet, see Uzbilek Akkuş, 'Bireyselleşme/Özerkleşme İstenci', 127–32.

[394] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat*, 38–40.

[395] Şemseddin Sâmi, 119–28.

[396] Namık Kemal, *Zavallı Çocuk*.

[397] Mehmet Tahir, *Dersaadet'te Emek*, 67–76.

[398] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 19–28.

There are some other literary texts that narrate anxieties of victims caused by arranged marriages. Hüseyin Câhid's story *Görücü* presents a young girl's difficult days under her mother's pressure while hoping for a charming candidate. The victim's name is Seniha in this story. She must cope with her mother's desire to keep Seniha with herself, one neighbour's teasing, fear of spinsterhood, and fear of marrying into a bad family at the same time. At the end of the story, *görücü*s who visit Seniha to examine her since the beginning has been still coming.[399] Fatma Aliye's incomplete novel *Enîn* deals with a familiar issue. The novel describes a few young people's sorrow in a mansion. I point some cases from the novel related to the matter here. Dialogues in the first part of the novel touch on the matter of the right to choose one's own spouse.[400] In the novel, a youth named Rıfat catches a serious illness because of not being accepted by his neighbour Fehâme's parents for marriage.[401] Rıfat's beloved Fehâme is not happy too. This young girl, who lives in sadness being oppressed at home, is notified about her own marriage just the previous evening of the wedding day.[402]

One can say that there were not too much varying approaches among modernist intellectuals to polygamy. But there were some nuances. Ahmed Midhat did not advocate polygamy for only defending it against the Europeans, but also performed it. In Mardin's words, "he had two wives and he was so happy with both".[403] However, this was not in accordance with the general tendency of embracing nuclear family and modern marriage, as Ahmed Midhat's position differs in the slavery issue. Nâbizâde Nâzım's *Zehra* narrates a family disaster caused by polygyny (and female slavery at the same time). Suphi succeeds in marrying his beloved Zehra, and he lives happily with her for a while. However, later, he falls in love with his slave named Sırrıcemal, who is brought by his mother. Suphi attempts to own both. But he divorces angry Zehra who cannot stand with this situation. Due to her desire for revenge, Zehra sets a trap for Suphi. She agrees with Urani for seducing Suphi. Urani succeeds in both making Suphi falling in love with her and ruining his life. At the end, all characters lose.

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[399] Yalçın, *Seçme Hikâyeler*, 53–64.

[400] Fatma Aliye Hanım, *Enîn*, 31–67.

[401] Fatma Aliye Hanım, 124–26.

[402] Fatma Aliye Hanım, 149–50.

[403] Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV*, 73.

Disappointed Sırrıcemal commits suicide, Suphi kills Urani (thus suffers the consequence), Suphi's regretful mother (because of bringing a female slave at home) dies on the street, and Zehra dies because of disease in regret (because of her religious belief and not controlling her grudge). In a middle page, Nâbizâde describes Suphi's gladness due to the fight between two women for him—Zehra and Sırrıcemal. Instead of relieving them, he exacerbates the conflict.[404]

There are a few matters in the examined literary texts beyond criticisms of established practices. One of them is calls for women's progress and education by male authors. Serpil Sancar draws attention to such approaches of male authors during both the Tanzimat and the Second Constitutionalist periods, as a part of their varying modernisation projects.[405] Accordingly, a hierarchical relationship can be found among couples in some cases from the examined novels—(of course) males are in the higher position as teachers. As previously said, Râkım does what he can for Cânan's education since he brought her to the house as his slave.[406] Familiarly, *Para!*'s lead hero Vahdetî intends educating clever Latife, the girl whom he wants to marry.[407] Let's go back to *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* to refer to another example. The educated one in this case is Felâtun's sister Mihriban, who has a disproved nature like his *alla franca* brother. Nevertheless, a lieutenant who marries her smartens her up after long efforts with approaching her like a father, a brother, and a husband. Ahmed Midhat presents this case as an example of how a naughty woman can come to her senses thanks to her smart husband's efforts.[408] Familiarly, Hâlide Edib's novel *Seviye Tâlib* presents an endeavouring husband who wants to educate his wife. Differently, the tension here is between modernisation and tradition. The husband is Fâhir who is also the narrator of the novel. His aim is to change his wife Mâcide's mind that adheres to the traditional (or outdated) mentality. Fâhir's endeavour causes conflicts among the couple. Mâcide rejects changing her way of life, especially her style of dressing.

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[404] Nabizade Nâzım, *Zehra*, 71.

[405] For Sancar's evaluations, see Serpil Sancar, *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2020), 84–91.

[406] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 29–39.

[407] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Para*, 158.

[408] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 119–20.

Authors had some advice to self-reliant individuals for spouse selection. Exemplary characters in the examined didactic novels usually enjoy happy marriage with clever women. Râkım's marriage with Cânan, Vahdetî with Latife, and Şinâsi with Lütfiye are some examples in Ahmed Midhat's novels. Resmî from *Karnaval* also marries a clever character named Hesnâ at the end while Madam Hamparsun decides to take the veil.[409] There are many others in Ahmed Midhat's novels who are rewarded with marriages at the ends. Mîzancı Murad's lead character Mansur's marriage with his cousin Zehra can be added here. Contrarily, in addition to the ones who suffer from being together with wrong women, some dandies created by Ahmed Midhat face consequences of their bad marriages. Senâi in *Bahtiyârlık* and Sulhi in *Para!* can be mentioned in this context. Nonetheless, it seems better to not forget that all the marriages do not fit with these themes of "good ones are rewarded, bad ones are punished" or "good ones marry good spouses" even in Ahmed Midhat's novels. I would like to remind here two previously indicated cases—Halil Sûrî's wife who dies in sorrow in *Esrâr-ı Cinâyât* and Meliha's marriage with Ârif who destroys her possession in *Eski Mektuplar*.

We find some married characters who are not immoral characters but have relations with other people in some novels. I do not mean sexual intercourse as in Madame İlia's affair in *Hasan Mellâh yâhud Sır İçinde Esrâr*, but romantic relationship. Madam Hamparsun is one of such characters—she is married but invites Resmî at night secretly. As said above, this favourable character pays the price for her wrong action bitterly as being dismissed. Nonetheless, there is a reason of Madam Hamparsun's action. Even though Hamparsun Ağa is a husband treats his wife well, he is an ugly old man who decides to marry the young beautiful woman after his long debauchery period in Europe. In accordance with *alla franca* practices, he sleeps in a different room.[410] Depending on the case which Madam Hamparsun is not divorced and is forced to live alone, Ahmed Midhat criticises Catholic divine laws that reject divorcement. He makes a few criticisms on Christian laws related to this issue and claims that communities in the Ottoman land was more moderate before strengthening their ties with Rome.[411] Hâlide Edib's *Seviye Tâlib* narrates two cases of the same issue.

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[409] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Karnaval*, 387–88, 394.

[410] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 53–56.

[411] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 348–50.

One of them is Fâhir's depression caused by her love for Seviye whereas he is married to Mâcide. The lead figure in the other case is Seviye. This case also touches on the question of divorcement. She is a loyal wife but realises that she cannot be happy with Tâlib. She meets Cemal during her difficult days, whom she falls in love with him later. Unhappy Seviye politely tells her unhappiness and asks her husband to divorce her. Furious Tâlib does not divorce her but Seviye starts a new life with Cemal.[412]

An important event that should not be omitted and related to the family issue was the Ottoman Rights of Family Decree of 1917 [*Hukûk-u Aile Kararnâmesi*]. I do not add any new details from the examined literary texts, but I want to indicate again two previously mentioned ones, which present terrifying conditions of the war period (including prostitution, hunger, homeless people, and unprotected orphans living on the street)—Emine Semiye's *Gayyâ Kuyusu* and Hüseyin Rahmi's *Hakk'a Sığındık*. Before scrutinising the decree in detail[413], Oğuz makes the statements below:

> The Ottoman Rights of Family Decree of 1917 (…) is among the most controversial legislations of the war. First, its content and particularly its articles regarding women's right to divorce constitute an ongoing debate in the literature. Second, the timing of the introduction of family reform raises an important question: why did Ottoman governments bypass family reform in the age of the Tanzimat and introduce it only during the turmoil of the First World War? The literature on the Family Decree has emphasized two dynamics in answer to this question: one, the ruling party benefited from wartime conditions and issued a family law that had long been on its agenda, and two—less emphasized in the literature—wartime conditions necessitated the profound change in state intervention in the realm of the family. To present a balanced view, it is possible to claim both are true.[414]

Let's close this part with parenthood. Lead heroes' and anti-heroes' parents (usually) seem coherent with their children. Favourable lead characters are usually children of favourable parents. Let's remember here Râkım's devoted mother and diligent nanny Fedâi with dandy Felâtun's and Mihriban's *alla franca* father as the first examples.[415] The general pictures are familiar in many other dichotomic narratives.

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[412] Halide Edip Adıvar, *Seviye Talip*, ed. Fatih Altuğ (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2020), 53–55.

[413] For the part where Oğuz examines the decree, see Oğuz, *Moral Crisis*, 139–48.

[414] Oğuz, 139.

[415] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 11, 19.

Bahtiyârlık's clever Şinâsi's father advises his son to live in rural engaging in agriculture and trade. The dandy of the same novel is the son of a rich landowner who is also an oppressor tax-farmer.[416] In *Karnaval*, dandy Zekâi is the son of Uzletî Efendi, who is a rich man and wants to train a well-bred son. However, he deprives his son from real life keeping him at home. On the other hand, Resmî is raised by a diligent mother after his husband passes away.[417] It is plausible to remind here other characters from other novels. Nasuh, the confident Turk in Paris, is an *ulama* member's son and he is also educated by his father's Orientalist friend.[418] The other character is Hasan Mellâh. His father Sîdî Osman is an idealised patriot character who directs his son to naval education for commerce.[419] Fatma Aliye's young heroin Refet's tenacity is another example of accordance with the parent. Mother Binnâz undertakes earning the livelihood by doing laundry, housecleaning, and sewing.[420] In Hâlide Edib's *Yeni Tûrân*, the accordance between Oğuz and his mother appears as a familiar example.[421] If we swich to the political ground, Lütfi Paşa and his daughter Kaya who embraces the same political ideology in the novel can be mentioned as another example of positive parent-child relationship. There is an interesting example of parent-child relationship in Emine Semiye's *Muallime*. Two siblings (evil Meşhûde and kind-hearted Behdûde) are daughters of the same mother Kevser but from different fathers. Meşhûde's father is Ferhad—the bad one who becomes a bandit but goes straight later—whereas Behbûde's father is a well-behaved smart man.[422]

As given above in this part, family, a prominent institution of social life, also took its share of modernisation visions. Through these reflections above in Ottoman fiction, we are able to see how Ottoman authors approached to this institution and warned their readers about issues related to their family bliss and children.

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[416] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 12, 15.

[417] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Karnaval*, 37–40.

[418] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 127–29.

[419] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 135–39.

[420] Fatma Aliye, *Refet*, 42–43.

[421] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 123–25.

[422] Emine Semiye Hanım, *Muallime*, 127–38.

CHAPTER 4: SENSE OF BELONGING

> Human is someone, besides being able to do his own work with his own power, who is also able to help a few others in need.
>
> Ahmed Midhat[423]

> I have realised that there is no, no difference between family and nationhood.
>
> The Armenian youth in Ömer Seyfeddin's "Ashâb-ı Kehfimiz"[424]

Up to this point, self-reliant individuals are mostly addressed through matters mostly related to their personal characteristics. Differently, this chapter engages in their belongingness to the environment they live in. Thus, I initiate with a part that examines loyalty to their own domestic values in Ottoman fiction. This was a prominent anxiety-inducing matter of the period due to the intensifying relations with the Western world during the process that called globalisation. The second part evaluates differing nationalist approaches of Ottoman authors. The last part focuses on benevolence samples of approved fictional characters. Given that the Ottoman writers did not credit "selfish" *Homo Economicus;* the idealised modern, industrious, and benevolent Ottoman individual of Ahmed Midhat's project has been popularly called *Homo Ottomanicus* to mark the differentiation.[425]

4.1. Loyalty to Own Cultural Values

In the country that is geographically between the East and the West if expressed with a very common approach, a convenient place for cultural encounters, a sphere of modernisation efforts which have been closely related with concerns for the state, a battlefield of varying conflicting interests, and so that has been producing a large number of ideological visions, the question of "Who are we?" has been answered in abounding ways in recent centuries. Almost all the positions have had sufficient

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[423] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 269.

[424] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 2*, 123.

[425] For some examples of such usage of this conceptualisation, see Ayyıldız, 'Ahmet Midhat Efendi'de Girişimcilik', 31–36, 108–9; Gülali, 'Ahmed Midhat'ın Romanları', 40; and Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 99–109.

historical and cultural material for their own future projects—as the emphasis can be put on Islam, the Ottoman Empire, the Central Asia, Turkic people, the West, the Mediterranean, the Balkans, Anatolia or something else. Within this breathtaking diversity, it even became possible to see that "the Aryan race" could find a place in the search for national identity.[426] In this part on Ottomans' concerns for identity, majorly, I focus on three matters. The main one is westernisation whereas others are Islam and reactions to Orientalism.

The Ottomans' modern anxiety related to the identity issue was usually an outcome of modern encounters—mainly with the West in a weaker position than they had been used to be glad due to their sense of superiority before. On one hand, they had already realised that their European opposites were comparatively stronger in many realms thanks to their advance. Novelties that can help the Ottomans should have been embraced. On the other hand, as owners of a Muslim Empire, the Ottomans had no intention for giving up their own image or identity in general. Whereas the beginning of the process which is usually named westernisation has been commonly accepted as the early eighteenth century, some studies have been making some criticisms to such approaches and offering revises for the late Ottoman historiography— generally, with an aim of eliminating Eurocentrism and avoiding misinterpretation of phenomena which were not actually related to encounters with the West as these revises have been claiming.[427]

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[426] For a paragraph about Mustafa Celâleddin Paşa's claims on so-called "Turco-Aryans", see Sevde Bolat, 'Social Darwinism in Unionist Theory and Practice: The German Connection' (Master's Thesis, İstanbul, Ibn Haldun University, 2021), 79–80.

[427] For a few studies that challenge the "westernisation" narratives and approaches in Ottoman historiography, see Olivier Bouquet, 'Is It Time to Stop Speaking about Ottoman Modernisation?', in *Order and Compromise: Government Practices in Turkey from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early 21st Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 45–67; Can Erimtan, 'The Perception of Saadabad: The Tulip Age and the Ottoman-Safavid Rivalry', in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eigteenth Century*, by Sajdi Dana (London: Tauris, 2007); and Rhoads Murphey, 'Westernisation in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire: How Far, How Fast?', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23 (1999): 116–39.

Selim III's reform program *Nizâm-ı Cedîd* (The New Order), at the end of the eighteenth century, was one of the early milestones of the Ottoman modernisation. Let's visit Hanioğlu to initiate:

> The cumulative impact of military, economic, and administrative challenges at the end of the eighteenth century obliged the rulers of the empire to come to terms with the imperative of reform. Their conservative instincts at first produced only superficial changes at first. But once cosmetic alteration had failed to yield substantial results, a more radical response became inescapable.
>
> Upon conclusion of the Iaşi treaty which ended war with Russia in 1792, Sultan Selim III approached twenty-two prominent men and asked them to pen memoranda on the new order to be implemented in the Ottoman Empire. (…) The authors shared the implicit assumption that strengthening the state was the prerequisite for administrative reform and a reorientation of the empire's foreign policy. But their specific proposals for change differed markedly, falling into two distinct categories: those advocating a return to the practices of the golden age of the Ottoman Empire, and those embracing reform through the emulation of contemporary Europe.[428]

Here, we should open a parenthesis for a significant name of this program, Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi. His comprehensive work *Büyük Lâyiha* (The Grand Report) provided very detailed information about various realms (such as economy, military, education, administration, society) in Austria for contributing the reform program—the mentioned author was appointed to Vienne as envoy.[429]

In coming years, we can see some early samples of the anxiety stemmed from encounters with the West, from the feared sultan Mahmud II's reign. On one hand, as Hanioğlu notes, "the institutionalization of Westernization under Mahmud II differed considerably from previous attempts to confront European ideas. For the first time, Westernization appeared as a formal policy linked to extensive bureaucratic reform

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[428] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 42.

[429] For a few academic texts on Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi and his work, see Sema Arıkan, 'Ebûbekir Râkib Efendi', in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1994); Cahit Bilim, 'Ebubekir Ratıb Efendi, Nemçe Sefaretnamesi', *Belleten* 54, no. 209 (1990): 261–96; and Semanur Tanyıldız, 'III. Selim'e Sunulan Nizam-ı Cedid Layihaları Arasında Bir Sefaretname: Ebubekir Ratıp Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefaretnamesi', *İnsan ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 3, no. 1 (2020): 591–607.

and implemented with brutal force". On the other hand, at the same time, some worries emerged as Hanioğlu mentions in the previous paragraph:

> During Mahmud II's reign, the state also began to send small groups of students to Europe for education, specifically in the military sciences. To limit the dangerous influence of French culture on impressionable young minds, those in charge of the program were instructed to avoid teaching the French language, to enforce the exclusive use of Turkish and Arabic, and to select accommodation outside of Paris. It was emphasized that students were to learn only "sciences," and were then to return to the country without being "unduly influenced by the detrimental values of a foreign culture." [430]

The Tanzimat period is the era which comes to mind first when the discussed subject is Ottoman modernisation. It would be appropriate to begin with the Gülhane Edict of 1839. Although the edict has been considered as a significant westernisation step, it has been a debate topic among historians. I touch on these debates in a coming footnote while talking about Islam's role in the modern era. Hanioğlu underlines the context of the edict stressing the Ottomans' relations with the West:

> To an extent, the edict was directed at European ears. Its architect, Mustafa Reşid Pasha, was well known to be the foremost proponent of Ottoman accession to the European concert. In a sense, the document served as an assurance to the Great Powers that demanded domestic reforms in return for future recognition of the Ottoman Empire as a member of the concert of Europe. Thus, for instance, many issues and formulations were clear allusions to the 6th, 7th, 13th, and 17th articles of the *French Déclaration des Droits de l'homme et du Citoyen.* At the same time, the striking similarities between the section discussing the responsibilities of the government and the Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776 indicate that the appeasement of European powers was not the only reason behind the incorporation of foreign ideas into the proclamation. Indeed, it seems clear that those Ottoman bureaucrats who drafted the document sincerely believed in the modernization of the Ottoman conception of government based in part on concepts borrowed from abroad. Thus, the edict was directed both inward and outward, at once a serious commitment to reform out of self-interest and an appeasing gesture directed at Europe. The religious trappings of the edict itself and the ceremony surrounding its proclamation are misleading; an early

[430] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 63.

> draft of the decree contained far fewer references to Islamic concepts than the final version, indicating that Islamic citations in the final text were cosmetic changes added as a sop to the ulema in order to shield the government from the criticism that it was imitating infidel practice.[431]

To continue with the Tanzimat era (I mean the long Tanzimat era until the Young Turk Revolution), one can easily see that most of Ottoman writers' texts were full of admiration for successes of the West no matter their differing discourses—enthusiastic about the European way of life, conservative, Islamist, or nationalist. In this context, it can be said that even many of modernist Islamic criticisms on Ottomans' religious understanding and practices were products of authors who demanded adopting the Western mind. Yet, as said above, they were attentive to define themselves with their own identity. It is not easy to say that "westernisation" was a declared ideal for the Ottomans in general; at least at the level of discourse, even if the contents of modernisation projects must be defined with the concept of westernisation. Frederick Anscombe draws attention to the Ottoman novel for seeing the negative connotation of "westernisation":

> European powers remained throughout the nineteenth century the greatest threat to Ottoman survival, and the strategic goal of modernization was to keep Europe at arm's length; "westernization" would only work against that purpose. Indeed, Muslims who aped elements of Western culture became figures of ridicule and distrust, as can be seen in various Ottoman novels. To "become European" suggested the abandonment of morality, or even its active rejection, because in cultural terms it meant rejection of Islam and adoption of an ethic steeped in Christianity, since no nineteenth-century European state or country was anything but Christian.[432]

Nonetheless, it is impossible to omit the position that fully embraces the West, which had a great influence on the mindset of the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk. The prominent name of this position was a famous Young Turk doctor, Abdullah Cevdet, who published the journal titled *İctihâd* (Ijtihad). Hanioğlu

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[431] Hanioğlu, 73.

[432] Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 93.

elaborates the desirous Ottoman worldview for westernisation during the last decades of the empire:

> Members of the Young Turk movement, most of whom were low-ranking bureaucrats and students at royal colleges, regarded themselves as the natural heirs of the reform movement. They frequently demanded that the Ottoman state install western institutions. In the words of Abdullah Cevdet, a founder of the first nucleus of the CUP in the Royal Medical Academy in 1889 who later led the westernization movement of 1908-1918: "There is only one civilization, and that is European civilization. Therefore, we must borrow western civilization with both its rose and its thorn." Another Young Turk leader, Sabahaddin Bey, wrote: "Since we established relations with western civilization, an intellectual renaissance has occurred; prior to this relationship our society lacked any intellectual life." *Osmanlı,* the official organ of the CUP, contrasted a European and an easterner as follows: "Europeans always walk through the streets with their heads up, whereas easterners walk with their heads under the heavy pressure of absolutism, bent to the ground and nearly dragging."
>
> Letters penned by CUP members to Istanbul newspapers about European life bear a striking resemblance to reports written by the first Ottoman ambassadors describing their marvelous experiences and observations of western civilization.
>
> It should be noted that the phrase "imitating the West" may cause confusion when the policies of Abdulhamid II are examined. On numerous occasions phrases such as "as it is in Europe" were used by the sultan's loyal bureaucrats. However, in the Young Turk terminology, European civilization was essentially synonymous with "contemporary science," and the Ottoman state was enjoined to adopt it. The Young Turks' commitment to modernist and western ideas was undeniably a bone of contention with Abdulhamid II, who wished to appropriate only western technology and abhorred "western civilization."[433]

It would be beneficial to focus on the beginning sentences of the last paragraph quoted from Hanioğlu, to see the picture. As can be inferred from these sentences, the West was a strong base of legitimacy for decisions. Moreover, as it is known that, during the late Ottoman times, many members of the Ottoman dynasty including sultans and princes were famous for embracing the Western lifestyle. Abdülhamid II—

[433] Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 17–18.

the one mentioned above, known with his Islamist policies, and who has been sanctified by many Turkish conservatives with a delight in finding an alternative Atatürk—was one of the dynasty members who embraced Western arts (music, theatre, detective novels) in his private life.[434]

There are more I want to add about the westernisation issue, but I add them while talking about dandies. Now, before passing to literary texts, I mention here another phenomenon which can be seen as a good indicator of the Ottoman desire for both modernisation and protecting the self-identity. This is the admiration for the Japanese nation, which was a global phenomenon among non-western countries (as in the Ottoman Empire) that dramatically rose in the aftermath of the Japanese victory in 1905 against the Russian Empire. I quote from Cemil Aydın to provide a general picture of the mentioned trend, which has been still alive among some Turkish people[435]:

> (…) the Japanese example showed that non-Western cultural and religious traditions did not necessarily have to be regarded as obstacles to modern progress. By the turn of the century, the nature of the relationship between traditional culture and universal modernity had already become an important question for the nationalist agenda. In the literature on Japan's modernization, the prevailing consensus held that Japan had successfully and intelligently selected the useful and essential aspects of Western civilization for adoption, without the need to appropriate "superficial and harmful" Western habits and deny its cultural heritage. In truth, the heritage that was preserved

[434] For an article on Abdülhamid II, which includes some information about his personal preferences, see Abdülhamit Kırmızı, 'Sultan II.Abdülhamid: İmparatorluğun Son Nefesi / Abdülhamid II: The Last Breath of the Empire', in *II. Abdülhamid: Modernleşme Sürecinde İstanbul - Istanbul During the Modernization Process*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İstanbul Avrupa Kültür Başkenti, 2010), 21–45.

[435] In accordance with Aydın's words in the coming quote, "invented image of traditional Japan", Selçuk Esenbel makes a familiar comment on praises of the Meiji Restoration by Turkish conservatives. At the beginning of one of her articles, she states that the view of traditional Japan reformation dresses Japan in a much more traditional and spiritual identity than it actually was. In short, summarising Esenbel's comments, the Meiji Restoration was rather a tumultuous and difficult period that some of its tensions have still had some impact on the Japanese political life. For Esenbel's article, see Selçuk Esenbel, 'Gelenek, Batılılaşma, ve Türk-İslam Tahayyülündeki Meiji Japonyası Özlemi', *Toplumsal Tarih* 30–36, no. 299 (2018).

> was more an invented image of traditional Japan than a reflection of the actual continuity of pre-Meiji Japanese culture.[436]

After this introduction which cannot be said short, I move on to some samples of being adherent to traditional values and own identity; and being cautious about the Western "detrimental" influence. Let's go back first to the 1870s and visit Şemseddin Sâmi. In the introduction of *Besâ yâhud Ahde Vefâ*, the Albanian-Ottoman playwright claims one of his aims with this play as his intention of protecting Ottoman values. Gawrych summarises his words:

> According to him, "foreign values and morals" had dominated the Ottoman theater to the detriment of the empire's own "national values and morals" [*ahlak-ı milliye*]. *Besa yahud Ahde Vefa* would correct this literary deficiency by relying upon native traditions and values for its subject matter.[437]

Ahmed Midhat is my second name here. His writings abound in fictional details and comments related to matters of the identity issue as he always remarked their own cultural belongings to his readers. Although he is known with his adherence to Islam, traditional values, and Abdülhamid II; he was one of the early writers who introduced worldviews like materialism and Social Darwinism in the Ottoman Empire.[438] Gülali separates Ahmed Midhat's carrier into two periods: 1872-1877 and 1877-1912. During the former and shorter period, Ahmed Midhat had relations with Young Ottomans and embraced materialist ideas. After his period of exile in Rhodes, his latter and longer period started. Politically, he distances himself from Young Ottomans and becomes a close name to the Sultan. Ideologically, he abandons his previous materialist opinions and praises Islam. As Gülali notes, the common point of two periods is his didactic style.[439] Let's move on to one of his famous fictions. *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* provides intriguing hints of Ahmed Midhat's mind. Râkım is not only a well-educated man in terms of modern requirements but also has competence in traditional literature

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[436] Cemil Aydın, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2007), 81.

[437] Gawrych, *Crescent and Eagle*, 8–9.

[438] For some evaluation about Ahmed Midhat's such contributions to Ottoman intellectual life, see Bolat, 'Social Darwinism', 34–36.

[439] Gülali, 'Ahmed Midhat'ın Romanları', 33.

and sciences including *hadith* and *tafsir*.[440] This exemplary character lives in Turkish style [*alaturka*] at home. On one occasion that Mister Ziklas comes visit with his two daughters; Ziklas has a high old time with the Turkish style living, while his two daughters envy Cânan for what she has.[441] Josepino is another character who has fun at Râkım's Turkish-style place. That is the previous day of the picnic day mentioned before. A detail I want to underline here is Josepino's praise for raki. When Râkım offers the first glass of raki to Josepino, she claims that raki of Istanbul is one of the best drinks in the world and she inclines towards raki rather than vine. At the same place, Ahmed Midhat probably reminds that Râkım is a responsible man who does not drink unconsciously, saying that this is the first occasion that Cânan brings the raki ware at a late hour.[442] Let's turn here to one of the moments that Râkım adopts a more favourable manner according to a more commonly accepted standard of "our" "national" values in recent years. When Felâtun happily expresses his content for being free from the *alla franca* habit of mourning after his father's death, Râkım replies him saying that there is no necessity to keep such a custom for themselves pointing memorialisation of the dead with *Surah al-Yasin* on Friday nights.[443]

Mîzancı Murad's Mansur's adherence to own values is charged with a more political content rather than a social one. The beginning scene of *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?* that describes Mansur's reaction on the deck of the ship is mentioned in a previous page. As Mansur spends time in the capital of the Muslim empire, his irritation continues. Mansur's irritation from foreign elements—missionary schools, European journals, foreign currency, and French language—does not arise only from his culturally strong sense of being an Ottoman Muslim, but also his concerns for the empire.[444] At one moment of his early days in Istanbul, Mansur rages being angry at the word *moribond* (sick man), thinks on the great past of his nation assuming that the difficult days that they have been suffering are temporary: "I have no doubt. Our future will envy our past."[445]

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[440] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 21.

[441] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 132.

[442] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 103.

[443] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 86.

[444] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 59–76.

[445] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, 74–75.

I want to add a few more cases, in terms of education this time. In cases of Râkım and Nasuh, Ahmed Midhat gets in detail for describing these exemplary lead heroes' early educations and upbringings that do not omit traditional sciences and values. As said above, Râkım has competence in some religious sciences and traditional literature while Nasuh is a son of an *ulama* member.[446] Ahmed Midhat's *alla franca* character Nusret in *Bahtiyârlık*—dandy Senâi's wife who is educated by a foreigner and completely alienated to the Ottoman values—fits with the Ahmed Midhat's views on the Ottoman way of education as a bad example.[447] Mîzancı Murad's Mansur's irritation from missionary schools and his endeavour against them in a more political context should be noted here.[448] It is possible to trace the anxiety caused by the missionary schools in a later novel *Çalıkuşu*. Lead character Feride satirises her mates at French Lycée Notre Dame de Sion Istanbul who describe their mothers as having golden-blonde hair and sky-blue eyes.[449] At another moment later while Feride serves as an appointed teacher to an Anatolian village, she visits Zeyni Baba's tomb for praying. This is how the cute lead character starts her prayer: "Zeyni Daddy! I am nothing but a little, ignorant wren. I don't know how to appeal you. I'm sorry. They didn't teach me about any of things you would like."[450] Yet, when the little wren feels suffocated during her days in that village, she tranquilises herself remembering her high school teacher Sör Aleksi's words.[451]

Let's continue with wannabe dandies. One can say that the most prevailing characteristic of dandies in Ottoman fiction is their *alla franca* lifestyle. In many current works on the late Ottoman literature, "false westernisation" [*yanlış batılılaşma*] has been a usual expression for defining symptoms stemming from emulation of the West and most of Ottoman pioneers of modernisation objected—this is an expression which Turkish students have found it in school textbooks.[452] In the

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[446] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtun İle Râkım*, 21; Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 127.

[447] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Bahtiyarlık*, 55–62.

[448] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 65, 315.

[449] Güntekin, *Çalıkuşu*, 9.

[450] Güntekin, 223.

[451] Güntekin, 224.

[452] A familiar problem was underlined by some intellectuals of *al-Nahda* movement in the late Ottoman Arab geography. As Hill quotes, one of the prominent names of the movement, Khalīl al-Khūrī, wrote, "be a civilised Arab, not an incomplete European". See Hill, *Utopia and Civilisation*, 93.

title of Mardin's famous article, which is referred to a few times in this study, he employs a close expression for the same phenomenon: "Tanzimat Sonrası Aşırı Batılılaşma" (Over-Westernisation after the Tanzimat). In this article, Mardin centres Recâizâde's dandy Bihruz as a prototype of the wannabe upper-class dandies and engages in the Ottoman socio-economic life that produced such ridiculed dandies in literature. Mardin's article introduced the expression of "Bihruz Bey syndrome". As said before, Mardin underlines the contrast between peoples of two sides of the Golden Horn; (…) the Muslim people of old Istanbul both hate and are afraid of people who are improving steadily and look down on them with insolence of self-confidence in the opposite side of the Golden Horn."[453] In short, Ottoman upper-class people whom the mentioned Muslim people saw them arrogant, extravagant, wannabe, and selfish were caricaturised in late Ottoman fictions. Mardin's statement about Ahmed Midhat's social status has been referenced by almost all the researchers who write about these dandies. The part I want to quote is below:

> It is not a probable coincidence that the creator of Felâtun, who is the first in our series of westernised dandies, is Ahmed Midhat. Given that he was tradesman-originated [*esnaf kökenli*], due to his personal ties with the Western civilisation, he reflected themes in Samuel Smile's work *Self-Help* in his [own] work *Sevda-yı Sây ü Amel* so perfectly. In his other works, Midhat frequently engages in themes of economising, contentment, and diligence. According to Ahmed Midhat Efendi, there was a flaw in the development of the Tanzimat aristocracy. He [was] also [another one who] rejected the values that this class adopted.[454]

Roots of the dandy type and its modern transformation have been some other matters that researchers have been commenting on them. Hafez indicates *çelebi* character in the Ottoman traditional shadow theatre:

> He is usually a young prodigal character who has come into a large inheritance, dresses fashionably, and speaks with an Istanbuli accent. He is usually a womanizer – a trickster associated with sexual themes. We know from renowned traveler Evliya Çelebi (1611–82) that this character featured in seventeenth-century plays. Looking at the nineteenth-century images of the dandy in trousers and wearing a fez, the

[453] Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV*, 42.

[454] Mardin, 47.

hallmarks of Ottoman modernity, it seems that the character as we know it changed in accordance with the period. Ottoman novel-writing practices took on this old character and transformed it.[455]

Turning back to Mardin, he also indicates the shadow theatre but stressing the mentioned contrast that he claims. To paraphrase Mardin's statement, the masses who were aware of that they were ruled by people who were looking down on the folk culture responded to their disdain with ridiculing them. Two well-known characters of the shadow theatre represent two sides: Hacivat is the charlatan one who emulates the Ottoman upper class and Karagöz is an ordinary man. In this regard, Mardin says, "Bihruz Bey is just a new Hacivat".[456]

In accordance with this tendency of disdain, dandy anti-heroes do not only appear with their wannabe lifestyle, but also with their disdainful approach towards domestic values in some cases. Recâizâde devotes a few pages for describing how his dandy Bihruz looks down on the Turkish language, poets, and poems. Bihruz complains from them throughout those pages while he seeks poems for his love letter to his beloved.[457] At a moment that he reads some lines from Vâsıf's poems, he appreciates "the only poet worthy of his fame". He appreciates; because he succeeds in having a grasp of their meaning to some extent.[458] Meftun in *Şıpsevdi* is a familiar one. While presenting the dandy listing his *alla franca* preferences to Turkish ones[459], Hüseyin Rahmi describes his *alla franca* mind including details like "not approving any originality in particulars related to Turkishness, despising [people] who have such claims".[460] Starting from the 1870s, *alla franca* ones appear in Turkish novels being portrayed negatively. Even in Emine Semiye's *Gayyâ Kuyusu*—a novel from the last years of the empire, Safâî—who causes Yektâ's tragedy attempting to sexually abuse her—is an *alla franca* man like his father. Emine Semiye tells that this unruly

[455] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 160.

[456] Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV*, 58–59.

[457] Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası*, 78–87.

[458] Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, 88.

[459] Gürpınar, *Şıpsevdi*, 101–5.

[460] Gürpınar, 104.

womaniser exhibits *alaturka* styles for getting women that he desires despite his intellectuality(!) [*münevverü'l-efkâr*].[461]

For a more different case of criticism towards wannabe people, I visit Hüseyin Rahmi. In a few pages of *Şıpsevdi*, Hüseyin Rahmi satirises a snobbish *alla franca* society and its conference on empowering women. The society is named "The Oriental Academy" [*Şark Akademyası*] and operates in Mösyö Makferlan's house. Hüseyin Rahmi says that being formed by both male and female members bestows on the society the grace of being the bright of the world academies.[462] At the end of a conference about the (oriental) Ottoman woman, there are not more than a few among the audience, who have understood what has been talked. Most of the women there pass the time giving their attention to unrelated things throughout the entire conference such as the numerous rings on the speaker's fingers and the feather on her hat.[463]

Hüseyin Rahmi's satire about male and female members should have been related to the lack of seriousness if Hüseyin Rahmi's mind is taken in consideration, which is impossible to label fanatical. Erosion of gender segregation in public places was usually a concern of conservative circles. As Oğuz points, one of the events that caused conflict between Turkish nationalists and Islamists during the last years of the empire (in a later date than *Şıpsevdi* was published) was a concert at the Turkish Hearth [*Türk Ocağı*], where "women and men were sitting mixed without gender segregation, women took the stage and sang songs".[464]

Upon closing the westernisation matter, the role of Islam comes as my second matter. Among Ottoman upper-class people and intellectuals, we are able to find many differing positions about religion. It should be noted that the assumption of stronger piety of people in earlier ages has been pointing by historians as a delusion of modern people. Thus, what I mean here is not piety itself but the ideological and social aspects of religion; more clearly, its place in intellectuals' future projects. In a Muslim society and an empire that was the champion of Islam, even materialist intellectuals who had no religious belief did not hesitate showing religious references for their claims.

[461] Emine Semiye, *Gayya Kuyusu*, 139–40.

[462] Gürpınar, *Şıpsevdi*, 430.

[463] Gürpınar, 447–48.

[464] Oğuz, *Moral Crisis*, 41.

Nonetheless, as the literary texts that I examine do not reflect this variety, I do not share too much place for this topic which provides so much material in general. I repeat here two previous claims in this thesis to initiate. First, for a general picture, as Hafez states:

> Neither the heroes nor the anti-heroes were particularly pious. The former, however, functioned within an ethical realm that upheld public security and complied with laws, without particularly referencing religion. Both "good" and "bad" characters engaged in illicit sexual activity.[465]

Second, as I say in the second chapter, religious hypocrisy does not appear as much in the novels examined for this work. It should have been the outcome of intellectual intentions like seeking modernisation projects compatible with Islam, avoiding public reaction, or the pressure of state. For a third claim which should be added to these, at least, Islam was the identity of the Turkish-speaking society.

It would be proper to give reference to Christopher Alan Bayly for a global picture of the sphere of influence of religions. In his prestigious work, Bayly begins a chapter titled "Empires of Religion" objecting many contemporaries and some historians who "have seen the nineteenth century as an age when science and secular thought eroded religious belief or began to push it to the margins of social life". Rather, in Bayly's opinion, "the nineteenth century saw the triumphal reemergence and expansion of 'religion' in the sense in which we now use the term".[466] A few pages later, this part quoted from Bayly elaborates the process about the roles of religions:

> In the process, they transformed themselves and the societies within which they worked. Of course, religious authority made a series of pacts and concordats, often on poor terms, with newly vigorous states and empires. (…)
>
> Yet religious authorities widely made tactical retreats in order to conquer new areas of cultural and social life. "Secularization," in fact, was only one small part of the reconstruction from within of the religious sensibility and of religious organization. It was the fly in the wheel, not the wheel itself. Almost everywhere the world religions sharpened and clarified their identities, especially in the later nineteenth century. (…)

[465] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 165.

[466] Bayly, *Birth of Modern World*, 325.

> The constant complaints of revivalists about the decline of religion, the rise of secular mentalities, and the ignorance of the heathen or working people should therefore be seen not as statements of historical "fact." They were, instead, means of mobilizing increasingly assertive religious authorities and the Christian, Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist publics to which they spoke.[467]

At this point, we can turn to the Ottoman Empire. While many historians and intellectuals have been seeing the late Ottoman era as a period of secularisation, several historians have been criticising common approaches because of establishing a teleological narrative for a period ends with the secular republic and underrating Islamic contents of some late Ottoman events. It is clear that Islam was the ideology of the state and a strong source of discourse in intellectuals' claims.[468] However, the nature of its role has been the debate matter. For instance, *Nizâm-ı Cedîd* reforms and the Gülhane Edict of 1839 contain much Islamic emphases. Abdülhamid II is famous for his Islamist policies. In addition, materialist Young Turks did not omit Islamic references and many pious people—many of them were *ulama* members—collaborated with them for constitution and against the Hamidian regime. Later Mustafa Kemal Paşa maintained an Islamic discourse during the National Struggle. The matter is how to interpret these phenomena.[469]

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[467] Bayly, 330.

[468] Those familiar with Islamic sciences, modernist Islamic views, and some common imperfections of Islamic intellectual activity in the modern era will not be surprised by how a Quranic verse about the Judgement Day (*Surah al-Najm* 53:39) transformed into a verse of self-help in Ahmed Midhat's hands and a verse of private initiative in Prince Sabahaddin's. See Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Sevda-yı Sa'y ü Amel*, 85; and M. Sabahaddin, *Bir İzah*, 15.

[469] Let's mention some well-known or beneficial studies by scholars related to debates on these phenomena. For the Islamic content of the Gülhane Edict, Butrus Abu-Manneh is the most prominent scholar who challenged the common approach to the edict. According to him, the edict was the product of the capital's intention for building an image of pious sultan, in an atmosphere that the *Khālidī-Naqshbandī* order was so influent. The edict was declared with a consensus of a large group including *ulama* members. The content of the edict was really Islamic and did not have references to the modern Western values. Edhem Eldem is a prominent scholar who objected Abu-Manneh's claims so convincingly, in my opinion. He points some earlier events that show the background of the Edict and its context related to the demands of the foreigners. Engaging in detail, Eldem also claims that Abu-Manneh exaggerates the *Khālidī-Naqshbandī* influence. Another remarkable point I want to draw attention is, contrary to Abu-Manneh's assertions, the discontent of the *ulama* members, which Eldem

In accordance with this picture, what I have found in Ottoman fiction are piety of some fictional ordinary people, but not as a prevailing characteristic in general, and embracing Islam as the identity. Interestingly, Ahmed Midhat even feels the need to

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points relying on a foreigner's observations. At a page, Eldem expresses his main criticism towards Abu-Manneh. To this, there can be an Islamic context as Abu-Manneh asserts. But what is wrong with Abu-Manneh is that he ignores all other possible contexts and just attempts to prove the Islamic context he claims. For an article by Abu-Manneh which is not Eldem criticises but the one I read during my undergraduate years, see Butrus Abu-Manneh, 'Two Concepts of State in the Tanzimat Period: The Hatt-i Serif of Gülhane and the Hatt-i Hümayun', *Turkish Historical Review* 6, no. 2 (2015): 117–37; for Eldem's Turkish article which I used, as my French is not sufficient to read his academic article, see Edhem Eldem, 'Tanzimat Hatt-ı Hümayunu'nu (1839) Baştan Okuma', *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 20 (2022): 9–97; to continue with a more general objection to the secularisation narrative, I mention here an article penned by Kırmızı. Mainly, in Kırmızı's opinion, the secularisation narrative has many shortcomings to have a good grasp of the late Ottoman history. Assuming two camps of progressive pro-westernisations and conservatives does not provide a good basis for evaluation. At the end of the article, Kırmızı draws attention to the main problem: The mentioned narrative obscures power struggles, which include complex collaborations, usually siding the Ottoman Palace (the authority) because of considering the *ulama* as a reactionary enemy. See Abdülhamit Kırmızı, '19. Yüzyılı Laiksizleştirmek: Osmanlı-Türk Laikleşme Anlatısının Sorunları', *Cogito*, no. 94 (2019); for two beneficial works about Islamism (both politically and intellectually) and Islam engaging in matters such as caliphate, anti-clergy, pan-Islamism, reactions against racialisation, transforming Islam into a modern and complete world view, and different versions of Islamist discourses; see İsmail Kara, *Müslüman Kalarak Avrupalı Olmak: Çağdaş Türk Düşüncesinde Din Siyaset Tarih Medeniyet* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2018); and Cemil Aydın, *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017); lastly, I want to mention two studies by Hanioğlu for Islamic references in figures who cannot be said neither pious nor Islamist. For the Young Turks, Hanioğlu says: "Whereas in their open writings the CUP leaders extolled and promoted Islam, their private letters reveal the disregard in which they held Islam, especially in its institutionalized form." We can open a parenthesis for Atatürk's relation with Islam. In my opinion, when his lifeline is followed and his ideas are examined seriously as Hanioğlu does, the picture is not vague. The main problem with varying claims on Atatürk's religious views do not mainly stem from the complexity of the material should be evaluated but wishes of people who tend to liken Atatürk to themselves. Second, religious discourses which aim appealing to people or interests in the religion as a part of modernisation projects have been wrongly evaluated as indicators of appreciating the religion itself. For Hanioğlu's mentioned evaluations, see M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Atatürk: An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton (N.J.): Princeton University Press, 2011), 48–158; and Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 200–203.

say that French Julie in *Diplomalı Kız* is not an unbeliever, she has a strong belief in God.[470] But in general, his approved heroes and heroines are not applauded for their piety. Their relations with Islam are shallowly touched on (if touched on) as in Râkım's and Nasuh's stories mentioned before. On the other hand, his novels abound in prayers, thanksgivings to God for being a Muslim, refutations against criticisms of Islam; criticisms of Europe and Christianity; and attempts to assert Islam's superiority over Christianity. One scene in *Paris'te Bir Türk* provides an intriguing sample of Ahmed Midhat's relation with Islam in his novels. The confident, gracious, and intelligent Turkish gentleman in Paris—who always corrects the pejorative Orientalist image of the Ottomans and the one whom civilised Europeans always admire—is nippingly asked about polygamy during an event with alcohol and gambling. The Ottoman representative in Paris sent by Ahmed Midhat makes long explanations for justifying Islamic polygamy indicating some points such as conformity with natural law, consent, adultery, and men's sexual drive during old ages. The Ottoman *mujahid* successfully completes his task of defending the *sharia* and showing its perfection. What he does then is to (charily) play whist (to not offend his mates)—whereas such games are forbidden by the *sharia*—in the event where alcohol is consumed—whereas it is another prohibited action.[471]

Nasuh's belongingness to Islam and his positive representation as a Muslim are expressed by Ahmed Midhat in a different case at the end of the novel. When Virginie proposes marriage to Nasuh, the Ottoman gentleman tells her that even though there is no obstacle by the *sharia*, the difference of their religious affiliations can cause conflicts in the future. After a short dialogue that Virginie gets some information about Islam, she accepts conversion to Islam claiming that Nasuh's representation is enough for her.[472] In Ahmed Midhat's some other novels, Muslim males get married with non-Muslims. These are Süleyman Muslî and Hasan Mellâh in the texts that I examine. I have not checked all writings of the writing machine, but it should be asked: Does he

[470] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Diplomalı Kız*, 68.

[471] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Paris'te Bir Türk*, 173–83.

[472] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 596–99.

intentionally marries Muslim men with non-Muslim women, but not vice-versa, to avoid thinking on being caught between love and the divine law?[473]

We are able to find some appreciated exemplary characters who are depicted by other authors with their piety. Şemseddin Sâmi's Fettah Ağa—who is Selfo's father and murdered him remaining true to his *besâ* (pledge of honour)—carries a prayer book with him.[474] Mîzâncı Murad's Mansur has a strong sense of being a Muslim throughout the novel. Moreover, his associate Doctor Mehmed is pious man who performs five-time prayer.[475] Another one is Zehra. When she comes to Kağıthâne where she experiences a terrible day because of people's loose behaviour, she expresses her sorrow about the view she observes there: "What a disgrace is it? What a shame! Where is our Muslim manner? How can fathers, mothers, siblings stand with this? Should not the government ban this at least?"[476] The child in Mehmed Tâhir's "Netîce-i Sa'y" prays and speaks in a sincere religious language throughout the story. The two siblings who are Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's daughters and feminist trailblazers present some religious characters. To give a few examples, I can point the moment that Fatma Aliye's Refet reads Qur'an as thanksgiving for being able to bring food.[477] Another example is from her sister Emine Semiye. Her teacher character Behbûde is herself a pious woman and makes the household she serves warmed towards religious practices.[478] Ömer Seyfeddin is one of the authors who gives place for pious characters as in *Diyet*. Koca Ali habitually visits a small mosque for performing his daily prayers.[479] The last approved example here is from Hâlide Edib. Members of the New Turan Party perform religious practices at different pages of the novel.[480] Differing from these samples, I want to add here a satiric case of religiosity; it is from Recâizâde's dandy Bihruz. Believing his chronic liar friend's lie about the woman's

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[473] For an article on marriages with non-Muslim women in Ahmed Midhat's novels, see Hakan Değirmenci, 'Çok Kültürlülüğün Kurgusal İfadesi: Ahmet Mithat Efendi Anlatılarında Gayrimüslim Kadınlarla Aşk ve Evlilik', *Mukaddime* 11, no. 2 (2020).

[474] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Semseddin Sami'nin Tiyatroları*, 119.

[475] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 131.

[476] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, 155.

[477] Fatma Aliye, *Refet*, 99.

[478] Emine Semiye Hanım, *Muallime*, 31–37.

[479] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 704.

[480] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 31, 45.

death whom Bihruz loves, he suffers in pain. As Ramadan comes, poor *alla franga* dandy, who constantly drifts into thoughts and whose attitudes change, decides fasting throughout the entire Ramadan and starting to perform prayers.[481]

I refer to Çelik to deal with the last matter in this part. As previously said, reactions against Western views towards the Ottoman society was a main juncture among late Ottoman intellectuals. Çelik's study is given reference in the first chapter for Ahmed Midhat's and Fatma Aliye's collaboration to defend some Muslim-Ottoman practices related to women. The study provides beneficial evaluations and materials including long parts from late Ottoman literary texts for seeing Ottoman intellectuals varying reactions against the claims of the Western world. The main part of the title of Çelik's study is borrowed from an article by Nâmık Kemal: "Europe Does Not Know the Orient". In her study, Çelik presents how Ottomans answered, refuted, expressed their anger, counterattacked or ridiculed when they faced with Europeans' assertions in cultural, artistic, scientific, and political realms. Some of the major themes that Çelik engages in are backwardness of the Muslim world, common Orientalist claims on oriental women and private places. She also reserves a place for the Pierre Loti case, which separated Ottomans into two groups; one camp saw Loti as a foreigner friend whereas the other was irritated from his depictions of the Ottoman society.[482]

I close this part with a few more such samples of endeavours in the examined texts, omitting previously mentioned ones. Ahmed Midhat is a prominent name of the mentioned endeavour. Some of his apologies about polygamy and slavery and offenses to Europeans are indicated in previous parts. Ahmed Midhat has words for some other issues. In *Henüz 17 Yaşında*, Kalyopi's saviour Ahmed appreciates the *sharia* and accuses single European males of the contemptible prostitution [*rezîlâne fuhuş*] in the Ottoman country.[483] Another issue he accuses Europe is poverty. At an early page of Julie's story, Ahmed Midhat claims that many charities operate in Paris but not effectively because of the administration of the clergy and the political circle close to them.[484] In his article, "Teşrîk-i Mesâî – Taksîm-i Mesâî", he points poverty as the

[481] Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, *Araba Sevdası*, 236–40.

[482] For Çelik's work, see Çelik, *Avrupa Şark'ı Bilmez*.

[483] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Henüz 17 Yaşında*, 153–58.

[484] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Diplomalı Kız*, 21.

reason of rising socialism which Ahmed Midhat considers as a frightful thing that will ruin Europe's security and order if it is not tackled.[485] What is more, the Ottomans' stronger believe in God is a positive difference from Europe according to him. He asserts in *Müşâhedât*; though harsher laws in Europe, the number of murders multiplies there because the fear of God has quitted the hearts.[486] Ahmed Midhat's views on marriage in Islam and Christianity are mentioned in previous pages. Familiarly, in "Pamuk İpliği" (The Cotton Yarn), Ömer Seyfeddin asserts Islam's superiority comparing marriage laws in Islam and Christianity through a non-Muslim young woman Matmazel Sürpik's dialogues. Getting convincing answers for her questions (about matters like polygamy, polyandry, divorcement) by Behzat who introduces her the freedom and ability to enjoy own desires within necessary rules in Islam, the young woman decides that marriage in Islam (the cotton yarn) is better than marriage in Christianity (the chain).[487]

Various reflections in Ottoman fictions and researchers' varying approaches are touched on in this part. Though the complex picture and differing visions of Ottoman intellectuals, to make a generalisation; it can be concluded that embracing and protecting the domestic identity while the modernisation process was a common tendency among Ottoman authors. They also reacted to claims against themselves from the Western world.

4.2. A Member of the Nation

In the age of patriotism and nationalism, some late Ottoman fictions present us some self-reliant individuals with strong sense of belongingness to their nation and devotedness. The main subject in this part is to follow traces of nationalist sentiments in the examined literary texts. In this part, I initiate with some early samples of the modern idea of Ottomanness first, with an attempt to clarify (or mention) some certain points. Then, I continue with traces of Turkism in Ottoman fiction.

Especially revolts in the Balkans have been signalled as threatening cases of nationalisms within the empire. As the empire had to cope with its opponents in

[485] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Sevda-yı Sa'y ü Amel*, 78.

[486] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 335.

[487] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 201–15.

international competition areas like the Balkans[488] or the Arabian Peninsula[489] and faced with revolts that had nationalist characters since the early decades of the century, rulers of the empire had to both struggle with rebels and take some steps for reform. The Gülhane Edict of 1839, the Imperial Reform Edict of 1856, and two declarations of the Ottoman constitution in 1876 and 1908 are well-known events that come into the mind first.

Nonetheless, the picture of nationalisms in the empire is not easy to explain with a statement like awakening nations in a collapsing empire. Ethnic nationalists who embraced their Ottoman identity, like Şemseddin Sâmi, were not exceptional figures.[490] In addition, nationalists' positions did not remain stable but changed within uneven conditions of sequent conflicts. As a related problem, this time for evaluating the Muslim-Turkish side, the narrative that claims the sequent attempts for Ottomanism, then Islamism, and then Turkism has too many shortcomings to explain Ottoman state policies and Turkish nationalists' attitudes in many events.[491] Even

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[488] See Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 51–53.

[489] See Michael Christopher Low, *Imperial Mecca: Ottoman Arabia and the Indian Ocean Hajj* (New York (N.Y.): Columbia University Press, 2020), 1–40.

[490] To exemplify, many names from the Arab geography can be mentioned in this context, including not only nationalists but also some early *al-Nahda* intellectuals such as Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī and Buṭrus al-Bustānī. We can add some later prominent Arab politicians who were the CUP members like Yāsīn al-Hāshimī and Amīr Shakīb Arslan. Turning to another part of the empire, the Balkans, Fikret Adanır mentions a division among socialists about their attitudes against the Ottoman Empire. Lastly, the early joy of being an Ottoman citizen that brought by the Young Turk Revolution should be noted. For details about the Arab world, see Wael Abu-'Uksa, *Freedom in the Arab World: Concepts and Ideologies in Arabic Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 138–55; and Michael Provence, *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); for socialists in the Balkans, see Fikret Adanır, 'The National Question and the Genesis and Development of Socialism in the Ottoman Empire: The Case of Macedonia', in *Socialism and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1923*, ed. Mete Tunçay and Erik Jan Zürcher (London ; New York: British Academic Press in association with the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1994), 27–48; lastly, for the euphoria of Ottomanness after the Young Turk Revolution, which did not last long, see Bedross Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2014), 23–48.

[491] A prominent intellectual of the last decade of the empire and early years of the young Turkish republic; known with Turkism, and of Tatar descent, Yusuf Akçura's article published in 1904 and titled

during the Turkish National Struggle, the Islamic character was so prevailing—though the new secular Turkish republic embraced a different narrative later.[492] Accordingly, Kırmızı underlines a significant point about ideologies while evaluating the Bolshevik discourses of the Anatolian Revolution at the end of the empire:

> Ideologies do not function in isolation, but they interact with each other in an ecology of identities. Operating across various times and situations, identities may get into conflicts, and reflect strains and inconsistencies. Furthermore, identity meanings are always changing. They are fluid and are constructed anew in every situation. But they also resist change. As Burke and Stets put it, "Identities act to change the situation to bring situationally relevant meanings into alignment with the meanings in the identity." Identities, as well as ideologies, are not always juxtapositions and mutually exclusive, but might evolve into amalgamations when guided by patient *realpolitik* rather than by religious or political ideologies.[493]

After these introductory lines, we can continue with Ottoman fiction. Some early texts put the emphasis on "the Ottoman nation" despite their differences. Two early heroic plays enable us for scrutinising an early case of such a variety. The first of these is Nâmık Kemal's *Vatan yâhud Silistre* while the second is Şemseddin Sâmi's *Besâ yâhud Ahde Vefâ*. Both plays have patriotic narrations with strong emphases on

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"Üç Tarz-ı Siyâset" (Three Styles of Politics) is a popular text which researchers have been relying on for making statements about three mentioned ideologies, although it did not have a significant impact when it was published. However, as James H. Meyer states, "the most notable aspect of this work was not Akçura's suggestion that pan-Turkism would be more workable than other forms of identity, but rather his assumption—common at the time—that some form of identity was necessary. Ottoman leaders had, since the middle of the nineteenth century, come to similar conclusions". For Meyer's evaluations, see James H. Meyer, *Turks Across Empires: Marketing Muslim Identity in the Russian-Ottoman Borderlands, 1856-1914* (Oxford, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 134–38.

[492] For two worthwhile texts about the Muslim character of the National Struggle, see Aydın, *Idea of Muslim World*, 122–27; and Hanioğlu, *Atatürk*, 86–128.

[493] Abdülhamit Kırmızı, 'After Empire, Before Nation: Competing Ideologies and the Bolshevik Moment of the Anatolian Revolution', in *Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions. 1917 and Its Aftermath from a Global Perspective*, ed. Michael Wildt and Stefan Rinke (Frankfurt; New York: Campus, 2017), 136–37.

the idea of homeland.[494] Nâmık Kemal's play presents the story of a brave patriot soldier named İslam who enlists for the army and whom his beloved Zekiye follows disguising as a man.[495] The second does not mainly engage in patriotism but gives place to it on some stages. The important point of Şemseddin Sâmi's fiction is that it takes place in Albania. The author expresses another aim for writing a play script as introducing the Albanian nation which is a part of the Muslim nations and a member of the Ottoman Empire.[496] Commitment to Albanian traditions and Ottoman patriotism are interbedded in Sâmi's narrative. Gawrych explains the main difference of these two plays regarding the sense of Ottomanness:

> Too much stress on the Ottoman motherland, on Ottoman patriotism, and on Islamic faith could appear to be emphasizing unity and assimilation at the expense of cultural pluralism and diversity. Writing to a friend in 1878, Namık Kemal revealed his own tendency in this direction.
>
> > Certainly it is impossible to encourage the spread of our language among Greeks and Bulgarians, but it is surely possible among Albanians and Lazes, namely Muslims. If we set up regular schools in their countries and carry out the programs, which are now not fulfilled, Laz and Albanian languages will be utterly forgotten in twenty years.
>
> And in his play, Namık Kemal portrayed Zekiye's father as a Turk, even though she appeared at the beginning of the play dressed in an Albanian costume.
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> Conversely, Şemseddin Sami, as an Albanian conscious of his ethnicity, saw a danger in an Ottoman patriotism designed at the expense of cultural and ethnic diversity. In

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[494] Nâmık Kemal is widely known as 'The Poet of Homeland' [*Vatan Şâiri*] and 'The Poet of Freedom' [*Hürriyet Şâiri*]. As a third but earlier name to Nâmık Kemal and Şemseddin Sâmi due to his contribution to the idea of homeland, Beiruti Buṭrus al-Bustānī can be added, not forgetting to mention his famous text *Nafīr Sūriyya* (The Clarion of Syria) which was a call and future project of an intellectual exhausted by sectarian violence. For more information and the mentioned text, see Buṭrus ibn Būlus Bustānī, *The Clarion of Syria: A Patriot's Call against the Civil War of 1860*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Hicham Safieddine, and Ussama Samir Makdisi (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2019); and Hill, *Utopia and Civilisation*, 93–100.

[495] Namık Kemal, *Vatan yahut Silistre*, ed. Emine Kolaç, trans. Ezgi Aslan and Gönül Yüksel (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2019).

[496] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Semseddin Sami'nin Tiyatroları*, 42.

> this sense, *Besa yahud Ahde Vefa* appeared as a corrective to *Vatan veyahud Silistre*. Written and performed on stage one year after *Vatan veyahud Silistre*, *Besa yahud Ahde Vefa* highlighted two *vatans*. Şemseddin Sami focused on the special *vatan*, one tied to a specific *kavim*, which in this case were the Albanian people with their unique qualities and attributes of being Albanians. In his view, Ottoman unity, however noble and sacred, had to allow for the flowering of cultural pluralism within the Muslim community. His play, after all, sought to strengthen appreciation of ethnic diversity within the empire. In one sense, the two plays were quite different. Namık Kemal presented a political message of Ottoman patriotism centered on the ideological concept of *vatan*. Şemseddin Sami, on the other hand, developed a cultural theme by focusing on *besa*, a centuries-old institution, and depicted his special *vatan* as a territorial repository of Albanian culture, values, and loyalties. The political component of *Besa yahud Ahde Vefa* was subtle.[497]

In his work, Herkül Millas scrutinises five names, that I refer to in this study, in his part titled "Osmanlıcı Yaklaşım" (The Ottomanist Approach)—Şemseddin Sâmi, Ahmed Midhat, Sâmipaşazâde Sezâi, Hâlid Ziyâ, and Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem. At the beginning, he also mentions Hüseyin Rahmi as a pioneer of the Ottomanist approach. Yet, considering his later career, Hüseyin Rahmi is scrutinised by Millas in a different part titled "Osmanlıcılıktan Ulusçuluğa" (From Ottomanism to Nationalism). Mainly, Millas puts the emphasis on inclusive discourses for Ottoman communities that embraced by these authors.[498]

As he is a significant name in my study, the one I want to elaborate relying on Millas is Ahmed Midhat. In his novels, non-Muslims take place as natural parts of the Ottoman society. Even, at a page of *Müşâhedât*, Ahmed Midhat himself introduces the Ottoman-Latin community of Istanbul which is unknown by most of Ottomans as he remarks.[499] According to Millas, Ahmed Midhat does not only embrace Ottoman non-Muslims but also the Western world. Though Ahmed Midhat sees differences between the East and the West, he does not think that there are uncompromisable conflicts and historical enmities. Foreigners are not essentially "bad" despite some accusations

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[497] Gawrych, *Crescent and Eagle*, 19–20.

[498] See Herkül Millas, *Türk Romanı ve 'Öteki': Ulusal Kimlikte Yunan İmajı* (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2000), 18–35.

[499] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 126.

towards some individuals. Even, according to Millas, Ahmed Midhat's hero Râkım is an *alla franca* man in every aspect. What is wrong with Felâtun is false westernisation.[500]

Millas gives place to Nâmık Kemal and Mîzancı Murad in his Islamism part. Nâmık Kemal's position is already mentioned referring to Gawrych. As Mansur is a main self-reliant figure as described in my study, it would be proper to touch on Mîzancı Murad. His Ottoman hero in *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?* is a confident Muslim Turkish. As Millas states, Mîzancı Murad's opinion about the Western world and Ottoman non-Muslims are gravely negative in the mentioned novel. However, he directs some criticisms towards the Ottomans pointing Europe's some better aspects. As a supportive detail for this picture, referring to Mîzancı's some other texts, Millas indicates his statements about the impact of the Byzantine civilisation as the cause of evils.[501]

Before moving on to the rise of Turkism and its reflections in Ottoman fiction, last matter I do not want to omit related to Ottomanness is non-Muslims' situation. For the Ottoman order that religious affiliation was the determinant factor of a subject's legal status, *millet* system has been a popular paradigm for approaching the statuses of Ottoman non-Muslim subjects. However, it has been criticised by scholars because of some reasons—mainly, because of its assumption of communal legal autonomy. According to revisionist approaches, Ottoman non-Muslims were legally ruled by the *sharia* as all Ottoman subjects—it was the sole legal system in the empire. Yet, they were members of communities whose institutions used *de facto* sanctioning power over them at the same time. In addition, the empire recognised non-Muslim communities within its own institutions such as tax-farming, not autonomous structures.[502] Beyond this issue, some new problems emerged during the modern era

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[500] See Millas, *Türk Romanı ve 'Öteki'*, 20–24.

[501] Millas, 95–96.

[502] For more evaluations on topics like *millet* system debates, legal statuses of Ottoman non-Muslims, and their communal institutions from a few beneficial sources that I rely on in this paragraph, see Benjamin Braude, 'Introduction', in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Benjamin Braude (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc, 2013), 1–49; Benjamin Braude, 'Foundation Myths of the Millet System', in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Benjamin Braude (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc, 2013), 65–85; Macit Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi: Mit*

within non-Muslim communities, especially for Christian ones. First, reforms by the Ottoman state for converting its subjects to Ottoman citizens discomforted non-Muslim religious institutions. Hanioğlu writes:

> The ulema were not the only religious figures threatened by the ascendance of the new ideology; non-Muslim clerics likewise viewed the new policies as a threat to their positions in the established order. (…) The edict [of 1856] also weakened the privileged status of the Greek Patriarchate vis-à-vis the other non-Muslim religious institutions. A typical Greek reaction to the reform edict was: "the state has made us equal with the Jews. We were satisfied with Muslim superiority."[503]

Second, a tension between laymen and clerics emerged—maybe might be said also nationalist ideologies and old religious institutions for some later contexts. To exemplify, while commenting on the impact of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 in his work, Bedross Der Matossian indicates the downfall of the Armenian Patriarch Maghakia Ormanian who were seen as a symbol of the *ancient regime* and Armenian political parties that gaining power.[504] Thirdly and lastly, going back to the Tanzimat era, communal boundaries became a cause of problem though they were blurred. Hafez draws attention to reflections of this problem in Ottoman non-Muslim literature during the Tanzimat era while evaluating dandy figures. She points the novel published in 1851 and in Armeno-Turkish by Hovsep Vartanyan: *Akabi Hikâyesi* (The Story of Akabi):

> (…) [Vartan Paşa] recounts the love story between two Istanbuli Armenians, one Catholic (Akabi) and the other Orthodox (Hagop). Because of this difference in their religious denominations, their relationship was not accepted and they were ostracized. Their inability to marry is the theme of the novel.[505]

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ve Gerçek (Istanbul: Klasik, 2017), 27–97; Eugenia Kermeli, 'The Right to Choice: Ottoman, Ecclesiastical and Communal Justice in Ottoman Greece', in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2012), 347–61; and Tom Papademetriou, *Render unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[503] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 75.

[504] See Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 74–81.

[505] Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 165–66.

A few pages later, Hafez makes the statement below about the dandy figure in this novel—Rupenig, who is strictly obedient to the communal identity:

> (…) the earliest novels written in Ottoman Turkish in the Armenian alphabet contain dandy-like figures, such as Vartan Pasha's *Akabi hikayesi*, but the ridicule of the dandy was not centered on his lack of ambition, but rather on his lack of common sense and his closed-mindedness. This should be understood in connection with specific concerns and tensions in the Armenian community of the 1850s and 1860s.[506]

Now, I move on to Turkism. In the empire, that its non-Muslim elements was developing their nationalist projects and some of them were departing from the empire, Muslim elements decided to claim their nationalist ideals later. As Hanioğlu says for Turkism, "It was merely one of the last in a series of similar movements to emerge among Muslim Ottoman groups, such as the Albanians, the Arabs, and the Kurds".[507] This lateness has been logically related with intention of convincing other elements for staying within the empire. Yet, conditions that Muslim-Turk statesmen and intellectuals faced convinced them for Turkism.[508] Nonetheless, as the complex relations between actors and ideologies are mentioned before, this does not mean that the Turkist project just cared Turkish people of the empire. We can find its reflections in Hâlide Edib's novel *Yeni Tûran*. Ottomanness just could express the membership of the state, not the nationality according to the new Turkist ideology. Accordingly, one of its fiery pioneers, Ömer Seyfeddin, attacks the Turks who deny their own nationality in his stories several times in his writings.

There is a detail that should be added here. Turkism of the period seems like an ideology for economic and cultural progress of the Turkish element, especially on the intellectual ground. Nonetheless, this is not the entire picture. In a part about Goltz Paşa's work *Das Volk in Waffen* ("The Nation in Arms" in English and "*Millet-i Müselleha*" in Turkish) in his Atatürk's intellectual biography, while evaluating the influence of this work on Ottoman military students, Hanioğlu draws attention to its impact on Turkish nationalism:

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[506] Hafez, 167–68.

[507] Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 142.

[508] See Hanioğlu, 142–49.

> Although increasingly sympathetic to Goltz's ideas, the new Ottoman officer class had one major reservation about them: his model was Germany, an archetypal nation-state. The Ottoman state, by contrast, was a polyethnic empire coming apart at the seams. How then was the nonexistent nation to be summoned to arms? The forging of a nation in arms required an ideological framework that would cement the bond between the new rulers and the masses. But how could such a framework possibly appeal to the empire's diverse population groups? Clearly a nationalist ideology would have much greater chances of success were the population ethnically homogenous. This line of reasoning contributed to the rising popularity of Turkism among Ottoman officers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.
>
> Mustafa Kemal embraced some bold ideas in this regard. As early as 1907, he proposed that the Ottoman Empire should voluntarily dissolve itself in order to pave the way for population exchanges that would give rise to a Turkish state. Only a state undergirded by a robust national identity, he reasoned, would be capable of fielding a strong army. What he imagined was a "Turkish nation in arms"—not an Ottoman one.[509]

Hâlide Edib's two novels display the new ethnic-based national consciousness. *Seviye Tâlib* engages in national issues within an axis of modern-traditional dichotomy. While Fâhir is a modern nationalist character who has national sense, his wife begins as an old-minded woman who should be modernised according to her husband. Mâcide's outdated mind (in Fâhir's eyes) appears in her understanding of nation. She has no clear idea of homeland and divides the world into Islam and Christianity. She does not give enough attention what Fâhir teaches her.[510] Mâcide's mind changes dramatically towards the end of the novel. In the last lines, she motivates their son Hikmet with the love of homeland.[511] *Yeni Tûrân* is the other one which display the ideal of Turkishness more clearly. The New Turan Party embraces Turkish nationalism in a decentralised empire. The emphasis on the Turkish element [*Türk unsuru*] is so strong in the discourse of the party whereas its opposite rejects such a nationalism and defends the umbrella identity of Ottomanness. Despite its Turkish nationalism, the New Turan Party has non-Muslim members who are convinced by the decentralisation

[509] Hanioğlu, *Atatürk*, 37.

[510] Adıvar, *Seviye Talip*, 23.

[511] Adıvar, 155.

vision.[512] Yet, Hâlide Edib's novel gives a clue about conflicts related to religious affiliation. During the New Turan's years in power, Oğuz draws grudge of ignorant ones from Muslim Turks and intelligent greedy ones from non-Muslims.[513]

As an outstanding man of letters of Turkish nationalism, Ömer Seyfeddin's stories provide rich material for early years of the Turkish nation-building process. The story I want to engage in here is "Primo Türk Çocuğu" (Primo the Turkish Kid), which gives enough material for my subject. Kenan is a westernised man who has no Turkish national sense, and strongly committed to the idea of humanity and freemasonry. As a result of his ideal of universal humanity values—which was something drives Ömer Seyfeddin mad—Kenan hates Darwin.[514] He marries Italian Grazia accepting all conditions that his Italian father-in-law stipulates: Grazia will be free, the children will receive the Italian style of upbringing, and Kenan will no more meet his barbaric relatives. Kenan has a happy marriage until the day that conflicts in Salonica arise. Being disappointed because of the ill-treatment to the Turks, Kenan's mind changes dramatically. He quarrels with Grazia telling her that he will not leave the city and divorce her if she does not accept to stay as a Turkish woman. They also asked their son Primo (the first-born) for his opinion. Primo who does not know Turkish but has already embraced his Turkishness thanks to his schoolmate Orhan. Primo self-assuredly but with a few short sentences in a broken Turkish tells that he is a Turkish kid. This is the first part of the story. The second part narrates Primo as a Turkish-speaking patriot child named Oğuz, who plans to attack at the end of the story against the enemy during Salonica is surrendered.[515]

I have four matters to underline through this nationalist story of self-recognition. The first one is the attempts to re-establish a purer Turkish culture. Primo learns Turkish in a short time at home. Then, Kenan asks his Turkish son about giving him a Turkish name. In accordance with the Turkish *zeitgeist*, Primo offers Enver first,

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[512] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 91–93.

[513] Adıvar, 108.

[514] This detail should be related to the popular ideology of the period: Social Darwinism. For a study engages in the influence of Social Darwinism on Unionists and which includes evaluations of Ömer Seyfeddin's a few stories regarding this context in its conclusion part, see Bolat, 'Social Darwinism'.

[515] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 249–77, 388–417.

then Niyâzi. The nationalist father rejects both these Arabic names. Upon giving a few Turkish examples, he chooses Oğuz explaining his legend.[516]

The second is the new nationalist historical approach that embraces the warrior ancestors and answers Western claims about the Turks. The discourse in the story completely asserts the Turkish superiority over the other nations whose lands were conquered by the Turks. One of the prominent reasons that Primo's impression from Turkishness is Orhan's exaggerated historical narratives.[517] The story also alludes to a historical approach, which does not credit the "barbaric" Turks for founding a great state like the Ottoman Empire. In the story, Grazia's father Mösyö Vitalis is not ready to marry his daughter with a Turkic savage. Hence, he finds the solution denying Kenan's Turkishness: He is a Turkified Greek as many other people during the conquests by a small number of Turks.[518] To see details about the approach that Ömer Seyfeddin reacts here, let's visit Cemal Kafadar. While discussing the historiographical approaches to the founding period of the Ottoman Empire, he mentions Herbert Adams Gibbons—"an American teaching at Robert College (Istanbul) in the 1910s, was the first to problematize and devote a monograph to the origins of the Ottoman state." in Kafadar's words.[519] These are the lines from Kafadar, which presents Gibbons's solution:

> The expansion of Osmanlı (…) power was accompanied not so much by fresh elements from the East but by more and more "defections and conversions from among the Byzantine Greeks; so, the creative force of the Ottoman Empire must not be attributed to an Asiatic people but to European" elements.[520]

The third matter is the discriminative language of the story against other Ottoman nations, especially non-Muslims. Ömer Seyfeddin does not say anything positive about non-Turk Ottomans. The Greeks are the major enemy of course in the story which takes place in Salonica during conflicts. But the Greek nation is not only

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[516] Ömer Seyfettin, 388–89.

[517] Ömer Seyfettin, 269–70.

[518] Ömer Seyfettin, 259–60.

[519] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1996), 32.

[520] Kafadar, 33.

enemy as Ömer Seyfeddin begins the story with pages include offensive words describing the Jews as self-seeking and the Europeans as indecent.[521] When the city is surrendered, almost all Ottoman Jews become Greeks. The Italians are also targeted in the story because of their offensive attitude against the Ottoman land.[522] Primo who rejects being an Italian is so satisfied during his later days getting rid of an Italian mother at home.[523] The Turkish kid takes further steps. Primo asks his father Kenan about their Greek servants. The father who is proud of his nationalist son replaces the servants with Turkish ones.[524] What is more, the excluded ones are not only non-Muslims but also non-Turk Muslims. During a conversation between Kenan and Primo, Kenan describes the Albanians as the most terrifying, the most irksome, and the most tireless enemy of the Ottoman State. Baffled Primo asks whether they are their brothers. Kenan answers him saying that they are the ones who have never forgiven the Turks among their old slaves. Then, he reminds the Albanians' some contemporary actions and rebels.[525] I have not made any research about Turkist Ömer Seyfeddin's opinion on Albanian Şemseddin Sâmi. But I want to mention here a detail in another story. It is "Ashâb-ı Kehfimiz" (Our Cave Dwellers[526])—a story that Ömer Seyfeddin satirises Ottomanist Turks, describing them as ones who are not aware of anything. Ömer Seyfeddin's some characters in his stories imply real individuals. In this story, he depicts a group of people who are members of the Ottoman Orientation Club [*Osmanlı Kaynaşma Kulübü*]. Many of them have names that exhibit their non-Muslim or non-Turk identity. One of them is Fraşerli Nâdir Bey.[527] Indicating the

[521] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 249–50.

[522] Ömer Seyfettin, 272.

[523] Ömer Seyfettin, 388.

[524] Ömer Seyfettin, 390.

[525] Ömer Seyfettin, 393–94.

[526] In the title, Ömer Seyfeddin implies a Quranic story [*qiṣṣa*] that narrates a group of people who sleep in a cage. The story is popularly known among Turkish people as "The Seven Sleepers", which is indeed the title of a Christian story. Considering *sabab al-nuzūl* information in sources that Mustafa Öztürk notes, the Quranic story were known by the Jews in the Arabia peninsula. Thus, it seems that "The Seven Sleepers" is a later Christian version of the Jewish story. Due to this reason, I prefer "Our Cave Dwellers" to translate the title of the story. For Öztürk's explanation, see Mustafa Öztürk, *Kur'ân-ı Kerîm Meâli: Anlam ve Yorum Merkezli Çeviri* (İstanbul: Düşün Yayıncılık, 2013), 403.

[527] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 2*, 94.

Albanian village where Şemseddin Sâmi was born, Frashër, is a clear allusion to him; if not, his brothers.

The last is the nationalist view on the Tanzimat project. Let's remember here Zübeyir's enthusiastic words about Tanzimat in Şemseddin Sâmi's *Besâ yâhud Ahde Vefâ*.[528] As the discourse of Ottomanness is appreciated no more by the Turkish nationalist sect, the Tanzimat reforms are targeted by Ömer Seyfeddin. In Kenan's opinion about Tanzimat, it was the beginning of the calamity; the date that they have forgotten their Turkishness completely and European-style laws have been started to be applied. During the process, all enemies have been gathered as brothers under the name of "Ottoman", which is indeed only a state name. Tanzimat has paved the way for others to gain their independence and even they (these others) will dig the Turks' grave.[529] Keeping in mind that the story takes place in Salonica, the negative opinion about cosmopolitanism of Turkish nationalists can be noted here. Hanioğlu writes about Mustafa Kemal Paşa of Salonica:

> Mustafa Kemal had witnessed the Bulgarian and Greek guerrilla warfare in Macedonia as a child and teenager. As an adult, he experienced the pain and humiliation of the Greek occupation and eventual annexation of Salonica in the First Balkan War of 1912. (…) Mustafa Kemal was a man who could never go home. These events exposed the cosmopolitan pipe dream that Ottomanism had become. They also underscored the importance of military strength, and provided a sharp lesson in the importance of history as a legitimizing force potentially far more powerful than demographic reality in determining the fate of cities, regions, and even entire countries. These lessons played a significant role in Mustafa Kemal's later attempts, as founder of the Turkish republic, to consolidate indisputable Turkish rule over Anatolia. They explain why he did not stop at victory on the battlefield in the ferocious war to destroy Greek irredentism but instead went on to launch a pseudoscientific campaign to prove the Hittite and Sumerian origins of the Turks so as to outsmart anyone who might make historical claims on Anatolia. Moreover, he completely abandoned the old cosmopolitan notion of Ottomanism—with its attempt to bridge the irreconcilable

[528] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Semseddin Sami'nin Tiyatroları*, 99.

[529] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 392–93.

contradiction between empire and nationalism—and set out to build a new state that was as homogeneous, and as un-Balkan, as possible.[530]

It would be appropriate to scrutinise some details in literary texts related to nation-building attempts. *Yeni Tûrân*'s favoured party the New Turan appears on stage as a typical nation-building project with its invented traditions. Keeping sense of piety and compliance with the *sharia*; the Turkist and decentralist party exhibits many Turkist innovations in each aspect of the life—such as food, clothing, and aesthetics of place, which are mostly inspired by the Seljukid and the Maulawi traditions.[531] Consumption of a Central Asian drink, kumis [*kımız*], is an intriguing detail added by Hâlide Edib in the novel. During her illness period, Kaya demands kumis from his husband Hamdi Paşa—who is the leader of the New Ottoman Party. Despite his confusion and anger against "the nationalist craze of the reactionist men", he starts buying kumis every evening while returning home. Pro-New Turan journals do not miss the opportunity to tease the leader of their Ottomanist opponent. Another case is from the last moments of the New Turan's leader. While telling his life story by main force during his last hours, Oğuz drinks kumis and stops for a while: "Then, he continues as if he comes to the prettiest page of an old and familiar book."[532] One might find familiar tendencies with *Yeni Tûrân* in Edhem Nejad's stories. Both stories that examined in this study provide some examples of invented traditions, especially in the old Turkic-inspired and heroic 10th of July celebrations described in "Yiğit Türkler". It is also possible to find many attempts of vivifying the national sense in "Çiftlik Müdürü". The naming of the strawberry produced in the farm as "the Seljuk strawberry" is one of cases that are familiar with the New Turan's attempts in Hâlide Edib's novel.[533]

There are a few other samples from the texts I scrutinise, which ridicule the exorbitances of nation-building attempts. One of the most teased endeavours of the secular Turkish republic, especially by conservatives, has been the linguistic reforms during Atatürk's time. Early varying endeavours of the decision-makers of the young

[530] Hanioğlu, *Atatürk*, 27–28.

[531] See Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 25–28, 31, 42–45.

[532] Adıvar, 129.

[533] Ethem Nejat, *Ütopik Hikâyeler*, 47.

state like creating a pure Turkish language, the Sun Language Theory, and Atatürk's decision to change his name as "Kamal" have been kept on and on by some conservative sections. Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî satirises early cases of such attempts one decade before the Republic of Turkey in *Teşebbüs-i Şahsî*. He tells about a new Turkish society and its journal with zeal of finding Turkish roots for every word. In a discussion on the word "*çek*" (cheque), a character named Dânâ (means savant) claims that the word is the short form of Turkish word "*verecek*" (he will pay). For another example of these "unusual explorations"; the word "*kağıt*" (paper) is a form of word "*kat*" (fold).[534] Let's turn from linguistics to literature for a second case. Refik Hâlid's parrot character Ago Paşa suffers from nationalists for a while. When Ago is bought by a Unionist, his dandy daughter teaches poor Ago some poems by Mehmed Emin (Yurdakul).[535]

Through *Yeni Tûrân*, I want to draw attention to another significant aspect of the Turkish nationalism. But first, let's remind the migration of Muslims that the Ottoman Empire receives. As known, while the empire was losing territory and many Muslims were migrating to the empire from various geographies (especially Russia), the Ottoman society transformed into a more Muslim one. This was a cause behind later events like Abdülhamid II's Islamist policies and rising Turkish nationalism.[536] Especially, well-educated Muslims migrated from Russia served in the empire as prominent intellectuals and politicians. Returning to Hâlide Edib's novel, the leading figures of the New Turan Party are of Tatar descent—Lütfi Paşa, Kaya, and Oğuz. In his work, James H. Meyer calls people who endeavoured for Muslim Turkish people in both the Turkish and the Russian states during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (such as İsmâil Gaspıralı and Yusuf Akçura) as "Turks across empires". In this context, he also points Hâlide Edib's mentioned novel in a few pages.[537]

As Turkish-nationalist consciousness increases, dandy figures also transform. Directing some criticism to Berna Moran because of omitting the relation of his claims

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[534] Tahir'ül Mevlevî, *Teşebbüs-i Şahsî*, 82–87.

[535] Karay, *Ago Paşa'nın Hatıratı*, 22.

[536] For some analyses of the mentioned process by the most outstanding Turkish scholar in the field of migration, see Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Etnik Yapılanma Ve Göçler* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2017).

[537] See Meyer, *Turks Across Empires*, 161–63.

with the nationalist ideology, Millas refers to him for the transformation of dandies in Turkish novel. To this, there is a great difference between *alla franca* dandies of the Tanzimat period and dandies of (later) authors like Yâkub Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu). Hüseyin Rahmi's *Şıpsevdi* can be considered a transition [*köprü*] between two. According to Moran, the new dandy-type is profiteer and collaborator [*işbirlikçi*].[538] Here, Millas's comments on Hüseyin Rahmi's transformation would be meaningful. In short, he embraced an inclusive humanist discourse during his early years and approaches non-Muslims positively. After 1912, his Turkish-nationalist emphases increased in his texts and directed angry criticisms towards both foreigners and non-Muslims. Since the new Turkish state, Hüseyin Rahmi was not the Ottoman novelist of the 1890s anymore.[539]

I want to draw attention to dandy figures in Ömer Seyfeddin's stories. The most outstanding specifications of these dandies are their lack of Turkish-national sense and their charlatan character. These figures take place as Otomanist, humanitarian, or religious figures. "Boykotaj Düşmanı" (The Enemy of the Boycott) satirises a group of man of letters called Neo-Greekists [Nevyunânîler] and who are inspired by ancient Greek literature. Yâkub Kadri and Yahyâ Kemal (Beyatlı) were two prominent figures of the movement. In the story, Ömer Seyfeddin accuses them of serving the Greek enemy through a fictional character named Mahmud Yüsrî—who has romantic Byzantine ideals and furious about the boycott against the Greeks.[540] In "Memlekete Mektup" (A letter to the Homeland) and "Ashâb-ı Kehfimiz", Ömer Seyfeddin presents familiar type of charlatans. The first one narrates an "Ottoman" society that has no credit for Turkishness and respects much more its members who are from other nations. They discuss bizarre ideas for establishing common values including religion—they decide irreligiousness for commonality. At the end, everyone leaves the society, but only its Turkish members remain. The non-Turk members of the society undertake roles for their new states.[541] In the second story which narrates the difficult days after the Great War, Ömer Seyfeddin mentions ignorant dandies who are pious

[538] Millas, *Türk Romanı ve 'Öteki'*, 49.

[539] See Millas, 36–42, 48–49.

[540] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 418–27.

[541] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 2*, 76–124.

but have no national sense.[542] "Efruz Bey" is the last story I want to add here. Efruz is a fabricated name by the lead character of the story, whose name is Ahmed. He is just a charlatan who always repeats words about freedom after the Young Turk Revolution. By repeating the magical words, the ignorant man seduces crowds that suppose him a great wise leader. Efruz completes the story in jail as a forgotten charlatan. At one moment during his prime, some people argue about the ethnic origin of their great leader. Efruz gives a speech to them claiming that freedom means the constitution; the constitution means there is no nation nor sect. He offers Esperanto if they are not able to speak to each other. Then, he denies all social institutions like marriage, family, nation, and law. He impresses everybody and the audience celebrates the brotherhood upon Efruz's abolishment of nations and sects. The only exceptions are the Circassians—because they are disappointed by Efruz's rejection of being a Circassian.[543]

Two charlatans—Hüseyin Rahmi's Meftun and Ömer Seyfeddin's Efruz—are created in very close dates, during the Second Constitutionalist period. The first always makes pseudo-philosophical explanations while the other has nothing intellectually special but can only repeat some "magical" words. I want to add another such figure, who is introduced in a close date to these two. Yet, it is not a product of a Turkish author but a socialist Armenian humourist: Yervant Odyan. His work titled *Comrade Panchoonie* in English [*Ընկեր Փանջունի*], satirises Armenian socialist parties because of their fruitless and harmful actions for Armenian people. Panchoonie is the lead character who is a stubborn one and speaks without stopping since his childhood, fails in everything, and discovers revolutionary ideas upon wasting all his property. Odyan recounts in a humorous manner how Panchoonie ruins everything attempting to preach and practice revolutionary ideas in rural.[544] Recalling here also Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî's eager but incompetent characters, it should not have been a coincidence that these fictional characters emerged in nearby times.

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[542] Ömer Seyfettin, 204–11.

[543] Ömer Seyfettin, *Efruz Bey*, ed. Gökhan Tunç, trans. Ebru Özgün and Buğra O. Uluyüz (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2019), 44–46.

[544] For the Turkish translation of Odyan's work that I use and some information about the work, see Yervant Odyan, *Yoldaş Pançuni*, trans. Sirvart Malhasyan (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013).

In previous chapters, I touch on some significant matters related to economic sphere like Ottoman intellectuals' reactions to the bitter experiences of the Public Debt Administration, Ottomans' criticisms towards the liberal economics, the CUP's policy of national economics, and some of their reflections in the Ottoman fiction. Here, I mainly focus on intellectuals' comments and imaginations of economic situation of Muslim-Turks *vis-à-vis* non-Muslims and the question of sedentarism which has intersections with it.

Through the nineteenth century, Ottoman non-Muslims enjoyed some advantages provided by foreigners that saw them favourable partners and some privileges provided by local authorities. Later, one important aspect of Ottoman writers' early claims on economic activities was constituted by their statements on Muslims' weaknesses and disadvantages—these writers also included a non-Muslim one (Demetrius Georgioades) as Kılınçoğlu points. Relying on the assumption of the ethnic division of labour, some of them wrote to encourage Muslims for the areas where they lack.[545] Meeting requirements of the modern economic world was an important task. Some writers were not only anxious with the entrepreneurial weaknesses of their society, but also with their lifestyles. Intellectuals' some criticisms on issues related to economic life like high demand for jobs in civil service are already mentioned. On the side of the lifestyle, nomadism was pointed as a concern for some writers. Being educated by the national institutions of a nation-state, many citizens of the Republic of Turkey tend to be proud of their warrior ancestors (as taught by the school textbooks) who were riding horses in the Central Asian steppes—if they are not non-Muslim or Kurdish. However, the same was not true for some late Ottoman intellectuals.

Let's mention here two names. Ahmed Midhat is the apparent one. He expresses his concerns about nomadism in "Sevdâ-yı Sa'y ü Amel", establishing a contrast between nomadism and the idea of homeland [*vatan*]. Ahmed Midhat draws attention to the nomadic lifestyle that can be found even in Istanbul; he indicates views

[545] For more details and evaluations from the sources that I rely on here, see İsmail Hakkı Kadı, *Ottoman and Dutch Merchants in the Eighteenth Century: Competition and Cooperation in Ankara, Izmir, and Amsterdam* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 274–310; Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 132–39; Sarı, *Emek Düşüncesi*, 141–58; and Pamuk, *Uneven Centuries*, 75–78.

at houses, which he considers as signs of nomadism. For instance, some items look like even if they will be loaded on beasts of burden.[546] In his political economy book *Ekonomi Politik*, he reminds the military character of the Turks. Appreciating past successes in military and political fields, he points the lack in accumulating wealth. Ahmed Midhat warns with giving some historical examples: Military successes are contemporary whereas the wealth generated by artisan and merchant nations are permanent.[547] He reminds his position in a historical novel that narrates a soldier fighting against the Crusaders, *Süleyman Muslî*. To him, the progress of civilisation is only possible with remaining resident in a city or a village. A few lines later, Ahmed Midhat reminds that there is no significant difference between civilisation and nomadism [*bedeviyât*], unless the law [*hukûk ve kavânîn*] prevails and the form of solving all national causes by sword is abolished.[548] After, mentioning Ahmed Midhat, Kılınçoğlu indicates Rıza Tevfik from the early twentieth century, as a second intellectual who wrote in the same direction but with more bitter words. Claiming past successes but pointing necessities of the new age like Ahmed Midhat, he wrote, "[Our] laziness, immorality, and barbarity today are [the vestiges of] yesterday's pride, arrogance, nomadism, and Janissary fights."[549] Beyond these concerns of some intellectuals, how to deal with people challenging authorities (like nomadic tribes or highlanders) was an important issue both for the Tanzimat project and for many late Ottoman rulers—as it had been always a difficult task.[550]

Interestingly, in accordance with nation-building processes, we can find some interest in rural rather than cities in some fictions. These cases are related to nationalist ideas of authors. Edhem Nejad's two stories can be mentioned as the examples for the Turkish nationalism. Turhan in "Çiftlik Müdürü", remembers the ancient Turks'

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[546] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Sevda-yı Sa'y ü Amel*, 25–28.

[547] Ahmed Midhat, *İktisat Metinleri*, 59–61.

[548] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Süleyman Muslî*, 63.

[549] Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 91–92.

[550] For a general picture of Ottoman rulers' attitude against such local people, see Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 86–88; for a short evaluation for Albanian highlanders, see Gawrych, *Crescent and Eagle*, 28–36; lastly, for a work on varying relations between the Ottoman state and Arab nomads in the modern era (such as the state's attempts for coercion or reconciliation), see M. Talha Çiçek, *Negotiating Empire in the Middle East: Ottomans and Arab Nomads in the Modern Era, 1840-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

passion for rural while he observes the farms of English lords.[551] Two heroes in "Yiğit Türkler", whose names are Oğuz and Günseli, are heroes who grow up and live in the countryside.[552] Şemseddin Sâmi's plays provide examples of that aspect of the interest in rural. One can attribute his positive claims on rural and mountains to his Albanian nationalism. The setting in *Besâ yâhud Ahde Vefâ* is mountains in Albania. On a stage in the play, Merûşe and Receb—two cousins have grown up at the same house as two siblings, love each other, but have not confessed their love yet—sing together joining hands. Their song appreciates the life of highlanders claiming the superiority of opportunities they enjoy over urban settlers have.[553] Sâmi's another play *Seydi Yahyâ* narrates a historical story of a soldier named Seydi Yahyâ who combats during the conflicts in Andalusia. On a stage, a prisoner who had joined to bandits on mountains claims, "There is no difference between living in urban and living in this cell for me."[554] He justifies his hate towards urban people claiming, "[Urban] people are not free; tradition [*âdet*], custom [*görenek*], greed, envy, fraud have curbed them."[555] Sâmi's last play I want to mention, *Gâve*, also provides a familiar trace. The playwright presents an ancient Persian story that narrates Zahhak's cruel rule after Jamshid's just rule ends. Zahhak forces people to give up their religion and adopt a new one that they must worship snakes. Zahhak bans old practices and demolishes its temples. While a conversation with shepherds who can still freely practice the old ritual, Gâve tells them that they are in luck for being able to practice whereas all temples in cities are demolished and replaced by new temples of snakes.[556] It is possible to find some familiar tendencies of nation-building in the Arab geography.[557]

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[551] Ethem Nejat, *Ütopik Hikâyeler*, 28.

[552] Ethem Nejat, 70, 72.

[553] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Semseddin Sami'nin Tiyatroları*, 52–54.

[554] Şemseddin Sâmi, 195.

[555] Şemseddin Sâmi, 196.

[556] Şemseddin Sâmi, 308.

[557] Coşkun shows how Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal embraced and idealised farmers considering them as symbols of Egyptian people, whereas farmers had been ridiculed before. Accordingly, his pseudonym was "Mısrî Fellâh" (An Egyptian Farmer). Another significant man of letters of the same geography, Muḥammad Taymūr, focuses on rural people and their problems in many of his stories. For these researchers' evaluations, see Coşkun, 'Zeyneb ve Ta'aşşuk'; and Furkan Tayşan, 'Muhammed Teymûr ve Kısa Öykülerinin Tematik Bağlamda Tahlili', *Academic Knowledge* 6, no. 1 (2023): 30–48.

It would be plausible to think that the concerns on nomadism should not be considered as the mere reality itself, but writers' attentions related to economic nationalism and requirements of the modern world. Firstly, the assumption of the ethnic division of labour has been criticised by some contemporary Ottoman historians. In her study that she examines an occupational group (Orthodox furriers in Istanbul), Elif Bayraktar Tellan states the problematic side of the mentioned approach for the Ottoman society: There were no rigid lines between its communities. She refers to Kırlı to deal with the perception that certain ethno-religious groups dominated certain economic activities. Kırlı points the ties among fellow countrymen as the main reason, not an ethnic division of labour.[558] Secondly, there have been still some reasons to consider a lack of sedentary culture in Turkey. However, it is not proper to conclude it referring to warrior ancestors instead of socio-economic development during the contemporary history of Turkey. Many members of history at the academic level would also remember here the contemporary tendency to erode such essentialist approaches in historiography, I especially mean the Anatolian history—such as criticising narratives built on sharp contrasts between Muslims and non-Muslims, or "nomadic" Turks and "sedentary" Greeks.[559]

Let's share some examples to see how the matter above finds place in late Ottoman literary texts. In the story titled *Karabibik* that Nâbizâde Nâzım wrote in 1890, he depicts a Christian village in Antalya named Temre—fits sedentary culture; houses are made of adobe or rubber stones with soil mortar while all of them have the same internal and external orders. Residents in the village mostly engages in trade.[560] While Nâbizâde makes such a depiction, Ahmed Midhat was lamenting for the Ottomans in *Müşâhedât*. He praises his trader hero Seyyid Mehmed Nûman claiming

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[558] Elif Bayraktar Tellan, 'Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Çalışmaları Çerçevesinde İstanbul Kürkçüleri', *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 27 (2017): 116–17.

[559] For a few samples of such studies, see Cemal Kafadar, 'A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum', *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7–25; Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 1–59; Nevra Necipoğlu, 'The Coexistence of Turks and Greeks in Medieval Anatolia (Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries)', *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 5 (2000 1999): 58–76; and Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, 'XIII.-XV. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu'da Türk-Hıristiyan Dinî Etkileşimler ve Aya Yorgi (Saint Georges) Kültü', *Belleten* 214 (1991): 661–73.

[560] Nabizâde Nazım, *Karabibik*, ed. Emine Kolaç, trans. Ezgi Aslan and Gönül Yüksel (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2019), 26.

his greatness in commerce. Then, Ahmed Midhat argues that some readers would not understand how the greatness of a trader can be. To him, trade is one of the most unknowns for the Ottomans.[561] Nevertheless, he keeps alive his hope at the end of the same sub-part of the novel:

> Anyway, God willing, if the idea of trade will spread and knowledges that are subtopics related to it will expand beyond the public; so later novelists will assume explaining the importance of trade and the greatness of trader to their readers as knocking their heads against a brick wall and stating the obvious.[562]

A later example can be found in Hüseyin Rahmi's *Sıpsevdi*, this time from the eyes of the Europeans. The Turkish is depicted in their eyes as "fatalists"—who "sits in their trading houses sluggishly and does not attempt to any of tasks or means of trade that are specialties of the Europeans." "If it is the destiny, the customer finds him." Mösyö Makferlan—a bizarre man who wears a Macfarlane coat, looks like an artist, whom people suppose him as an artist, but anyone does not know what talent he has; or anyone does not know how he earns—comes to the Ottoman land, upon learning that there are great opportunities of profits and trade even for the most ignorant and idler ones of Europe.[563] A case from Hâlide Edib's *Yeni Tûrân* is the last one I want to refer. Thanks to the policies of the New Turan Party, both the Muslims and the Christians flourish; the former as farmers and the latter as industrialists.[564]

These are some details from Ottoman fiction regarding nationalist ideas. To stress the general tendency, ideal individuals in fiction became members of Turkish nation which had been Ottoman subjects before. Turkish-speaking writers also claimed the necessity for progress in some realms that Turkish people were weak.

4.3. Benevolence: Altruism in Inner Circle & Serving the Nation

Let's initiate with repeating a few sentences from the beginning of the chapter: Given that the Ottoman writers did not credit "selfish" *Homo Economicus;* the idealised modern, industrious, and benevolent Ottoman individual of Ahmed Midhat's

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[561] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 172.

[562] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 173.

[563] Gürpınar, *Şıpsevdi*, 333–35.

[564] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 106.

project has been popularly called *Homo Ottomanicus* to mark the differentiation. The quote below is from Kılınçoğlu's depiction:

> Adam Smith asserts that the principles of economics are based on some natural instincts (namely, truck, barter, and exchange) of human beings. This assumption constitutes the backbone of his formulation of *Homo economicus.* Likewise, Ahmed Midhat formulated *Homo Ottomanicus*, who is also driven by economic instincts but differing significantly from *Homo economicus* with his cultural and moral concerns. In addition to being industrious, thrifty, and self-disciplined—that may also define *Homo economicus* in a broad sense—*Homo Ottomanicus* is humbly obedient, cooperative and altruistic, instead of being a self-interested individualist person.[565]

This is the modern Ottoman project which I call here "benevolent self-reliant individuals". In this closing part shorter than previous ones, I approach this topic through the Ottoman fiction in the two scales which are told in the title above and omitting some positions (such as socialist views) as their lack of influence on literary texts.

The first scale that I name "altruism to inner circle" is the smaller one, which I refer to favours of individuals to their close environments. Starting with Ahmed Midhat, I want to remind first his Şînâsi in *Bahtiyârlık* who works for not only his own interest but also for the village he lives in. In addition to Ahmed Midhat's emphases on public benefit generated by producing people, collaboration, or division of labour; he also appreciates humanitarian assistance. Last a few pages before the one-paragraph epilogue in his political economy book is reserved for humanitarian assistance [*muâvenet-i insâniyye*]. Ahmed Midhat claims that it is a sacred responsibility of members of a civilised society. Likening modern society to family, he mentions some responsibilities of family members in disability, infirmity, elderliness, and education. The industrious author who has no tolerance for laziness does not forget to condemn begging while explaining differences between these two in the following lines.[566] His rich character Seyyid Mehmed Nûman in *Müşâhedât* is a benevolent figure. But as already pointed before, Ahmed Midhat objects his attitude of assisting Siranuş as if

[565] Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism*, 101.

[566] Ahmed Midhat, *İktisat Metinleri*, 91–93.

she were a beggar.[567] The opportunity he provides to young man Refet for working and earning seems like an approved case in the novel.[568] Ahmed's endeavour in *Henüz 17 Yaşında* for freeing Kalyopi from prostitution is another case should be noted from Ahmed Midhat's novels. Industrious Ahmed works whole week to make the required money ready.[569] The most powerful humanitarian character of Ahmed Midhat seems like Hasan Mellâh's father Sîdî Osman. The hero—who applies the best methods to develop his country and even lays down his life for his homeland—spends the salary he receives from the state for people in need.[570]

Mîzancı Murad's hero Mansur is not only a patriot who is after his great ideals but also a benevolent doctor. Mansur, his comrade Mehmed, and their friend Nûri examine some poor patients for free. Moreover, Mansur secretly pays free prescriptions prepared at the pharmacy.[571] Later, Mansur continues his free examinations and gains reputation among people during his days in Velîler Farm. The merciful doctor also provides support to people for some other issues.[572] The child hero in Mehmed Tâhir's *Netîce-i Sa'y* should be mentioned here as he does not ignore beggars and helps poor while his bright days in wealth.[573]

Fatma Aliye's *Refet* is a novel that altruism is strongly stressed. Though her heroin Refet is a combative character against all wearisome conditions she must cope with; she and her devoted mother Binnâz can find some support from warm-hearted people in contrast with their relatives who never mind them[574]. Mürüvvet and Nezâket are two women who help Refet and Binnâz in Refet's success story. One type of humanitarians in the Ottoman society that Fatma Aliye indicates a few times in the novel signals people who support students. At an early page, Fatma Aliye tells that though the needs of poor pupils are met by prosperous children, Refet cannot benefit

[567] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 267–71.

[568] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 100.

[569] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Henüz 17 Yaşında*, 223.

[570] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 138.

[571] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 135.

[572] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, 318.

[573] Mehmet Tahir, *Dersaadet'te Emek*, 33–35.

[574] Fatma Aliye, *Refet*, 114.

from it because of her iciness, honour, and obstinacy.[575] At a later stage of Refet's education, Fatma Aliye mentions this time collaboration between students from prosperous families and students in need. Rich students who share their food with their mates also share their opportunity of courses and books at their homes. The teacher-candidate students intensively visit mansions of their well-situated mates for improving their skills. Fatma Aliye proudly praises: "These are the assistance and the collaboration [*muâvenet ve teâvün*] that have brought the Ottoman women to this level of progress in a short time."[576] For two more cases of assistance, Refet's close mate Şûle can be mentioned. She completes her early education with the assistance of her maternal uncle. When Şûle's mother passes away—her father had already passed away—Refet invites her mate to her house for living together. Two friends and Binnâz start to share the same place. Şûle also writes a letter to her uncle. The uncle who sincerely wishes to support his niece replies her telling the amount he can provide.[577]

The last case of this type of humanitarianism I mention here is from *Yeni Tûrân*. The examples of benevolence and philanthropy in Hâlide Edib's novel usually take place within a political context. However, one of the cases is not political. To save Oğuz, Kaya concedes the marriage with Hamdi Paşa—the leader of the New Ottoman Party. The marriage makes her unable to contribute the New Turan Party. During this period, Kaya learns and helps people in need in her quarter.[578]

A few other examples of assistance for education from *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı?* and *Yeni Tûrân* are mentioned in previous pages of this study. Another case takes place at the end of "Çiftlik Müdürü". Turhan rewards Bâyezid Ferid due to his great effort for the farm. Sharing some amount for new vocational books from abroad, the delighted hero grants the remaining amount he receives for educational purposes. He grants to the library of the Agricultural School and to the agricultural education of

[575] Fatma Aliye, 43.

[576] Fatma Aliye, 157–59.

[577] Fatma Aliye, 109–15.

[578] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 68–69.

poor children.[579] The difference of these cases from the ones in Fatma Aliye's *Refet* is that these humanitarian cases of education are objects in certain political agendas.

As Kılınçoğlu states, Hüseyin Câhid's utopian story "Hayât-ı Muhayyel" (The Imagined Life) sets an intriguing example of imagining happy people in collaboration[580]—which is narrated with a highly literary style. The village is built according to a plan with small houses. There is no servant in the village, all families do the work in turn. Money is just used for imports. The habitants always have time for literature and philosophy. One day of the week is reserved for picnic at a different place. Collaboration is also exhibited when a baby will be born and for marriages of youth.[581]

These are positive samples of benevolence from Ottoman fiction. Before passing to some other types of benevolence, I want to draw attention to a few critical cases. First, let's turn to Mardin's comments on Bihruz: People that were represented by such dandies in fiction were also blamed for damaging the interdependency and responsibilities between the two classes towards each other—remember here Mardin's claims on the two sides of the Golden Horn. In his article, Mardin makes explanations about the social function of wealth, rulers' responsibilities, and relations between two classes (which can be public's fury against rulers). According to Mardin, economic and social values that Bihruz introduced were considered betrayal, which harmed the traditional mechanism of redistribution.[582]

It is possible to find many aspects of the matter examined here in Ömer Seyfeddin's stories. Let's engage in one of them which provides a critical sample of the popular progressive ideas. The story named "Terakki" (The Progress) presents a conversation between two men named Niyâzi and Neşet. Two men rhapsodically talk about the level of progress has been reached in recent years. They express their wonderment about achievements such as cinema, automobile, gramophone, and

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[579] Ethem Nejat, *Ütopik Hikâyeler*, 50–51.

[580] For his evaluations, see Kılınçoğlu, 'İktisadi Düşünce Tarihi Kaynağı', 259–62.

[581] Yalçın, *Seçme Hikâyeler*, 43–51.

[582] Mardin comments on this matter throughout the article. For his words about Bihruz that mentioned above, see Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV*, 68.

zeppelin. Their manner does not change even when they hear a beggar's voice. Maintaining the same rhapsodical conversation while listening to the beggar's words like listening to a preacher and considering him as a socialist philosopher, they continue talking about the level of progress even in the words of beggars.[583]

Now, I move on to the larger scale. Philanthropic activity has been a useful means for political agendas. This matter has some reflections in late Ottoman fiction. Before engaging in them, it would be appropriate to mention a beneficial article by Nadir Özbek on philanthropic activities during the Hamidian period. In this article, in short, Özbek presents how the Sultan promoted public participation for such voluntarily activities for political aims. He himself took action with a sultanic generosity as his close associates and the bureaucracy also undertook roles.[584] I want to remind here philanthropic activity during the CUP rule that mentioned before in the context of women's participation to labour force.[585]

Among literary texts that I examine, *Yeni Tûrân* is the one that serving the nation through political party membership is the pivotal theme. In this novel, appreciated characteristics— diligence, progressive ideas, nationalism, piety, and patriotism—are exhibited by members of the New Turan Party. Devoted members of the party do not omit philanthropic activities as touched on in the "Earning Own Livelihood" part of the first chapter.

I pass to patriot characters who serve their nation devoting themselves to their jobs. As previously said, idea of patriotism appears in Nâmık Kemal's and Şemseddin Sâmi's plays. Their patriotic massages are expressed through soldier characters. During a conversation with Zekiye at an early stage of *Vatan yâhud Silistre*, patriot soldier İslam likens the idea of patriotism [*hamiyet*] in the Ottoman land to a small thing like a child in his mother's womb.[586] In a later conversation with colonel Ahmed Sıdkı, İslam tells him that he agrees with him about the idea of patriotism exists among the Ottoman people, but claims that the nation always needs to see a great man

[583] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 789–93.

[584] For the article, see Nadir Özbek, 'Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876–1909', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 1 (2005): 59–81.

[585] See Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 82–83.

[586] Namık Kemal, *Vatan yahut Silistre*, 12–13.

ahead.[587] Şemseddin Sâmi's three mentioned plays in this study gives samples of struggling. *Seydi Yahyâ* itself is a play that narrates an Andalusian leader. *Gâve* narrates a struggle for religion. In the context of patriotism, I want to mention here a scene from the most significant one, *Besâ yâhud Ahde Vefâ*. Selfo and his friends are not approved characters in the play. Yet, in one scene they talk about their fathers, they tell each other that their fathers died warring at different points of the empire.[588] Another soldier hero example as the lead character is Ahmed Midhat's Süleyman Muslî, who appears with also his intelligence throughout the novel.

I do not omit here volunteer heroes who dedicate their lives, especially during the last decades of the empire. Mîzancı Murad's hero Mansur moves to Ruse and Shipka for joining the army as doctor.[589] Then, he dies during his later days in Libya because of disease.[590] Oğuz in Edhem Nejad's "Yiğit Türkler" is another martyr.[591] Ömer Seyfeddin's Primo is in the process of planning of attacking the enemy at the end of his story.[592] Hâlide Edib's nationalist heroes also do not refrain from laying down their life for the nation. Fâhir in *Seviye Tâlib* joins the Action Army and dies during the 31st of March Incident.[593] The leader of the New Turan Party is murdered by an attack.[594]

We can continue with non-military roles. Ahmed Midhat's novels present us some positive exemplary characters of serving the state in various roles. Accordingly, he shares a few pages in "Sevdâ-yı Sa'y ü Amel" for Abdülhamid II—whom he is so closed in contrary to the overwhelming majority of his contemporaries. Upon appreciating his passion for effort and labour, he recites some of his words on serving

[587] Namık Kemal, 65.

[588] Şemseddin Sâmi, *Semseddin Sami'nin Tiyatroları*, 86–88.

[589] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 338.

[590] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, 351.

[591] Ethem Nejat, *Ütopik Hikâyeler*, 78.

[592] Ömer Seyfettin, *Hikâyeler 1*, 415–17.

[593] Adıvar, *Seviye Talip*, 153–55.

[594] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 110.

the state and the nation.[595] Martyr Sîdî Osman in *Hasan Mellâh yâhud Sır İçinde Esrâr* is the most outstanding exemplary statesman in Ahmed Midhat's novels.

As mentioned before, official positions are not for earning livelihood or achieving wealth, but for serving the state according to Ahmed Midhat's approach. The first master repeats this view in his novels.[596] While he encourages people for other occupations for their livelihood, he approves the officials who prefers serving the state rather than making higher money somewhere else.[597] While Sîdî Osman provides his own profit from his own jobs, he spends the salary he receives from the state for people in need.[598] It seems plausible to remind here Mîzancı Murad's Mansur. Familiarly, he plans to earn his own livelihood by medicine and wants to serve the state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[599] He has already been interested in politics since his education years in France as a whole-hearted Muslim-Ottoman student.[600]

Esrâr-ı Cinâyât is the novel that Ahmed Midhat intensively shares his expectations from officials and some other employees. At an early page of the novel, a journalist claims the responsibilities of journalists for caring the state interest, which means the national interest, more than their own self-interests. Journalists should be considered some kind of statesmen who wants to serve the justice.[601]At some other pages, there are some idealised characteristics that are expected from officials: initiative[602] and courage[603]. Though he has contact with the criminal circle, these words by Mecdeddin Paşa about lower-ranking officials should be approved by Ahmed Midhat: "[The ones] who bring glory to elders are junior officials."[604]

The last literary text here is the one which is the product of the aggressive ideas during the decade of harsh conflicts. Patriotic struggle is emphasised in even the most

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[595] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Sevda-yı Sa'y ü Amel*, 42–44.

[596] See Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 137–38; and Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, 113, 180.

[597] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Sevda-yı Sa'y ü Amel*, 46–49.

[598] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Hasan Mellâh*, 137–38.

[599] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?*, 127.

[600] Mizancı Mehmed Murad, 94–98.

[601] Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Cellât; Esrâr-ı Cinâyât*, 221.

[602] Ahmed Midhat Efendi, 232.

[603] Ahmed Midhat Efendi, 418.

[604] Ahmed Midhat Efendi, 229.

basic aspects of life in “Yiğit Türkler”. Edhem Nejad’s brave Turks Oğuz and Günseli grow up with the idea of revenge as being the children of the time of the Balkan Wars. They carry their grudge every time. In the story, Edhem Nejad narrates a moment that Günseli think about revenge during working in the field.[605]

All these samples above from Ottoman fiction are how idealised fictional Ottoman individuals serve their inner circles, societies, nations, and states.

[605] Ethem Nejat, *Ütopik Hikâyeler*, 70–72.

CONCLUSION

This was the Ottoman authors' idea of generating individuals for a stronger future in every sense. Making a generalisation, these authors' idealised Ottomans seek their self-interest, but also serve their inner circle and society; contribute progress and development; embrace their own national identity (which depends on authors' personal tendencies); and act freely not violating modernised Ottoman values (that also depends on authors' minds).

In the first chapter on self-reliance, it was shown that how demand for individualistic autonomy increased among the Ottoman upper class first, then intellectuals. The latter group whose members were concerned for the future of the empire and the Ottoman society employed new genres of literature that have fictive nature to draw attention to social problems and to create role models for Ottomans, especially for the Ottoman youth. They idealised diligent characters (Râkım, Vahdetî, Mansur, etc.) who have their own dreams for their futures and do what are required to fulfil these dreams. Some characters who do not obey others' oppression were presented to the audience as exemplary ones (like Ömer Seyfeddin's Kezban and Koca Ali, and Şemseddin Sâmi's Vâhide). Parental pressure was a problem that should have been tackled in authors' eyes (remember here Fitnat and Şefika as young victims). Despite some exceptional names (Ahmed Midhat and Fatma Aliye), slavery as an institution was targeted by many authors (like Sâmipaşazâde Sezâi). Anti-heroes who set bad examples also took their place in Ottoman fiction (let's say Felâtun and Bihruz). Some appreciated fictional characters endeavoured for achieving their own wealth motivated by an ambition of achieving a dreamed future (remember here Ahmed Midhat's characters), while some others do the same because of not the same motivation but just their current difficult situations (like Fatma Aliye's Refet). As a sub-topic of many intellectuals' developmentalist and progressive visions, entrepreneurial economic activity was esteemed by them. They were not content with the low interest in entrepreneurship among Ottoman people. Their assertions found some reflections in Ottoman fiction, especially Ahmed Midhat was the one who created a good number of entrepreneur characters. In accordance with authors' own tendencies, imagined entrepreneurs engaged in various fields like agriculture (Şinâsi, Mansur, some New Turan members, Bâyezid Ferid, etc.), authorship (Râkım),

commerce (so many characters, especially by Ahmed Midhat), and industry (remember Ahmed Midhat's wise hero Seyyid Mehmed Nûman and advanced technology in Edhem Nejad's farm). In the aftermath of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, many Ottoman people started to engage in such activities more intensively—remember here the reasons like the atmosphere after of the revolution, or others pointed by researchers like CUP's national economy policies or market opportunities during war conditions. However, failures of enthusiastic but incompetent newborn entrepreneurs became the inspiration of Tâhiru'l-Mevlevî's satiric novel *Teşebbüs-i Şahsî*. Turning to the last part, self-reliant individuals had to achieve skills that facilitate them to enjoy honourable lives. Hence, authors stressed necessity of education, for not limited people but every societal groups. It should be reminded here that school was not the only place for learning. Some exemplary characters improved themselves outside of school (like Şinâsi and Nasuh). Professionals should also have achieved required knowledge and skills of their occupations. In the context of autonomy of female individuals, matter like girls' education and women's rights were stressed by both male pioneers of Ottoman modernisation (let's say Şemseddin Sâmi and Nâmık Kemal) and trailblazers of feminism (Fatma Aliye) in the capital of the Ottoman country.

Works ethics was the subject of the second chapter. As a result of some mentioned developments in Europe during the Reformation and Enlightenment periods in Europe, remember here Sarı's evaluations, the old perception and value of work transformed: Work had been associated with the belief of the Original Sin, considered as suffering, and only appreciated due to its necessity. Contrarily, it has been a harbinger of the dominating worldview of the capitalist modern age. Combining with political and economic problems that the Ottoman Empire were facing, the new perception of work was internalised by Ottoman intellectuals. They produced the Ottoman version of this new understanding criticising and reinterpreting old Islamic and traditional notions like *kader* and *tevekkül*. Authors spread these ideas to broader audience through new genres of literature. In their fictions, idealised fictional characters succeed in their goals thanks to their industriousness (no need to repeat them here). As there was no room for laziness, disapproved characters were depicted with their laziness, which was considered as even a crime. Dandies appeared as lazy officials in many fictions in accordance with officials' bad image in many authors'

opinions. Public benefit was a main goal of authors' emphases on hard work. Moreover, bitter experiences like the Public Debt Administration or disasters faced during the Balkan Wars galvanised more aggressive ideas of hard work, as some referred researchers state. Beyond this pivotal matter, Ottoman authors expected adherence to moral norms from their readers. Fictional characters who engage in condemned deeds like bribery (İbrâhim Şinâsi's Ebullaklaka), unjust tax-farming (like dandy Senâi's father Yamalı Mûsâ Ağa), crime ring membership (Hediye), religious hypocrisy (*dayı*s in *Hüseyin Fellâh*), prostitution (Urani), usury (Kâsım), or the CUP-associated war profiteering during the Great War (Hacı Ferhad and Hâfız İshak); and some others who seek undeserved wealth through ways like marriage (Sulhi) and lottery (remember Hüseyin Rahmi's criticism) were presented by Ottoman authors as ones who set bad examples. Yet, these authors did not ignore people who were in harsh condition of poverty and sympathised with desperate people that engage in occupations like prostitution or begging (through characters like Kalyopi and Şehlevend).

The third chapter on private life deal with personal aspects of the idea of self-reliant individuals in general, but not entirely. It initiated with decency and presented how idealised characters were depicted with their courtesy and gentlemanly behaviour (let's say Râkım, Nasuh, Julie, and Mansur) contrary to *alla franca* or rough dandies (Felâtun, Sulhi, etc.) In a period that social life was undergoing drastic changes and encounters with Europe was intensifying; Ottoman authors undertook a role of guiding the Ottoman youth for being modernised decent individuals. Warning Ottoman people, especially the youth, about harmful actions and habits was a task that was undertaken by authors. Many fictional characters suffer consequences of their faults like illicit sexual relations (such as Ali in *İntibâh*, Madame İlia in Hasan Mellâh's adventure, and many others), alcoholism (Nizâmi in *Karnaval*), debauchery (the end of Bedia's family bliss with her father and her brother), gambling (let's say Felâtun). On the other hand, Ahmed Midhat gave much place for depicting his idealised characters in fun—passing time with woman friends, consuming alcohol or going to picnic, theatre, other events (Râkım, Nasuh, Resmî, etc). His heroes were not non-stop-working robots but humans who know their limits for fun and never neglect their responsibilities. Passing to the following part, the Ottoman novel contains too much material related to financial prudence. Since the midst of the nineteenth century, Ottoman intellectuals expressed

their concerns and fury for the state debt accumulated by the Ottoman decision-makers. As time progressed, they became members of a country that in debt spiral and open to foreign intervention. Combining with other discontents with the Ottoman upper-class people because of reasons like their luxury and lavishness, authors expressed their criticisms through failure stories of extravagant characters. Felâtun and Bihruz are such extravagant ones who spring to mind first. Hüseyin Rahmi's dandy Söhret can be mentioned here for variety: a ridiculed character that does not have financial power for such a life but emulates spendthrift extravagant dandies from the Ottoman upper class. What is more, seeming like a warning for people in wealth, Ahmed Midhat and Emine Semiye narrated tragedies of clever characters because of failing in using their small capital cleverly after their comfortable days end (Ahmed Midhat's Hasnâ, her daughter Şehlevend, and Emine Semiye's Sâbite). On the other hand, prudent and cautious heroes enjoy their wealthy life and manage their investments that they support with credits they get when needed (remember here Şinâsi). As extremes were not applauded by these authors; greed and stinginess were both rejected by them (like usurer Kâsım who saves his money in jars). In the last part of the chapter, authors' opinions on family issues were presented through fiction. Old practices of parental pressure and arranged marriage were put on the target board by authors. Tragedies of victim youths and regrets of parents were narrated in early Ottoman fictions of the modern age. Clever (mostly male) heroes were rewarded with marrying kind (so mostly female) spouses at the ends of stories (like Râkım and Cânân). On the other hand, mindless dandies fail because of their false choice of spouses (the case of dandy Sulhi and *alla franca* Şerife). Despite exceptions like Ahmed Midhat, some old practices of family life were objected by authors during the modern era. Polygyny and female slavery were such topics, which had some reflections in Ottoman fiction (we can mention here tragedies in Nâbizâde's novel *Zehra*). Lastly, authors also expressed their opinions depicting their characters putting stress on their roles as parents who guide their children in positive or negative ways. (remember clever Şinâsi's and dandy Senâi's fathers, or kind-hearted teacher Behbûde's and her villainous sister Meşhûde's fathers).

The fourth chapter addressed senses of belonging of idealised individuals. An anxiety among Ottoman authors stemmed from being caught between adopting needed products of the admired West and protecting the self-identity with its values (of course

in a modernised form). Researchers embraced different—sometimes contrasting—views for interpreting intentions and trends among Ottoman intellectuals. Some of them have been equating westernisation with modernisation whereas some others have been asserting the necessity for making a differentiation. After all, it does not seem proper to make generalisations to interpret the entire Turkish-speaking Ottoman intellectual world within the same line or employing superficial dichotomies like westernised progressive reformers versus madrasa-rooted reactionist ones. In most of approved and disapproved cases in examined literary texts, characters that depicted as exemplary ones have ties with traditional Ottoman values (just as Râkım) whereas ones who set bad examples are not adherent to these values and mostly *alla franca* wannabes (Felâtun). Despite numerous contrasting views on Islam among late Ottoman intellectuals and approaches to Islam's role during the modern era by current researchers, it seems clear that Islam was the ideology of the state, and the common identity of Turkish-speaking Ottomans. On piety and confession levels, late Ottoman intellectuals and politicians varied. In examined fictions, piety was not an apparent common characteristic of idealised heroes. Yet, it is possible to find some (such as Mansur, his comrade Mehmed, Refet, Koca Ali, and New Turan members). Ahmed Midhat created characters who are usually adherent to Islam in terms of being a member of Muslim society. Literary people including prominent pioneers of modernisation expressed their discontent with alienation stemming from wannabe westernisation through *alla franca* dandies they created (keep Mardin's article in mind). An important matter for the late Ottoman intelligentsia was to tackle Orientalist claims. Their reactions found some place in their fictional narratives (Ahmed Midhat's answers and counterattacks can be mentioned in this contexts). Nationalism was an outstanding phenomenon of the nineteenth century, and it has been still important. The Ottoman rulers had to find a way to protect its land and maintain the security within the empire in an age that it was caught between interests of the dominant states (usually called the Great Powers) and rebellions against local rulers were starting to take nationalist shapes. Though well-known steps for Ottoman citizenship by the empire rulers throughout the age of nationalisms, the Ottoman state got smaller and smaller while its population became more Muslim-dominated due to land losses and immigrations. In addition, later, violence and hatred among ex-Ottomans alarmed Turkish-speaking elite to consolidate their nation under the name of a new identity. Turkism, which had been embraced by this group of elites since early years of the

twentieth century, became dominant in the examined texts written after the Revolution of 1908, in accordance with the Turkish intellectual life (as in Ömer Seyfeddin's or Hâlide Edib's works). Ahmed Midhat's or Albanian Şemseddin Sâmi's inclusive Ottomanness was no longer fashionable. In the case of Ömer Seyfeddin, other nations, specifically the Greek nation, were just enemies. The Turks should have survived themselves. Accordingly, he created a new type of dandy, represents those who reject the idea of Turkish nationalism. Recalling Millas's evaluation, Hüseyin Rahmi's lifeline is good indicator of the prevailing trend—from Ottomanness to Turkishness. Economic nationalism was another matter. Authors were concerned for the Turkish element *vis-à-vis* non-Muslims. To be civilised and improved more, Turks should have learnt activities like commerce and improve themselves in sedentary life according to some (Ahmed Midhat was the most apparent of them). The third and last part of the chapter exhibited samples of benevolence by self-reliant individuals. It should be reminded here again, these individuals were imagined by novelists, playwrights, and storytellers whose intention was to generate role models for the Ottoman youth, who will serve the society and the state. Some of approved characters in the late Ottoman fiction helps people in their inner circles (as many examples of Refet's story created by Fatma Aliye and Emine Semiye's *Gayyâ Kuyusu*), some engages in philanthropy (New Turan Members), and one character does both (Kaya from the New Turan Party). Turning to the national level, some like Sîdî Osman undertakes a position in government. The case of political party among the novels here was the New Turan Party. Some exemplary heroes become martyrs (like Sîdî Osman and Mansur). In this context, even disapproved groups who had very negative images in intellectuals' eyes could find place with appreciation when the matter became serving the state (remember here Selfo and his friends; in addition, Ahmed Midhat's character Osman Sabri's positive image contrary to the general depiction of officials).

Turkish-speaking Ottoman authors' literary products could not be utilised by later Ottoman generations but inherited by citizens of the new Turkish state founded under Mustafa Kemal Paşa's leadership. Turkish pupils have been facing mentioned literary texts in their school textbooks prepared by the national ministry of education of the Turkish nation-state—of course this ministry did not relinquish significant titles

like "the first Turkish novel" to non-Muslim authors who have been obscured.[606] Some topics that were traced in Ottoman fiction by this study were also significant matters for the rulers of the young republic—such as education, generating Turkish bourgeoise, modernisation, women's rights, family, national values, industriousness[607], and cautious financial management. Here, those who are familiar with later Turkish fictions have probably remembered some famous novels that were written by authors like Hâlide Edip Adıvar and Yâkup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu in the 1920s and 1930s. Above all else, the new Turkish nation-state should have generated successful and devoted "Turkish" individuals who were loyal members of the Turkish nation. If expressed implying lyrics of a much-loved anthem that we have been still singing, the task was to generate "fifteen million youths of all ages". Loyalty of these young individuals to "the Great Leader" [*Ulu Önder*] was another matter.[608] Implying this time the pupil pledge, which has been a matter of contention, Turkish youths should have been walk without stopping through the goal that Great Atatürk indicates. As it remains valid, successful members of the nation has been honoured with titles like Atatürk's children or Atatürk's daughters if they are females. The prevailing ideology in public space was obviously Kemalism until recent times. Though this tendency has been still strong, different versions (let's say right-wing, conservative, Islamist, etc.) of same phenomena have been embraced by citizens of the Turkish nation. It is possible to find diverse versions of mentioned phenomena in opposite camps' actions and discourses—like "serving the nation", "our common national values", or "our great leader to whom everyone in this country is indebted".

Referring to Ayşe Buğra, I want to indicate an intriguing aspect of early Turkish businessmen's biographies for seeing a sample of how Turkish individuals have been feeling themselves responsible to the Turkish nation. She states:

> One of the most striking dimensions of Turkish businessmen's self-image seems to be a lack of confidence about the legitimacy of the activities carried out in pursuit of pecuniary gain. This is reflected in an almost desperate attempt to justify business as

[606] For a few early literary texts by non-Muslims in the empire, see Hanioğlu, *Brief History*, 98–99.

[607] For some evaluations by Hafez on early years of the new Turkish state in this regard, see Hafez, *Inventing Laziness*, 249–53.

[608] For Hanioğlu's comments on the personality cult of Atatürk in the new official ideology, see Hanioğlu, *Atatürk*, 183–89.

> a walk of life with reference to its social value. In their autobiographies, Turkish businessmen rarely express their pride about successful business ventures. Instead, they try to apologize for their success and never fail to mention its positive implications for the national economy as a whole.[609]

Familiar situations can still occur. For instance, a speech of an award or medal winner Turkish athlete, singer or actress most probably have words on his or her love of the nation or the contribution of the nation to his or her success. Similarly, bright and promising students that succeed in important events are expected to tell not only their self-interests or career plans but also their future dreams of contributing to "our country". This is the picture, but it is better to leave the matter for people who are competent to comment on whether or how the case of Turkey unique is in this sense. The point I want to stress here is the intense national expectations from qualified people, in other words, responsibilities of individuals to the nation to which they belong.

Here is the end of my study, which is about an idea of generating individuals but has too much content about national and political matters. Let's conclude by commemorating Tanpınar. It seems that in this case, once again, Turkey did not give its child the opportunity to occupy with something other than itself.

[609] Ayşe Buğra, *State and Business in Modern Turkey: A Comparative Study* (Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 1994), 4.

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