

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS INSTITUTE
CIVILIZATION STUDIES**

MASTER THESIS

VEILING AND FACE VEILING DEBATES 1908-1925

TUĞBA ECE ERALP

**THESIS ADVISOR
PROF. DR. HALİL BERKTAY**

İSTANBUL, 2021

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THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Civilization Studies.

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ÖZ

Veiling and Face Veiling Debates (1908-1925)

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Medeniyet Araştırmaları Yüksek Lisans/Doktora Programı

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Bu tezde, günümüzde de belirleyici bir rol oynamaya devam eden kadın giyimine ilişkin modernite ve toplumsal cinsiyet tartışmalarının yirminci yüzyıldaki kökleri incelenmektedir. Çarşaf ve peçe örneğinden hareketle, son dönem Osmanlı erkek entelektüellerin tartışmalarına, modernleşmeye ilişkin farklı bakış açıları nasıl yansımıştır? Son dönem Osmanlı erkekliklerinde çarşaf ve peçe meselesine bakış, modernleşme perspektiflerinde ne denli farklılığa yol açmıştır?

Anahtar kelimeler: Çarşaf, Geç Dönem Osmanlı Kadını, Peçe, Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kadın.

ABSTRACT

Veiling and Face Veiling Debates (1908-1925)

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In this thesis, the debates regarding, modernity and gender concerning women's clothing which, have their roots in the twentieth century are explored, these debates continues to play a role today. Following the case of *charsaf* and face veiling, how different modernization perspectives are reflected in the arguments of Late Ottoman male intellectuals is one of the topic of thesis. Questions such as how different the Late Ottoman masculinities manifested themselves in the modernization perspectives specific to the veiling and face veiling issue are also discussed.

Keywords: Face Veiling, Islam in the Ottoman Empire, Late Ottoman Women. Veiling, Women in the Ottoman Empire.

For the souls of my grandmothers

Hatice Melahat Erdönmez

Zeliha Eralp

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TUĞBA ECE ERALP

İSTANBUL, 2021

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1. INTRODUCTION OF THESIS

The women issue has been one of the most important issues determining the agenda of the Republic of Turkey. The Istanbul Convention, which is in the process of being repealed, left its mark in 2021. The public is shaken every day by the news of femicide and violence against woman. Some of these reports include attacks on women because of their dressing choices. Indeed, the extent of women's visibility in public space, the behaviors of the woman in the public space, and how they should dress in the public sphere are among the problems of Turkish political actors and Turkish public opinion. The social change brought about by political, historical and economic change has also made the visibility of the second sex, women, a matter of discussion. Today, there is a women issue in Turkey, which is expected to be resolved again in terms of the new political and historical conjunctures. The women's problem, which has been a problem to be solved since the Tanzimat period, sought answers in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican periods to today. At this point in Turkey's history, despite encountering modernity many times in the early twenty-first century, it is experiencing all these debates again. These debates took place in a different historical context with almost the same arguments at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the most significant problems of women's visibility was the dress of women. These were the veiling and face veiling for that time. This debate took place between Westernist modernists, conservative Islamists, and modernist nationalists at that time. These intellectuals presented sometimes overlapping and sometimes conflicting arguments. The subject of this thesis is to revive this debate, examine it, and put the arguments of these three different groups in their intellectual and political context. In this introduction, I would like to show how concretely and vividly this debate has been, and present a microcosm of the arguments that I will examine in chapters three, four, and five.



This comic was published in *İçtihad* journal in the first years of Young Turk Era. The old woman named as witches condemned the younger women who dressed with shorter and narrower charsafs.¹



This comic is from *Akbaba dergisi* in 1923.² A woman, which was, drawn with low-necked dress, and below the woman characterized ironically as a monument of liberty. The most interesting thing for this journal in almost all of the issue that I glanced through, the women represented “modern” dressing. I think, it was the sign of prevalence of a new kind of dressing. Also, when we compare the two comics

¹ *İçtihad*, 16 Kanûn-i sani 1328(1913) p.4

Birinci câdı: âmanñ şu yeñilere baqın. İkincisi: Üstüme iyilik sağlıq! Benim efendi beni bu hâlde görse ne der?

² *Akbaba* 22 Kanunisani 1339(1923).

according to years (1913-1923), we can clearly see that, the face veil and cloak disappeared and the skirt became shorter and shorter.

Additionally, I want to mention an Ottoman Istanbul song which was heard in the years 1915-1918 which is referred by Reşat Ekrem Koçi and Malik Aksel. The folk song gives significant clues about one country's culture, social life/change. This folk song included ironic criticism of women who changed the style of charsaf.

Yandan yırtmaç çarşaflar
Görünüyor tombul bacaklar
Kapanın şeytan postallar
Bayılıyor sizi gören esnaflar³

Nilüfer Göle referred to a poster printed by the police in 1917. The poster promulgated the return of traditional kind of veiling.

In recent months, examples of some disgraceful fashions have been observed in the streets of capital. Thus, all Muslim women are asked to lengthen their skirts, wear charsafs and not to have corsets. They are asked to obey this regulation within two days at most ...⁴

Later, the authorities issued a new regulation which contradicted the previous poster.

The general administrative body would like to express its sincere grief aroused upon the declaration of a regulation as a consequence of the persuasion of a low-ranking clerk by old reactionary women, which asked all Muslim women to return to the old fashion. Hereafter, we would like to state the outlawing of the recent regulation.⁵

You can clearly see that, the state was more moderate and more cautious about the changing style of charsaf in this promulgation. However, I would argue that, the general administrative body was not merciful every time. We can understand many things from the first and second poster. The community and state apparatus/ public officials were confused. The ideological atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Period rendered men and women of empire more tolerant. This poster indicates actual changes in fashion. According to Donald Quataert, these kinds of documents may not always mean an increase in violations. Other factors besides sartorial threats to stability triggered clothing-law enactments.⁶ These kinds of documents, posters were

³ Malik Aksel, *İstanbul'un Ortası*, (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011, p.106), Reşat Ekrem Koçi, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*(İstanbul: Doğan Kitap,2015,p.15)

⁴ Ibid.,Göle,p.48.

⁵ Ibid.,p.49.

⁶ Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State and Society in Ottoman Empire in 1720-1829" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, (1997) p.404.

instruments of negotiation used by both the elite and state.⁷ As I mentioned in the first pages of my thesis, the changing style of the charsaf and face veiling was intrinsic to high-class women. I have to add that, the clothing laws appeared but it seemed to regulated by the consumption competition before the last two centuries of the Ottoman Empire. The government issued warnings about veiling at certain times, in particular to protect its legitimacy. While the state document quoted by Nilüfer Göle was looking for reconciliation with modernized people, the state generally chose to reconcile with ordinary people. This can take a special place in all documents under review. In the twentieth century, the changing style of dressing had many aspects which I try to mentioned above. From now, I will give other examples which contradicts these sources.

In 1909, the state—the ministry of interior to the general administrative body—promulgated a new decree about the veiling issue, and it was announced and published through newspapers and journals.

From Istanbul

It is seen and heard by some Muslim women that veiling, which is one of the signs of Islam and one of the beautiful customs of the religion, is not obeyed properly and it would never be allowed. Consequently, it was decided that Islamic women should refrain from wandering in the bazaar with non-Islamic clothes. Otherwise, the legal proceeding decision about their parents will start, so it is decided to be declared for the informing Municipal police.⁸

In 1912, another and more threatening warning was promulgated in newspapers and journals.

Declaration of Sheik Al-Islam

The decrees of Islam about the women veiling have many benefits and prevent so much evil, and even though it is admired by many European philosophers, we sorrowly see that this religious duty and our beautiful national customs which established and agreed upon Islam, fall from grace day by day. The shape that Muslim women have used for veiling, gradually changing the shape of the charsaf veiling they have used for a long time to being fashionable which causes a deep sadness of levelheaded people. To what extent it is wajib, the women of Islam who keep their honor safe, avoid such situations that cause the greatest evil in the world and cause questions and torment in the next world, men should say something our wives and daughters who want to get out of the circle of decency with such fashions, it is not doubt that even we men are seen as ugly in the eyes of honorable people. We need to tell and remind about

⁷ Ibid.,p.405.

⁸ Sırât-ı müstakîm 19 September 1910,p. İstanbul vilâyetinden: Vol.3 No.54 [Beyânnâme-i Meşihat-penâhî]

the limits of Sharia, to recommend the protection of national customs that are under the protection of everyone, and to condemn those who act otherwise. The development of the nation depends on the good preservation of our religion and national customs, and even this is the wonderful development of the Japanese people in thirty forty years stems from preservation of religion and national custom. If we comply with our prudent wishes and desires of our ego in the face of these truths, it is certain that we will be anonymous in response to the development and progress we hoped and needed. In Ottoman countries, Muslims are obliged to enforce the customs and requirements of their sects, and acts contrary to this are prohibited. According to the third clause of the ninety-ninth article of the Criminal Code, the order of the sultan was approved by the Ottoman government. The crimes and the criminals mentioned in this article has been decided by the criminal courts to regulate the penalty. In order to be subject to legal proceedings and not to be embarrassed in this regard, Muslims should obey the veiling following the requirements of the Shari'ah and refrain from entering places that should not be entered, and the heads of the family should pay special attention to the religious orders and national customs in this regard be excluded.⁹

In 1914, another state document was published in newspapers.

from Dârü'l-Hilâfe:

The veiling of women: it is the announcement of the Istanbul Central Command and it has been notified for the General Directorate of Press: "Every country has its manners and general morals that must be respected in general. In our country, as in everywhere, if the lack of respect for morality exceeds the situation that requires questioning, it would be necessary to resort to the preventive measure. Although men and women are free within the boundaries of the Shari'ah, it is natural for Muslim women not to remain indifferent by the government about those whose attitudes and behavior exceed the legitimate limits, just as the military government brings into military court those who intervene women through sniping. In some places, some of the women are noticeably obscene, hurt families who respect Islam. It was decided to prevent this kind of negligence in the sultanate center, which should set an example for every part of the country, but only by the government. No matter who is a woman or a man, they should know that he will be subjected to the legal proceeding if they dare to intervene with his words and actions despite they have no duty to do it. At the same time, family heads who do not want to be punished and exposed by the police should oblige their family members to veil in compliance with the customs and traditions of the country.

General Commander of İstanbul Halil."¹⁰

After one month, this notice was published.

Dârü'l-Hilâfe: The Government's Commencement to Perform its Duty- From the Istanbul Central Command: "Despite the declaration against the custom and the morals, the legitimate form of veiling and those who exceed the limits known in the

⁹ Sebîlürreşâd N.186 28 March 1912,p.70.

¹⁰ Sebîlürreşâd N. 282 Vol.11.05 February 1914 Dârü'l-Hilâfe:351

Quran and who act inappropriately in the streets, arrested, suspended, expelled from the area of customary administration.¹¹

In 1916, the shaik-al-islam sends the ministry of interior

While it was wajib for Muslim women to fall from the savior circle determined by Islam and to be an example with their lives to what extent the good moral values of Islam act by avoiding the conditions that cannot be reconciled with the honor of Islam, for a while, the veiling style of women has emerged seriously worthy of sorrow and it started to be heard with sorrow that in some foreign schools, Islamic girls wandered among boys without veiling and in some neighborhoods they hinted at some obscene entertainment. As there is no need for you to declare, the existence of society occurs with the rise of morality, and the more morality is preserved in a people, that nation can maintain its existence. While it is clear that tolerance to incaution in religious and moral affairs cannot be permitted because this situation may result in a habitual level, it is clear that it is necessary to take serial measures against previously mentioned situations and events that are contrary to the high morals of Islam and our virtuous national morality and cause great sadness. When thousands of children of the country sacrificed their blood and their lives in the battlefield for jihad in the way of Allah, women who would need such divine suffering and sadden the hearts of the believers and who tolerate them will have a bad effect on the Islamic public opinion and will cause bad influence in our decent national morals. I hope that action will be taken with the necessity of the situation and the situation regarding the execution of great harm and appropriate violent treatment, sir.¹²

Cenap Şehabettin touched on the charsaf and face veiling issue in *İstanbul'da Bir Ramazan Gezintisi*. The book published in 1920 monitored the Armistice years of İstanbul. "I am seeing now, Charsaf and face veil has been cleared out centimeter by centimeter. The face veil has been fleeing their thickness, denseness, tulle and wideness every year. At the same time, it changed its own place. It has got away from the chin to the temple and jumped to the top."¹³

Lastly, I would like to refer to Reşat Nuri Güntekin's novel which is known as *Çalılıkıuşu* but the first publication name is different than today. It was first published in 1922 as *İstanbul Kızı*. *İstanbul Kızı* was then re-published as *Çalılıkıuşu* in 1937 within recent changes. The parts that I give below were parts removed in the new edition.

We gave diploma of *Çalılıkıuşu* not long ago. When I saw her in a charsaf, I was surprised like you. I could not believe my eyes. Her length suddenly got longer, her face took a gloomy seriousness. Miss Urani slowly nods and says this is so weird. This

¹¹ Sebülürreşâd N.287.12 March 1914.p.20. "Dâru'l-Hilâfe: Hükümetin İfâ-yı Vazîfeye Başlaması

¹² Sebülürreşâd.N.346 26 August

¹³ Cenap Şehabettin, *İstanbul'da Bir Ramazan Gezintisi*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları,2012, p.166) "Şimdi görüyorum ki çarşaf ve peçe de santimetre santimetre çekilip gidiyorlar. Peçe her sene sihanından, keşâfetinden tül ve arzından biraz terk ediyor; aynı zamanda mevkiini değiştirmekten hali kalmıyor: Yüzden şakağa çekildi, şakaktan tepeyi atladı."

charsaf has weird features. It not only gives women beauty also it gives gloomy seriousness to women which you said.¹⁴

In the *Ayaşlı ve Kiracıları* (1934), an old women refers to previous times.

In our time, If woman went out outside dressing narrow charsaf, the polices teared her charsaf. A woman and a man could not get on phaeton. Now, if you want, you can carry a women on shoulders, even the polices do not look. It all happened because of liberty, I do not know, Are you one of the libertarian?¹⁵

In Cemal Pasha's memoirs (1919) we come across women issue. He refers to the issue of women in public space and Islamic modesty within these words:

Our Istanbul has a very disgusting habit: men throwing dirty words to Muslim women they encounter on the ferry, on the bridge, in the market, on the street, on the promenade. We can add to this the intervention of some old women against our ladies who are beautifully dressed to show their beautiful creation, with their language and sometimes even with their hands. I had felt a special anger about this bad habit ever since I was a child, and I thought how the government could not cure it. This situation increases and decreases in proportion to the weakness and power of the government. The heads of several families who were disturbed while I was Commander of Public Security of Istanbul asked me to prevent this. Considering that the criminal code was very weak in this respect, I wanted to rely again on the authority given to the military government by the customary decree. I declared that the men who will talk and the women who will intervene women will be taken away from the country. After four or five deportations, our women were saved from intervention in the streets. Since then, a solid step has been taken towards the freedom of Turkish women in Istanbul.¹⁶

These references from primary sources and secondary sources show that everyone was aware of the change Muslim women's situation in the Ottoman Empire. The state generally was keeping the traditional gender roles and traditional Ottoman lifestyle to reconcile ordinary people. The comics, folk songs, novels, memories, travel writings included in reference to the changing status of Ottoman Muslim women. The issue of veiling and face veiling were an important part of women question. While the male intellectuals argued and tried to discipline women's body as a modernization object or religious object through the veiling and the face veiling issue, women were changing their style of covering or casting off their veilings and face veilings.

Starting in the early period of twentieth century, arguments about veiling and face veiling have continued for many years until twenty-first century. The headscarf has become a significant question for modern Turkey especially since the more outwardly

¹⁴ Nihan Abir, *Çalığışu'nun Hikayesi*, İstanbul: MSGSÜ: Yüksek Lisans Bitirme Tezi, p.161.

¹⁵ Memduh Şevket Esendal, *Ayaşlı ve Kiracıları*, (İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2013. p.17).

¹⁶ Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018, p.)

Islamic revival of the 1980's.¹⁷ It became a political problem which was contested regarding its harmony with the values and identity of the Turkish Republic. We can trace the roots of the headscarf debate to veiling and face veiling debates in the early twentieth century.

I would argue that the headscarf issue is in many ways a continuation of earlier debates regarding charshaf and face veiling. I assume that there is a historical continuity in the debates on the veiling and the headscarf. In other words, in keeping with contemporary Turkish fashion, the veil has now become transformed into the headscarf. In the first years of the twentieth century, this kind of debate appeared mainly about charsaf (a full one piece body covering) and the face veiling. The veil has now become transformed regarding the headscarf in contemporary Turkish fashion in respect to the needs of the day. It became a political problem, contested regarding the values and identity of the Turkish Republic. This topic also opens the door for us to trace the ideological views and mentalities of early twentieth-century male intellectuals. This thesis could be perceived as an example of the history of mentalities. Additionally the discourse reflected a bifurcated set of issues, that of religious identity as well as a social-gender identity.

While the newly established Republic of Turkey regulated men's clothing in 1925, the state avoided regulating women's clothing. CHF aimed to change women's attire by encouraging and guiding rather than prohibiting it by law. Undoubtedly, the wives of the bureaucrats and the rising new bourgeoisie played a major role here. By 1935, the desired result would not be achieved in women's clothing, which was expected to be modernized by itself. Thereupon, in the 1935 CHF Grand Convention, the regulations for women's clothing were left to municipalities. On July 22, 1935, a circular letter was sent from the Ministry of Interior to all local governorates. The circular was signed by the Minister of Interior Şükrü Kaya. In the circular, it is requested that women be prevented from wearing veiling and and face veiling. The news about veiling and face veiling could be seen in the *Cumhuriyet* pages. For example: On August 2 in Zile, on August 17 in Konya, on August 27 in Afyon, on November 4 in Maraş, on August 9

¹⁷The Islamic revival could be dated back to 1945 in Turkey. *Büyük Doğu* of Necip Fazıl and the new version of *Sebilürreşad* reappear after 1945. The veiling (tesettür) issue was reproblematicized by Şule Yüksel Şenler in 1960's. However, I prefer the use of Islamic revival after the Iranian Revolution. Because the success of the Iran revolution encouraged the Turkish Islamists to speak up against Kemalist state institutions.

in Konya. The use of veiling and face veiling were prohibited in Isparta on September 1, in Erdek on September 1, in Soma on September 10, and in Elazığ and Karacasu on September 13.¹⁸ It was reported that the ban has been implemented in Çorum since 29 October and “positive” results were obtained. However, the positive news about tearing off the veiling and face veiling was controversial.¹⁹ In response to the insistent follow-up of the Ministry of Interior, the wearing of veiling and face veiling was prohibited on April 23, 1937. The ban was violated in some places, and the measures could not be implemented due to some difficulties, and those who disobey the ban were ordered to be punished up to 25 liras. During the 1940s and 1950s, the CHF's Islamic policies began to be discussed. Aware of the voting potential of the religious masses, the CHF has reformed its religious policies. On the other hand, newspapers argued that the veiling and face veiling reappeared with the rise of the Democrat Party. After the 1960 coup de'tat, some media organs paid attention to the danger of reaction. In an interview with the head of the National Unity Committee, Cemal Gürsel, the journalist asked about his opinion on the veiling. Cemal Gürsel thought that "the veiling was a disgrace to the Turkish woman. I don't think that a Turkish woman has a brow to hide her beautiful face. What does she afraid and what it cause her to feel the need to hide her face? The veiling has nothing to do with chaste. I ask Turkish women not to let them appear in an unsuitable dress, not to hide their faces."²⁰ Alparslan Türkeş, “Atatürk's reforms did not count in their place, deteriorate. Religion and clothing, most importantly in the field of mentality. (...) Have you ever traveled to Anatolia in recent years? Did you see how the veiling engulfed the whole country like a black fire?”²¹

In 1970, the Milli Nizam Party was founded and within this party political Islam in the guise of the ‘modern’ Turkish Republic appeared for the first time as a symbol of

¹⁸“Zile’de Peçe ve Çarşaf Kalkıyor” Cumhuriyet 2 August 1935, N.4028, p.3. ”Konya’da Çarşaf Kalkıyor: Konya Belediyesi Çarşaf ve Peçe’nin Çıkarılması için 15 Eylül’e Kadar Mühlet Verdi”. Cumhuriyet, 17 August 1935 N.4043 p.9. “?“, Cumhuriyet 1 September 1935 N.4058,p.?”Elaziz’de Çarşaf ve Peçe Yasak Edildi”10 September 1935. N.4067.p.4. “Karacasu’da Çarşaf Yasak Edildi.” Cumhuriyet, 13 September 1935. N.4067.p.6. ““Cumhuriyet, N.4116.p.

¹⁹ Leyla Kaplan, Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını:1908-1960,(Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998,p.186)Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 9 Ağustos 1935. Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü Polis Dergisi: Cumhuriyetin 75.Yıldönümünde Polis Arşiv Belgeleriyle Gerçekler, Özel sayı(1998), sayfa 92. Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 26 Ağustos 1935. Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1 Eylül 1935. Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 10 Eylül 1935. Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 13 Eylül 1935.Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü Polis Dergisi:Cumhuriyetin 75.Yıldönümünde Polis Arşiv Belgeleriyle Gerçekler, Özel sayı(1998), sayfa 94.

²⁰ Cevat Fehmi Başkut,”Cemal Gürsel ile Görüşme”Cumhuriyet, 16 Temmuz 1960. N.12.913,p.4

²¹ Cumhuriyet, 17 Temmuz 1960. N.12.914,p.

struggle between the ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ domains in Turkish politics. In Turkey, the headscarf became an important issue of conflict. The use or wearing of the headscarf was seen and continues to be viewed as a sign of backwardness for Kemalists, who have argued that in order to be a civilized nation the headscarf should be removed from visibility in places such as universities and government sectors. The call for freedom to veiling was understood as a ‘reaction’ (irtica) and considered a threat for the republican regime. Another part of the debate argued by those in favour of the headscarf was to stress that the wearing of the headscarf is the issue of human rights. In the history of the Turkish Republic, the headscarf was prohibited in state institutions and organizations after the 1980 coup d'état and this prohibition remained in practice for at least 31 years. Today, veiled women work in state institutions and organizations, and go to university without the need of taking off their headscarves. This attitude has blended with unconscious self-oriented Orientalism and Islamophobia as well. Also, this could be topic of another thesis.

The women of Ottoman Empire- especially the owner of high status- had become visible in the late years of the nineteenth century and the first years of twentieth century. The visibility of women reveals the new questions about women. One of them was about the veiling and face veiling. Before nineteenth century, the Ottoman women were not visible in public space. The Tanzimat Era's and Abdulhamid II's education thrust implicitly served in the visibility of Ottoman Muslim women. According to Nilüfer Göle, “the more women participated in social life and attained visibility in urban scenes, the more they caused public distress; in turn issues related to women acquired greater political meaning.”²² This quotation would be understandable, when we take into consideration Muslim women and public space relations in Ottoman Islamic society. Thus, the visibility of women in public space causes women related issues, especially the issue of veiling. In this regard, in the context of the Late Ottoman Empire, the male intellectuals argued regarding how women should dress in public space and urban areas.²³

²² Nilüfer Göle, *The forbidden modern: civilization and veiling* (Ann Arbor, Mich: The University of Michigan Press, 2010,p.48).

²³ According to Alan Hunt, Fashion exhibits long-term trends and also it is social phenomenon. (Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law*,(Newyork: St. Martin's Press, 1996,p.44). Therefore, the dress and the fashion can serve as historical documents of historical and social change through history. It present the evolution of society and its values within the aid of trade and contact with outsiders.

In this thesis, how the debates regarding, modernity and gender in relation to women's clothing has its roots in the twentieth century, that continues to play a role today is the focus of the study. In this section, I will summarize my main points of thesis, Firstly, I refer to the historical continuity and discontinuity and metaphoric meaning of the veiling issue. Secondly, I will review theoretical background specific to the gender history which I will use in this thesis. Therefore, I contextualize and historicize the women issue especially as this has to do with the veiling issue.

Gender relations are a significant aspect of all modernity projects. Women generally were incorporated into modernity projects. In the modernization process, the place of women in the society was the main issue of debate which causes the conflict about the aims of modernity. According to Ibrahim Kaya, a distinguishing characteristic of Turkish modernity can be analysed by considering the 'woman question'²⁴

In this thesis, I will inquire into one part of woman question: the charsaf and face veiling debates. My thesis question follows the case of charsaf and face veiling, How different modernization perspectives are reflected in the arguments of Late Ottoman male intellectuals? I will use the methods of gender history. Therefore, I consider it appropriate to refer to the question what is gender history? Firstly, I will give definitions of sex and gender. Secondly, the inclusion of a women in history was touched on. Finally, I highlight why gender is a useful category for historical analysis.

Within the new social history, the marginalized categories join the historical analysis such as peasants, laborers, criminals, and the women. Before the new social history, women were an issue of history but women in history were historicized only within the private sphere and not in public space. The participation of women in history began with the new social history. Focusing on women often disrupted the familiar categories which forced us to rethink how history was organized and structured.²⁵ Most of the

The dress is useful to understand cross-cultural exchanges as from economic, cultural, historic, political patterns of behaviour. An understanding of dress, fashionable or otherwise, also requires a general understanding of the historical currents that give rise fashionable dress. According to Jirousek, with increased diplomatic activity, opportunities to see Turks and Ottoman Dress were becoming more common outside the Meditarrenean ports. According to her, the Ottoman Dress had influenced the West over the centuries until nineteenth century but even in the long nineteenth century, the influence of Ottoman. Charlotte A. Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: A Visual History of Cultural Exchange*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2019, p. Xiii)

²⁴ Ibid., Kaya, p.14.

²⁵ Merry E Wiesner, *Gender in History: Global Perspectives*, (United Kingdom: Wiley- Blackwell 2010, p.2)

studies we have read of reflect the male experience. The social sciences generally refused the factor of gender in the studies. A focus on woman in history led to a paradigm shift, and the proper focus of all history. Viewing the male experience as universal had not only hidden women's history, but it had also prevented analysis of men's experiences as those of being own gender.²⁶ By the 1980's, historians had studied women for a long time. Social scientists started to discuss systems of sexual differentiation which affected both women and men and started to use the term "gender" to describe this system. They differentiated sex and gender. "While sex means biological differences (physical, morphological, and anatomical), gender was a thing that was socially constructed, historically changing, and often an unstable system of differences."²⁷ Gender is, in this definition, a social category imposed on a sexed body. Gender as a substitute for "women" is also used to suggest that information about women is necessarily information about men, that one implies the study of the other. The studies about gender generally concentrate on women. A rare number of studies look at woman and man or concentrated on the male experience. This new perspective gives an appropriate category of analysis-gender- not only about family and women but also all historical developments.²⁸ Therefore, I will concentrate on male voice about the veiling and face veiling issue.

Gender history is based on the fundamental idea that what it means to be defined as man or woman has a history. Gender historians are concerned with the changes over time and the variations within a single society in a particular period in the past with perceived differences between women and men, the make-up of their relationships, and the nature of relations among women and among men as gendered beings.²⁹

Every political, intellectual, religious, economic, social, and even military change had an impact on the actions and roles of men and women, and, conversely, a culture's gender structures influenced every other structure or development. People's notions of gender shaped not only the way they thought about men and women, but the way they thought about their society in general.³⁰

In other words, in the thesis, how the change in the conditions impact on the attire of women is the focus of research? These changes in clothes caused to transformation in the minds of some male intellectuals, while some of them partially accepted some of these changes, and others did not want to accept the changes in the social status and

²⁶ Ibid.,p.1.

²⁷ Ibid.,p.2

²⁸ Ibid., p.2.

²⁹ Sonya O. Rose, What is Gender History, (Massachusetts: Polity Press, 2010, p.2)

³⁰ Ibid., Weisner. p.2.

visibility of women. We can say that these debates started with a change in women's clothes. So what started the discussion is that at least some women changed the style of their clothes of their own choice. The debate among male intellectuals succeeded to change in women's clothing in the future even if it seems in image politics of newly founded Turkish Republic. However, we should add that we cannot say that men started to discuss this issue and it was ineffective. The ideas of Islamist, Turkish or Westernist intellectuals encouraged women or caused them to take a step back. These ideas also shaped the opinions of the public most of them were men. The solutions to the women's question in the Early Republican period tried to overcome the ideas of Late Ottoman intellectuals.

Eric Cohen referred to talking about women without talking about men, to be like clapping hands with one hand only.³¹ Thus, I include the ideas of men in the debates veiling and face veiling. Spaces are gendered and in nineteenth century and twentieth century men are the unquestionable actors in public space. In this era, women tried to get involved in public space while at the same time, men controlled how women should be visible in public spaces specifically in regard to the veiling and face veiling issue. Gender is continually in process, an identity that is performed and actualized over time given social constraints.³² The traditional Ottoman gender roles were under the pressure of modernity. How did Ottoman male intellectuals counterbalance this situation?

In the later chapters, I will show how political, economic, social, intellectual, military changes influence relations between man and man; man and woman and between women. How did cultural norms change about gender in modernization process? As Nilüfer Göle says: "Islamic veiling cross-cut power relations between Islam and West, modernity and tradition, secularism and religion, as well as between men and women and women themselves."³³ Taking as a reference this quotation I can ask also these questions: How do different Late Ottoman masculinities manifest themselves in the modernization perspectives specific to the veiling and face veiling issue? In later pages, I will refer the Ottoman Empire and the history of the Ottoman press. How did the Ottoman press shaped, political, economic, social, intellectual life and what was

³¹ Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation*, (London: Sage Publication 2012 ,p.1)

³² Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity*, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995, p.21)

³³ *Ibid*, Göle., p.1.

its role molding public opinion? How did male intellectuals create a discourse about charsaf and face veiling. Did women journals transform the appearance of women? How political issues were displaced social gender roles? How did political issues changed the place of women in Ottoman society? What were the reactions of Ottoman male intellectuals about this issue? How did the Ottoman economic situation change consumption patterns of women and men? Did women take advantage of these issues? Which events created a breakdown of social gender identities? How did Ottoman male intellectuals place themselves? Did they insist on traditional gender roles or they did they support modern gender roles? How did state react to the visibility of women in public space and the new kind of dressing?³⁴ How did public opinion react to the visibility of women and the new kind of dressing?

Charsaf and face veiling began to be part of women's fashion in Abdulhamid the second's time to the contrary banning of sultan. The face veiling is an extension of the charsaf. The charsaf forms three parts, the cloak, face veiling, and a skirt. The face veiling is used to cover the face. The cloak is used for covering the head and upper body. Face veiling is attached to the top of the cloak. The last part of the charsaf is the skirt. It covers the whole bottom of the body until the feet. The style of the charsaf had started to change over time. The skirt and cloak got shorter, while a small part of legs were seen, the cloak became shorter up to waist. The changing style of the charsaf was an indication of the change in society. It was a sign that, women's dressing would change very soon at least high-ranked class women. The charsaf issue was subject to legal decisions, comics, articles, memoirs, folk songs. I will give some examples, which I mentioned above. As I said before, the first years of the twentieth century were the breaking point in clothing habits. While some segments of women in society continued to use traditional charsaf and face veiling, others modified the charsaf and face veiling. The ambiguity in women's clothing began in these years and gained political meaning and the political meaning of clothing habits more or less are the same in today's political understanding especially in the eyes of the secular elite and newly founded Islamist conservative elites.

³⁴ Lynn Hunt's work has also shown the significance of the body in the political and social transformations associated with revolution. She suggests that the period witnessed great anxiety about social differentiation and as a consequence increasing attention was paid to how bodies were clothed and what that clothing said about wearers' loyalty to revolutionary ideals. (Sonya O. Rose, *What is Gender History?*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011, p.22) Look at (Lynn Hunt, *Freedom of Dress in Revolutionary France in Feminism and the body* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p.182-202)

As I said before, when women became visible in public spaces, the issue of women started to be part of political debates. Women, the family and the new society were the main issues of Ottoman intellectuals for internal reform. In this time, they (high-ranked-class women) started to change their way of dressing and maybe it was the biggest debated issue between men and women and women themselves. As I said before, the new fashion advertisements were presented in women journals, newspapers, and state archives document about the intervention of women charsafs or crimes related to intervention of charsafs. When we look at the short-term publications or books, men as well as women expressed their ideas about humanity, new society, family, and women's apprehension to conform with the soul of the era. Therefore, they reached other's consciousness and they could change the reader's mind or helped to create a counter argument. The journals became the new public space. We can clearly say that, the freedom of opinion –relatively- expanded in the Second Constitutional period and a new movement of thought appeared. In this era, political opinions took a different starting point about issues but the common aim was the emancipation of the Ottoman Empire internally and externally. Today, typologies are used to categorize these intellectual trends such as Islamists, Turkist or Progressivist. All of them confessed the precedence of West. However, they generally portray a conservative attitude in taking morality of the West. The Ottoman Empire should take technical innovation of European civilization and adhere to local values. I have to add that, even many Progressivist group members were not against Islamic modest dress. They were against the veiling and face veiling.

In the following paragraphy, I will give antecedent studies which shine my way. There have been a host of thinkers that have contributed to my understanding of the topic area. There are also academics working on these issues in different historical and political contexts in the literature. All of them help me to present my conceptual framework. Two of are, Leila Ahmed's *Women and Gender in Islam, A Quiet Revolution: The Veil's Resurgence, from the Middle East to America*, Fatıma Mernissi's *The Veil And The Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation Of Women's Rights In Islam*, *Beyond The Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society*.

Referred books gave me an idea of where to look for works written in Turkish language. These are Nilüfer Göle's (*Modern Mahrem*), Deniz Kandiyoti's (*Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*), Serpil Sancar's (*Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti*)

and Yeşim Arat who are the first academics who have led the way for women's issues in Turkey especially in the eyes of women and feminist perspectives. I read also some historical secondary sources about this issue. I will try to imply historical continuity in debates regarding the charsaf and face veiling issue. The first years of the twentieth century were the breaking point in clothing habits. While some women continue to use the traditional charsaf and face veiling, others have modified the charsaf and face veiling and later casting it off. The ambiguity in women's clothing began in these years and gained political meaning. Muhadere Taşcıoğlu's *Türk-Osmanlı Cemiyetinde Kadının Sosyal Durumu ve Kadın Kıyafetleri*, Pars Tuğlacı's *Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul Kadınları*, Tezer Taşkiran's *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları* were important sources. Şefika Kurnaz's *Yenileşme Sürecinde Türk Kadını, Osmanlı Kadının Yükselişi (1908-1918)* give important clues about women issue. Zafer Toprak is a significant figure in women history writing especially his book *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908-1935)* which give me ideas about primary sources and main issues of the Young Turk era as well as Early Republican Era. Within the aid of Zafer Toprak book, I decided to work on the debates of the issue of veiling. This thesis will help the social scientist to understand the historical background of the headscarf issue. I will contextualize and historicize my argument within below indicated sources.

Apart from the academic sources, In Turkey, there were many people interested in the issue of specifically related to the veiling issue, For example: Sadık Albayrak's *Meşrutiyet İstanbul'unda Kadın ve Sosyal Değişim*, Cihan Aktaş's *Tanzimattan Günümüze Kılık Kıyafet ve İktidar and Türban'ın Yeniden İcadı*. However, non-academic sources include epistemological, methodological and intellectual differences in compared to academic sources. In the same way, the same question is valid for Kemalist propagandist books. This ongoing difference makes a huge gap between un-scholarly but popular and scholarly but unpopular narratives at the same time. This can be read as clash of epistemologies.

I will use these primary sources: *Cehd, İctihad, İştihad, Mehtap, Süs, İnci, Sebilurreşad, Sırat-ı Mustakim, Türk Yurdu, Demet, Büyük Mecmua, Yeni Mecmua*. Within this thesis, I want to contribute world academy about this issue. Below, you will find my possible solution about the debates veiling and face veiling and headscarf issue.

I will summarize my table of content. This thesis consists of eight chapters. I will give the history of Ottoman women in sixteenth to eighteenth century. The second chapter of thesis will be the intellectual and political history of Young Turk Era and women related issues. The third chapter includes the ideas of Progressivist group about the charsaf and face veiling. The fourth chapter embody the ideas of Islamist conservative group. The fifth chapter of thesis includes the Turkist nationalist group's ideas. Finally, the last chapter of in lieu of conclusion will be written.



2. WOMEN IN CLASSICAL ERA

Regardless of the geography studied, it is necessary to be very careful when writing about women that are included in history lately. Adding to the study of women in the context of history of Eastern societies' doubles the paradigmatic difficulties. In addition, being an Ottoman historian can also turn into a disadvantage. The times when the Ottoman Empire is historicized as a classical age, reminds us of a period when it had long-lasting and powerful institutions. However, in these ages, there was also confusion, transformation and bargaining, as in any place where the state and society exist. In addition, this concept, which we later called Orientalism and which was referred to with prejudice in the twentieth century, complicates things even more. This perspective, which sees the East as a static institutional system, has also reflected its influence on historiography. In addition, perhaps the Ottoman women had their share of the exoticized East. With this view, the cultural and sexual difference between East and West was emphasized and an identity was assigned to both sides. The sexualized Western gaze homogenized the Eastern woman. Popular Orientalist literature has disseminated images of the Eastern women by pouring these into academia in the past and impacting Western public opinion. As a result, the Turkish academy faced with a distorted depiction of the East and the Ottoman Empire. They have built most of their studies on the Orientalist canon for many years. The criticism of the orientalist canon was started by an Easterner living in the West, and the support given to this idea was also reflected in academic studies. With this new perspective and comparative history studies, studies of the Ottoman state started to move towards the place it should be on the world stage. In this way, multilingual academics in Turkey have begun to break the Eurocentric and Orientalist perspective in local studies. Ottoman society was a traditional agrarian society that was ruled by a dynasty. Although there were various ethnic, religious, and sectarian communities, the religion of the state was Islam. If there was such a thing as the general culture matrix of the society, Islam was its cornerstone and the most significant axis but, this should not lead us to prejudice when reading Ottoman historical texts. When we add woman to history, the following problem always arises. The woman always appears as a prisoner of patriarchy. Contrary to what is thought, the life of Ottoman women were not as monotonous and not tied to Islam

as it seems. This opinion has been started to shatter by gender historians. Ottoman history studies also asked how gender was implicitly or explicitly constructed in the Ottoman context after 1980. These studies showed that women were also areas of bargaining and negotiation with the state and patriarchy, proving that they were visible in the public sphere. For this reason, historians who traced the women began to use court records and fatwa books more actively, sometimes through rereading. It has gained importance to reveal women's foundations, properties, and commercial and legal matters concerning issues, and property relations between relatives. By using these sources, it is possible to determine the points of transition and continuity in the history of women. Through the problematization of the situation of women using the frame of patriarchy, family, property, and power problems, it has been revealed how flexible social relations and social institutions could be. Most of the documents are misleading the first time they are analyzed. When viewed for the second time, these documents reveal that although the gender system, which envisages the subordination of women to men, is a historical legacy, there was a new field of action reserved for or opened by women during this period.

The new focus of research showed how Ottoman women, living under the same power but in lands with different cultures, sects, and social norms, faced different gender norms sexual mores and its local practices. The sexualized Western gaze on Ottoman women also began to be interrogated and historians challenged Orientalist stereotypes. In this section, I will try to summarize this situation by reviewing references from studies on Ottoman women. The aim here is to show the situation of Ottoman women on the way to modernization, and to show the situation and to say that women are historical subjects, not historical objects, even in the period of pre-modernity.

Ibn Battuta tells that, "I witnessed in this country a remarkable thing, namely the respect in which the women are held by them(Turks),indeed they are higher dignity than men; and of an emir's wife, the Windows of the tent would be open and her face would be visible, for the women of the Turks do not veil themselves."³⁵ This paragraph was taken from Ibn Battuta's travel writings in the fourteenth century from Asia Minor to the Kuma River country of Caucasus mountains. He had came from Arab lands where classical Islam ruled and women were secluded, when he came Turkic lands, he was

³⁵ <https://orias.berkeley.edu/resources-teachers/travels-ibn-battuta/journey/anatolia-1330-1331>

very amazed the situation of Turkish woman who were part of horizontal and vertical hierarchy. Islam was imposed as a superstructure over the Turkic countries over time. Therefore, it brings into a line the lives of believers. The Ottoman Empire is one of the places where Islam partially changed the daily rituals of common people through transformation of the social structures and the structure and the rituals of state. As Turks adopted Islamic institutions- the situation of the Ottoman Muslim women also changed. The state intervened regarding the visibility of women in public space or the visibility of women were subject to various conditions. The visibility of rural women was inevitable, however, the visibility of urban woman could be restricted through regulations. However, these regulations reflected the ideal order desired by the state. The repetition of these orders shows that the ideal order had not been formed. The state did not control it, so they tried to control the dress code. The repetition of dress orders shows that the state was negotiating with women about their visibility. This vague bargain revealed itself by making various excuses. In this chapter, I will give examples of women visibility in public space in earlier centuries, so we can understand the role of state intervention on woman visibility in public space. Moreover, providing these examples it can be shatter the prejudicial images of given of early Modern Ottoman Muslim women.

The sixteenth century Ottoman historian Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali wrote that “if men did not control women, then, because of their carnal needs, women would pursue their desires, and rent the curtain of chastity and make unclean the veil of grace of virtue and rush to mix who are not related.”³⁶ In reality, what Mustafa Ali said about women was not groundbreaking, because this discourse has taken its legacy from the Ancient period, where Islamic philosophy and its philosophers were greatly influenced by misogynist ideas of ancient thinkers.

After the death of Mehmet the conqueror, his granddaughter's was very impressive thanks to her erudition in Arabic literature and expert knowledge on every subject pertaining to a woman in her condition.³⁷ It was inevitable that Giovanni Angelo, who came to the Ottoman country with various prejudices, would say these words. We

³⁶ Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli, *Mevaidü'n-nefais fi Kavaidü'l-mecalis*, Mehmet Şeker(ed)(Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi,1997,p.364) for translation please look at: Ebru Boyar, edited by Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet” *An Imagined Moral Community: Ottoman Female Public Presence, Honour and Marginality*”, *Ottoman Women in Public Space* Brill, 2016,

³⁷ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1911*(Connecticut,Grenwood Press 1986,p.47).

know from new historical studies that at least Ottoman women whose male family members worked in government positions could receive education in the household, but they could not get the opportunity to work in various positions as government staff. Undoubtedly, this education remained within the limits determined by male authority. To give an example, even at the end of the nineteenth century, Fatma Aliye spent her childhood years being educated at home. Fatma Aliye, who learned French by own her exertion after her marriage, she hide this situation from Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, until it accidentally revealed.³⁸

Giovanni Angelo's views were actually based on a stereotype. The image of the woman in Europe's eyes was an erotic and exotic thing, closed to harem, unable to socialize, spending the whole day having fun on her own and make fun of her man. In reality, the harem was not a place of exotic orientalist pleasure spaces. There is a true gap between the myths and the realities of life in the harem. Harem means sacred, forbidden and protected. Stranger man could not enter this part of house and harem refers to the private quarters of a family and to the women of a family. The children, the widowed mother and unmarried, divorced, or widowed sisters of the husband lived in the harem. The harem would also consist of female slave servants, who might be the personal property of either the women or the men of the family. We can begin to break down the perception of the harem with a study about the imperial harem.

2.1. HAREM

The most important prejudice about Ottoman women and their life in the Harem is arose from the Western understanding of the Ottoman women. Leslie Peirce in her gorgeous book title with '*The Imperial Harem*' challenges the women stereotypes of the imperial harem even in introduction part. The power of the imperial harem had risen in the sixteenth century. The time after the death of Suleyman the Magnificent to the middle years of the seventeenth century witnessed a power shift and public importance of the women of imperial harem regarding public rituals of imperial legitimation, royal patronage of monumental building and artistic production.³⁹

³⁸ You can look at Kemal Sılay's article on woman poets. Kemal Sılay, "Singing His Words: Ottoman Women Poets and the Power of Patriarchy" *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era (Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage)*, (Brill, 1997,p.197-213)

³⁹ Leslie Peirce *Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993,p.6) This era known as kadınlar saltanatı. The term firstly used by Ahmet Refik Altınay.

Incorrect ideas regarding harem needs to be swept away including the prejudices regarding the role of women in state affairs and public spaces. The misoginia of the period intellectuals and later European orientalist perception fostered misinformations and misunderstanding of this powershift as the illegitimate usurpation of power. The power of Ottoman royal women was too broadly and publicly expressed and too embedded in the structure of imperial institutions for it to be simplistically dismissed as illegitimate.⁴⁰ “The most important thing to be learned from placing royal women at the center stage of historical investigation is that they, like the men of the dynasty, gained or lost power in the context of family dynamics. The imperial harem was much like the household harem, only more extensive and with a more highly articulated structure.”⁴¹ Living in the Imperial Harem was undoubtedly different from living in an ordinary harem. Being among the favorites of the sultan would expand the field of action of favorite in the harem. However, this would also lead to new responsibilities. Giving a son to the state and the potential rulership of this son would increase the power of the sultan's wives. The position provided by being the wife or mother of the sultan was influenced by the political developments in the palace and the conflicts between the factions. Women who were the mother and wives of the sultan could be socially visible in various ways. However, this visibility was not physical, but through the architectural works she had built and the donations made by her foundations. Apart from these, the sultan's mothers could appear in situations where they took on political duties. According to Peirce, changes in the system of succession to the throne resulted in a more central role for royal mothers.⁴² The mothers could be custodians of the Ottoman state. They should understand power relations between factions, the image of the future sultan, and make provisions to protect their sons and reproduction of the dynasty with the legitimate sexual act of son. Most importantly, they could exercise power, when suitable male rulers were unavailable because of incompetency, or being underage.

In the seventeenth century it was not unusual for a royal mother to govern as regent for a minor or incompetent sultan, or for a sultan to be overthrown and his mother publicly called upon to sanction the sacrifice of her son for the broader interest of the sultanate and the state. As a result, these women came to enjoy a kind of matriarchal

⁴⁰ Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, *Ibid.*, viii

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.x

authority, providing the link between the dynasty's generations and symbolizing its continuity at times when it seemed perilously threatened.⁴³

The women sultan used their power as a soft power in international relations. For example: "They send gifts from European countries's queens and women relatives and kings." The efforts of the valide sultans of the late sixteenth century, like those of Hurrem, were devoted largely to preserving peace. Their activities may have been strategically useful in keeping options open during a period of diplomatic difficulty for the Ottomans, who were embroiled in long and expensive campaigns on both the European and Safavid fronts in the last decades of the century."⁴⁴ Apart from Hürrem Sultan, Nurbanu Sultan and Safiye Sultan also communicated with foreign courts, and their correspondences with courts was very impressive. For example: letters between Ottoman women to the Venetian doge and the French dowager queen Catherine de Médicis, Elizabeth of England in the archives.⁴⁵

2.2.WOMEN IN COURTS

In the first sentences of this chapter, we said that woman could change power relations and exceed the limits of traditional gender roles in the qadi courts. Various studies have been and are being conducted on Ottoman women. Undoubtedly, the most striking ones are those who carried out by Faroqhi, Jennings, Gerber's. Their findings regarding the courts Ankara, Kayseri, and Bursa revealed the visibility of women in the Ottoman legal system. The Ottoman women would be visible in court records because of their inheritance right, property ownership, and other kinds of legal suits. According to Madeline Zilfi, There are more than ten thousand registry books that classify cases, petitions and inheritance distribution for Istanbul and its surroundings alone. However, we do not know the extent of cases that women brought to trial. The voices of the women who applied to the courts appear before us in a way that is free of emotions and thoughts by the state official who wrote the subject. That voice is not a woman's voice. Still, they offer us a unique opportunity to understand the visibility of women in the court. From these sources, we can understand how Ottoman women struggled and negotiated with religion, society, patriarchal order and its intertwined patterns. Also, these records help us to break down our prejudices of the classical

⁴³ Ibid.,p.17.

⁴⁴ Ibid.,p.222.

⁴⁵

period. Women were not passive but have active role. Even if this does not happen in democratic societies, women participate politically, seek their rights in the courts, and take a part in social events.

The Ottoman women gained legal status after reaching puberty and they could appeal to the qadi courts. Women were using the qadi courts for different purposes. The property suits against male relatives, sexual misconduct, murder cases, and a limited right to divorce were important issues of which women were brought the qadi court to solve. We have to add that, women used qadi courts if not as frequently as men. Focusing on women at court has the benefit of highlighting the gap between normative prescription and actual practice.⁴⁶ “Both Islamic law and imperial law protected the various rights to which women were entitled, at the same time they reinforced the overall subordination of female to male in this hierarchical society. Women had to fight harder to claim their rights. However, challenges produced strategies. Ottoman women tried to find ways to manipulate the legal regulations to attain better social status. The sharia and imperial law were important for giving decree but we have to take into consideration that a local interpretation of law is critical. In reality, the cases were more complicated than what is written in fiqh books and imperial decrees. In the Ottoman legal system, we have to take into consideration several legal resources and legal practices.

“The court’s users varied in social position, in the range of problems that brought them to the judge, the court had to maintain some flexibility.”⁴⁷ Shifting norms of legal thinking at the center of empire were interacting with a varied landscape of gender and social class in the provincial setting.⁴⁸ The Ottoman Empire was generally used the Hanefi sect of Islam at the courts. However, the practices of the Maliki sect, the Hanbeli Sect, The Shafi sect of Islam’s were used especially in local areas. The elite people could avoid the sanctions of qadi courts or their punishment could be alleviated so, we do not frequently see them in the state records.

The married or unmarried women were under the control of their husbands or close male relatives about their bodies and over their movements outside the household

⁴⁶ Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in Ottoman Qadi Courts*, (London :University of California Press, 2003, p.7

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*,p.7.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*,p.144

residence. The legal culture of the period assumed male control of women. However, the control of men was limited. But there were men in theory at least, husbands could not usurp the rights of women and claims belonging to married women under the law.

“The records make it possible to trace differences in strategies employed by women and men, and also to trace the particular constraints operating on the two sexes within family and community that necessitated those strategies.”⁴⁹

In the article of Fatma Müge Göçek and Marc David Baer, they trace the eighteenth century Ottoman women in the Galata Qadi Courts which shows the social boundaries of Ottoman woman.⁵⁰

According to these scholars, It was the location of woman within the Ottoman social structure that determined parameters of their power in the society. Spatial constraints often interacted with legal communication and communal barriers to determine the social boundaries of women’s experience.⁵¹

The Ottoman Muslim women were relatively independent from their Non-Muslim women counterpart. Muslim women were not equal with men but, the Quranic mandate confers women's rights compared to other Abrahamic religions. Inheritance sharing is the subject of verses of the Nisa surah. According to these verses, women can inherit possessions half of what men inherit. In Islamic societies, it has become widespread that women's right and authority to dispose of their property is often used by their fathers or husbands without their consent. In this situation, we can see that the records that women did apply to the courts to obtain their inheritance rights. Muslim woman could divorce their husband under certain conditions. However, they had to prove their claim to attain their usurped rights. They tried to expand their field of action with the rights that Islam gave them. Where the prevailing legal culture, social morality and Islam conflicted, women determined the most appropriate strategy for themselves and used it. Ottoman non-Muslim women were using Muslim qadi courts to their advantage especially about the economic issues. The Ottoman Muslim women could buy or sell their property, establish waqıfs, take or give money. Namely, they monopolized their wealth on the contrary to what is commonly believed. The Ottoman Muslim women -also in this issue- were the victims of Orientalist prejudice. The using of qadi court provided power in negotiating the familial and social relationships in

⁴⁹ Ibid.,p.148.

⁵⁰ Fatma Müge Göçek and Marc David Baer, ”Social Boundaries of Ottoman Women's Experience in Eighteenth Century Galata Court Records” *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, (Newyork: Brill, 1997,p.48-65)

⁵¹ Ibid.,p.50.

which their lives were embedded.⁵² The Jewish and Christian women were aware of Muslim women's advantageous situation. Therefore, they chose using sharia courts and they became Muslim to demand their legal rights. According to Marc David Baer,

What is significant is that through conversion to Islam, women side-stepped societal power relations and changed their life chances, if only partially and temporarily.” For non-Muslim women, conversion to Islam offered an escape from unbearable husbands or slave owners, and an opportunity to create room to negotiate personal status.⁵³

The Ottoman Empire- sharia, sultanic decrees, local practices – was the protector of social order. The system forced to keep social order through social hierarchy using and promoting class, religious, and traditional gender roles. However, social order was generally protected through local practices. Apart from this, the Ottoman woman could demand justice through bargaining religion, state, patriarchal system.

2.3. WOMEN VISIBILITY IN PUBLIC SPACE

According to Leslie Peirce, we will see again and again that a reputation for good conduct was essential to a person's standing in the local community.⁵⁴ We can use the notion of Şerif Mardin's neighborhood pressure which is the most important thing in the social life in the Ottoman Empire. It was/is an oppression mechanism which obliged one to behave according to the wish of community. People have to conduct their behaviour by taking into consideration the preservation of social order. While it recognized that not all women practiced seclusion, its protective impulses, like those of Islamic jurisprudence, were directed toward the elite lifestyle. Ebu Suud confirmed the norm of female seclusion as a marker of elite status.⁵⁵ According to him, if a woman will be visible in public space, he prefer veiled visibility of herself with her servants.⁵⁶ However, the common women could not have the same opportunity with their counterparts. Thus, they circuited around public spaces without servants and without proper Islamic veiling. In reality, Islamic jurisprudence remains incapable of the situation of women in rural areas. There is a gap between formal and the realities of life. Contrary to popular belief, more women were and had to be visible in the public

⁵² Margaret Meriwether and Judith Tucker (eds), *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999, p.14)

⁵³ Marc David Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Ottoman Istanbul." *Gender & History*, (2004), p.426-427.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*,p.5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*,p.144.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*,p.158.

sphere than was supposed. Women also had to deal with men in order to go to the market to meet their daily needs, to participate in entertainments and to work in the fields, and this was inevitable.

The women of Istanbul were much more visible in public space on the contrary to what is believed. The hamams are one of the agents of socialization for Istanbul women. The Ottoman women were frequently visiting hamams. The number of hamams are so high in İstanbul, Every mahalle had at least one hamam.

“Selim I, issued imperial order about the places where men did not gather and sit close to the hamam or on the ways which lead to the hamam.”⁵⁷ “In sixteenth century, the state prohibited to hiring shops for women in order to doing laundry and entering laundry shops in 1570.”⁵⁸ “In Eyüp Sultan, women went to cream shops(kaymakçı) and sit and eat cream with foreign men. Therefore, the state wanted to warn the owner of cream shoper to does not allow entering women in this shop. (1570)⁵⁹ Also, the Muslim women of empire could be seen when they were smoking or drinking coffee.”⁶⁰ “The Sultan gives decree Vezir Mehmet Paşa to prohibit to get on boats women and men together. (1580)”⁶¹ “In 1583,the sultan ordered boats withdrawn from service due partly to the molestation of the female passengers.”⁶²

The Ottoman Muslim women’s socialization was not restricted to only going to hamams or visiting relatives. They also attended in festivities. The joining of woman these festivities depended on the the predilection of the current sultan and political stability of the period.⁶³

The araba entered the lives of women as of the 17th century, making it easier to go to distant places by providing invisibility The state again intervened and the grandvizier issued a hüküm the use of forbidding in public places. Women were seen in Kağıthane, Kasımpaşa, Makrıköy, Kavacık, Kanlıca, Beykoz, Küçükusu, Göksu with their faytons for going to the parks. Women were going to go pleasure gardens in 1752, and complaints were reaching the sultan. The sultan ordered bostancıbaşı to dispose of

⁵⁷ Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, A Social History of İstanbul (p.254.

⁵⁸ Ahmet Refik Altınay, On Altıncı Asırda İstanbul Hayatı(1553-1591),(İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935, p.39-40)

⁵⁹ Ibid.,p.40.

⁶⁰ Ibid.,p.40.

⁶¹ Ibid.,p.40.

⁶² Ibid.,p. Ebru boyar Ibid.,p.207.

⁶³ Ibid.,p.207.

women wandering around pleasure gardens. Consequently, the state banned women from going to pleasure gardens.⁶⁴

The author of the eighteenth-century *Risale-i Garibe* disapproved of those men who allowed their women, faces unveiled, to wander about in boats during the cherry season. Even worse were those ‘pimps’, a word he used liberally and apparently applied to a high percentage of the male population of Istanbul, who actually accompanied their wives and daughters on pleasure jaunts, going with them in the summer to Kağıthane or to buy candyfloss at the jetties, or those ‘donkeys’ who went with them at grape time to the Bayram Paşa garden.⁶⁵

As you see from above quotations, the women’s visibility in public space in the time of early Modern Era was common. The decrees, nizamnames, orders were the main proof of this visibility. These documents prove that the continuation of prohibitions was the result of the delinquency of women.

Although, the state always give directives about women dress code, the dress codes were largely ineffective because of women’s dismissal of dress codes. The state tried to control dress, because the visibility of women in public space was perceived as potentially dangerous and could be a cause of social disorder. Also, the dress codes were related to keeping social order between the Ottoman class order which formed through religious lines. Additionally, the excessive ostentation was provided with economic power. “The excessive ostentation depends on excessive consumption and it threatens the stability of price and market.”⁶⁶The new ban was promulgated in 1792, and it prohibited wearing feraces from English fabric because it is transparent and provides an opportunity to show the garment underneath the ferace. Wearing feraces from Ankara fabric is also prohibited by the state. There is no difference between wearing the feraces from Ankara fabric and not wearing feraces. Nevertheless, women continued to wear feraces from Ankara fabric. The imams of the mahallas were made responsible for checking on women's dress that way and that no tailor-made up feraces of from aforementioned fabric. Also, tailors were threatened by the state, if they were caught sewing dresses from these fabrics, would be punished with hanging in front of their workplace, and the women who order the garment also would be punished.⁶⁷Murad IV, was appalled to see women on the streets dressed in new fashions and he warned that women were to wear the soft felt caps and they should

⁶⁴ Ibid.,p.241.

⁶⁵ Ebru Boyar, p.240-241.

⁶⁶ Ibid.,p.180.

⁶⁷ Ibid.,p.180

dress in what they wore in the past and should not use newly-introduced fashion. “After this injunction, men took the new clothes away from their wives and punished them for incorrect dressing.”⁶⁸

Innovation in fashion, however, could not easily be prevented, and led Ahmed III to issue another ban against it in 1726, some shameless women imitated non-Muslim women through imitating non-Muslim women in dress and hairstyle. Although this had already been banned, the prohibition had had no effect. Such women were having an undesirable effect on good Muslim women and leading them astray. They were pressuring their husbands to buy them the latest fashions, these ‘immodest and immoral innovations’. Those men who could afford such things were being drawn into sin because they were wasting money on these unsuitable extravagances for their wives. Others who did not want to spend in this way, or those who could not afford to do so were now facing problems which could go as far as divorce. Old-style clothes had lost their popularity and this was adversely affecting the people of the market, for they were faced both with a loss of demand for their goods and with the need to sell the new fashions. The order therefore banned women from wearing bigcollared feraces or large head-covers. If they did so, their collars would be cut off and they could face exile. Tailors and ribbon makers who made up such garments would be punished. These regulations were to be presented to the women of the mahalles by their imams.⁶⁹

That sultans issued such dress laws further indicates that they were largely ineffective and often ignored. I mean that, the change and the innovation in women’s dress were not unique in the modern era. It could be seen in the early modern era. The reason of the innovation in women clothing was different modern era but it has been always there. In the early modern era, the dressing expresses the wealth of father or husband. Therefore, the early modern Ottoman men also supported innovation in dress-not all of them but who were from upper class similar to the situation in the modern era. Women had changed their dressing style through encouragement from male relatives and economic power. In the seventeenth century, Ottoman dress was much the same as the sixteenth century but there were changes only in the details of dress. According to Charlotte A. Jirosek, with the social and economic transformation in the eighteenth century we see more frequent edicts about the dress code which attempted to keep the sixteenth century’s dress code⁷⁰The repetitive edicts about the dress shows the change in the habits, traditions, and class notions of the empire. In the eighteenth century, the English woolen fabric was used by Ottoman citizens and the Ottoman Empire was the single larger customer for this fabric.⁷¹Besides, when we look at the edicts about the

⁶⁸ Ibid.,p.181.

⁶⁹ Ibid.,p.181.

⁷⁰ Jirosek.,Ibid.,p.87

⁷¹ Ibid.,p.115.

dress code, we can realize the main aim of these decrees are keeping up social order through dressing. In the late years of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the causes of changing dress had changed. The relations between the West changed the cultural ideas, literature, and the arts and it reflects the effect indirectly Ottoman clothing. We have to take into consideration the social nature of fashion and social production and material production, distribution, diffusion, reception, adoption and consumption. If something becomes a fashion, the item should be consumed by the majority of people. The relations between Europe the fashion of West was firstly and inevitably part of firstly men's fashions and later women's fashion. Brenninkmeyer defines fashion as common usage of dress which is adopted in society for the time being. It is the result of the acceptance of certain cultural values, all of which are open to relatively rapid influences of change.⁷²The change in fashion historically materialize. Herbert Spencer says that fashion is one of the component of a changing social structure and it is a part of social evolution. In this time-the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century, one of the part of social order of the Ottoman Empire was threatened by European fashion. In the next chapter, I refer to the influence of the West over Ottoman society, intellectuals and nascent bureaucratic elite. How did the influence of the West change the social life and intellectual life and indirectly the dress codes of Ottoman elites. When the Ottoman elite began to change their world-view it was reflected in what they wore. Pierre Bourdieu interprets clothing and fashion within the framework of cultural taste and of class struggle. The term "taste is a marker which produces and maintain social boundaries and it is the significant element of social identity." Pierre Bourdieu also thinks that fashion is related to imitation. The lower classes imitate higher classes's the notion of taste. The clothing is one of the thing which was imitated by lower classes⁷³ In the Ottoman Empire, the notion of the taste of Ottoman elites were imitated by Ottoman lower classes. The new kind of dressing was firstly seen in the palace later the pasha's harem and later among lower classes. The ideas about fashion was spread through journals and newspapers-advertisements- and in public space, so the fashionable clothes became common in the progress of time. In the next chapter, I try to imply how all these factors influence Ottoman women's lives and also I will give the political, social,

⁷² Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology: An Introduction to Fashion Studies*, (Oxford, Newyork: Berg Publishers, 2005, p.4)

⁷³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (trans) Richard Nice (USA: Harvard University Press, 1984)

cultural, intellectual things which causes to acceleration of changing in clothes and also mentalities. In the next chapter, I will try to show the change in cultural taste through referring to the modernization and reform in the Ottoman Empire.



3. OTTOMAN REFORM AND MODERNIZATION

In this chapter, I will try to present a panorama of Ottoman modernization in the nineteenth century and show the historical continuity and historical change in the Ottoman legacy that dated back to the fourteenth century. While trying to explain these points of continuity and change, I will try to put them in the perspective of later modernities. Thus, I will try to show how the women issue, which began to be discussed among the bureaucrats and intellectuals of the Ottoman state, became an issue, then, how this issue branched out and came to focus on main topic of this thesis, the veiling, and the face veiling.

There is something which is an unnoticed thing: the nature of modernity. We generally assume that modernity and westernization are the same things. This kind of understanding of modernity captures the ideas of the academy as well as public opinion. Public opinion is divided into two parts: one part of them sees that modernization is completely false; Another part of them thinks that it is completely true. Because,” The understanding of modernity as being identical with the West is based on the assumption that because Western Europe, with its distinctive characteristics, produced modernity, so any other modernity necessarily based itself on the existing model.”⁷⁴ The attitude of the academy and two parts of public opinion are extremely reductionist and quite superficial. We have to interrogate and re-read modernities and Turkish experience of modernity. In this thesis, I will try to read Turkish modernity and gender regarding debates concerning women's clothing. In this chapter, I will review the modernity perspectives in order to understand and conceptualize Turkish modernity and gender regarding the debates concerning women's clothing. “The term ‘later modernities’ refers in particular to non-Western experiences that came about as distinct models of modernity, different from the Western European experience, in the absence of colonization.”⁷⁵ ”The concept of later modernities suggests that there have been multiple ways to modernity and that those multiple ways give rise to multiple consequences. This conclusion is reached through

⁷⁴ İbrahim Kaya, *Social Theory and Later Modernities: The Turkish Experience*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004, p.7)

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, ix.

examining the importance of the plurality of civilizations in shaping human identity and practice.”⁷⁶ Turkey as a whole does not represent West nor Islamic Orient. Turkish modernization cannot be understood within the context of Islamic civilization while at the same time, Turkish modernization cannot be explained through the relations between Western civilization. We should look at what they take or keep in modernization process. The Turkish modernization was build on our own historical and cultural heritage. The state, the society and, the economy, the religion can not individually penetrate the Turkish modernization process and, any of them can not influence the modernization process alone.

Most of all, the perspective of varieties of modernity should, in two respects, be able to show that modernity may no longer be read as a uniform progress towards final integration. First, modernity should be viewed as a phenomenon open to definitions and interpretations and as a condition under which conflicts and tensions are constantly at stake. This observation expresses a break with mainstream modernization theory, which emphasizes that an individual society should be understood as an integrated functional system.⁷⁷

Therefore, I will try to imply historical continuity and historical discontinuity in the Late Ottoman period to today about women’s clothing. I will try to imply the historical and contextual distinctions of Turkish modernization. Anthony Giddens says obviously there are continuities between the traditional and the modern, and neither is cut of whole cloth; it is well known how misleading it can be to contrast these two gross a fashion.⁷⁸

3.1.GENERAL PANORAMA OF THE EMPIRE AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

The most prominent characteristic of the Ottoman Empire is the decentralization. The Ottoman Empire was a pre-modern state within an administrative establishment, economic system, and social organization features. Ostensibly, the Ottoman Empire stretched from Algeria to Yemen, Bosnia to the Caucasus and Eritrea to Basra with a relatively high population which was 30 million.⁷⁹ In this time, The Ottoman Empire lost the territories of the fifteenth and sixteenth century in Europe. In many parts of

⁷⁶ Ibid.,ix.

⁷⁷ Ibid.,p.3

⁷⁸ Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991, p.4-5).

⁷⁹ M.Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press,2008,p.7).

the Ottoman rule was fiction.⁸⁰The power of local notables, increased over the eighteenth century, as governors opted to appoint influential locals as tax collectors.⁸¹At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman economy was still premercantilist and agrarian.⁸² The Ottoman system was founded on local self-sufficiency, and state policy had a distinctly provisionist character.⁸³ A major debilitating factor for the Ottoman economy was war. Loss of territory and population reduced available sources of revenue; enormous war indemnity payments, bloated expenditure; and the need for a bigger and better military required an increasing flow of funds for investment and upkeep.⁸⁴ To address these economic problems, the state adopted new commercial, fiscal, and monetary policies. There are two components of the Ottoman Empire: reaya and ruling class. Faith organizes society until the nineteenth century's ethnic nationalism. Society was traditionally organized along religious lines, the principal division being that between Muslim and non-Muslim. An estimated 80 percent of the population was rural. The majority of the subjects were illiterate. The languages of the Ottoman Empire is so diverse. The Ottoman Turkish borrows from Arabic and Persian languages but at the turn of the nineteenth century, French had become the new intellectual language of the empire. Sultan Selim III acceded to the throne in 1789. It is known that, as a prince, he had corresponded with Louis XVI of France, his 'role model', and he had gathered around him a circle of friends and servants who shared his interest in things European. When he acceded to the throne, he appointed many of them to places of influence.⁸⁵ After the peace with Russia, Selim III immediately got ready to make reforms which was officially called the (New Order). This programme aimed to increase the strength of the central state organization, against both external enemies and internal ones. ⁸⁶ These were problems that had plagued Selim's eighteenth-century predecessors and his attempts to solve them were essentially traditional: he attempted to strengthen the state apparatus (notably the armed forces and tax collection) by combating abuse and corruption and reestablishing the traditional system, and thus the adalet (justice).⁸⁷

⁸⁰ Ibid.,p.,13.

⁸¹ Ibid.,p.17.

⁸² Ibid.,p.,19.

⁸³ Ibid.,p.,19.

⁸⁴ Ibid.,p.,22.

⁸⁵ Ibid.,p.21

⁸⁶ Ibid.,p.22.

⁸⁷ Ibid.,p.22

According to Zurcher, what makes Selim interesting as a transitional figure between the traditional attempts at reform on the one hand, and the nineteenth century Tanzimat (reforms), on the other, is the extent to which he was prepared to accept European practices (and European advisers) to achieve his goals and the way in which his reign opened up channels of communication between Europe and the Ottoman ruling elite.⁸⁸ Therefore, he opened embassies in Europe-London(1793), Vienna(1794), Berlin(1795), Paris(1796). He invited foreign officers to serve as advisers to the Ottoman army and established colleges to teach European military sciences. The Royal College of Naval Engineering had been founded in 1773. In 1796, Selim III revitalized this school and established another dedicated to Army Engineering.⁸⁹ In 1793, the government decided to establish a special treasury named the “New Revenues Treasury” to finance new military troops and future campaigns. He tried to establish central authority in periphery but he did not succeed. The new order was shattered by cooperation of janissaries and ulama. The whole body of reforms were abolished and Selim III was killed. Mahmud II took the throne. He had to make an agreement with ayans which is known as *Sened-i İttifak*. The Sultan decided to establish a new army while at the same time he tried to do not displease the janissaries. He appointed loyal ones to new troop but he can not escape the confrontation with janissaries. In this time, the return of revolt was disastrous for Janissaries instead of the Sultan. The Janissaries were destroyed thanks to fatwa which sanctions the slaughter of Janissaries. Traditional Janissary opposition to military reform a thing of the past, the government was free to form a new European-style army corps. With the Janissaries gone, the ulema lost a main source of leverage over the court and the bureaucracy. The Asâkir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye (Victorious Troops of Muhammad), composed of infantry and cavalry. In 1834, a reserve army was established, with units in various Anatolian and Rumelian provinces. In 1838, a Military Council was formed to discuss all military matters pertaining to the empire. Significantly, the provincial armies that had threatened the center in the past were disbanded. As a result of these changes, the Ottoman state now possessed a single military organization under unified command. This was a major accomplishment in centralization.⁹⁰ The centralization is the first thing that Mahmud II wants. In order to

⁸⁸ Ibid.,p.22

⁸⁹ Hanioglu,Ibid.,44

⁹⁰ Ibid.,p.59.

bolster central control of the periphery, Mahmud II attempted to institutionalize the link between central and provincial administration. For this reason, there was a first census in the history of Ottoman Empire. The first official Ottoman newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* was published in 1831. *Takvim-i Vekayi* gives information about new laws, new inventions. Therefore, the official newspaper linked the center and local areas.

As Alen Duben and Cem Behar say that from the first years of the nineteenth century to nearly 1940's, "Istanbul was unique between the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire in terms of the rate of the population which engaged in bureaucratic, commercial, industrial activities and the lifestyle that brought these occupations. These occupations and education brought social and cultural emulation of the West. Istanbul had been also a difference in cultural and social milieu because of religious lines of the city. The ideas and values of the West influence the daily life of different religious groups. The accumulation of these ideas change the point of views about women's position in society and of arranged marriages, the development of a new family ideal, new domestic manners, new concerns about children's place in society and about child-rearing."⁹¹

The introduction of these ideas were realized thanks to newspapers and weekly journals. While Tanzimat intellectuals argued about the women question- they only included women who lived in the cities and wanted women to become functional during the modernization period. The self-perception of women, especially from the upper class, began to change and they began to criticize their situation.

The *Takvim-i Vekayi* was the beginning of Turkish press. Ottoman Muslim newspapers and periodicals were published after the *Takvim-i Vekayi*. The newspaper became a consumption product which gave a daily political, social developments and scandalous events. Also, the newspapers include the ideas of contemporary intellectuals which helped to control the formation of public opinion. The common people can not read academic works but the newspaper addresses people of all classes. The newspaper forms the public opinion and its mentality. The Ottoman Muslim newspapers justify political and social change and take steps toward the secularization of Ottoman Muslim Society and Eurocentric worldview. Additionally, it initiates dynamic public opinion. According to Orhan Koloğlu, the Ottoman journalist firstly published their relatively unfavorable writings in French newspapers in Pera and these newspapers inject the European kind of consumption habits. These newspapers referred to life in

⁹¹ Alen Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family, Fertility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p.7)

Europe especially French mode of life and also introduce commercial advertisement.⁹² We can see the influence of these advertisement in dress code decess in the nineteenth century and the twentieth century. *Tercüman-ı Ahval* is the most popular and private newspaper of this time because of the content and its language. *Tasvir-i Efkar* for the first time put forwards the importance of public opinion which published by Şinasi and Namık Kemal It published reader letter and also write opposing ideas in every sphere of political social life. It causes to escape of Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ziya Paşa, Ali Suavi and therefore, it starts to the tradition of opposition from exile.⁹³ The first writers of newspapers were bureaucrats and they also share their ideas as journalists. They present the reform ideas firstly there and later they began to reform. In this time, the Ottoman Empire inevitably needed all out social mobilization, even women. According to Tanzimat elite, women should do something about social development. The international context gives them legitimacy and they insists on the education of women which restrains the Ottoman modernization project.⁹⁴

3.2.WOMEN VISIBILITY IN PERIODICALS AND BOOKS

In 1868, *Terakkî* newspaper began to made propaganda on behalf of women. It was the first newspaper which refers to the women rights.⁹⁵ Also, it published writings about the education of women in France and the demand of working in government agencies and the cause of these demand was presented as the courage of education.⁹⁶ Apart from aforementioned issues, opening schools for girls, the precedence of monogamy another issues is referred in these journals. The newspaper also gives place to reader letters which praises women who work in Anatolia. Also, *Terakkî* had been supplement journal as a title of *Terakkî -i Muhadderât* on a weekly basis. This journal refers to the importance of women's education, the women's movements in Europe, the mutual responsibilities in marriage 'neither men were created as servants to women nor women were created as concubines for men' ,and the precedence of monogamy

⁹² Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları,1992,p.26)

⁹³ Ibid.,p.35. Also look at *Sürgünde Muhalefet: Namık Kemal'in Hürriyet Gazetesi 1-2* (İstanbul: Vakıfbank Kültür Yayınları, 2018) It consist of articles of New Ottomans in exile.

⁹⁴ Şerif Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma", *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler 4*,(İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları,2018, p.63).

⁹⁵ Tezer Taşkiran, *Cumhuriyet'in 50.yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, (Ankara:Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı, 1973,p.30)

⁹⁶ Ibid.,p.29.

over polygamy.⁹⁷ Apart from *Muhadderât*, *İnsâniyet*(82-83), *Vakit yahud Mürebbî-i Muhadderât*(1895), *Hanımlar*(82-83), *Şükûfezâr*(1883-84), *Mürüvvet*(1885-86), *Parça Bohçası*(1877-78), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*(1893-1907)⁹⁸, *Hanımlara Mahsus Mâlumat*(1894-96), *Âyîne*(1874-76), *Âile*(1880), *Takvim-i Nisâ*(1899-1900) were published as a woman journal.⁹⁹ All of the journals were published in İstanbul except for *Âyîne*(Selanik). The women journals of this era referred the women's right, the education of women within the bounds of possibility. Because, neither the state nor the social ground were ready to open up the situation of women in society for discussion. In reality, these journals were generally adressed to a small portion of population. The 'women issue' was restricted between intellectual conversation but not spread around the lower classes. However, we do not forget the writer of these ideas were also part of newly Ottoman bureaucratic cadres. These ideas paved the way for legal reforms. Even if the contribution of women was restricted by the Ottoman patriarchy, they paved way the involvement of woman in social mobilization. According to Şerif Mardin, discontent people revealed who was not pleased with the pace of social mobilization during the modernization period and they try to accelerate social mobilization. No doubt, the Tanzimat intellectuals were dissatisfied with the pace of social mobilization and found it necessary the involvement of women in the social change and social mobilization process. According to Şerif Mardin, the novel was a underutilized source for understanding Turkish modernization. The first Ottoman novels were thesis novels which were discourses about the Westernization of upper class men and the situation of women in the society. Ottoman elite wrote about the liberation of woman.¹⁰⁰

Namık Kemal was the most famous figure of the Tanzimat era, his ideas had been influenced by The Young Turks as well as Kemalist cadres of the Turkish Republic. Namık Kemal generally wrote about political issues, identity, ideas of French Revolution but also he wrote about the women issue in a few newspapers. We can mostly trace his ideas about women through literary works. His most important writing

⁹⁷ Ibid.,p.31-32.

⁹⁸ It was the longest journal which published in this era. The owner of journal was Ibn'ül Hakkı Tarık Bey the leading manager was Ahmet Reşit and Fatma Şadiye was one of the managers of journal. Tarık Bey submitted a petition Dahiliye Nezâreti and says Although in Europe there are many journals were published for women, there is no journal for women in the Ottoman Empire. This is great loss for for women so there is a need for journal to provindg women development. Ibid.,p.89

⁹⁹ Şefika Kurnaz, *Yenileşme Sürecinde Türk Kadını*,(İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi, 2015,p.85-94.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.,p.30.

was published in *Tasvir-i Efkar* with the title of *Terbiye-i Nisvan Hakkında Bir Layiha*. In this writing, he emphasizes upon the importance of education of women. According to him, educated women means educated children and the development of the Ottoman Empire only was provided in this way. He complains that while men are working outside, women were at the home as a consumer of men's income and why does men become indebted because of their wife's flatulency. He highlights women visibility in public space for the development. He says that, women are seen as apprehender of music, entertainment and jewelry, but there are no differences between men and women. If so why do they exposed to the working and personal effort.¹⁰¹ He also harshly criticizes the structure of the Ottoman family that we can see the historical continuity of today. The decayed marriages the roles of woman and man and the transmission of decayed marriage tradition of the next generation, the reluctant marriages, the domestic violence, the irresponsibility of husband, the wife's affection of dressing and jewelry,¹⁰²¹⁰³ In *Bizde Ahlakın Hali* article, he complains about the methods of child care. So, people should get a good education but he also criticizes of the situation of primary schools, secondary schools and high schools. The Ottoman children could not be educated properly, so they became immoral persons in the future and they threatened social order in the public space. The most important problem of the Ottoman society is demoralisation.¹⁰⁴

Şinasi wrote *Şair Evlenmesi* after the promulgation of Tanzimat Edict which was about the traditional marriage. Ahmet Mithat was known as the machine of writing and he wrote many works of literature which included woman as a character. According to Niyazi Berkes, in a novel having the main theme of women in education, Midhat's imagination transcends the boldest speculations permissible in his time and predicts that the day will come when women will enter into every profession. Questions relating to the low status of women their misfortunes and sufferings as a result of their not having rights equal to those of men, are recurrent themes to give importance of emancipation of women. He criticized for the first time an aspect of Turkish marriage which, under modern conditions, came to be regarded as one of the most unfortunate issues of family life-the custom of marrying persons who had not cultivated love for

¹⁰¹ Namık Kemal, "Terbiye-i Nisvan Hakkında Bir Layiha", *Tasvir-i Efkar* (9 Şubat 1867)

¹⁰² Namık Kemal," Aile" *İbret*, N.56. (19 Kasım 1872)

¹⁰³ He also criticizes the abortion. Look at Namık Kemal,"*İskat-ı Cenin*", *Hadika* (28 Kasım 1872) p.1-2

¹⁰⁴ Namık Kemal," *Bizde Ahlakın Hali*", *İbret*(26 Mart 1873) no:124 p.1-2

each other, but also had never seen each other. Also, Midhat presents the social institutions and mores which need to reform.¹⁰⁵

Abdülhak Hamit Tarhan wrote *Tarık yahud- Endülüs Fethi* in 1879, he says women of a nation are a measure of the degree of progress. In the theatre, Tarık Bin Ziyad praises women who joined the war with men. In the theatre, Tarık bin Ziyad was appointed as a commander of conquerors of Spain by the sultan but the daughter of sultan ‘Zehra’ fall in love with him, so she decided to join the war in guise of man. According to him, if women were educated like men, they were more succesful than men. If they educated like men they can be commander of soldiers or being a sultan they can be teachers of men.

Namık Kemal’s *İntibah*, Zavallı Çocuk Nabizade Nazım’s *Zehra*, Huseyin Rahmi Gürpınar’s *İffet* Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil’s *Sefile* and *Aşk-ı Memnu*, Nabizade Nazım’s *Sergüzeşt* were the most famous novels which criticize the women’ situation.¹⁰⁶ Şemsettin Sami also who wrote about the women issue. *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* was one of the first novel in which the life of woman under the male dominated Muslim society, it praises the importance of women education.and the importance of love marriage. In *Kadınlar*(1879), he uphold the gender equality and the dignity of women as a human. Women have to be part of society for progress and civilization and most importantly for being a good mother. According to him, the family means woman. The happiness of humanity is contingent upon the happiness of families. The family happiness is contingent upon the education of women. Namely, the happiness of humanity neccessitates the education of women. He says that monogamy as the desired norm in the Islamic religion. He gives references from the Golden Age of Islam to persuade readers how the involvement of women in society is important. He says the teachers of primary school in America were women so, the Ottoman women could be teachers in primary schools. He believes in women can be succesful in trade, pharmacy and nursing. Şemseddin Sami was sensitive to European criticism of veiling and seclusion. Both practices pre-date Islam, beginning with the ancient Greeks and

¹⁰⁵ Niyazi Berkes, *The development of Secularism In Turkey*,(London: C. Hurst & Company, 1998,p.283-284)

¹⁰⁶ The modernization experience of women and the ciriticism of morales and traditional role of women as well as men, the family, the social structure of Turkish society were also the main themes of women writers of the Late Ottoman Empire. Please look at Ayşegül Utku Günaydın, *Kadınlık Daima Bir Muamma: Osmanlı Kadın Yazarların Romanlarında Modernleşme*, (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2018)

Iranians. Islam prohibits women from showing their hair, arms, calves, and other areas of the body, but these restrictions are not chains, for it is not a difficult task to cover one's hair. Women could be visible in public scene before and after marriage.¹⁰⁷ While he praises the Islamic veiling, this photograph shows that he did not praise Islamic veiling for his own wife, Emine who sat behind Şemsettin Sami with European style clothes and unveiled way.¹⁰⁸ As Alen Duben and Cem Behar say that transformation taking place at home was in many ways a microcosm of processes that were taking hold of society at large.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the transformation micro power space was the reflection of macro space's transformation. This transformation later spread around the cities of the empire, we can understand it from the spreading of schools around the empire.



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Also, he wrote *Kamus Al-A'lam* which embodies the contribution of women Islamic and Western civilization.¹¹¹ However, Şemsettin Sami did not see woman and man equal but he believes in gender equality. As Joan Scott says equality is not the elimination of difference, and difference does not preclude equality.¹¹² The Ottoman

¹⁰⁷ George W. Gawrych, "Şemsettin Sami, Women and Social Conscience in the Late Ottoman Empire", *Middle Eastern Studies*(2010),p.104

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*,p.106.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Alen Duben and Cem Behar.,p.8.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*,W. Gawrych,p.,106

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 97.

¹¹² John Wallach. Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or, The Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism",*Feminist Studies*, (Spring 1988)p,38.

intellectuals were also believers of gender equality but at the same time the protectors of gender differences and Şemsettin Sami was one of them. All of the male Ottoman intellectuals tried to fuse with the Western developments and Islamic ideals. They reinterpret *Quran*, *hadith* and *sharia*. They began to say Islam gives gender equality to both women and men. The contemporary practices stemmed from misinterpretation of Islamic canon. They wanted to change in the system of education. Their first aim is extending the degree of schooling of women.

Abdulhamid II was also a reformer. He wanted the Ottoman Empire to become a modern state. In this sense, we can say he is a selective reformer. Abdulhamid's first concern is raising bureaucrats. He opened Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi for girls in 1883 and the number of schools. In 1879, the number of rüşdiye was 277. In 1888, the number of rüşdiye reached 435. The number of idadi was 6 around the empire. In 1893, the number of idadi was 55. In 1908, the number of idadi was 98.¹¹³ The education reforms of Abdulhamid II generally involve men, it is obvious that it has an impact on the change of mentality of male students who are educated in these schools. The reform-minded people of the ITC period is revealed in these schools. In this time, the number of girl schools had visibly increased. The number of schools did not increase in the capital but in the provinces. Also, in this era, 250,000 workers were in the Ottoman Empire and 70,000 women were members of this working class.¹¹⁴ Women worked in the textile mills, the tobacco factories and in the food industry. Between 1872 to 1907 there were 50 strikes and 9 of these were organized by women.¹¹⁵ Many of these women had not been literate so, documents about these women were so rare. In this time, we have to remember that the European women's movement began. The women's movement began to change the situation of a woman through education and its extension and tried to change the traditional gender roles. The women's movement linked with the structural and institutional change and a change in mentality about equality and liberty.

Also, in this time, women's movement or feminist movement has been revealed for the first time in the Ottoman Empire. As I said above, many of the women's journals appeared in the time of Abdulhamid II. The educational reforms of Mahmud II and the Tanzimat

¹¹³ François Georgeon, trans. Ali Berktaş, *Sultan Abdulhamid*, (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006, p.291.)

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p.373.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., Serpil Çakır, p. 45.

period gradually reveals women as actors in press. Because, as I said before, the Ottoman political system entered into the process of centralization, secularization, liberation. The modernization was decisive not only in the political structure but also in restructuring society. The situation of Ottoman women changed in parallel with the modernization process.

In the time of Second Constitutional Period, the women issue gained more importance than any other time in Tanzimat period. In this time, the woman question was diversified. The solutions and responses were also diversified. The woman question was intensely under examination. More than ever before, changing positions, actions and practices of women in everyday life were the main issues of press. Because, the mentality of Ottoman male had also changed during the time. The woman or family were no longer sacred issue that does not speak rashly.

The Ottoman reformers and the newly Ottoman intellectuals as journalist articulated the questions what does women need what does women want in these more liberal days. The important difference between ITC period and the longest nineteenth century reforms of Ottoman Empire is participation of women in these discussion.¹¹⁶ Because, the early Tanzimat reforms began to blossom in this era. Starting with the Second Constitutional Period women began to demand more rights. The women joined the reformer men's side to propagate the change in women lives. The woman right were advocated firstly by men later women also advocate for their own rights. Therefore, they establish women associations, newspapers and journals. The press maintains its role also the Constitutional Period II. The West gradually finds a more place in the columns of newspaper and owing to this the social structure of West compared to the social structure of the East and the reform demands find a voice in these comparison. The importance of education of women is frequently a recurrent theme in the time of the ITC period. The constitutional era intellectuals had insisted the significance and propagation of women's education. The dissemination of education is the first thing which should be done. Later, the Ottoman women obtain the rights to what they deserve. The state and the intellectuals pursued the image of ideal women and construct a new identity for women. Apart from that the polygamy *-taadüt-i zevcât* was another important issue which discussed in newspapers and journals. The

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visibility of women came to head in this time. The visibility of women in public scenes and the veiling and face veiling issue went hand in hand with the visibility of women in public space. We can not say, the whole body of Ottoman male intellectuals stood in the change of women situation. Many of them approached the changes with caution. All of them take references from Islamic history, Quran and Islamic law. Most of them especially modernist Turkist and moderate Westernist reinterpret the verses of Quran, the hadith books, and the sharia law in a modern way while Islamist were insisted on the traditional interpretation of Islamic heritage.

We can really rarely encounter the intellectual or the writer who did not write about women. The women participated the struggle of ITC. Women started to visible more and more with the beginning of Young Turk Era. *Mefharet* (1908), *Demet* (1908), *Mehasin* (1908), *Kadın* (1908-1909), *Kadın* (1911), *Kadınlar Alemi* (1914), *Kadınlık* (1914), *Kadın Duygusu* (1914), *Genç Kadın* (1914) *Musavver Kadın* (1910-11), *Kadınlık Hayatı* (1911-12), *Bilgi Yurdu Işığı* (1917) were the journals for women. *Kadınlar Dünyası*(1913-1921), was the longest lived woman's journal which published by women. This journal included issues about law, social life, dressing, family, education, working life. The women movement shaped in this journal. In this time, more and more women were visible in public space through education or family background and change the minds of other women. Also, In this time, the women associations had began to found. *Hıdmet-i Nisvan Cemiyet-i Hayriyyesi* (1908), *Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti* (1910), *Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Şubesi* (1912), *Donanma Cemiyeti Hanımlar Şubesi*(1912), *Müdafaa-i Milliye Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti*(1913) were founded or managed by woman. Apart from aformentioned associations, *Esirgeme* (1908), *Osmanlı Kadınları Şefkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyyesi* (1908), *Osmanlı ve Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*(1912), *Etfal Hastanesi ve Şişli Osmanlı Kadınları Cemiyet-i Hayriyyesi*(1914), *Asker Ailelerine Yardımcı Hanımlar Cemiyeti*(1914), *Şehit Ailelerine Yardım Birliği*(1915), *Bikes Ailelere Yardımcı Hanımlar Cemiyeti*(1916) were other associations. Also, there were associations which founded with economical aims. These were *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyyesi*(1912), *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*(1913). Additionally, there are women associations that founded feminist, culture, art, education associations. These were *Nisvan-ı Heyet-i Edebiyyesi*(1908), *Genç Kız Cemiyeti*(1908), *Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti*(1909), *Mekteb-i Sultani-i İnas Cemiyeti*(1911), *Osmanlı İttihad-ı Nisvan*

Cemiyeti(1909-1910), Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti(1913), Bilgi Yurdu Dershanesi(1916), İnas Darülfununu Mezuneleri Cemiyeti(1918), Musiki Muhibbi Hanımları Cemiyeti(1918), Türk Kadını Dershanesi(1919). As you see, Istanbul had many women associations. It means that there are so many literate middle or upper class woman and they were visible in public scene. Besides, the founder of some associations were men. This means that women and men began to be neighbors to each other. It also has a meaning when we take into consideration traditional Ottoman Muslim society, it began to change social structure and mentality.¹¹⁷

3.3.THE EDUCATION

The education of Ottoman Muslim women had started in Tanzimat period. Before it, the only small portion of lucky women were educated at home except primary school. In 1843, the first school of midwifery opened in Tıbbiye Mektebi. We can say that the students of the midwifery school were first women who were educated by state initiative.¹¹⁸ The girl industry school had opened under the responsibility of Ticaret Nezareti to supply military dress as a sewing workshop in 1864 later it was closed in 1884.¹¹⁹ The industry schools were vested the responsibility of Maârif Nezâreti in 1887.¹²⁰ The number of industry school for women were only three. In 1886, 260 girls studied in İnas Sanayi Mektebi.

In 1858, the *tezkiye* from *Maârif Nezâreti* to *Sadabat* says that the development of state only was possible with education and it proposes the opening of rüşdiye for girls.¹²¹ In 1859, the first rüşdiye for girls was opened in İstanbul but there is no document about the number of girls who were educated there.¹²² In 1869, Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizamnâmesi was declared which reformalizes the increase of Ottoman junior high schools and teacher training colleges and the primary school was made obligatory for all of the children. In the time of Abdulhamid, the number of these schools were increased. In the documents between the years 1871-1872, there are eight rüşdiye for girls and the number of student was 311.¹²³ In 1877, there are nine rüşdiye for girls

¹¹⁷ Ibid., Osmanlı Kadınının Yükselişi.,p.169.

¹¹⁸ Şefika Kurnaz, *Yenileşme Sürecinde Türk Kadını* Ibid.,p.47-48)

¹¹⁹ Bernard Caporal, *Kemalizm ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını*,(Ankara: 1982, p.105.)

¹²⁰ Şefika Kurnaz, Ibid.,p.49.

¹²¹ Ibid., p.31.

¹²² Ibid.,p.31. The first male child rüşdiye was opened 1847.

¹²³ Ibid.,p.33.

and there were no more male teacher for training girls between the years 1896-1908. In this time, 52 women teachers educated girls in these schools.¹²⁴ Between the years 1912-13 there are 4416 girls in rüşdiyes and 186 women teacher were employing as teachers.¹²⁵ The periphery also had rüşdiye in Bosnia, Yanya, Beirut, Crete, Konya, Trabzon.¹²⁶ In 1877-78, 31 rüşdiye for girls were founded in the empire and there are 683 student.¹²⁷ In the time of Abdulhamid, 85 rüşdiye opened for girls and most of them were in periphery. Kız idadileri were opened in the time of Abdulhamid II within the initiative of Münif Pasha but those were not official. There are only four idadi for girls because of the lack of demand. The girls were already married, when they went to idadi.¹²⁸ Those were closed soon afterwards. In the time of ITC, Ahmet Rıza demanded to official idadi for girls from Abdulhamid II and he granted Adile Sultan palace. But they were not be succesful¹²⁹ In 1870, Dârümuallimâts were opened to train women teachers for employment in rüşdiye and sibyan schools. In the opening ceremony of Dârümuallimât, Saffet Pasha says that Islam is not against the education of women. Women should educate for good of child rearing. In 1872, twenty women graduated from here. Unfortunately, we do not know exact names of teachers and students so we can not trace their career. In the forthcoming years, the girls entered in a Dârümuallimât but they could not graduate. Dârümuallimât was a school that gives scholarship for girls and the graduated ones had to be employed in other schools but non-scholarship girls were at liberty in the matter of working or not working. Until 1914, it was only women school for high degree of education and the girl who was educated here; first women bureucrats of Ottoman Empire. In 1911, firstly Aksaray kız idadisi opened later the number of idadi had risen to five. In 1914, the women curriculum had began. In this curriculum, there is house information, health, pedagogics, nature, history classes.¹³⁰ Also, İnas Sanâyi-i Nefise Mektebi was opened in 1914 later it had become *Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şahane* in 1921, Thus, the education of art started for girls. In 1915, İnas Darülfünunu was founded in the building of Dârümuallimât-ı Âliye with different teaching staff. In 1920, İnas Darülfünunu was integrated into İstanbul Dârü'l-fünûn but the academic hours were

¹²⁴ Ibid.,p.37.

¹²⁵ Ibid.,p.101

¹²⁶ Ibid.,p.38.

¹²⁷ Ibid.,p.39.

¹²⁸ Ibid.,p.45.

¹²⁹ Ibid.,p.102.

¹³⁰ Ibid.,p.106.

different. Then, when Ali Kemal was the minister of education, women and men began to take class together.¹³¹The faculty of art and sciences reformed coeducation (1921), secondly, the faculty of law (1921-22), thirdly the faculty of medicine began to take women students. The school gave first graduates in 1917. Also, the school of management opened for education for women in 1917.

As you see, beginning with Tanzimat period to Young Turk period, girls firstly were educated within the hands of state. The educated women became more and more visible in the public scene and this visibility causes the debates about women.

3.4.ON THE WAY OF FAMILY LAW AND HUKUK-I AİLE KARARNAMESİ

The Tanzimat period generally expresses the reforms in the area of law and military. According to Halil İnalçık, the Ottoman Empire's economic and sociological basis had started to buckle and the Tanzimat men' attempted to reestablish empire through the reforms and modernization.¹³²The Tanzimat rose to strengthen the columns of political associations.¹³³The reforms started in Tanzimat period as a the longest age of the empire to nineteenth century. The Ottoman Family Law originates from these reform attempts. I will give the process that led to the Ottoman Family Law. I will refer previous single regulations during Tanzimat period. The last significant canonization of Ottoman law is Family Law after *Mejelle*(1869-1876)and *Arazi kanunnamesi*(1858). The Family Law is significant for national law as well as Islamic law. The canonization of family law was an important step to the completion of the Ottoman code of civil law because the *Mejelle* did not include decrees about family and inheritance.¹³⁴ From this aspect, we can not see it as civil law. There is a question here: why *Mejelle* did not put in order family and inheritance law? Firstly, the Ottoman Empire was multinational. The non-Muslims had freedom of law in terms of their religion. It made it difficult to introduce unified law. Secondly, there was no urgency for family law. Thirdly, there was dualist structure in the area of law. Therefore, *Mejelle* prepared for Nizamiye courts not Sharia courts. *Mejelle* included the law of

¹³¹ Ibid.,p.106

¹³² Halil İnalçık, "Tanzimat Nedir?", DTCF Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi(1944),p.238.

¹³³ Yavuz Abadan, "Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Tahlili", Maarif Vekaleti Yayını(1940),p.33.

¹³⁴ Mehmet Akif Aydın, *İslam- Osmanlı Aile Hukuku*, (İstanbul: İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı Yayınları,1985. p.131).

obligations, the commercial law, and the law of property. Those are could be implemented for Muslims and non-Muslims but the family and inheritance law could not be implemented for different religious groups. The difficulty of implementation of unified law will rise to the surface after the enacting of family law degree.

For the first time, the family law was canonized in Islamic history. Before the Family Law, the local *qadis* used Hanafiyah sect about the marriage contract especially after sixteenth century because the state adopted the official sect understanding.¹³⁵ They looked at fiqh books and fetwa books. Until the Tanzimat Edict, we could not see the regulation except the customary law which incorporated into sharia law.¹³⁶ During the Tanzimat period, there were small regulations in the family law.

From now, I will give some regulations which had been the footfall of the Family Law. In the times of Abdulmejid I (1844), there was an imperial order about marriage licence: According to imperial order, if there is no sharia obstacle, single women and widow women can marry without the parent permission. Women could do marriage contract under these circumstances. In this time, the marriage of maid's depended on the permission of family. Also, imperial order suggested to abandon bride price.¹³⁷ The main aim of imperial order was providing the marriage of maids' and widows who not to be thirty years old. The parent's attitude prevent reproduction in the Empire.¹³⁸ In 1822, the marriage of an Ottoman woman with Persian man was prohibited by order. The reason was not the difference of sects, the reason was preventing of the amendment of citizenship. In 1866, Tabiiyet-i Osmaniyye Kanunnamesi to be enacted. According to the code, if Ottoman woman marries a foreigner Muslim or non-Muslim, there will be a change in their citizenship. Woman could return Ottoman citizenship in case of death of the husband.¹³⁹ For the first time in Islamic world, there is a citizenship regulation without Islamic judgement.¹⁴⁰ As you know, a Muslim woman can not marry a man from another religion. In 1881, the Ottoman Empire seriously intervened in the marriage contract for the first time in history within *Sicil-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi*.

¹³⁵ Yılmaz Yurtseven, "1917 Tarihli Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi ve Osmanlı Aile Hukukuna Getirdiği Yenilikler", Selçuk Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi(2003),p. 201.

¹³⁶ Ibid.,p.202.

¹³⁷ Mehmet Ünal,"Medeni Kanunun Kabulünden Önce Türk Aile Hukukuna İlişkin Düzenlemeler ve özellikle 1917 Tarihli Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi", AÜHFD(1977),p.206.

¹³⁸ Ebru Kayabaş, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tanzimat Dönemi İtibariyle Aile Hukukunun Gelişimi: Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi*, (İstanbul: Filiz Kitapevi, 2009, p.9).

¹³⁹ Ibid.,p.9.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.,p.9.

¹⁴¹According to *nizamname*, the engaged Muslim couple should be married by sharia court's qadis or their designee. Within same *nizamname*, the statement of divorce was made obligatory to population registry Office.¹⁴² Within *irade-i seniyye* in 23 March 1916, the divorce right is given women under the condition of sickness: madness, lepra, vitiligo.¹⁴³ Until this time, the divorce could be because of impotence and not shirking husbandly duties.¹⁴⁴ These are all regulations single and particular. They did not give perpetual and permanent solutions. The sharia courts only used Hanaffiyah law. The utilization of other sects of law is the most suitable thing to fulfill the needs. The most important thing which is revealed by the Ottoman Family Law is legal obligation.¹⁴⁵ In eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ottoman empire had altered. The women already had been educated from 1858. However, there was no need for women's employment. In constitutional period, the Ottoman family turned into nuclear family especially in cities. The capitalism's moral and economic effects were shaking relations between women and men. The ensuing wars caused the decrease of the male population. WWI obliged women to participate in working life. Due to the women's urgent and mandatory introduction to working life, a fledgling feminist movement turned on a dime. I have to add that, the situation of marginalized women here. The Ottoman marginalized women suffered from their legal status. In this era, many men would not return from war but women can not receive trustworthy news from them. Some of the Ottoman intellectuals also want a law to enhance women's situation.

These referred reasons rendered to be unavoidable to enacting of a family law decree. The party of Union and Progress initiated to establishment of three *Izhar-ı kavanin* commissions. The first meeting was on 22 May 1916. The commission considered the three religion of empire and decided to establish subcommissions for Jews and Christians. These commissions determined the basics of the family law of three religion and the decretals of them which cannot be compatible with Islam, refused in the family law decree.¹⁴⁶ The Family Law Decree was accepted as a *muvakkat kanun* and it was not voted on the parliament. It became valid 25 October 1917. The Family

¹⁴¹ Ibid.,p.10.

¹⁴² Aydın, Ibid., p.142.

¹⁴³ Kayabaş, Ibid,p.12.

¹⁴⁴Ibid,p.13.

¹⁴⁵Aydın, Ibid.,p.155.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.,p.163-164.

Law consisted of two books: *münakehat*(the marriage) and *müfarakat*(the divorce). It included 157 articles.

The engagement for the first time appeared in the Family law. The law started with the engagement articles. According to these articles, when the couple break up with each other, *mehir* will be given back. If it get lost, woman pays cash instead. The law put in order of engagement.¹⁴⁷

The marriage age is another issue for Family Law. According to HAK, woman should be 17 years old, man should be 18 years old for marriage. The 18 years old man could marry anyone he wants but the 17 years old woman could not marry without the permission of her parents. The permission is not what we might think. The court asks parents to material balance of himself and future groom. The parent could refuse marriage contract because of material balance.

The marriage contract is another issue for HAK. The HAK obliged the announcement of a future marriage contract before marriage to learn if is there any obstacle for marriage. The HAK also obliged to attending of *qadi* or his *naib* who is closest to the place of residence of one of the parties of the marriage contract. Before HAK, the announcement of marriage was done after marriage contract. According to HAK, the marriage contract materialises with the couple or their assignee. In this way, HAK abolishes some of the marriage customs.¹⁴⁸ Marriage through sending letter and marriage through subsequent permission is abolished.¹⁴⁹ The two witness are necessary for the marriage contract. The meaning of the article is not explicit. It could refer two men, two women or one man to one woman. According to HAK, a woman could demand monogamy. I have to add that, the number of polygamous was so rare in the Empire. The number of polygamous is only 2.8.¹⁵⁰ According to HAK, whole marriages without witnesses are disrupted(*fasit*).¹⁵¹ The Hak also abandons bride price like Abdulmejid I.

The divorce(*mufarakat*) part, refers to Islamic divorce. According to the sharia, man can divorce his wife without needing the court. The state can not intervene in this

¹⁴⁷ HAK, 1,2.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.,p.190.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.,p.190-191.

¹⁵⁰ Kayabaş,Ibid.,p.99.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.,p.194.

process. When the woman wants to divorce, the state intervenes and the divorce occurs within the consent of *qadi*.¹⁵² The Hak accepts *talak* but it makes it necessary to inform *qadi*. The members of the commission do not allow the divorce by letter and divorce by messenger.¹⁵³ If a man disappeared without giving alimony and the life became difficult for woman, the judge would investigate him later decides on divorce.¹⁵⁴ If no one knew where is the missing husband and cannot take news from anywhere, the judge would postpone the divorce date from until 4 years later.¹⁵⁵ If a man disappeared in the war, the judge would postpone the divorce after one year until returning of prisoners of war.¹⁵⁶ These articles were added because of war conditions. The Hak gives the divorce right in the situation of incompatibility of temperament.¹⁵⁷

The HAK is the first family law in the Islamic countries and it led to other family laws in the Middle East. The Hak utilizes from the other sects of Sunni Islam. It extends room for maneuver. Thanks to using the other sects of Islam, the HAK keeps Islamic law in the Family Law. However, it caused reactions from Islamists. The non-Muslims also were not satisfied. According to them, the HAK intervenes in the private law of non-Muslims. The impact of reactionary Islamists toward the Istanbul government and the impact of non-Muslim minority over Allied Powers caused the abolition. The Allied Powers abolished the HAK in 19 June 1919. Syria (1953), Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan (1951) and partly Israel (1948), Sudan used the Ottoman family law within partial replacement until 1950's.

3.5.CHANGE IN WOMEN SITUATION AND ITS REFLECTIONS ON VEILING AND FACE VEILING

As you remember from the first chapter, the Ottoman state frequently interfered with women's clothing and visibility. The frequency of warnings shows the women were not taking state remarks seriously. Above, I briefly mentioned the factors that changed the situation of Ottoman Muslim women on the way to modernization. Both the structural changes and the efforts of Ottoman intellectuals to create public opinion in favor of women began to bear fruit in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth

¹⁵² Ibid.,p.198.

¹⁵³ Ibid.,p.198.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid,p.202.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.,p.202.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.,p.202.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.,p.203.

centuries. As I said before, the Ottoman middle-upper class women had begun to work as a teacher. After 1881, they became manager or teachers in schools. Also, women had continued their job which were restricted by sharia. During the Constitutional Period, the number of women's associations increased so, more women participated in social life voluntarily. However, The Balkan Wars and WW1 had been huge impact on women visibility in public space by necessity. Before this period, it was unlikely that women outside the provinces would enter the working life. Although the women in the countryside worked in the fields, the women in the cities did not have a responsibility to help provide maintenance. However, In the twentieth century, women worked in the food industry, the production of timber, the carpet industry, the production of rolling paper, typography and paper production, the production of soap.¹⁵⁸ Islam confers the maintenance responsibility on men. The absence of men during the protracted war years had forced many women to earn their living.

Istanbul were actually invaded by Allied Forces in 13 December 1918. They declared that Istanbul was occupied de facto on 20 March 1920. In October 1923, the nationalist succeeded to getting Istanbul back. The World War I and the armistice period in Istanbul irrevocably changed everything.

Because of war and poverty, the Istanbul life style had changed. Women were more and more visible in workplaces not as customers but as workers. In reality, this was not the direct cause and effect. The Cup relatively was progressive in their attitude and policies towards women. As I mentioned before, women were a part of education system who were experienced in social work, teaching, writing. The textile industry employed many workers before the Cup era. Many women supported the nationalist movement as writers, orators and activists, were the educated wives sisters and daughters of the Young Turks. A number of women in İstanbul who spoke foreign languages held and attended halls and tea parties where they interacted with Allied officers as well as in their activities. Halide Edip and Samiye Asker defected to Anatolia to participate in the war of independence. Others acted as couriers to the underground while they travelled to Ankara to join their husbands.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., *Osmanlı Kadınının Yükselişi*, p.169.

¹⁵⁹ Nur Bilge Criss, *Istanbul Under Allied Occupation*, (Leiden: Brill, 1999, p.27).

The members of Kuvay-ı Milliye took control the major institutions which inherited, initiated reorganized by the Cup. Kuvay-ı Milliye recruited manpower from the military, the Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa, Ottoman Red Crescent Society, and women associations. As I mentioned before, between the years 1908- 1918, there were at least 17 women associations; a third of them were organized by the CUP. *İttihat ve Terakki Kadınlar Şubesi (Women's Branch of ITC), Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımları Cemiyeti Ottoman Ladies' (Association for the Elevation of Country), and Osmanlı Kadınları Terakki Perver Cemiyeti(Ottoman Women's Progressive Assosiation)* were the names of women associations which helped the nationalist struggle.¹⁶⁰

The fragile conditions of war threatened the traditional gender roles. World War One obliged women to become visible in public space, in other words, war liberates Ottoman women. In this time, the nationalist discourse began to rise. As Yavuz Selim Karakışla says “nationalism is an ideology that cuts across all class and gender differences in any given society. This supra- class and supra-gender quality of nationalism results in the temporary suspension of long standing social distinctions and discriminations, in a moment of crisis.”¹⁶¹

According to Ahmet Emin Yalman, the Ottoman woman was the winner of war. This forced Muslim male employees, who would otherwise simply have considered these veiled women ‘birds to caged’ to respect and cooperate with them, recognizing they were investing both honor and pride in their jobs.¹⁶² Conscription of men caused to women to work in state offices and banks.¹⁶³ Women were employed because of the lack of work force and most importantly the wives or daughters or mothers of soldiers were in a difficult situation. Because of the high inflation, the martyr pensions were not enough for them to supply daily needs. The Muslim women of Ottoman Empire were obliged to find jobs -they could not find because many of them had no vocational education.

Minister of War Enver Pasha and Naciye Sultan established as a non-profit charitable organization with the name of Society for the Employment of Ottoman Muslim

¹⁶⁰ Serpil Çakır, “Bir Osmanlı Kadın Örgütü: Osmanlı Müdafaa-ı Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti”, *Tarih ve Toplum* 66 (June 1989) 16-21.

¹⁶¹ Yavuz Selim Karakışla, *Women, War and Work in the Ottoman Empire: Society for the Employment of Ottoman Muslim Women*, (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Center, 2005, p.17)

¹⁶² Ahmet Emin Yalman, *Turkey in the World War One*, (Yale University Press, 1930, p.235-238)

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.

Women in 1916. The foundation aim of the society was finding a job for women, and the protection of them by getting them accustomed to earning their living with their own labor and honor.¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ According to founding regulations of association, the association has a right for establishing workshops, factories, and branches.¹⁶⁶ The society had received 11.000 applications for the first 19 days.¹⁶⁷ In Çapa branch of the society, 266 women were employed, while at the same, 405 women living in the vicinity of Capa that work from home on a part time basis. In Fatih branch, 128 women were employed on a full time basis, 250 women were employed to spun a wool on a part time basis. In Uskudar Branch, 60 women worked full time, 200 women also spin a wool for full time workers. In 1918- the society's branches lost their production capacity because of defeat on many fronts.- the military was the most important customer for women labour- Under this society, the women worker's brigade was established. The woman brigade did not go to the frontlines but occupied jobs behind the lines. The society tried to have women work in agricultural production but in such a short time, women did not have capacity and skills for this type of job. Later, they tried to work women in road building but again they were not succesful. The society was closed in 1926. According to Karakışla, the women worker's brigade, the uniforms of the workers were designed keeping with the moral guidance of Islamic modesty. Despite this however, face veils were not a part of the uniforms. They wore oversized black uniforms and white headscarves.¹⁶⁸

However, According to Karakışla, during the World War One, Muslim Ottoman women participated in the Ottoman work force in a much more limited way than women did in Europe.¹⁶⁹ As Fatma Müge Göçek claims, women participated in this transformative period in many ways; they provided medical and social care to the vast number of refugees and soldiers, joined the workforce during World War One, and served as orators, care providers, an deven soldiers during the War of Independence. Yet, this actual participation was not adequately presented in the media, and Ottoman

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.,p.51

¹⁶⁵ Cem Doğan, *Osmanlı'da Cinselliğin Saklı Kısıtı: ı. Abdulhamid Dönemi ve Sonrasında Fuhuş, Frengi ve İktidar*,(İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları,2019). Yavuz Selim Karakışla, *Eski Hayatlar Eski Hatıralar: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Belgelerle Gündelik Hayat(1760-1923)*, İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2015). Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Yeni Hayat: İnkılap ve Travma 1908-1928*,(İstanbul, Doğan Kitap, 2019)

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.,p.81 karakışla.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.,p.81

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.,p.128.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, Karakışla p, 41.

political cartoons represented the participation of women through a set of three stock, self-contradictory images: a sexual heroine, immoral vixen, and solid mother. The ambivalence created by the disjuncture of between these images and the actual participation of women often reinforced the constraints on women's position in the transformation from empire to nation state.¹⁷⁰

In 1919, Cemil Topuzlu Paşa was a mayor of Istanbul who found women to work as a street sweeper.¹⁷¹ Demetra Vaka came across these women and put in this way:

Turkish women with uncovered face, and clad in gray trousers, were sweeping the streets. They were almost the only Street cleaners of the Ottoman capital, as I learned afterwards and if one took the pains to bestow attention upon them, as they bent over their hard task, one saw that many of them were young and had pretty faces.¹⁷²

The mysterious figures of Stamboul replaced by unveiled daughters of the true faith; to woman who sat behind desks, took down dication on the typewriter from men they called infidels and sold goods behind counters.¹⁷³

When she was referring the shop girl, she used these words:

They were very shy, quite unlike the Turkish women of the past. Bravely they were doing their work without realizing that they were creating new traditions, new codes of life for the women of their faith. And instead of feeling important, because of the important Works that was theirs, they were very modest, as if not quite certain that what they are doing was right.¹⁷⁴

The number of women who were visible in public space, the dressing issue specific to the veiling and face veiling issue transferred the pages of journals and newspapers in ideological and religious articles while at the same time the women journals reported on the new fashions of Europe and were garnished with European products advertisements. We have to say that, some of the Ottoman Muslim women were obliged to change their dressing style. Because the veiling and face veiling did not fit into working life. It was not a reaction against conservative people or Islamists but life necessity that led to the transformation in women clothing. While at the same time, there was a group of women who were influenced by the penetration of European goods, culture and the fashion, European egalitarian ideas, and advertisements. Some

¹⁷⁰ Fatma Müge Göçek, "From Empire to Nation: Images of Women and War in Ottoman Political Cartoons 1908-1923" in *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace 1870-1930*, (New York, Routledge, 1998, p. 49).

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Criss, p.38.

¹⁷² Demetra Vaka, *The Unveiled Ladies Of Stamboul*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923, p. 9).

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.29-30.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.39.

of them also have supported Progressivist men in their circle. Of course, women who consumed fashion were a part of higher class women but we have to add that, in the later years of twentieth century, the changing conditions of wartime society open a road more rapid change in women dressing. The culture of resistance of common people and conservative elites of Ottoman Empire opposed to the European fashion in Ottoman women's dressing. However, people who opposed to the change in veiling and face veiling developed counter arguments against this transformation. While Ottoman Muslim women in İstanbul had changed their style of dress, the Ottoman male intellectuals started to discuss the veiling and face veiling issue in the periodicals. These argumentations sometimes caused to closure of newspapers or journals. The ITC periodically warned women about their dressing style while at the same time, people who intervened in women's dress were also punished by state. This situation implies that the alteration and transition of identity of Ottoman Muslim woman. The starting point of this debate was the article of Mehmet Fahreddin's *Medeniyet-i İslâmiyyeden Bir Sahîfe Yahud Tesettür-i Nisvan. Tesettür Meselesi* was written to blame him by Abdullah Cevdet. Most of the debates took place between Islamists and Westernist. Besides these two groups, there is another group participating in the discussion: Turkists. On the road from Unionism to Kemalist nationalism, Turkists, whose hearts were on the side of modernists, chose a moderate path during these discussions, as they could not ignore the driving force of Islam and its symbols in mass mobilization. In the later three chapters, I will give the veiling and face veiling debates between different political and ideological group.

4. PROGRESSIVIST IDEAS ON VEILING AND FACE VEILING ISSUE

Within the Second Constitutional Period, the meaning of terakkî (development had changed. The meaning and the realization of Terakkî was crossing over social reform. Because, the long waited revolution had happened but the social structure of the society did not change. The Westernist thought that the real problem of the society is itself. İctihâd journal seek an answer why the Turks or Muslims remained stagnant and lagged behind European nations.¹⁷⁵ Abdullah Cevdet -take into consideration, he was part of a secret cell organization of Young Turks- gave an answer. “It is nothing than our Asiatic mind...Our own degenerate traditions and institutions... The power that is defeating us is none other than our own eyes which do not want to see, our brains which do not know how to think... These are the forces that have defeated us, that are defeating us, and that will always defeat us.”¹⁷⁶ According to Niyazi Berkes, the three schools of thought admitted that all the problems of social change were occasioned by the impact of Western civilization. Even Islamist thought accepted the superiority of the West but their solution was to return to the real Islamic values. The Westernist had been contrary to Islamist conservatist ideas. The West is superior. The Ottoman Empire should imitate the West in every area. According to Progressivist, the distinguishing mark of Western civilization and the aspect that made it more worthy of emulation was-the seperation of life from the domination of religion-, which was the very aspect for which the West should be rejected according to Islam.¹⁷⁷ Without doubt, Abdullah Cevdet is the most important Westernist in this era but also he knows the importance of Islam. According to him, the science is the religion of intellectuals but religion is the science of common people. He knows very well they need to reconcile Islam and their scientific thought.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, he tried to find out the progressive principles of Islam and tries to legitimate his ideas through Islam.¹⁷⁹ He tried to find out the social themes of Islam then he distinguishes the points that are suitable for social development.

¹⁷⁵ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*,(London: Hurst&Company,1964 p.348)

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.,p.348

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.,p.348.

¹⁷⁸ Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi*,(Ankara: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981, p.129.)

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.,p.131.

4.1. ABDULLAH CEVDET (1869-1931)

We have to mentioned above the ideas, most of which belong to Abdullah Cevdet. To briefly give information about him, we can say the following. He was a politician, poet, translator,¹⁸⁰ and an intellectual. He graduated from Military Medicine School. After his graduation, he was in Geneva with ITC members. Between the years 1905-191, he published İctihâd in Cairo. After the promulgation of the Constitution, he was employing himself in intellectual and literary fields. He translated many books from East and West. He quarreled specifically with Islamist intellectuals.

According to Abdullah Cevdet, There is no second civilization, civilization is European civilization, and it must be imported with both its roses and its thorns¹⁸¹ However, the Ottoman Muslim society was not ready to import West's roses and its thorns. Therefore, even the Westernist should take legitimacy from Islam and the Islamic legacy, so, the name of Westernist's journal was İctihâd. İctihâd means interpreting and reinterpreting of problems through the Quran and the hadith. They reinterpreted the Quran verses and the hadith and presented new way of life. They always used Islamic references to persuade public opinion. Islam for the first time is criticized in the İctihâd journal.¹⁸² From now, Islam is a tool to institutionalize Western style institutions. The aim of Abdullah Cevdet is solving the problems in society which stem from Islam through the social content of Islam. Islam become the stepping stone for development.¹⁸³ The wish of Westernist's new way of life resembles the Western life style. While the Islamist also accepts the superiority of the West, they side with the taking of technological, and scientific development of the West but not taking moral structure of the West. The ideas of social reform were significant to understand the social mindset of contemporary intellectuals and the society. The most debated issues between two groups is a women issue. The political ideas crystallize on the issues of woman especially the veiling issue. The polygamy, the divorce education, the family, the appearance of woman were issues of discussion.¹⁸⁴ These discussion

¹⁸⁰ You can see the list of his translations and articles in Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015, p. 354-356)

¹⁸¹ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (Oxford, London, Newyork: Oxford University Press, 1984, p.236)

¹⁸² Hanioglu., *Ibid.*, p.139.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.139.

¹⁸⁴ Abdullah Cevdet, "Uyanınız, Uyanınız" *Mısır, Matbaa-ı İctihâd* N.32. Abdullah Cevdet, "Bir Hutbe Hemşehrilerime" N.10. 1907 Abdullah Cevdet, "Alafranga Terbiye ve Kadınlarımız", *Osmanlı*,

issues somehow connected the veiling issue between different political ideas. According to Westernist, veiling causes the invisibility of women in public space. This invisibility of women on the public scene causes the unhealthy relationship between men and women. They are not introduced each other, Men do not have any respect for women so men behave in an uncivilized manner. The veiling gives women secondary status in the society. The veiling is obstacle for getting training, healthy relationships between men, overcoming the polygamy, avoiding the divorcement. The couple do not know each other they do not have an opportunity for loving each other. The veiling causes the insufficient education. When couples have married, the divorce or the polygamy will be inevitable because of the intellectual incompatibility between couple.

The first thing to ignite the debate was a questionnaire between Muslim and European intellectuals in the İctihâd journal. The French intellectuals gave an answer: "Fermerle Coran; ouvrir les femmes."¹⁸⁵ Abdullah Cevdet adds that, both open the Quran and unveil the women.¹⁸⁶ The questionnaire was published in 1907. İctihâd journal was a journal which advocated women's right but not a feminist journal. According to Abdullah Cevdet, studying about women in a society is the first thing to understand about sociology of society.¹⁸⁷ The writers of İctihâd journal take woman issue in the context of terakkî(development) and temeddün(medenileşme). They request the social visibility of Ottoman-Muslim women, more education opportunities for girls -in the future mixed sex education-equal family life, and love marriage. What interests us here is how did Westernist want to see women in the public sphere. The position of women in the society was under debate and therefore the appearance of women in the public became a question. Women's emancipation could be visible through appearance of women. The appearance of women is important because it had symbolic connotations with the civilization and modernization. Abdullah Cevdet says that the journalists was the independent leader of the society. The mindset of people and the moral obligations

no:91, 1 eylül 1901-18, Cemaziy'ül evvel 1319, S-1-2. Mahmut Sadık, "Hizmet-i Askeriye, Hayat-ı Aile", İctihâd, 26 Kanun-ı Evvel 1329, N.72. Celal Nuri İleri, "Nisaiyyuna Dair" İctihâd, 7 Şubat 1328, v.53. Abdullah Cevdet, "Mukadderat-ı Tarihiye Karilerine" İctihâd,28 Şubat 1328,V.56. Samizade Süreyya, "Bizde Aile Hayatı", İctihâd , 29 Mayıs 1330.V.108. Ali Kami, "Mesul Kimdir?"İşhâd, 12 Eylül 1329,V.80-83. İhsan Şerif, "Uykuda Olanlara", İctihâd, 20 Mart 1330, V.98, Abdullah Cevdet, "Yaşamak Korkusu", İctihâd, 15 Teşrin-i Sani 1327. V.35. Abdullah Cevdet, "Kadınlarda Gaye-i Hayat," İctihâd,1 Ağustos 1327, V.28.

¹⁸⁵ Kuran'ı kapa, kadınları aç.

¹⁸⁶ Niyazi Berkes,Ibid.,p.385 İctihâd., 1907 N.4

¹⁸⁷ Abdullah Cevdet, "Kadınlarda Gaye-i Hayat" İctihâd, v.28.p.798

could be changed by journalists and the writers.¹⁸⁸ He was one of them so, he tries to change the mindset of people about the Islam and the Islamic understanding of woman.

In the one questionnaire, Abdullah Cevdet asks questions himself and then answers them in his journal. What is the relation between Islam and the veiling? Abdullah Cevdet's answer: The relation between the veiling and the Islam...¹⁸⁹ What do you think about the polygamy. There is an auspicious relation between veiling and the polygamy. Women become object through the veiling and the number of women in the family spontaneously increased.¹⁹⁰ We can easily see that here, Abdullah Cevdet thought that veiling subordinates women. And also that, veiling caused the polygamy. The couple do not introduce each other, do not flirt with each other, do not know each other physically and emotionally do not understand their wishes for life. The unhappy marriage causes polygamy or divorce. If we do not want to divorce and polygamy, we have to cast off the veiling and we have to provide the aforementioned things.

The first article had started the debate between Islamist and Westernist was published in *Mehtab Mecmuası* in 1911.¹⁹¹ He says that "When we say the veiling, our intention was not sacking and muzzling our mother, sister, daughter, and wives and not animalization them. The real Islam wants different veiling than what the immature souls' wishes."¹⁹² He means that, veiling and face veiling is a way of excluding women from the public sphere. The veiling and face veiling provided women invisibility in the society while at the same time it makes visible and symbolizes patriarchal society. Here, the contemporary understanding of veiling does not reflect Islam but it reflects the social and cultural situation of Muslim societies. He says that European women are more veiled more modest, more chaste than Islamic women. God does not mean today's veiling. The veiling did not imply the morality of woman. According to him, the veiling did not imply the morality of women. The morality is in the heart of people not in the veiling.

¹⁸⁸ Hanioglu.,Ibid.,168.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.,p.309. Tesettürün İslamiyetle alakası(felc-i nisfi tülâni hastalığının bedenle sertanın uzviyetle alakası gibidir.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.,p.309. Bunun tesettür ile meş'um bir alakası vardır: Tesettür vasıtasıyla kadın bir defa bir nesne(object) menzilesine indirildikten sonra bunların taaddüdüne yol kendiliğinden açılır.

¹⁹¹ This article is written for Mehmet Fahreddin, "Medeniyet-i İslâmiyyeden Bir Sahîfe Yahud Tesettür-i Nisvân "Sırât-ı Müstakîm (29 Haziran 1911), C. 6 S. (182-184).

¹⁹² Abdullah Cevdet, "Tesettür Meselesi", *Mehtab* N.4 ,(14 Ağustos 1911) p.29-31

According to him, Islam is neither in the veiling nor under the veiling. Islam is in deed and faith. And it is not in anything else. Even Islam in the heart is distrustful and needs vindication. The real Islam had said goodbye to us long ago. The worst proof of the farewell of Islam is those writings in *Sırât-ı Müstâkim*, and there are many people who listen to those words in this country.”¹⁹³ If people thinks and like that the writings which are written in *Sırât-ı Müstâkim* journal, it implies the farewell of Islam. The contemporary issues of Islam are dismissed here and an unimportant issue like the veiling is the main issue of this journal. Because, Islam in reality embraces the scientific development but we are not occupied with these issues we occupied with the veiling issue. This means the farewell of Islam. “Didn't Muslims have other problems? Why do Muslims deal with the veiling? Are these Muslim blinds? Do they not see either Marrakesh's perseverance or Iran's wreck? Why do Muslims not want to see the spiritual superiority of Montenegro”¹⁹⁴In this part, he tries to say that the veiling issue is not important when we compare to contemporary issues of Islam. Islamic countries suffer from political issues and invasions and undevelopment and moral and intellectual primacy of the West. The veiling issue is not the only thing worthy to discuss. Islamist journal should give some thought to urgent issues of Islam and Muslims in the world.

In 1911, the another article was written in *İctihâd*. This is the article which was published in *Mehtab* later it also published in here. The article gives an answer to one of the *Sırât-ı Müstâkim* journal's article. He says that , “the intellectuals have a sickness that could gnaw, destroy, fire, wither society. This sickness is pleasing common people. The owner of this sickness writes in *Sebillürreşad* journal and the *Sebillürreşad* journal fits in this sickness. They talk about the veiling and face veiling now.” He says that “I do not want to argue against these people but they consciously or unconsciously insult the reality and they play with reaction as a toy. When he says something, he says it on behalf of Islamic civilization and used the Quranic verses in season and out of season.”¹⁹⁵ He criticizes here the sayings for pleasing common

¹⁹³ Abdullah Cevdet, “Tesettür Meselesi” *Mehtab*, N.4,(14 Ağustos 1911) p.29-31 The answer for this writing: *Sırat-ı Mustakim*, *Tesettür-i Nisvan* V.169 p.210. “Tesettür Meselesine Cevab” V.156.p. 413-417. F. Latife “daki Hezeyanlar”. V.281

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*,p.30.

¹⁹⁵ Abdullah Cevdet, “Tesettür Meselesi”, *İctihad*, N.29(28 Ağustos 1911), p..809. Look at: Mehmet Fahreddin, “İzâ Lem Testahi Fesna' mâ şî'te: Mürted Parmaklar, Mel'un Kalemeler “ C.. S.158.14 Eylül 1911. You can find it in Islamist section.

people. He thinks that the people who writes in journals and newspapers, could change the mindset of people and the moral obligations. The duty of writers should lead people to the real and true thing. However, the writers of *Sırât-ı Müstâkim* do not do their duty, they do not spread the horizons of people but they make the veiling issue a current issue. In reality, they can lead people for more important things. As I said before, the *İctihâd* journal and especially Abdullah Cevdet wants to open the *ictihâd* door and he accused an opposing writer of using distorted Quranic verses. The *Sırât-ı Müstâkim* writer used all of the Quran verses, hadith, menkıbe and reminded the people why does women use veiling?

The readers could think that “I think there is a number of people in this country that wants our women to go out on the streets with their most open resting clothes What a strange thing is that Islam is a wild bird in the veiling of our women so that as soon as the veiling is opened, the bird immediately will fly and bid farewell? It seems that Muslims are hiding under the skirts of women like a wild bird.”¹⁹⁶

Abdullah Cevdet criticizes women's being regarded as an Islamic symbol, in contrast to the Islamists' making women a symbol of Islam and the symbolic position of the Muslim woman in the face of the West. While at the same time, the Turkish modernist and Progressivist tried to have women become a symbol in different ideological and political context.

He gives a quotation from article in *Sırât-ı Müstâkim*, Europe is animal, we are human. Europe supposes charsaf and face veiling are ferocity, abasement, and captivity and Europe is seen excused. Europe is a civilization of animals. Because, they were animals and animals do not cover their body. In response to this argument, he referred to fact that our goods are European made including the headgear and the pencil which write these ideas. People should take into consideration the material primacy of the West and then they, think the spiritual primacy which provides the material primacy of the West.

According to him, the West's superiority should be accepted and people should not intervene or be interested in women clothing. The Ottoman Empire, and the World Muslims have more important problems than the veiling and face veiling. *Sırât-ı Müstâkim* writers write for pleasing common people but our real problem is not veiling

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.,p.810.

and face veiling. Our real problem is catching the bus which Great Powers drive and the intellectuals should ponder this problem not the veiling issue.

4.2.BAHA TEVFIK(1884-1914)

Felsefe Journal was published by Teceddüd-ü İlmî ve Felsefî Kütübhanesi. The journal was established under the leadership of Baha Tevfik, the Teceddüd-ü İlmî ve Felsefî aims to fill the gap in the field of science and philosophy in the country. It is one of the first philosophy journals published in Turkey. Therefore, this journal has an important place in the history of Turkish philosophy.

On the first page of this article, Baha Tevfik explains how the marriage decision was taken by the man in Turkey. He complains about the illogicality of marrying without financial means. According to him, there is no entrepreneurship among Turks, so no one even has a house. Turkish men cannot work in a permanent job, the money that they earn is not stable. Turks want to be officers but there is also the danger of being dismissed from the civil service. Other than that, there are some things that make marriage a hell. and it comes to the issue of veiling. He talks about the effects of the veiling on marriage. We can summarize Baha Tevfik's article describing the negative effects of veiling on marriage as follows. The Ottoman Muslims do not have a family, we cannot constitute a family life. While the separation between men and women under the name of veiling stands with its terror and strength like the Great Wall of China, there can be neither civilization, progress, morality nor happiness. For all men and all women, happiness will be nothing more than a meaningless thing. The thing called veiling is really a great obstacle for development. If I explain this, you will be astonished. It is caused by a lack of family that happened to us, and the absence of a family is caused by veiling. If not, family, family life, love of family in a country, marriage is a hell in that country, it is the murderer of happiness. Home is a hell where men always look for excuses to escape, a place that rots women, a place that destroys all abilities of children.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Baha Tevfik, "Batıl itikatlar ve Halihazırda İzdivaç." *Felsefe Mecmuası*, N.7.(?)p.104-105.

4.3. HALİL HAMİD(?)

İslamiyet'te Feminizm Yahud Âlem-i Nisvanda Musavat-ı Tamme was published in 1910. I can not find information about him but, the first three chapters of the book imply that he was an intellectual in this era. The first three parts include three letters from Mehmet Rauf, Raif Nejdet, and Emine Seniye. Then, the women's situation in Eastern countries and finally the situation of women in the Ottoman society was referred to. Of course, he also had ideas about the veiling issue. Unlike other Westernist intellectuals, he argues that veiling is not an obstacle to the advancement of women, that women can participate in social life and receive an education without tearing off veiling. I found it appropriate to put this book in the Progressivist part because unlike the Islamists and Turkists, it targeted the patriarchal social order, but unlike the Progressivist, he avoided making direct references to Islam. According to him, the veiling is not obstacle for women's empowerment but the misunderstanding of veiling is obstacle. "Today, veiling as an excuse is put in front of women by men, and the social visibility of women is precluded. Women were oppressed because of the veiling, which changed drastically over time. Even in the time of the Prophet, women act freely in trade, agriculture, etc., Today, they are deprived of the life-giving light of the sun, which was great enough to be God to the ancient tribes."¹⁹⁸ He also talks about the negative effects of veiling and face veiling on marriages. "Why can't two friends who have known each other to be life partners always be together? Why should veiling prevent them from keeping them together in the streets, gardens, hotels, theaters?"¹⁹⁹ He thinks that "the meaning of veiling has remained far from Islam; within the current veiling, women do not feel that they are living. The current veiling says "die" to women. However, religion is a matter of law for people to live well. Veiling never hurts freedom."²⁰⁰ To think of veiling as bondage is nothing but ignorance. Those who insist on accepting the veil in a way that will serve their own interests must first correct their own ignorance and bigotry; because the evil they will see from poor women is nothing compared to the murder they have committed. I want you to think about the

¹⁹⁸ Halil Hamid, *İslamiyet'te Feminizm Yahud Âlem-i Nisvanda Musavat-ı Tamme* (İstanbul: Kitabeta Matbaası, 1910, p.59-61)

¹⁹⁹ Ibid,59-60.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.,p.60.

past and then see that even our women were free. Veiling has changed among many ignorant beneficiaries and has found its current form. The future will probably keep the dead truths alive, it will give our women their rights, and show that the veiling does not prevent their lives.²⁰¹

4.4. PEYAMİ SAFA(SERVER BEDİİ) (1899-1961)

Server Bedii is another writer in *İctihâd* Journal. He was known for his sarcastic writing style. Server Bedii is the one of the penname of Peyami Safa. We can see him in many journals in the Second Constitutional Period. According to Hasan Aksakal, This person experiences arguments with many of his contemporaries, whom he flirts with and compliments at the beginning, and later becomes hostile, and he establishes friendships with those whom he considers enemies, in a way unique to Turkey.²⁰² In fact, we know Peyami Safa as a Turkish conservative with the writings he wrote after the language revolution, but his writings before the alphabet revolution seem to be in need of examination. His mother is Server Bedia Hanım. As you can see, he masculinized his mother's name and found a nickname by giving a masculine ending for himself. His real name was given by Tevfik Fikret. Abdullah Cevdet was one of his father's close friends and had the opportunity to contact this environment in his youth. During the Armistice period, he published the newspaper *Twentieth Century* with his brother.²⁰³ He attracted attention with the small stories he published in this newspaper, had discussions with many intellectuals on various issues throughout his life, and took his place as a conservative figure in our history. However, as I mentioned above, I think that when the articles in the newspapers are examined, different results can be reached. As we understand from this article, at least Peyami Safa does not take a conservative stance on this issue. Peyami Safa's intellectual life is full of contradictory ideas. It should be noted that, as in many other issues, there is no consensus among Westerners or among those who produce articles for these periodicals. We see that Peyami Safa's ideas about women's clothing have not changed -even if conservative identities and east-west conflict come to the fore in the novels.

²⁰¹ Ibid.,p.61.

²⁰² Hasan Aksakal, *Türk Muhafazakarlığı: Terennüm, Tereddüt, Tahakküm*. (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2017,p.126)

²⁰³ Beşir Ayvazoğlu, "Peyami Safa" *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, p.437 35.cilt Also, please look at Aksakal,Ibid.,p.127.

In the 1930s, Peyami Safa was a jury member of beauty contests that are not associated with conservatism even today.

In *Haftanâme* column, he gives ideas about the veiling issue. “The biggest obstacle for development is the veiling issue.”²⁰⁴In this writing, Server Bedii, compares the Russian Muslim Turkish women and Turkish Muslim women. He refers to the solution of the veiling issue in Russia. Namely, he implies the Russian Kazan Muslims do not remain a challenge to the veiling issue. He says that it would be enough to send this trip abroad for three months to prevent this journal from publishing such harmful writings. Below, I am referring the some parts of the article which caused the published counterargument in the Islamist journal. According to him, the Islamic world has a big problem. The problem prevented social life, especially family life, from being in a way that would help morality to develop in a good way. Recently, this disease, which is the biggest obstacle in Turkey, has started to be seen. We began to be talked about everywhere, in accordance with the spread of education in Istanbul, Kazan, the Caucasus, Egypt, and India. That problem of Islam is the veiling of our women; Our family life, which constitutes the basis of society, is very bad with this form of our morality, and the time has come for the issue of veiling, which led Islam to decline for many reasons, to be reformed in accordance with the shari'a and in a way that connects our social life to strong principles.”²⁰⁵²⁰⁶ He compares the Russian Muslims and Ottoman Turkish Muslim woman. According to him, although the veiling issue has been resolved to a large extent, conservative and religious people in some regions oppose the solution of this issue because of ignorance. However, the treatment of these diseases falls to the intellectuals. Our land has no difference from the Caucasus. We are not thinking about our homeland yet, nor are we trying to treat them. Recently, in the world of women, this issue, this disease has started to come into question. It was published that women's inclusion in social life would be ensured in this way. Now we want every class intellectual of the country to help this new situation, this revolution.

²⁰⁴ Server Bedii, “Haftanâme”, *İctihad*, 19 Kanun-ı Evvel 1329, N.85, p.1913-1914. Also, look at 29 Ocak 1914 “*İctihad*”daki Hezeyanlar Muhadderât-ı azîzelerimin enzâr-ı dikkatine İctihâd mecmûasının 86 numaralı nüshası mündericatından “Haftanâme ”

²⁰⁵ Ibid., Server Bedii., p. 1913

²⁰⁶ 29 Ocak 1914 “Haftanâme” After Server Bedii’s article, the aforementioned article was published in Sebilürreşad F. Lütfi, “İctihad’daki Hezeyanlar”, *Sebilürreşad*, N.281 p.329-330.

We do not want to remember that they are obstacle. If this happens, it means that we are walking towards the past in a bad direction.²⁰⁷

4.5.RIZA TEVFİK (1868-1951)

Rıza Tevfik is one of the well-known poets and philosophers of the Constitutional Period. In 1908, he got involved in the constitutional events, defended the Constitutional Monarchy and was elected as a deputy from Edirne. He was among the Servet-i Fünun for a while during the Constitutional Monarchy period. He published *Ulum-ı İçtimaiyye*²⁰⁸ journal with his friends. His articles were published in the *İctihad* between the years 1913 and 1915. According to Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Because he was free-thinking, Bektashi and Freemason, religious people did not welcome him. However, it can be said that he earns the respect of his social milieu with his comprehensive knowledge of the Orient and the West.²⁰⁹

Rıza Tevfik is another Westernist intellectual who wrote about the veiling issue. According to him, The relation between religion and veiling has not been understood very well. The veiling is directly related to the customs and traditions of society. The veiling bases on customs and traditions.

In my humble opinion, the veiling issue is not a part of the base of religion nor pillars of faith. This is what I understand from books. However, this does not mean I admit it is not important issue. On the contrary, I am giving enormous importance this issue. Firstly, this is the dominant custom which women need to do.²¹⁰

He later interprets the veiling verses of Quran and he says that “I know this verse of Quran but the meaning of verse does not imply contemporary Ottoman veiling. The monition from 1300 years ago for civilizing of the uncivilized tribe could not be valid for today.”²¹¹ According to him, the thing should be changed but it needs to time because the social change should gradually come true.²¹² The historical studies show that the Bedouin Arabs Kyrgyz Muslims and other Muslim societies do not have a tradition of the veiling. Also, the studies show that we took it from Byzantine to live

²⁰⁷ Ibid.,p.1914.

²⁰⁸ Ülken, Ibid.,p.367.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.,p.370.

²¹⁰ Rıza Tevfik, “Musâhabetimizde Sui Tefehhüme Meydan Vermeyelim” *İctihad*, 6 Mayıs 1330, V.96.p.2145.

Ahmet Naim, “Nisâiyât: Feylesof Rıza Tevfik Beyefendi’ye”, C.12 S.290 02 Nisan 1914.

²¹¹ Ibid.,p. 2145-2146.

²¹² Ibid.,p.2147.

for a long time. Also, there were people who cover themselves in medieval Europe. In China, higher-class women can not see any foreigners.²¹³

In these columns, he tries to prove the veiling is a part of custom and tradition of cultures. The use of veiling depends on society's custom and tradition and it is imported Ottoman Muslim society.

4.6.KILIÇZADE HAKKI (1872-1960)

Kılıçzade Hakkı was another important figure between Westernist. He graduated from Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun. The disastrous Balkan War motivated him to produce and write solution propositions for Ottoman Empire. He wrote his ideas in *İctihâd* journal within the title of "Pek Uyanık Bir Uyku"- Despite the thought that it was written by Abdullah Cevdet, this article was written by Kılıçzade Hakkı. He published his articles in the title of *İtikad-ı Bâtlaya İlân-ı Harb* and aforementioned article was republished in the title of 'Rüya'.²¹⁴ He refers the veiling, medical schools for girls, change in marriage and divorce, religious clothing, closure of lodges, closure of madrasahs domestic industry and language simplification. He was charged with religious revolution and contempt of religion but there was no result. He had carried on his activities against the traditional Ottoman /Muslim society in the Early Republican Era. In 1924, he founded *Hür Fikir* journal and continues to criticize the movement against Turkish revolution. He knows where he stands with secular-Westernist-Turkist line.²¹⁵ According to him, women will dress what they desire but they will not misspend. The police, the fanatics or ordinary people will not intervene the style of dressing of women and the veiling and face veiling. The shaikh al-Islam will not issue a fatwa about the veiling. The police will only intervene if woman are in the immoral situation. The Ottoman-Muslim girls will never cover like the traditional Muslim Circassian and Bosnian and they will negotiate the older, the peer with their custodian and will go out in public; in this way, whatever they do to their shares for

²¹³ Rıza Tevfik, "Kadın Meselesi Etrafında" *İctihâd*, 20 Şubat 1329, V.94.P.2101.

²¹⁴ Kılıçzade Hakkı, *İtikad-ı Bâtlaya İlân-ı Harb*, (İstanbul, Şems Matbaası 1916). Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Pek Uyanık Bir Uyku", *İctihad*, 21 Şubat 1328, No. 55, s. 1226-1228, *İctihad*, 7 Mart 1328, No. 57, Because of the second edition of his work *İtikad-ı Bâtlaya İlân-ı Harb*, He was sent to Divan-ı Harb-ı Örfî for his ideas in his book but was later released. In addition, because of this article written by Kılıçzade Hakkı, the *İctihad* journal was closed, but in the 59th issue of the journal published within the name of *Cehd*. It continued to be published under the name *İctihad*.

²¹⁵ Şükrü Hanioglu also asserts that he was a biological materialist and this is the reason of why he was writing in *İctihâd* journal. *Ibid.*, p.327.

national issues.²¹⁶ Kılıçzade Hakkı proposes the full freedom of dress and the police intervene of women dressing will prohibit also the shaik al-islam fatwa about the women dressing. The women will be more and more visible in public space with another gender but with their custodian. It is important to see that, even if he is a member of Progressivist group, he ignores the fact that women are a separate individual. “*Tamamen Hallolunmadıkça Bitmeyen Bir Mesele*” was another important writing of Kılıçzade Hakkı. In this article, he says that, it is useless in dressing silk veiling nor dressing in steel helmets for those who do not have morals. The women issue is a matter of veiling for us. The veiling is a disgusting bandage on our social wounds. Unless it is opened, it is not possible to diagnose and treat the type of wound. Let's open this wound without fear. Let us have a little harassment at the beginning with its smell. But we can feel comfortable after it uncovers and cleans²¹⁷He assumes that if the veiling disappears, these benefits will appear: Our girls and women freely get training and get a college education. They will join social life and they can do their national duty. Everyone can choose a future wife therefore, the number of divorces will decrease. When the brother, the husband went to the war, women can manage shop, emporium. Women can help relative's work. As long as women join social life, men will be well behaved and careful in their behavior. Women's sicknesses will decrease within the freedom of taking a breath.”²¹⁸

This accusation against veiling seems under the influence of Orientalist seeing of Islamic women. Kılıçzade Hakkı looks at the Muslim women like how European Orientalist looks at Muslim women. According to him, the veiling and face veiling prevent the women's joining social life and getting an education, the invisibility of women also caused to sameness of behaviours of men.

The other writing about women dressing in specific to the veiling issue is published with the title of “*İstanbul Muhafızlığı'na: Kadınlara Nasıl Hürmet Ediyoruz*”. In this writing, Kılıçzade Hakkı complains about the attitude of the police and the public towards women because of the way they dress. One woman is humiliated and everyone

²¹⁶ Ibid.,p.49.

²¹⁷ Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Tamamen Hal Olunmadıkça Bitmeyen Mesele” *İştihad*,N.92-93 V.4 Sayı: 92-93, (19 Şubat 1914) p.2067-2070 Look at: Mahmud Es'ad, “Tesettür Mes'elesi Hakkında Son Söz” *Sebilürreşâd* N.279 V.10 (15 Ocak 1914) 2070.

²¹⁸ Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Tamamen Hal Olunmadıkça Bitmeyen Mesele”, *İştihad*, c.4 , V.92/3, s.2067-2070 Also look at: H, Mahmud, “Asırlarca Evvel Tamamen Halledilmiş Bir Mesele, *Hayr-ül Kelam*,1- 18 Mart 1330 p, 140-142

watches like it is a petty case and then, they dispersed... If a woman in a country is humiliated and defended by no man. The country is not worthy of living, that country is not worthy of being independent. That country is doomed to collapse.”²¹⁹

The another writing of Kılıçzade Hakkı which is taken from *İtikad-ı Batılaya İlan-ı Harb* book with the title of ‘Kadın ve Tesettür Meselesi’. He says that, “the words woman and veiling can not be separated from each other. So when talking about one, it can never be true not to consider the other. This point of view is with regard to those of us who accept the current veiling style. Otherwise, it is not according to the societies that have accepted the veiling in a reasonable sense.”²²⁰ The result demanded from the veiling is not to cover women tightly and turn themselves into a freak. The purpose is to protect her honor. The veiling and absence of contact with another gender may have been beneficial for the protection of honor. But how great are our losses against this benefit! First of all, the lives and health of our women are destroyed. Secondly, they remained ignorant; Third, they are morally corrupt in various ways. These three fundamental flaws are enough to overthrow a nation from its roots.”²²¹ While the veiling destroyed our women, it also caused two other great moral and political evils, the last of which has not caught anyone's attention until this day. It is moral evil, sodomy, masturbation which spread everywhere. Until very recently, boys and men were accessible in our divan poetry, just like in our baths. The evil thing called lesbianism in womanhood has given so much grace that there is no city, town, village or neighborhood in our country that is not injured by it. There is no need to prove to what extent this abominable disease has destroyed the happiness of the family. Political evil is that we haven't been able to sew anywhere so far. Since there was no merging and bonding with local people because of veiling, it kept us like strangers in the places we invaded. As soon as we were defeated, the first thing that came to our mind was to emigrate. This custom is so ingrained in us that as soon as signs of withdrawal are seen in our army, cars of fugitives and refugees occupy the roads. Knowing that his family will emigrate, the soldier will go to his family as he will leave the army because he is attached to his ox with Fatma rather than his land.”²²² In fact, the style of veiling that we accept is neither shar'i nor natural. Anything that is not natural

²¹⁹ Kılıçzâde Hakkı, "İstanbul Muhafızlığı'na: Kadınlara Nasıl Hürmet Ediyoruz", *İctihad*, No: 69, (27 Haziran 1329), s. 1520

²²⁰ Kadın ve Tesettür Meselesi, *Ibid.*, p.130.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p.133.

²²² *Ibid.*, p.135-136.

cannot and has not entered Islam. So he has to put an end to it and get out of this unnatural business. As in all civilized nations, we too should live and develop a family life. In order to oppose such an idea because of the enmity towards this, -those who interpret it in the harshest terms argue- that the only family left in us should not be destroyed. Family! Here we are something that does not exist forever! If the family is a community of men and women brought together by whatever means and a few children born of them, we admit that we also have a family. However, we have to say that the family of even some animals living in groups is much higher than ours. Because at least they see their females and choose them. Isn't it the union of two bodies that establishes the foundation of a family and loves the other? However, things go completely differently. Two bodies, which are not destined to love but even see the other, constitute the basis of a family. In other words, the family principle in us is not logical, it is almost like a gamble. For this reason, the sweetest times of family life in our country are reserved for a few months that the greed and enthusiasm of men. After that is known. This result is quite natural. Our family organization is always one of those ready-to-eat foods put in worthless containers that a person throws away after eating that food and filling his stomach.”²²³

He refers the harms of veiling. The harm of veiling is much more than its benefit. Therefore, there is no point in preserving it as a religious and national custom. We admit that such a revolution, made at once, can bring disaster. That's why we don't have the idea of doing this job at a time by order of a caliph. Let the Makam-i Meşihat not get involved. The issue will be resolved without correcting itself. Once this social situation is achieved, loyalty and love with elements and tribes should be increased, women should be trained and disciplined. It will be seen immediately how Islam has developed. If there were religious and national virtues in the customs that we preserve, people's hearts would not burn. However, what we preserve is not ours, but the Jewish tradition.²²⁴ Our ignorant principles, our judgments that are never according to the shari'a have brought our women down to such a low level. The zealotry thought and creed that simplifies religion has not only prevented our women's freedom, but their right to life and even their right to breath. Our women cling to their calamities and ignorance as much as the zealots cling to that rank with all their might that it seems

²²³ Ibid.,p.136-137.

²²⁴ Ibid.,p.137-138.

that even coercion and violence will be necessary to pull themselves out of this low situation.²²⁵

According to him, senseless jealousy of men causes women to benefit from the law which is bestowed by Islam and also the role of Islamic scholars are not neglected. However, the current lifestyle is eroding our society, our morality, our race, and therefore our political existence. This is harmful to Turkishness and Islam. Isn't the feared result an increase in prostitution? The probability of existing prostitution will increase. This is harmful, but what we will gain on the other hand is very much in the ratio of one thousand to one.

We can summarize the benefits that he sees tearing of veiling as follows. "First of all, we will save many of our young men from performing the duty of women. A scholar and a virtuous and honorable patriotic mother in a second; we will win a family headmistress in response to the few thousand prostitutes."²²⁶

The last article of Kılıçzade Hakkı was written with the title of "*Vakit'in Anketi*" (The questionnaire of Vakit newspaper.) In this article, he gives a column the questionnaire and describes it as unlawful. According to his allegation, Vakit newspaper opened a questionnaire about can women go to bars, dance halls, to go on stage, and to public entertainment places such as theater and cinema.

Vakit did not publish the ideas of Kılıçzade Hakkı, while at the same time, Vakit published the ideas of blind followers of Islam, sheiks and the madrasa student and also he says that Vakit did not speak own piece. He published his ideas in *İctihâd Journal*. Above, I will give some parts from his writing.²²⁷ The protection of honor and chastity of women is the first subject to yourself later, it is subject to relatives. We do not ask the government to do prophecy but we want the government to maintain the order and the safety of the community and prohibit to attacks against women.²²⁸ Conscience belongs to the soul of every individual, and their will belongs to his God. The republic deals only with world affairs; it only demands every Turk to be a good person and a good citizen. Veiling is not obligatory. Every woman can dress in whatever she wishes. She goes wherever she wishes alone or in the presence of a

²²⁵ Ibid.,p.138,139.

²²⁶ Ibid.,p.40.

²²⁷ Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Vakit'in Anketi",N.161 *İctihâd* V.161. 1 Kanunisani 1923 p.3294-3295.

²²⁸ Ibid.,3295.?

man and or stay indoor. The duty of the policeman consists of the protection of public order Once again, I come to the conclusion that the head of the Republic is much higher than the sects and councils.”²²⁹

4.7.SELAHADDIN ASIM (18??- 1917)

Selahaddin Asım was known as the first Turk sociologist of religion. We have to add that, he wrote at the same time *Sebillürreşad* journal within counter ideas of what he wrote in *İctihâd* journal. Additionally his articles were also published in *Genç Kalemler*.²³⁰ Also, he wrote *Türk Kadınlığının Tereddisi yahud Karlaşmak* in 1910 which published by *Türkyurdu Kütübhanesi*. According to him, the writings about the veiling and face veiling has not apprehended and analysed the sociological denotion of the veiling.The most important thing which excludes women in society, national and general service, civil and economic activities, and higher and coeducation and theatres.For this reason, it should be based only on this scientific principles, which so that you can achieve success no matter what. If this principal is missed, it is impossible to deal with other things.”²³¹

In response to the Islamists' argument that the veiling and face veiling protect women against the danger of adultery, he briefly replied:

The instrument that protect from women adultery is spiritual/ moral education. [The use of veiling is possible in a primitive time because women were seen as female. In the societies that women were accepted as the servant of lust and grace, the material veiling becomes visible. We must overcome this mentality and get rid of material veiling.”²³²

His ideas about the veiling and face veiling had changed in terms of the ideological background and political ideas of journal or periodical. In spite of all of these things, his articles generally were published in *İctihâd* journal. On the contrary, *Türk Kadınlığının Tereddisi yahud Karlaşmak* was published in 1910 in *Türk Yurdu Kütübhanesi*. In my humble opinion, the content of book overstepped the bounds of

²²⁹ Ibid.,3295. .

²³⁰Selahaddin Asım,” *İçtimaiyat ve Şeriat-ı İslamiyye*” (1908) Selahaddin Asım *İlm-i İçtimaa Nazaran İslamiyet* (1909)Selahaddin Asım, “Kadın’ın İçtimai Hakimiyeti, *Genç Kalemler*. N.10 V.2 1 *Teşrin-i Evvel* 1327. Selahaddin Asım, “Kadın ve Cemiyet Hayatı”, *Genç Kalemler*. N.19. V.3 11 *Nisan* 1328 Selahaddin Asım, “Kadın Gibi I-II” *İctihad*, N.101-102 10 *Nisan* 1330, p. 436-438, p.454-456.

²³¹ Selahaddin Asım, “*Tesettür Mahiyeti*”, *İctihâd*, N.100 V.4 (16 *Nisan* 1914),p.2255-2256.

²³² Ibid.,p.2255

Turkist ideology. Therefore, I decided to give place to him in this part. He started his argumentation with a summary of the things which causes the veiling and face veiling. According to him, the bases of veiling and face veiling in social life and its effect on women's life.

He started his argumentation with a summary of the things which causes the veiling and face veiling. According to him,²³³The veiling is the main reason for the differentiation of our civilization and society concerning history, nature, the development. The main principle, methods, and characteristic of our society, civilized ideas, and family institution which differentiates our civilization from Western civilization is the veiling. The veiling leaves our society incomplete, indicates women as incapable for civic life. In this way, it precludes national and racial, scientific development. Also, it segregates mother and child, husband and wife, sister and brother in life scene. Due to the veiling which segregated woman and men in a particular and general way, so it wipes off the contribution of women in social life, civilized manner of life and activities. The veiling deprives of women from social responsibility and it became women as an unactive and lazy.²³⁴ Therefore, it rules out except for fun and debauchery and the veiling fundamentally became women to female. In this way, the veiling forces women to engage in duties of womanhood and femininity, so, it excludes women from civilization and humanity and society. Men and women even our moral principles completely are established on the base of veiling. In this time, anywhere in the world, the honor and the dignity of woman and mother are not the subject of this kind of abasement. We can not understand how this nation's social conscience tolerates this dishonor in this century, veiling.²³⁵

In the short summary, you will read below, you can see that the consensus in the ideas with Kılıçzade Hakkı. The position of veiling in the religion consists of the evolution of covering intimate parts of the body. When the religion reveals the veiling, the social conscience sticks heart and soul. The bodiless veiling of society did not seem enough for the protection of women's honor by social conscience. The admittance and imposing of veiling were right for the past. However, veiling is unacceptable in this

²³³ Selahattin Asım, Türk Kadınlığının Tereddidi yahud Karışmak, (İstanbul: Türk Yurdu Kütüphanesi 1910,s.30-31).

²³⁴ Ibid.,p.32.

²³⁵ Ibid.,p.33-34.

era. The veiling is needed by rudimentary and primitive social life."²³⁶ If we have private and strong, unconditional the institutional woman honor like other nations, undoubtedly, social conscience does not need black veiling because of the abduction of women honor. The veiling protects and keeps women for the sake of man's pleasure and ambition. Our nation has not had individual women honor and it always depends on the man."²³⁷ In fact, he implicitly criticizes Islamic law here. He admits that if women have the same kind of liberty like men and they are not liable to anyone for their actions, just like men; the female personality and honor and life will be so strong and respectable that they cannot be destroyed for any reason. At that time, the veil will disappear on its own. In the point of view of nature and science, the veiling is thus nothing but a black and dark covering and inauspicious and miserable instrument that kills the woman's personality, does not introduce women's honor and excludes women from society and civilization on behalf of a man and not for herself.²³⁸

He repeats the orientalist view below. Something in this argumentation may remind you writings of Edmonde de Amicis and Lady Montagu. While the veiling tries to protect women's honor, in reality, the veiling encourages women's dishonesty and becomes easier "women hunting"²³⁹ Because the veiling enables us to do something through the back door. The existence of the veiling provides many instruments, tricks and it results in success. Because everything takes shape far from the eyes. Islam women are captured easily than Christian women. Because Christian women can not cover all immorality and disgrace on their dark chest.²⁴⁰ There is something that the veiling has brought in existence, more precisely, the greatest evil of all that it has done, and it has destroyed the possibility of making the family woman and the woman of pleasure.²⁴¹

In this brief summary, he answers the argumentation of Ferid Wajdi who we will encounter soon, in the Islamist part of this study. The issue of ambition of man was written by Ferid Vecdi Bey and later the translation of Mehmet Akif in Sebillürreşad as the title of "*The Muslim women*". It confirms the forementioned ideas about the

²³⁶ Ibid.,p.34.

²³⁷ Ibid.,p.35-36.

²³⁸ Ibid.,p.39..

²³⁹ Ibid.,p.41.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.,p.41-42..

²⁴¹ Ibid.,p.42. r

veiling. In the book, Ferid Vecdi could not find any decree. He beats about the bush, but any of them are not persuasive and necessary arguments. This time, he refers to the endless and honorable rights of husbands. He states that “if a husband wishes, he takes off his wife' veil or not” and for this, veiling cannot be taken off. While he is saying this, he does not think that for the same reason, there are husbands who will encourage their wives to take off veiling and encourage their wives to participate in social life. It can be seen that the thing that maintains using veiling is the oppression of man's ambition and lust upon the principles of religious affairs. Even religion does not want to directly confirm this, while men's lust and pleasure can do without hesitation. However, even if this issue is religious in essence, it is contrary to the needs and duties of our nation and race and history. We are obliged to take into account our nation, our life, and natural evolution.²⁴²

To summarize, Selahaddin Asım said that just like Abdullah Cevdet, Muslim Turkish women lost their natural characteristics and degenerated due to religious pressures. According to him, religious-based laws and customs had a negative effect on men as well. Undoubtedly, one of the religious-based customs that have the most negative effects on women is veiling. Selahaddin Asım evaluated the veiling issue on a sociological level and established a dialectical link between women and religion. The veiling deprives women of civilized participation, sentimental relationship, and spiritual partnership, and men's carelessness, insult, disapprobation, and exclusion of women from social life causes women incompetency and in the end misandry. Therefore, This situation led most of them to a miserable life. This material and spiritual unemployment, this negligence, and perseverance of women cause to assuage of lust and pleasure. Because people who can not utilize natural and general existences, mission and necessity, resort to unnatural instruments. The loneliness, incompetency, omission of women in the family and the society, the non-socialization of women with men and can not satisfy their spiritual, and civilized needings. causes tribadism and worse still the urge to adultery.

²⁴² Ibid.,p.50-51.

4.8.CELAL NURİ İLERİ(1881-1938)

Celal Nuri İleri is the second important person between Westernist and as İctihâd writes Celal Nuri İleri is generally described as a moderate Westernist. He wrote *Kadınlarımız* in 1915. In this book, the members of Ottoman and Turkish women, Celâl Nuri İleri, examining legal and social positions of Ottoman Muslim women. It emphasizes the importance of religion in the context of culture, state and politics. Contrary to the many Westernist intellectuals of the period, instead of escaping the ease of accusing religion and society in the women's issue, he draws attention to the extremely important roles played by women in the modernization process and while he is doing this, he examines not only religious reasons but also social, cultural and tradition factors with a critical approach. In this context, he discusses how the women's problem is perceived in history and in different societies of the world, how the problems are tried to be overcome, what are the rights and positions of women in different periods of history and other religions, societies and countries. He says that, the veiling is not peculiar to Islam. The primitive tribes had used the veiling, when they become modern, they casted off the veiling. In places governed by autocracy the use of veiling is more. In the developed countries, the veiling has disappeared. The veiling is not related with honour and chastity. Today, the ferace the yeldirme, the umbrellas in summer places and the latest fashion çarşaf(veiling) used for garnish is not for producing this aim. The living conditions and economic situation cause the togetherness of women and men. Women travel and are obliged to go out for education. Therefore, the veiling and the covering get loose. Islam misunderstands the veiling issue. According to sharia, the veiling means dressing. Islam prescribes the dressing of men as well as women but it did not put in a sack in deference to lasciviousness of women. If women were the cause of the lust for men, men also were the cause of the lust for women. In this condition, the veiling of men becomes obligatory. According to sharia, private parts of the body were considered for coverage. According to Shafi sect of Islam, men could see women's faces and hands on condition that leer at women. Women should cover the whole body apart from hand and face like men. According to Quran, the ornaments should cover only. The

Mâlikî sect and Hanbalî sect of Islam are on an ally in the matter of what should be covered in the body. The face and hands are not private parts of the body and these two sects of Islam commentate judgement on this issue. Working as a maid, trade, art, the conversation is not possible within the contemporary veiling but according to the sharia, women can tend these jobs. The Prophet asks the man who will marry, to see the future wife. When the prophet takes an answer: no, the prophet said that go and see her because the meeting is the best reason which creates familiarity, cohesiveness between each of us. We think about this hâdith then in the contemporary situation. Quran orders do not give someone an evil eye and looking ahead is acceptable. This order is for both women and men. Islam knows humanity very well and this order implies equality between men and men. Women's veiling like as ugly as sin is attract the curiosity of men. It invites curiosity of men and the desire of watching a woman will enhance. Whereas the men do not arouse the feeling of watching a man because they do not use veiling. Namely, this ridiculous veiling is not from sharia. Only the women of Prophet Muhammad are excluding from this rule. Because in his time, some of the people did not respect Muhammed his relatives.”²⁴³

According to Hilmi Ziya Ülken, this work of Celal Nuri made a serious impact during these discussions, long before Gökalp touched on this subject, and completed them. As it addresses the question in terms of Islamic and Western laws and their comparison, it also explores the evolution of women in society from a sociological point of view.²⁴⁴

4.9.KAYA NURİ(?)

The another writing from İctihad journal written by Kaya Nuri with the title of Tesettür.²⁴⁵ He says that until today, our writers and intellectuals have written a lot for and against veiling. But the essence of the subject has often been changed; The essence of the subject is dropped before the purpose is understood and the result is obtained. It is not known that the reclamation of the veiling was not as important as our policy; The non-legitimate actions which easily do under the veiling, could not be seen. The immoralist people who wear in the guise of the veiling were left untouched. In this

²⁴³ Celal Nuri İleri, Kadınlarımız (İstanbul: Matbaa-i İctihad,1912). p.195-197

²⁴⁴ Ülken,Ibid.,p.593-594.

²⁴⁵ Kaya Nuri,” Tesettür” İctihâd, N.154 (10 Mayıs 1923),p.3176.

respect, our clergymen were locked in their cells, intellectuals hole up: the "veiling" that is facilitated many malignancies that are forgotten. We think that this "veiling" issue is the most important subject that our nation should occupy both its clergy and its intellectuals. Social mischief will certainly arise more soon, which will not be resolved with this cooperation. The veiling should be in spirits, not bodies, and then, it is the time of veiling in kind that God wants. With this meaning, we see honorable and virtuous non-veiled women among many veiled women while at the same time we see immoralist and unchasteness between veiled women. When the nation consisted of sons whose mother covers with this meaning of veiling and respect their soul and family, defines the consistency of the family. Then, we will be decisive and victorious in these social conquests and triumphs, which are the greatest of conquests and glories."²⁴⁶

According to Hanioglu, the Westernization/modernization movement took place as a result of necessity, and the thoughts on this subject became systematic with the Second Constitutional Period. The Westernization began to be presented as the first problem of society. Tarık Zafer Tunaya says that the Second Constitutional period is the political laboratory of the Turkish Republic. The idea of Westernism/Progressivism matured during the Second Constitutional period which reflected its influence on the intellectual foundations of the republican regime. In this part, it have tried to explain how the Progressivist ideas encountered with other currents of thought around the issue of veiling and how this idea took positions in the face of social change and transformation in the social field. For this aim, the articles of Abdullah Cevdet, Kılıçzade Hakkı, Selahattin Asım, Server Bedii, Kaya Nuri, presented for you. The Progressivist had received criticism from certain segments of society and especially Islamist intellectuals because of their ideas, and they opposed and evaluated Westernization and Westernist ideas and life practices as corruption. One of the most important reasons for the debate between Islamists and Westerners is the issue of veiling. As you will see in this thesis, the veiling debates between the two groups continued with heated articles, sometimes with insulting rhetoric. Above you can see the thoughts of the authors and the counter-arguments as footnotes. In this last part, I will briefly summarize Westerners' ideas about veiling. According to Westerners, veiling is neither a Muslim nor a Turkish custom. The origin of this custom is

²⁴⁶ Ibid.,p. 3176-3177.

sometimes attributed to the Iranians and sometimes to the Jews. Regardless of its origin, veiling is not unique to Islam. Moreover, even though the verses of veiling are included in the Qur'an, these verses are not for every Muslim women, but a religious order which is specific to the wives of the prophets and the wives and daughters of the companions, who are a small part of Muslim women. Not all Muslim women can be held responsible for this religious order. Women living in cities try to comply with the veiling, but the situation is different in villages and towns. Since women in villages and towns have to work, they can not cover themselves as urban people do. Moreover, the veiling commanded by Islam on the wives and daughters of the prophets and companions is not the same as today's veiling. The veiling is one of the biggest obstacles for Turkish women to participate in social and working life. The veiling is the biggest obstacle to the development of social life, especially family life. It is necessary to abolish veiling and face veiling to improving family life and social morality. One of the most significant factors leading to the decline of today's Islamic family structure and today's Islamic moral values is veiling. According to Westernist, veiling should be on the souls, not on the bodies. The veiling has already become a tool to hide the sins committed. Because of the harem institution brought by the concept of veiling, women cannot participate in social life, girls who are mothers of the future cannot receive education, and therefore the entire Ottoman society is affected. Uneducated women raise children like themselves. Women who are deprived of vocational education because of the veiling, have to earn their daily needs in inappropriate ways because they lack an education when their husbands, brothers, and fathers go to war. The veiling prevents the Muslim family from being a family in the modern sense. The spatial gender segregation is brought by veiling, men and women cannot see each other before they get married. They start to get to know each other after marriage, not before they get married. This situation leads to unhappy marriages and unhappy children. This form of marriage, which is caused by veiling, leads to polygamy and divorce. Due to the veiling, there are differences in intellectual levels between couples. For this reason, the woman falls into the female position, the marriage consists of sexual intercourse and live-in lovers cannot be established between the couple.

As I referred in the previous chapters, the years of the Balkan War and the First World War caused a change in the social visibility of women. Economic, political, social, and

cultural conditions made women more visible in the public sphere. These factors also led to changes in the form of veiling. However, throughout these years, the state did not refrain from interfering with women's clothing, either through law enforcement agencies or through declarations. While the state intervention in women's clothing was applauded by the Islamists in the first years of Constitutional Period II, the state intervention in women's clothing, began to be criticized by both women's magazines and Westernist intellectuals. According to them, a woman is an individual. The protection of her honor belongs primarily to herself and then to relatives. The job of the police is not to spread religion but to maintain public order and prevent attacks on women because of their dress. There is freedom of religion and conscience, the sin and the good deed only are the concern of God, not the state.



5. ISLAMIST IDEAS ON VEILING AND FACE VEILING ISSUE

Niyazi Berkes says that the most important consequences of the 1908 revolution are opening the era of comprehensive ideologic differentiation which did not parallel with the party differentiation.²⁴⁷ This is the product of endeavor to explanation the second key term of the revolution: development–terakki-²⁴⁸ Ismail Kara quotes Hilmi Ziya Ülken’s ideas about the modern Turkish thought. According to Ülken, the modern Turkish thought first of all is practical. The aim of thought is worldly action. The morality, the politics, the technics constitute the aim. The thought is for the life, for the society, for the action.²⁴⁹

This was the era of alteration, transformation and criticize oneself in the changing conditions. The debates between the years 1908-1918 will completely include the cumulative problems of 200 years of the modernization problems.²⁵⁰ The modernization process is the progress of indispensable/optional change or in the simplest term the process of modification so, the baseline of Modern Turkish thought take place the reform, the change, and the modification.²⁵¹

The problems of new era are argued in journals. The number of published journals was more than the number of journals in European countries from July 1908 to July 1914.²⁵² The journals became the new public space. This new public space was used to spread the new ideas and movements. The Islamism is one of the movement of thought of this era.

According to İsmail Kara, Islamism means re-domination of Islam in all fields of life and to save Muslims from the tyrant and autocratic rulers, and abuse of West, captivity, aperty, superstition within the rationalist method in XIX-XX ages. This is an activist movement, modernist and eclectic which wanted to civilize, unify and reconstruct the Muslims and Islamism includes political, intellectual and scientific works and the

²⁴⁷ Niyazi Berkes, Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma (YKY: İstanbul:2015,p.410).

²⁴⁸ Ibid,p.410.

²⁴⁹ İsmail Kara, Din ile Modernleşme Arasında Çağdaş Türk Düşüncesinin Meseleleri, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2016, p.19).

²⁵⁰ Berkes Ibid,p.410.

²⁵¹ İsmail Kara, Din ile Modernleşme Arasında... Ibid,p.12.

²⁵² Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi(Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015,p.326).

pursuits and the proposals for solution.²⁵³ This movement spread around the world and change in terms of local urgencies and needs. For example, it included in Egypt Jamal-al-Din al-Afghani(1839-1897), his student Muhammed Abduh (1845-1905), In India Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), Syed Amir Ali (1849-1928), In the Ottoman Empire Islamism developed around the journals *Sirat-ı Mustakim – Sebilurreşad, Beyanu'l-hak, İslam Mecmuası, Volkan*.²⁵⁴ Ismail Kara comments and led the conclusion for Islamism in Turkey ,they pursue the emancipation, the development, the power, and the dominance so, they speculate the future instead of looking back. Putting forward the present and finding the urgent solutions for existing problems attracted them.²⁵⁵ Ismail Kara remarks a significant characteristic of the Ottoman Empire and the Modern Turkish Republic. According to Kara,

When the religious axis of the modernization process neglects, this is not only revealed a weakness in religion and modernization relations; but also it makes impossible to understand and clarify the Ottoman and Turkish modernization. Because, as a whole, the modernization movements in the Islamic world provides worldliness also revealed as a religious movement. In other words, the attempt of modernization was the part of the explanation of religion and religious exegesis.²⁵⁶

In my thesis, I will use *Sirat-ı Mustakim*(1908-1912) – *Sebilurreşad*(1912-1925) journals which was published between the years 1908-1925. After the promulgation of Second Constitutional Period, the press became relatively free. In this era, there were many journals in every issue. *Sirat-ı Mustakim* is one of them which means that the main path, the explicit and right path. It began the publishing life on 27 August 1908 later changed the name and the date of publication as a *Sebilurreşad* and on 23 July 1908. ²⁵⁷The founders of the journals are Ebül'ulâ Zeynelâbidin (Ebül'ulâ Mardin) ve H. Eşref Edip. The heading of the journal is “It is a weekly journal which refers the religion, the philosophy, the law and the sciences.”In fiftieth issue, the heading of the journal was changed to “refers the politics especially the politics and the sociology of Islam and the situation of the civilized situation? and the events of Islam”²⁵⁸ Ebül'ulâ Zeynelâbidin became the member of parliament later he became a *mudarris* in *madrassa* later, he left the job. ²⁵⁹ Eşref Edip became the only editor of the

²⁵³ İsmail Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1997, p.29).

²⁵⁴ Ibid.,p.16.

²⁵⁵ Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi* Ibid.,p.17.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, *Din ile Modernleşme Arasında*, p.28.

²⁵⁷ Adem Efe, “SEBİLÜRREŞÂD””,TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi,p,251.

²⁵⁸ “Siyasiyattan ve bilhassa gerek siyasi ve gerek içtimaî ve medenî ahval ve şûn-i İslâmiyye'den bahseder”.

²⁵⁹ Ibid,p.251.

journal. The authors of journal are Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Ebül'ulâ (Mardinizade), İsmail Hakkı (Bereketzade), İsmail Hakkı (Manastırlı), İsmail Hakkı (İzmirli), Ahmed Naim (Babanzade), Musa Kazım, Mithat Cemal (Kuntay), Mehmed Tahir (Bursalı), Ispartalı Hakkı, Ömer Ferit (Kam), Abdürreşid İbrahim, Tâhirülmevlevî (Olgun), Halil Hâlid (Çerkeşseyhizâde), Gıyaseddin Hüsnü (Nuralizâde), Şeyhularap, Mehmed Fahreddin, Ahmed Hilmi (Hocazâde), Ömer Fevzi Ömer Lutfî ,Şerefettin (Yaltkaya), Ahmet Hamdi (Aksekili), Osman Fahri, İbrahim Alâeddin (Gövsa), Kazanlı Ayaz (Muhammed Ayaz İshakî İdilli), Kâmil (Tepedelenlioğlu)²⁶⁰ Dating from 8 March 1912, it was published as a *Sebilurreşad*(183th issue within the proposal of Said Halim Pasha. In this issue, they declared to accept to working for the awake and the rise of Islam is the holiest job.²⁶¹ They wanted to be closely acquainted with Islamic countries and agreed to meet with each other.²⁶²

Eşref Edip is an editor of *Sebilurreşad* who refers to the first days of the new journal.

I never forget the excitement of the first days. We ran to the printing houses as soon as the sun of freedom, which we longed for years, appeared. When the first issue came out with the title *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, Bab-ı-Ali was turned upside down. Newspaper sellers shout's as " Sırat-ı Müstakim, Sırat-ı Müstakim" covered the streets. Twenty-four hours did not last, tens of thousands of copies were looted. We publish again. It was over again: Then, the second issue was published. Telegrams began to fall from all over the country. Printing houses cannot finish their job even though they work day and night. In a short time, the country from the Shkodra to Baghdad and Yemen read *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and began to reach the whole Islamic world. *Sırat-ı Mustakim* became the first journal within the writings of wise men and mighty masters.²⁶³

We can not know the rate of circulation of journal. However, this quotation gives an idea about the prevalence of journal.

As I said before, many issues were discussed in journals. *Sebilurreşad* writers actively participated in debates and also started new debates about societal problems. The civilization, the freedom, the development, the union, the constitutionalism and Kâ nun-ı esâsi, the religion and the caliphate, the state and the religion, the aperty, the nationalism, the women rights, ijtiihad, the position of the Ottoman enlightened people about the West and the Islam were the main debate issues of this era.²⁶⁴ The women issue especially veiling and face veiling was often referred to issues of *Sebilurreşad*.

²⁶⁰ Ibid,p.251.

²⁶¹ Ibid,251.

²⁶² Ibid,251.

²⁶³ Adem Efe, "Uzun soluklu İslamcı bir dergi: Sebilürreşâd", Marife Dergisi,(2008),p. 159.

²⁶⁴ Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi*.,Ibid,p.8.

Between the years 1908-1925, most of the time Islamist thinkers wrote directly or indirectly about the veiling but we can also learn something about the veiling in almost every issue. In this part of thesis, I will try to give what does veiling means for Islamist thinkers?

5.1.MUSA KAZIM(1858-1920)

Musa Kazım had started his teaching career in Mecelle in 1900 at the Mekteb-i Hukuk, While at the same time, he had continued to give lectures at Istanbul University, Teacher School for Girls and Galatasaray High School. After the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, he was appointed as a member of the Senate at the Ministry of Education. He had been a member of the scientific committee of the Committee of Union and Progress. He became a sheik al-Islam during the government of İsmail Hakkı Pasha. Musa Kazım Efendi will become shaikh al-Islam three times and will be dismissed three times. When you read the article below, you can have an idea about the reason for this. According to Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Musa Kazım is somewhere between traditionalism and modernism.²⁶⁵ Although Musa Kazım took a modernist Islamist stance on some issues, he was extremely conservative about the women issue. When the First World War ended with defeat, Mûsâ Kâzım was arrested with other Unionists, but he was exiled to Edirne, not Malta, due to his illness, where he died.²⁶⁶ In the first issue of Sebilurreşad Mûsâ Kâzım wrote the article in the name of Hürriyet – Mûsâvât. He refers to the life of animals and the order in their lives, Later, he says “These laws are not in the same sense everywhere, they are arranged in terms of the nature of the society, its customs and traditions, and its rules.”²⁶⁷ He conclude his article within these sentences.

In this case, what is meant by the freedom granted to us by our Kânûn-ı Esâsî, which is nothing but an explanation of some parts of the political decrees related to the world in the Quran. This is free from some unreasonable and illegitimate records that we were crushed under the overwhelming tyranny before. It is freedom, which is a free movement within the circle of laws and our religious rules and national customs.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Ibid., Ülken.,p.397

²⁶⁶ Ibid., *Türkiyede İslamcılık Düşüncesi*,p.119-120

²⁶⁷ Mûsâ Kâzım, “Hürriyet – Mûsâvât” *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* N.1 V.1(24 Ağustos 1908),p.2-3

Mûsâ Kâzım, “Hürriyet – Mûsâvât” *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* N.3 V.1 (3 Eylül 1908),p.21-

²⁶⁸ Ibid.,p.21.

In my humble opinion, this quotation is the summary of ideas of the Islamist thinkers especially in the area of social life. Also, it implies what the Islamist expectations are from Kânûn-ı Esâsî. We will persistently encounter “kavâ'id-i dîniyyemiz ve âdet-i milliyyemiz dâiresi” in the debates of veiling and face veiling.

In the *Hürriyet – Müsâvât* II article, he again refers to the freedom and its dimensions and limits. Then, Mûsâ Kâzım brings the veiling issue before readers. He says that, “we see with sorrow that the veiling is not followed in some places upon the announcement of our Kânûn-ı Esâsî, and for this reason, it is heard that a great confusion between Muslims will be close.”²⁶⁹ According to him, Islam is the religion of the Ottoman state, and the caliph and sultan are the protectors of Islam. Since the religion of this state is Islam and the sultan is the protector of this religion, every Muslim citizen is obliged to obey all the provisions of this religion. Otherwise, our government, which means executive power, has to impose prohibitive measures on those people. Since a Muslim who has the citizenship of the Ottoman state does not obey a decree, it can not be a covenant with the provisions of these two important articles of Kânûn-ı Esâsî, therefore, it is one of the significant duties of our government that is related to the job is forced to them basic decency and nurture.”²⁷⁰

As you see, according to Mûsâ Kâzım, freedom is not about religious order or tradition. Therefore, freedom is a restricted thing; the realm of freedom is limited. The religion and the tradition designate freedom. The veiling issue is one of them that is restricted by Islamic law. Women can not dress what they want because it is restricted by the commands of God and also Kânûn-ı Esâsî. The veiling should protect and the veiling should be under the control state within the two articles of Kânûn-ı Esâsî.

5.2.MEHMET AKİF ERSOY(1873-1936)

Mehmet Akif graduated from veterinary school, traveled the Ottoman geography for a while due to his profession, and later taught at the veterinary school. After the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, he had been appointed as a literature teacher in Dârülfünûn, when he took part in the *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* journal with Eşref Edip and Eb'ulula Mardin. He was appointed as a member of the *Müdaafa-i Milliye*

²⁶⁹ Ibid.,p.21.

²⁷⁰Ibid,p.21.

Publication Branch when it was established at the end of the Balkan War. He went to Egypt and Hejaz before the First World War.(1913)²⁷¹ Upon the invitation of the German Government, he went to Germany through Teşkilât-ı Mahsûsa to see the situation of Muslim prisoners. (1914) The Berlin Memories section of Safahat remained an heirloom even today. Again, he was entrusted with a task to meet with Ibn Rashid who is the Emir of Nacid, through the Teşkilât-ı Mahsûsa. During this journey, he was appointed as the head clerk of Dârü'l-hikmeti'l-İslâmiyye. He gave sermons in Balıkesir to support Müdâfaa-i Milliye associations, which began to be established in Western Anatolia after the occupation of İzmir. Because of these sermons, he was dismissed from his post. After the occupation of Istanbul, he left here and joined the ranks of the national struggle in Ankara. He was elected as a Member of Parliament from Burdur. Here, he worked for the study and publication of Islamic works. He wrote the National Anthem.²⁷² With the end of the National Struggle, he returned to Istanbul. However, seeing that the Ankara Government was moving away from the original aims of the national struggle, he entered a period of resentment. He continued his life in Egypt with the help of Abbas Hilmi Pasha. He wanted to return to his hometown -because of his illness. He passed away shortly after returning to Istanbul. He was buried next to Babanzade Ahmet Naim, whose articles we will see here about the veiling issue.²⁷³

He translated Muhammad Farid Wajdi's *The Muslim woman* was starting from the third issue.²⁷⁴ He wrote *A Few Words* article (*Bir İki Söz*), which is an article about the translation of the Muslim woman and in the same issue it was published. In this article, he refers to why he translates this book. He briefly summarizes the veiling issue in the West and East and the writings about the veiling and face veiling issue in Egypt and he says that, "At that time, we had seen and even translated Ferid Vecdi's defense; We will start publishing a translation from this issue. We would like to say a few words

²⁷¹ Ibid.,p.401.

²⁷² Ibid.,p.401-402.

²⁷³ Ibid.,p.402.

²⁷⁴ Farid Wajdi(1878-1954) is a student of Muhammed Abduh. Mehmet Akif Ersoy translated articles of Muhammed Abduh, Cemaleddin Afgani and Farid Wajdi. İstanbul as a center of caliphate and where madrasahs gathered, it is not suitable to spread modernist Islamist ideas. Therefore, they choose to translate The selected articles were harmless, , those that would not arouse the reaction of the Muslim people Ibid.,Ülken.p397. Also, we have to add that, Mehmet Akif had also translated el-Mer'etü'l-müslime of Kasım Emin. However, it

from ourselves; but the person who has been translated -has researched the issue, so we found it more appropriate to leave the word to the person.”²⁷⁵

The first sentence of book started these words: “Since I am a part of the Islamic ummah, I see myself entitled to report my research on the women issue.”²⁷⁶

We can easily say that, the Islamist thinkers were troubled with the change of clothing habits, the visibility of women in public space- starting the Constitutional period to World War I. He says that the development of nations provided with man.²⁷⁷ The dissident of a conservative worldview about woman defends the visibility in public space -education, work and joining the life-, the change in clothing habits. According to them, the development only is provided with women. Farid Wajdi and Mehmet Akif refuse this idea. Women should receive education in accordance with the requirement of the age for using private sphere, but should not participate in social life. Ferid Wajdi thinks that, the veiling is a necessity for women. This necessity does not stem from the distrust of women, but this necessity is the only guarantor of her freedom, as it can be understood from the history and the guidance of social events, we have proved it by examining it.²⁷⁸ While Farid Wajdi was criticizing the Western point of view about women, he can not abstain from traditional Islamic patriarchial point of view but at the same time, he uses sources from the West to legitimate ideas.

In the tenth issue, he refers to people who are educated in the West. Then, he touches on their critiques about the religion and tradition and raises the veiling issue. He says that, a woman's veiling or not being veiled is a matter that belongs directly to the man. If a man wants, he can cover his wife's face or open it. Because it is absurd to impose all the taxes that cannot be incurred on the neck of the man and then to try to tear off the rights of his wife from himself. Apart from the fact that this is an unlikely proposal, which is based on the principle of reciprocity among all people, the man who attempts to argue the rights of the man over the woman is the man who attempts to argue creation and nature. Even if it is heard among people, it cannot be permanent, it soon flies with the wind.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ Mehmet Akif Ersoy “Bir kaç söz” Sırât-ı Müstakîm N.3 V.1 (10 Eylül 1908),p.43.

²⁷⁶ Ferid Vecdi, çev. “Müslüman Kadın” Sırât-ı Müstakîm(10 Eylül 1908),p.43.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.,p.44.

²⁷⁸ Ibid,

²⁷⁹ Ferid Vecdi, “Müslüman Kadın” Sırât-ı Müstakîm, N.10 V.1 (27 Ekim 1908),p.147-148.

In eleventh issue, he answers this question:” Tesettür kadınların nişâne-i esâreti midir, yoksa zâmin-i hürriyeti midir?” He insistently highlights the veiling is the only guarantor of women's freedom. It is the only guarantor for women to escape from men's domination. He underlines the need to be selective about modernization. When it comes to women, there is nothing to be taken as an example from Western civilization. So we have the right to talk about such a social issue, it is not permissible to be immediately caught up in any of the works of this material civilization, which is not permanent for us, and to accept it as a basis for judgment unless we examine that work with careful analysis, up to its simple elements.”²⁸⁰

In the later pages of the book, he refers the Roman Empire and its women. According to him, The times when the Roman obeyed the veiling, the Roman Empire was advanced in every aspect, Afterwards, due to the abundance and prosperity they were born into, they started to take women out of their homes and women took to the streets. The aggressive men at that time tended to spoil the morality of the ancestors, defile their honor, and remove women’s veiling only for the pleasure of their souls. It was not long before, corruption began to appear from many sides that the Roman state. Moreover, when those who read history, see that the strong walls of a great state like Rome were demolished by the gentle hands of women one by one, and when they realized that this was not due to the women being prone to destruction, but only because men were attracted to them. This is a political fact that there is no need for discussion.²⁸¹ Farid Wajdi attributed the collapse of the Roman state to women visibility in the public sphere and tearing off the veiling. He draws an analogy between the Roman example and the Ottoman example, he predicted that the Ottoman state would collapse if women -tear off their veiling.

Then, he references Auguste Comte.

As for us, we say that Auguste Comte who is the founder of the philosophy of the present age, and most of the philosophers of the age are have the following opinion: Women did not only get more than they needed from this false liberty, but they also transcended their natural boundaries.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Ferid Vecdi, “Müslüman Kadın Tesettür kadınların nişâne-i esâreti midir, yoksa zâmin-i hürriyeti midir?” Sırât-ı Müstakim. N.11 V.1 (05 Kasım 1908),p.173-174-75.

²⁸¹ Ibid.,p.174.

²⁸² Ibid.,p.176.

As you see, Farid Wajdi makes false analogies to prove his claims and refers to someone from the Western world that he does not have much positive feelings about the West, tried to emphasize it is not true for women to tearing off the veiling.

He says that, the moral level of women is of course higher than men. That's why he chose the veiling because it is a very safe fortress that will keep women from the evil of men. Social histories show that it has always been a man who attacked the honor of a woman and a woman who tried to protect this virtue against attacks. But why do they not save both woman and man from this terrible war by giving the woman her material veiling.²⁸³ Women defend themselves with two powerful weapons, one material(veiling) and the other is spiritual, to despair the men who are attacking them in every aspect.²⁸⁴

In thirteenth issue gives an answer the question: Tesettür Kadınların İktisâb-ı Kemâl Etmelerine Mâni' midir? He gives quotation from Qasim Amin.He used argumentations of the Western intellectuals about the veiling. He summarizes modernist ideas in this way. According to them, it deprives women of their freedom; to prevent them from improving their skills and gaining their daily needs in obligatory times; As long as the veiling continues, mother who are not able to educate their children. Therefore, the ummah is like a person whose half of his body is paralyzed.²⁸⁵He mounts a counter-argument against these ideas and he summarizes own ideas through these sentences.

As for me, I say: The veiling has many benefits. It gives women genuine freedom, the nature of this freedom understood by the reader; Likewise, it gives them the power to complete the necessary upbringing to become governors; it protects them from the scourge of working with men, that is evident by the observations of scholars in the continents of Europe and America that the mere material civilization has drained its marrow. It forces other families, governments, to meet their needs by reasonable means; bless the wife and wife from the flavors of family life; With the continuation of the veiling, there may be women who can educate their children in the Islamic circle.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ Ferid Vecdi, translated by Mehmet Akif Ersoy "Müslüman Kadın:Dokuzuncu Faslin Mâba'di" Sırât-ı Müstakîm N.12 V.1 (12 Kasım 1908),p.188.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.,p.188.

²⁸⁵ Ferid Vecdi,translated by Mehmet Akif Ersoy "Müslüman Kadın: Onuncu Fasil Tesettür Kadınların İktisâb-I Kemâl Etmelerine Mâni' midir?"

²⁸⁶ Ibid.,p.204.

He accuses the modernist writers of a being daydreamer and their writings never comes to mind because he regards the veiling is the part of the social reality and will never dissappear.²⁸⁷

In the fourteenth issue, he refuses the claim about the influence of health on veiling. Veiling neither threatens health; neither weakens the nerves; nor does it arouse the desires of the soul. On the contrary, it constitutes such a material barrier against corruption and disgrace. If a spiritual obstacle is added to veiling, then most of the catastrophes and afflictions that have taken the form of bloody wounds in the body of this civilization, this purely material civilization, will be overcome by humanity.²⁸⁸

In fifteenth issue's topic is *Tesettür Kalkar mı*²⁸⁹? In this part, he criticizes the societal decay but he insists on women will using the Islamic veiling.

For, the abolition of veiling invokes the emergence of all the communal diseases we have mentioned in this book. These diseases, on the other hand, when combined with other diseases that have already shaken our national body, create such a fatal disaster that I consider it is ominous to even mention their dangers here - because I want to be as far away from it as I can... I hope that the sentimental girls are numb with these new bid'ahs are coming out like a flood but who are in harmony who keep their existence in our nature.²⁹⁰

In the last part of *The Muslim Women's* translation, the subject and arguments and counter arguments were summarized.²⁹¹

Mehmet Akif Ersoy, who expressed his thoughts through Farid Wajdi, also found the woman issue is important and thought that the lives of women required improvement. According to him, it has been proven by historical and sociological evidence that the veiling is a necessity for Muslim women. In addition, the subject of a veiling is not a matter of concern to the woman, but is directly under the responsibility of the man, who is her legal custodian. He says that women's not dressing appropriately and women's appearance in the public sphere had great effects on the fall of Rome. Accordingly, they draws an analogy between the unveiled Muslim woman and the collapse of the Ottoman state. In reality, they compare Islamic patriarchal order and

²⁸⁷ Ibid.,p.205.

²⁸⁸ Ferid Vecdi,translated by Mehmet Akif Ersoy, "Tesettür Kadınların İktisâb-ı Kemâl Etmelerine Mâni' midir? Sırât-ı Müstakîm N.14 V.1 , (26 Kasım 1908),p.220.

²⁸⁹ "Ferid Vecdi, translated by "Müslüman Kadın: Tesettür Kalkar mı?" Sırât-ı Müstakîm N. V1. (03 Aralık 1908),p.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.,p.236.

²⁹¹ Ferid Vecdi,translated by Mehmet Akif Ersoy "Müslüman Kadın: Bir Nazar-i İcmâlî " Sırât-ı Müstakîm N.19 V.1 (17 Aralık 1908),p.287-288-289.

European patriarchal order through the veiling issue. The veiling is a part of Islamic patriarchal order and this order would be protected through defending veiling. According to them, the veiling issue is an identity issue which differentiates civilizations. You can see the veiling is as a identity issue in the articles of Mehmet Fahreddin. According to them, veiling is a blessing that allows women not to be a toy in the hands of men. In these articles, the situation of Western women is compared with the situation of Eastern women, and they advise women to stay within their natural limits, giving reference from Auguste Comte. The Western canon is built on patriarchal foundations. What is meant by natural borders is the male gender role, and the fact that women take away men's gender roles threatens the established gender order. This condition creates misogyny even in the most progressive men. According to Farid Wajdi, the cause of keeping the veiling does not stem from a distrust of women, but men. Because history has always shown the attack of men against women. Those who want to remove the veiling live in a dream. Because the idea of tearing off the veiling has no equivalent in society.

Below, you can see the photo of İsmet Ersoy who is a wife of Mehmet Akif and his daughter. When I saw this photo, some questions arose in my mind about the usual Mehmet Akif identity. Why did he choose to translate Ferid Vecdi's pro-veiling article instead of Qasim Amin's books. Why did he choose to translate a pro-veiling book, while newspapers and journals whthat turned into the public sphere in this period. We can answer this as follows: As an Islamist, Mehmet Akif knew that Islam and its law were inclusive in the protection of public order. However, he did not pay attention to the veiling in his private area. He is aware of his public role. His identity as an Islamic writer and intellectual compelled him to defend the veiling. However, he was living a very modern family life in his private space. Considering that there was only one female photographer at that time, it is obvious that this photograph was taken by a man. This event is quite far from the ideas he is trying to impose on his readers.



5.3.MEHMET FAHREDDIN(1885-1966)

I could not find any biographical information about the name Mehmet Fahreddin in Contemporary Turkish Thought History books or primary sources. However, the birth dates of the intellectuals who were active in the Constitutional Period generally coincide with the 1880s. Therefore, when I seek for the name Mehmet Fahreddin in the Encyclopedia of Islam, I found the following results. His articles published in periodicals were not included in the encyclopedia. According to Nihat Azamat who is a Jarrahi shaik from İstanbul.²⁹³ It has been claimed that the person named Mehmet Fahreddin is Mehmet Akif. However, Suat Mertoğlu, who is known for his works on modernist Islamic thought, rejects this idea. Dr. Mertoğlu, while explaining why Mehmed Fahreddin's signature cannot be accepted as Akif, Mertoğlu gives an example from the *Sırat-ı Müstakim/Sebilürreşad* journal: "Under the signature of Mehmet Fahreddin, his place of duty is sometimes given by stating that this person is the Mufti of the Regiment (for example, in the article in the 167th issue, 'First Mobile Artillery Regiment'. The phrase "Mufti" is present). The news of the sermon of "Kırkilise Regiment Mufti Fahreddin Efendi" from the *Hakikat* newspaper in Eskişehir, in the previous issue, is quoted under the title "A Divine Advice". Therefore, the signatory, his place of duty is certain. In this case, it cannot be considered that this signature

²⁹² Which is taken from Mehmet Ruyan Soydan archive by the Ministry of Culture and ve Tourism.

²⁹³ Nihat Azamat," Fahreddin Efendi N. V.12 İslam Ansikolopedisi p.83.84

belongs to a pseudonym.²⁹⁴ Also, we can understand he is not Mehmet Akif because of writing style.

Between the third and sixth volume, there are many paragraphs about the veiling but it is not directly the veiling. Mehmet Fahreddin writes an article called of “*Medeniyet-i İslâmiyyeden Bir Sahîfe Yahud Tesettür-i Nisvân*”. In this article, he gives quotations from the Quran and the hadith literature about the veiling. When he gives quotations from the Quran and the hadith literature, he explained with historical context. He tries to give a general idea about the necessity of the veiling through the Quran and the hadith literature. Therefore, he provides legitimacy for his answer about the veiling.²⁹⁵

In the 158th issue, Mehmet Fahreddin writes a new article named of *İzâ Lem Testahi Fesna’ mâ şî’te*, against Abdullah Cevdet. Abdullah Cevdet criticizes his previous article in *İctihâd* journal.²⁹⁶

According to him, the feminists of the Ottoman Empire were the part of the missionary effort which dated back one century. He refers to the old issue; which is the first step of the change in veiling. The two daughters of the Ottoman Pasha escaped from the harem to go to Paris. The capital is shaken by this new. The Paris Post narrates this issue within these words: “Young Muslim girls throw their veiling and run to Paris. Abdulhamid is in a hurry. Sheikh Ebu'l-hüdâ recommends that Islamic women should be prohibited from meeting with Christian families.”²⁹⁷

The proclamation of Meşihat Penâhî about the veiling causes the reactions of feminists. Mehmet Fahrettin is really angry with these reactions but at the same time he does not completely accuses women instead of this, he accuses tolerative politics of government about the missionary activities and schools. Because of the false politics of the government. Muslims who resist in the name of the honor of religion and the honor of nationality are accused with reactionism. He says that we do not get angry

²⁹⁴ Suat Mertoğlu, *Sırât-ı Müstakîm Mecmuası: Açıklamalı Fihrist ve Dizin*. (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları,2008)

²⁹⁵ Mehmet Fahreddin, “*Medeniyet-i İslâmiyyeden Bir Sahîfe Yahud Tesettür-i Nisvân* “ V.6 N.141 *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* (29 Haziran 1911),p.165-166.

²⁹⁶ The first article of Mehmet Fahreddin is the starting point of the veiling and face veiling debates.Look at Abdullah Cevdet, “*Tesettür Meselesi*”,*İctihad*, V.29. (10 August 1327)p.809 After It is the answer of Mehmet Fahreddin. Mehmet Fahreddin, *İzâ Lem Testahi Fesna’ mâ şî’te*: Mürted Parmaklar, Mel’un Kalemler. V.6 N.158 *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* (14 Eylül 1911) p.26-30 Also look at, No name, “*Tesettür Meselesine Cevap*” V.6. N.156. (31 Ağustos 1911) p,414-415-416-417.

²⁹⁷ Mehmet Fahrettin, “*Feminizm Meselesi: Bizde Nisâiyyûn Nasıl Türedi?*” *Sebîlürreşâd* N. 196 V.8 (30 Mayıs 1912),p.237.Also look at Alain Quella Villegier, *Haremden Kaçanlar: İstanbul’da Bir Devlet Meselesi ve Feminizm*,trans., Aysel Bora,(İstanbul: YKY,2014.)

with these miserable brothers and sisters. On the contrary, we feel pity. Because we are collecting the fruits of the training they received. If these murderous crows had not been built their nest in our homeland in the past, this disaster would be away from us. In addition, those who prevent the establishment of schools by considering them as blasphemy, at the same time those who imitate lifeless tombstones and people do not make an effort against missionaries.²⁹⁸

According to Mehmet Fahrettin,

The veiling is their main problem! This is our biggest and unforgivable crime in the eyes of Christians! Our Islam! Our honor! It is our vaunted morality. The veiling of our women -the veil of freedom-constitutes the first target of their attacks on honor. When the bastion of honor of the Islamic castle is captured, the castle is their now.²⁹⁹

According to him, the veiling and face veiling of Muslim women is the first target of Christians. He does not use the word 'West'. He sees that the issue between the East and the West was not the issue of modernization, mechanization, industrialization, and mass education, but the clash of civilization that was the axis of religion. He attributes a symbolic meaning to Muslim women and their veiling. He thinks that the most important thing that points to the cultural difference between Muslims and Christians is Muslim women' veiling. According to him, if women abandon the veiling, the Christians will defeat the Muslims.

In this article, Mehmet Fahreddin targeted Abdullah Cevdet and other writers whom he saw as his fierce enemy. In the first part of the article, he defined Musa Kazım's ideas about the nature of freedom in a way that confirms, citing the publication policies of France as a civilized country example, also, said that newspapers and journals such as İctihâd which is the enemy of Islam more than Pier Lermit, could not continue their publication life. However, İctihâd has continued the publishing life and spits on the holy sharia and the Quran of the Islamic ummah separately with the names of Cehd, and the next day, İştihâd It keeps sticking poisonous daggers in Islam.

The reason why Mehmet Fahreddin got so angry is an article about veiling in the İctihâd journal.

Neither strange, nor an astonishing contrast: Italy is tearing apart the veiling and face veilings of Islamic women in Tripoli, the Islands, and the Balkans in Rumelia, and

²⁹⁸ Ibid.,p.237.

²⁹⁹ Mehmet Fahrettin," Garp Medeniyeti'nin İslam'a Savletleri" Sebülürreşâd N.226 V.9(09 Ocak 1913),p.316-317.

they take to the churches after they display Muslim women in the bare streets and bazaars and they forced to become Christians by force. In this time, some of the Istanbul press wrote these savage civil affairs of twentieth-century humanity in a fiery language: Violence! Brutality! They rebut our religion and honor! They tear the veils and face veilings of our women and our sisters and tear them to pieces, after taking poor Islamic women around the streets and bazaars, to the churches ...!" However, these newspapers do not think that they hurt the feelings of Italian detachment, a Balkan Serb, Bulgarian, Greek committee, who have stripped their sword in the middle of Islam, those who are working for taking off veiling with a more fervent ambition than them.³⁰⁰

As you see , Mehmet Fahreddin see the İctihâd writers like Balkan states which wanted to humiliate Turkish women by tearing off their veiling and face veiling. Mehmet Fahreddin has never been interested in the sociological aspects of the veiling issue because he saw it not as a controversial issue in the newspapers but as a command of Islam. Those who want to abolish veiling are no different from the enemy of Ottoman Empire.

Another writing of Mehmet Fahrettin was written to criticize "An Endless Problem Unless it is Completely Solved" article.

Even if the veiling was sacks of antiquity, it would not be disgraced to this degree... There is always freedom of speech. The nation of Islam needs to be stimulated and educated socially, morally, scientifically, and politically. But not from the mouths of the pump makers, not a mindless and unconscious pen... As if they were not a party to revealing the issue of veiling, "Everything is over, now there is talk of women's veiling?" However, this was a question that we would throw in his face. We are saying that trying to criticize the Quran would be an attack on the Qur'an like they were non-Muslim, and a people who abandons the religion, as well as a unrest and disorder that would upset the Islamic world. However, because of the dumb and at least indifferent silence of scholars and religious man, İştihâd erase all the decrees, social and moral orders of the Quran with the sponge of civilization, it gradually increases their audacity and finally the number 92-3 of the new title of İştihâd(on February 6, in the 329 dated copy), he pulled the mask off his face with the heading "An Endless Problem Unless it is Completely Solved". Unless the veiling is abolished, they will not give up on this, unless their ambitions are restrained, and one day they will shred the veils of Islamic women to pieces. İctihâd has not yet been able to make this attack against veiling!! If they can do this too, they will now actually fulfill his civilized duty! We used to think that we would no longer be talking about this veiling issue, in which we sweat our honor. İctihâd promises that he will not give up his talk until the veiling is abolished, and we assure you that we will not stop defending the veiling. Our articles in the next copies will prove this.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ Mehmet Fahrettin, "Ya Tesettür Kalkarmış Yahud?" Sebîlürreşâd N.289 V.11. (26 Mart 1914),p.46-47

³⁰¹ Mehmet Fahrettin, "Şîme-i Meveddet mi? Şîme-i Adâvet mi?" Sebîlürreşâd N.288 V.12. (19 Mart 1914).

In his first article, Mehmet Fahreddin gives the place of veiling in Islam and the history of veiling in Islam and supports this with verses and hadiths. As I mentioned before, this article was criticized by Abdullah Cevdet in Mehtap Journal and the Sebilürreşad Journal published a collective article in response but, Abdullah Cevdet added the new things to this article and again published in İctihad journal. In this time, Mehmet Fahreddin engages in a pencil fight, reminding Abdullah Cevdet's translation of the History of Islam from Doctor Dozzy. While Abdullah Cevdet accuses himself of playing with a reactionary toy, Mehmet Fahreddin accuses him of being irreligious and insulting religious values and argues that the veiling issues is not a part of freedom of thought. In the meantime, he gives the title of his new article by targeting the entire İctihad cadre, who also have differences of opinion among themselves, and states that they will always defend the veiling in this article.³⁰² Other names who had their share of Mehmet Fahreddin's anger are Server Bedii and Kılıçzade Hakkı.

5.4.ABDULLATIF NEVZAD (1889-1966)

His writings were published in Sebilürreşad and Islam journals.³⁰³ He worked in various schools during the Late Ottoman and early Republican periods. He also presented his views and suggestions on teacher training and the teaching profession in the pre-Republican period. He was also elected as Bursa Deputy in the 1939 General Election.

He thinks that, When Muslim men see a woman, they lose to control over themselves and have to touch her. He asked if the mind of a nation is lower than its waist, what can we hope for? He says that, we have to seek opposition of veiling in here. Considering that in places where this animalistic tendency is exhausted, especially in persons without family pleasure, it is accepted and emerged, it becomes easier to accept that there is a great relationship between that opposition and this deprivation and secrecy.”³⁰⁴ According to him, veiling has always ruled in every place of Islam. However, it did not prevent many virtuous women from being raised. It prevented femininity from being raped, it kept the women's stance strongly and finally gave every Muslim the virtue of believing in the well-being of his lineage! If the unemployed

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³⁰³ He was one of the people is switch to Turkist ideology.

³⁰⁴ Abdüllatif Nevzad, “Evelâ Erkeklerimizi Örtelim” N.241 V.10 ((24 Nisan 1913),p. 113.

masters, who were trying to save our women from veiling, had devoted their efforts to the opening of a few girls' primary schools, they would have followed a smoother way to fulfill their great demands. He reminds that Islamists are on the first line of those who have seen the current social decadence of Muslim femininity. However, they do not see any relation between this decadence and veiling and their strongest proof is the history of Islam, experiences, and events. According to him, the opponents of veiling have another purpose for this opposition. They may say to us: Europeans are against veiling. They are sane men. We have nothing to say about their opinions. Let the mujtahids see the punishment of basic imitation of Europe a little more. But let them refrain from violating the religion of the Muslim Muslims of the country.³⁰⁵

Within this article, Abdullatif Nevzat developed a different understanding of veiling from other Islamists. Perhaps for the first time arrows came to the question of the chastity and honour of the men, it is not to the question of veiling of the woman. According to him, Muslim men turned women into sexual objects. The priority is not the veiling issue, but the change in mentality of man.

5.5. MAHMUT ESAD (1856-1918)

He is a member of the ÇopurKadioğulları family. He received training in religious sciences, military sciences, mathematics, and law. He started his career at Gülhane Military High School as a teacher of Ottoman language and religion (1879) and got a lawyer's license (1882). After graduating from Law School, he completed his internship. He left his job at the Military High School and was appointed to Izmir as a lawyer. He served in Izmir for ten years. In addition to being a judge, he taught positive sciences at İzmir High School. Together with Halit Ziya (Uşaklıgil) and Nevzat Tevfik, he contributed to the publication of the newspapers *Hizmet* and *Âhenk* and he published his articles here. When he was appointed as the legal advisor of the treasury of finance, he moved to Istanbul. He gave lectures about economics and international law at Mekteb-i Mülkiyye in Istanbul. He also taught Mecelle-Ahkam-ı Adliyye courses at the Mekteb-i Hukuk. He gave lectures on Islamic history at the newly opened Darülfünun Literature branch. He learned English, French and German with his own efforts, he was especially interested in works in foreign languages related to the Islamic

³⁰⁵ Ibid.,p.113.

world, he translated some of them and wrote refutations for some of them. Between 1910 and 1911, he pioneered the enactment of six laws to renew the land registry and cadastre legislation of the Ottoman Empire. He was the chairman of the commission that prepared the Hukuk-i Aile Kararnamesi. Apart from these activities, he published articles in Sebilürreşad journals.”³⁰⁶

He says that, since the promulgation of the constitution, we see that the women’s issue has always dealt with the issue of veiling and that every person who had a pen tried to execute a judgment. Even though this is a matter of sharia, going to the way of mental reasoning in this issue means putting the issue at a dead end. If the conclusion to be obtained is in accordance with the Shari'a, the time spent will be in vain. If it is contrary, no Muslim who believes in Allah and the Hereafter will be subject to him.³⁰⁷ He concludes that, the most important part of women issue is the schooling issue. He asks that how many literate people do you have among your men, let alone women? How much progress have you made in the education of women apart from Constitutionalism? You surrender your women to the destructive hands of some uncertain doctor who was educated in Athens. Have you raised a Muslim female doctor who will treat them? You keep wandering around a problem that belongs to the shape. This is such a matter that there is no benefit in it, but there is a loss in continuing it. There is no use other than the principle of enmity between the parties and to create a separation. For the sake of the country's safety, stop talking about this issue anymore.³⁰⁸ Mahmut Esad says that this issue is not sociological, but a religious issue and so this issue cannot be solved by people who do not know religious sciences. According to him, since the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, some act as the women issue consists only of veiling, and some argue about it. However, this is not the most important problem of the women's issue, the most significant issue about women is the education of women. People should stop discussing this issue.

5.6. İZMİRLİ İSMAİL HAKKI(1869-1946)

On the one hand, he was taking madrasa lessons, on the other hand, he finished secondary school. In 1891, he was appointed as a teacher to Primary School. In the

³⁰⁶ Ali Erdoğan, “Mahmut Esat Seydizade” İslam Ansiklopedisi V.37. p.37-38

³⁰⁷ Mahmud Es’ad, “Tesettür Mes’elesi Hakkında Son Söz” Sebilürreşad N.279 V.10 (15 Ocak 1914),p.290ü

³⁰⁸ Ibid.,p.291.

same year, he started teaching at the İzmir Teacher School, and meanwhile worked as an imam and teacher at Izmir High School. He went to Istanbul and became one of the first students of the Higher Teacher's School, graduating here from the literature branch. Meanwhile, he continued his madrasah education. He gave Arabic and fiqh lessons at the Civil Service School. Later, he became a history teacher at the higher teacher school and continued his duty as a principal (1907-1908) and was the director of Darüşşafaka. Between 1909-1935, he taught Darül Fünun uninterruptedly. His knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and French provided him contact with modern philosophical movements in Europe therefore, we can trace some western philosophical thought in his works.³⁰⁹

While he was at Darüşşafaka, İzmirli İsmail Hakkı prepared a report on Doctor Dozzy's book *History of Islam*, translated by Abdullah Cevdet, for the Cem'iyet-i Tedrisiyye-i İslamiyye commission. İzmirli İsmail Hakkı later serialized this report in the pages of Sebilürreşad. İsmail Hakkı, like Mehmet Akif Ersoy, registered to the Committee of Union and Progress in the first days of the Constitutional Monarchy. In this thesis, I will quote an article taken from Sebilürreşad to convey his ideas about veiling.³¹⁰

We can briefly summarize his thoughts as follows: Our basis will only be proofs of Shari'a, Shari'ah rules, and fiqh.³¹¹ The people against the veiling and face veiling sometimes talk about verses from Quran and hadiths, and sometimes they declare the word of one of the religious imams. The task is not finished by reading the verses from Quran or hadith or saying that there is such a rule of Islamic law. This is simple and ignorantly...³¹² He shows the way of Islamic reasoning through the veiling issue and he comes to the conclusion that veiling is legitimate to prevent the evil deeds of adultery. The remedies and the means of adultery are forbidden, which is natural. Because if a person forbids his soldier or his people or his household from something, then how can not be forbid the ways and reasons that lead them to these actions. Therefore, the way and the reasons will also be prohibited.³¹³

³⁰⁹ Ibid., Ülken., p.406.

³¹⁰ Ali Birinci, İzmirli İsmail Hakkı” V.23 İslam Ansiklopedisi, p.531-533.

³¹¹ İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, “Tesettür Mes'elesinin Turuk-I Halli” Sebilürreşad N.291 V.12 (09 Nisan 1914), p.78.

³¹² Ibid., p.78.

³¹³ Ibid., p.81

Sharia, which is now at high levels of knowledge and goodness and maturity, thus prohibits the way that leads to adultery, the things that encourage adultery, and its conduce. In short, whenever the fear of the evil of adultery disappears from people, then the veiling will be removed. Otherwise, it cannot be lifted, veiling cannot be taken off with mysticism, nor with the decrees on which religion is based, nor with the rules of fiqh. Unless commanding people to do good and forbidding people from evil does not disappear, as long as there are religious scholars and they do not keep silent, there is no sweet conversation with women.³¹⁴

5.7. AHMET NAIM BABANZADE (1872-1934)

He taught Arabic at Galatasaray High School. In 1914, he was appointed as a member of the Ministry of Education Translation Department (1914). After this job, he began teaching at the Faculty of Literature of Darülfünun (1914-33). He taught philosophy, psychology, morality, logic, and metaphysics. He also served as an interim rector. Like many of his friends, Ahmed Naim was not included in the newly established Istanbul University with the 1933 University reform and retired.

He sarcastically begins his words "I have read your articles in numbers 95 and 96 of İctihâd. You have dealt with the issue of veiling which our thinkers who are reformado, have made the biggest daily issue."³¹⁵ He is one of the Islamists who is against the debate of veiling and face veiling by people who are not Islamic scholars.³¹⁶ Then, he briefly summarizes the ideas of Islamic modernists who are against the veiling and face veiling especially Kasım Amin. According to him, the Islamists modernist only used Kasım' Emin's book and does not see necessary investigations on religion and customs. Because they asked religion for help for the modernization that they demanded. They wanted to use religion as a weapon against an established custom, so it was necessary to survey to what extent the weapon of war they used could help. He repeats Rıza Tevfik ideas and he criticizes his ideas because he admits that the veiling and face veiling issue only as something related to custom and he says that people should examine the veiling issue on that ground of custom's relativity. This issue takes place in regard to the spirituality and level of discipline of each nation and the woman issue one, it includes many subjects. Rıza Tevfik says that, "the women issue should consider all of them separately and only examine them in terms of human rights."³¹⁷

³¹⁴ Ibid,p.81.

³¹⁵ Ahmet Naim, "Feylesof Rıza Tevfik Beyefendi'ye" Sebülürreşâd N.290 V.12 (02 Nisan 1914),p.61.

³¹⁶ Ibid.,p.61.

³¹⁷ Ibid.,p.61.

He says that the verses of Quran for legitimating veiling and face veiling, does not mean what they want pro-veiling people. He says that the prohibitions and permissions on this issue do not make it necessary to "wear the Ottoman veiling as of today".³¹⁸ Ahmet Naim also does not recommend contemporary veiling and face veiling because of the change in veiling in compliance with fashion. According to him, the veiling issue has two parts: One is the issue related to veiling, that is, dressing, and the other is the issue of spatial gender segregation system, that is, it is forbidden to meet with someone other than relatives.³¹⁹

The veiling is not a part of principles of faith or that they do not constitute one of the five conditions of Islam. However, it is worthy of respect. The conditions of faith, the conditions of Islam are the conditions of being a believer and a Muslim."³²⁰ It is not possible to eliminate a custom that is the most obvious sign of Islam and trying to do this is also absurd. One of your friends said: "This issue will not end unless it is completely resolved." Yes, he's telling the truth. But I also add that: "This issue is not easily met unless the religion of Islam is removed from the face of the earth."³²¹

In this article, he declares ideas about the intervention of the state women's dressing. The article starts with the old issue is the veiling religious issue or is it moral issue? He firstly summarizes the argument and later he answer the questions on a individual basis. He articulates that the veiling of a woman is both religious and moral issue, and it is because it stems from religious one. "2- Is it fard or wajib or sunnah when a woman's veil is religious? Which one is suitable? The veiling of a woman is obligatory with the alliance of all Muslims. Because it is found in the Quran. What the ummah has done since the time of the Sunnah and the Companions has always confirmed him."³²² He answers to what extent can the government intervene to obey the fard and wajibs of the religion? "question in these words. In Shar'-i Islam, every Muslim is responsible for ordering the good and avoiding the bad as he says. "Whoever of you does something forbidden, if he does not do it with his hand, let him blame him by word, if not with his heart. This third is the weakest of Faith. " Since the absence of veiling is one of the religious prohibitions, it is the duty of the government to eliminate it by any means. The government that allows tolerance and negligence in this matter means that it does not know its duty of sharia."³²³ He asserts that on the contrary to the modernist

³¹⁸ Ibid.,p.62.

³¹⁹ Ibid.,p.62.

³²⁰ Ibid., p.63-64.

³²¹ Ibid.,p.65.

³²² Ahmet Naim, "Yine Tesettür Meselesi" Sebülürreşad N.393 V.16 (27 Şubat 1919),p.37-38.

³²³ Ibid.,p.38 39.

and Turkist nationalist ,Before Islam and even until the verse of veiling was sent down in Madinah, the veiling of women, was not in force among Arabs, and there was no spatial gender segregation so, the introduction of the veiling began with the sharia.”³²⁴ The clothes have changed according to the time and place.Regardless of which dress women wear, they always have to cover the dress they wear with a loose cover that will set the beauty of their bodies from top to bottom. It is haram for them to adornment for strangers, to show their jewels, to wear beautiful scents, and to go out with thin clothes. You can change the fashion as much as you want on the condition that you observe this provision. However, you do not have the right to change the old custom with the new custom..³²⁵ Neither laws and regulations nor people's opinions limit the veiling. It is sharia. The sacred shariah emerged not to serve people's ideas, but to discipline and improve, and to destroy bad customs and traditions. "And in this matter, the opinion of women, not men, is important." This is also wrong. After accepting the principle of submission to Shari'a, it is neither men nor women to decide on this issue.³²⁶

Ahmet Naim considered the veiling issue not a sociological issue but a religious issue. Islam had been dealt with this issue for centuries ago. People can deal with this issue sociologically, but not as a shar'i issue. They cannot interpret the verses as they wish. Also, according to him, the veiling is not a custom, but a religious order. Customs can change, but the commandments of religion cannot. The Ottoman Empire is an Islamic state. The police may interfere with women who do not comply with the veiling Religion commands good morals. The veiling is necessary for social morality. Moral immorality, morals and non-compliance are issues that the police should intervene.

5.8. ABDULAZIZ CAVIŞ (1876-1929)

He taught Arabic at Oxford. After completing his education, he returned to Egypt from England, where he worked as an education inspector and especially worked for the improvement of education and the removal of colonial elements in education. Upon the death of Mustafa Kamil Pasha in 1907, He became the editor-in-chief of al-Liva' newspaper between the years 1908-1912. With his strong pen and gripping style, he caught the attention of the Egyptian people.He was prosecuted for some of his

³²⁴ Ibid.,p.38.

³²⁵ Ibid.,p.38-39.

³²⁶ Ibid.,p.39.

articles. He was imprisoned twice. After these events, his fame spread. Britain urged him because of his articles. When he realized that it was impossible to continue in Egypt, he went to Istanbul in 1912. There, he started to publish a daily Arabic newspaper called *al-Hilal-ül Osmani*. In the same year, he was arrested at the request of the Egyptian government due to an incident and he was sent to Egypt, but to no avail. When the newspaper *El-Hilal'ül Osmani* was banned from being imported into Egypt, he published a newspaper called *El-Hakku Ya'lü*. During the First World War, he believed that the Germans would win the war and the Muslim peoples would be saved. Article taken from this journal and which translated for *Sebilürreşad* journal. In the first page, he gives a reference Islamic history and concludes in this way:

So we need to understand the following truth: Some other reasons are unrelated to the fact that women stay in their homes and avoid foreign eyes that is for the nations to progress, or to regress, to pursue the future, or to return to the future. For, what our decline today wants is the Muslim woman. The Muslim women in the years when we overthrew the sultans and liberated the humanity from captivity, where we arranged the principles of peace and justice all over the world, and the great scientific institutions and civilizations in our hands, were more closed and less free.”³²⁷ The life of a Muslim woman is as much as the life of men, perhaps even more. However, we would like to draw the attention of those who support a serious improvement on the following point: The issue of women may be one of the reasons for our backwardness in today's civilization; However, this can never be real cause because of his sitting in house, or her veiling on his face, or the fact that foreign men stay away from where they are. Researchers see what we have said, the worst of our diseases, the worst of our misfortunes, in the ignorance of both sexes and the deprivation of all Muslims from the moral values of the Qur'an.”³²⁸

5.9. THE WRITINGS FROM OTHER SOURCES

According to Şerif Mardin, Journals and newspapers generally use anonymous articles to show the political and ideological stance of the periodicals. I also say that the cadres of *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* and *Sebilürreşad* both published articles on behalf of the magazine from time to time, and also published the articles they received from other newspapers and journals. We can think that they are all used for the same purpose. This writing is taken from *Tasvir-i Efkâr*.

In the first chapter, I added the state promulgations about the veiling issue. The police intervention causes the new debates in the journals and newspapers.

³²⁷ Abdulaziz Çaviş. Translated by Mehmet Akif Ersoy. “Âlem-i İslâm: Hastalıkları ve Çâreleri: Medeniyetin Rûhunu Bırakarak Yalnız Zevâhirinde Garblıları Taklid Beliyyesi - 3, Kadın Mes’elesî” N.359 V.14 *Sebilürreşâd* (19 Ekim 1916)p,173.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*p.174.

In the issue of veiling, the government's right to intervene is legal and legitimate. Veiling has not only religious but also a moral character for us. Governments all over the world have the right to intervene on the people. This intervention is valid for keeping the law of the people as well as the observance of morals. This is based on the necessity and wisdom that there is a morale officer in all civilized countries. This tribute is particularly concerned with the protection of women's morality and chastity..³²⁹ In this understanding, you can clearly see that, public order is associated with veiling. A Muslim woman's non-compliance with the veiling disrupts public order. Therefore, the police can interfere with the dress of women. The author also gave examples from Europe in order to legitimize the police's intervention in women's clothing..³³⁰ The government has the right to intervene, or more precisely, the duty of intervening in such matters not only in terms of morality but also in terms of religion. Our government is officially Islamic. With this, it is obliged to deal with the issues that belong to the orders and prohibitions of our religion. It is the duty to control this. However, although we consider the issue of veiling as a matter of morality alone, many reasons require the government to be careful at all times, which constitute a right for the government to a degree that cannot even be discussed..³³¹ It is a duty of the government and the nation, men are of course the ones who guided our women in losing their Islamic identity by claiming to resemble Europeans, in part, it is our men who lack knowledge and ideas. Besides, the danger of our morals falling as a result of erroneous thoughts of men on the most fundamental issues of our national life, it causes to losing hopes. However, we need to keep up, reinforce and elevate our morals, especially in times of disaster. Our only weapon that will save ourselves against the political and administrative intervention of the foreigners that is our spiritual strength, that is, our morality..³³²

The another article is taken from *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, I will briefly summarize article. The power of people do not destroy the natural laws that rule in the universe, trying to shake the social rules can not give any result other than bad effects. Those who want to guide the nations, as long as they act freely, they will not devoted to serving their

³²⁹ Tasvîr-i Efkâr, "Memleketimizde Ahlâk Mes'alesi: Hükûmetin Müdâfaası Lüzûmu, Din ile Ahlâk Ayrılır mı? Tesettür Mes'alesine Zâbıtâ Karışmasın mı?" Sebîlürreşâd N.391 V.16 (13 Şubat 1919),p.7.

³³⁰ Ibid.,p.7.

³³¹ Ibid.,p.7.

³³² Ibid.,p.8.

nations but betray their nation. Doesn't it always prove how wrong those who attempt social reform were which causes bad event? Customs are the result of social life, not individual life. Therefore, individuals cannot have the right to turn them upside down according to their tastes and desires. The duty of individuals consists of trying to discover the national spirit. Otherwise, to overturn existing institutions by giving the customary names of pleasing things means to strip the nation from all its divine things.³³³ Participation of women in working life is a necessity of life. This issue is another thing, and it is another thing that consists of dragging many women to evil ... Because it is understood that under the name of the necessities of life, many wrong paths have been taken and that degeneration is meant to be portrayed as a happy revolution. As it shook the soul of the family, which formed the strongest principles of the nation, today it still keeps the country in front of a difficult social issue to solve³³⁴ In any case, the necessities of life and the problem of livelihood will not necessitate going to the streets with strange and shameless attitudes or walking around in cars with cigarettes, foreign-local, Islamic-Christian men, we are sure that Câmî Bey believes in this! It is not an input, but a goal promoted by the dissemination of immorality. However, we see that they are Islamic women who view such indiscriminate outbursts with the utmost hatred of the name of femininity, who have received a family education and received a serious education. Women who recognize that Islam is the only religion that gives the highest degree of respect to femininity can work in any job within the limits defined by this religion.³³⁵ As much as our women must obtain knowledge, it is so essential not to shake the family organization. Therefore, in our opinion, the examinations to be carried out on the woman issue should be about the maintenance of these two things.”³³⁶

The Islamist of the 20th century is not a consistent group like other groups. They only reach an agreement to keep the Islamic social structure, sharia and the Ottoman Empire. According to Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Islamists tried to reconcile the necessities of the century with the necessities of religion.³³⁷ The veiling is one of the things; they want to keep. The Islamist dwell on the veiling issue so much. Here, I will summarize

³³³ Kolektif, “Taklidçilik Milletlerin Bâis-i Helâk ve İzmihlâlidir {Kadınları Yanlış Yollara Sevk Edenler - Söz Gazetesine Cevap” Sebîlürreşâd N.410-411 V.16. (01 Mayıs 1919),p.189.

³³⁴ Ibid.,p.18.

³³⁵ Ibid.,p.191.

³³⁶ Ibid.p.192..

³³⁷ Ülken.,p.397.

the pro-arguments and counter-arguments of Islamist group. According to them, the freedom of the dress is not a part of liberty. The veiling and face veiling is under the protection of God and the shari'a and also state. The state should keep the social order specific to the veiling issue. The writers are also against to arguing this issue as a sociological issue. The writers of journals say the veiling is a religious necessity and national tradition and a part of national identity so, it can not be changed. They say veiling protect women against man. The man is much more aggressive than the woman. Therefore, a woman should use Islamic veiling to protect themselves. Veiling and face veiling is for the benefit of women. It is the best possible solution to protect women from men. According to them, society does not want to get rid of the veiling. The counter ideas had not been societal reciprocity. They accuse the modernist as an apertly ashamed of their own roots. The Islamist give reference to roots to protect the social structure specific to the veiling issue. The writers blame the modern exegesis of the Quran. They are insistent on the preconceived exegesis of the Quran and keeping veiling in a traditional way mean to keep the social structure. According to them, the state obliged to intervene women veiling and face veiling. They give references to England and America about the state intervention women clothing. It also implies a complicated relationship with the West. The new style of dress is a copycat imposition and shows that some sections of society are corrupt. Ottoman Empire should take the material side of the West as an example, but the spiritual order of Islam should be preserved. Undoubtedly, the most important symbol of this spiritual order is the veiling of women.

6. TURKIST IDEAS ON VEILING AND FACE VEILING

The Turkist is another political and intellectual group in the years of Second Constitutional Period. We have to remind that, the Turkist intellectuals occasionally closes with the Progressivist and İslamist groups. This ideological background rubs elbow with Westernist and Islamist, while at the same time, their starting point of subject and the mainstay of this ideologic group are imaginary or real Turkishness. This group had not gone begging until the years of Balkan Wars and especially the war of Independence. We have to say that, the Turkish nationalism and Turkism emerges as a counter nationalism against the subnationalisms in the Ottoman Empire. From now, I will give how Turkism and later Turkish nationalism had begun to emerge in the nineteenth century. Later, I will give the brief information to what Turkist think about the ‘woman question’ and then I will give some prominent Turkist intellectuals ideas about the veiling and face veiling.

The faith organizes society until the nineteenth century’s ethnic nationalism. Society traditionally organized along religious lines and they were part of ‘Ottoman millet’ system. The history of Late Ottoman Empire included relatively rapid modernization process. It started with Selim III, Mahmud II, The Tanzimat Period (1839-1876), Abdulhamid II (1876-1909). According to David Kushner, the nationalisms of the Empire are important to reveal Turkish nationalism. However, there is an intellectual legacy of Turkish nationalism. He traced the academic studies about the Turks during the long nineteenth century. According to him, Hamidian policies were destined, however, to fail and at the same time to hasten the emergence of Turkish national consciousness, Abdulhamid faced Balkan revolts which ended with Treaty of Berlin(1878), the loss of Cyprus(1878), the loss of Tunisia(1881), Egypt(1882) were important for Ottoman history. The conflict with Greece (1897) again started but also the Balkans began to pullulate with particularism and non-Muslim nationalism.³³⁸

³³⁸ David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism(1876-1908)*, (London: Frank Cass, 1977, p,5)

The Young Turk Era represents the hope for keeping Ottoman Empire under the Ottomanism ideology which had continued for many years. However, the dreams of revolution was shattered by Christian nationalism and invasions and assistance and donation of Great Power for Christian nationalisms. The Balkan War was so significant to the alteration of ideologies from Ottomanism to Turkism. However, the Turkish nationalism revealed sooner or later. Because, the Orientalist studies and Turcology institutes in Europe get into Turkishness as a different identity from Ottoman identity and presents the intellectual background of Turkish nationalism. For the first time, Foreign Minister Ali Paşa (1862) said that the Turks could be unifying element in the empire.³³⁹ According to Kushner, the nationalism had been revealed in Europe but Turks could not have passed unnoticed by Turkish intellectuals and statesmen who came in contact with Europe.³⁴⁰ Turks tried to revive their identity and self-consciousness. For this reason, they used European sources for defining themselves and inspire their studies about the Turks. Over the ages, Turk means Ottoman Empire and especially their Muslim inhabitants. Turks understand themselves in this manner. When Turkish statesmen and intellectuals went outside the Ottoman lands, they came across two different Turkish understanding, Firstly, the ‘terrible Turks’ influenced by early European accounts about the Turks. The terrible Turks remain as a symbol from the early Turkish threats in European lands. The Ottomans are seen Muslim despots over non-Muslim nationalisms and nations in the nineteenth and twentieth century. While at the same time, there were many favorable travel accounts about the Turks. The Turks which could established Turkish national pride on these accounts. The scholarly Oriental studies were also an important source for Turkish nationalism. Joseph de Guignes’s *Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongoles, et Autres Tartares Occidentaux*, Lumley Davids’s *A Grammar of the Turkish Language*, Mustafa Celâleddin Pasha’s *Les Turcs Anciens et Moderne*, Arminius Vambéry’s *The Journey of False Dervish to Central Asia*, Léon Cahun’s *Introduction a l’Histoire de l’Asie* were significant examples which influence early Turkish nationalism.³⁴¹ The aforementioned studies and studies like these provided the recognition of Turkish language and history and the contemporary Turkish speaking people around the Central Asia and Turkic region.³⁴² Also, the Ottoman Turks

³³⁹ Ibid.,p.5

³⁴⁰ Ibid.,p.7.

³⁴¹ Ibid.,9-10 .

³⁴² Ibid.,10.

recognized other Turks through big immigration waves.³⁴³ The immigration waves bring Turkic intellectuals in the empire border. Ismail Gasprinski with his motto ‘unity in language, thought and action’ came to empire through *Tercüman* newspaper.³⁴⁴ Ahmet Ağaoğlu and Hüseyinzade Turan two important figures who joined *Türk Yurdu* journal with other Turkist intellectuals.³⁴⁵ In the time of Abdulhamid II, *Sabah*(Morning), *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*(Interpreter of Truth) and *İkdam*(Effort) were the most stabile newspaper and three of them associate with three of the leading Turkist in the time Ahmet Mithat Efendi, Şemseddin Sami and Necip Asım.³⁴⁶ In this time, the meaning and using of Turk, Turkestan, the language issue, the Turkish and Turkic history were important discussion issues between intellectuals. The Turks before Islam, Muslim Turks were main historical issues of this time. The writers tried to prove Turks are civilized and they were bearers of civilization. Turks spread civilization through war. Turks also serve Islam and Islamic civilization but also protects Islam against assaults. According to them, the Ottoman Turks are the ones who serve Islam the most. According to Kuschner, it appears that while allusions to the various services of the Turks to Islam and Islamic civilization were largely directed at conservatives wishing to uphold the Arab-Islamic character of Ottoman civilization the defence of the Ottomans was motivated more by outside criticism coming from Christian Europe.³⁴⁷ Because, they accused Ottomans as barbarious and uncivilized and in this way they justified the dissolution of Ottoman Empire on behalf of themselves as well as Christian nationalisms in the Empire. For this reason, the Turkish history was not mediatory for Turkish national pride and consciousness but also it is a political issue.³⁴⁸ Before the big land losses, Anatolia was not important for Ottoman Empire. The Anatolia was the source of manpower for military and revenue. From the times of Abdulhamid II and the Kemalist era, the development of Anatolia in the issues of economy, education are significiant. The idea of Reform in Anatolia came into view because of Armenian and Greek nationalisms. The challenge of Non-Turkish elements in Anatolia forced Turkist to imply ancient Turkish ties with Anatolia. The population

³⁴³ Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821–1922*,(The Darwin Press,1995,p)

³⁴⁴ M.Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press,2008,p.12)

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*,p.13.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*,p.15Ş2

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*,p.37.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*,p.38

of Anatolia was another important issue for Turkist because of the Armenian question. Turkist highlighted Anatolia's Turkish character. This trend continued also in the Early Republican Era. In the late years of Abdulhamid II, Anatolia became the Turkish homeland.³⁴⁹ The loss of Balkan lands has disastrous effect on the imperial character of the Ottoman Empire, The Young Turks started their political career with Ottomanism and peaceful coexistence but their dreams shattered. After Balkan War I, Young Turks changed their perception about society and state. The Turks in Anatolia were acquired good reputation maybe forced to acquire good reputation. The Turkist intellectual of Abdulhamid II era did not come to existence consistently and theoretically but it is important for emergence of the Turkish nationalism. They did not challenge Westernism or Islamism and they were not assertive like future Turkist. The economy and social welfare were not part of their writings. The Turkist intellectuals had been revealed in Salonica. The term 'Turkism' began to be used by a group which came out of the New life movement and was influenced by the Pan Turkist coming from Russia.³⁵⁰ The two reviews's writers had shaped Turkism ideas here: *Genç Kalemler (Young Pens)* and *Yeni Felsefe Mecmuası (New Philosophical Review)* Two groups of writers simultanously convened with each other and discussed the problems of Ottoman Empire but specifically to Turkish people. Ziya Gökalp was one of the writers and the supporter of this journal. This review was founded in 1911 by Ömer Seyfettin and Ali Canip Yöntem and it was published 1912. They set a goal of returning national identity in the language and literature. *Genç Kalemler* has not only revealed the basic principles of the national literary movement but also has been a magazine in which these principles give concrete products. It has an important place in the history of Turkish language and literature.³⁵¹ Later on, the National literature movement started within pure and understandable language. According to Niyazi Berkes," the man who turned the 'New Life' movement into Turkism was Ziya Gökalp."³⁵² Later, he moved from Salonica to İstanbul and introduced with Pan-Turkist here. The reason why he came to Istanbul is that Thessaloniki was occupied by the Greek army during the Balkan War.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.,p.54.

³⁵⁰ Berkes, Ibid.,p.344.

³⁵¹ Please look at full transcribition of *Genç Kalemler*. *Genç Kalemler*, trans.İsmail Parlatur and Nurullah Çetin. Ankara: TDK, 2019)

³⁵² Ibid.,p.345.

As I said above, Russian-born Panturkists were close with Islamists.³⁵³ Yusuf Akçura and friends founded firstly *Türk Ocağı*, and later try to develop the methods to develop Turkish and Turkic people's identity, language, economy. *Türk Yurdu* journal keep Russian Turks and Ottoman Turks under the same umbrella. However, their understanding of nationality were different than each other. Pan-Turkist mean that it is a race, while at the same time, Ziya Gökalp meant that it is a culture. Turkism was merged with pan Turkism through the nationalist society that called Turkish Heart (*Türk Ocağı*), founded in 1912, and the review called *Türk Yurdu* (The Turkish Homeland) founded in 1911. 161 issues were published between 1911-1918. *Türk Yurdu* magazine entered its life like other ideological and intellectual groups that experienced great intellectual turmoil and played a role in determining Turkish national goals. Articles had been published in the fields of language, history, society, culture, economics, literature, art and politics. Ziya Gökalp was one of the writer of this journal. Also, Ziya Gökalp was sociologist and he theorizes Turkish nationalism even if his ideas were not coherent. The collapse of ITC politics caused to political Turkish nationalism. Then, the Turkish nationalism triumphed in the Early Republican Era. The ideas of Ziya Gökalp shaped the society's perception of Early Republican Era. *Yeni Mecmua* was another important periodicals for Turkist ideology. This short lived journal had started to publication with the title of a weekly journal on science, art and ethics in 1917 with the help of Party of Union and Progress.

We can summarize the ideas of Turkist intellectuals about the society and the Turkish woman like this: One of the issues that the pre-Republican Turkish Hearth has emphasized the idea of representing women in society. This thought stemmed from both the understanding of modernization and their reliance on the old Turkish culture. According to the Turkist, men and women should be equal in family and social life. Turkism, while seeing women as an important element in the raising of nationalist generations as mothers, also tried to attract them to social and economic life. They regard a revolution as necessary to change the place of women in society for the development of society. They supported women visibility in society. However, while Islamist and Progressivist groups were determining the limits of social visibility of women through appearance of women, the Turkist group was extremely cautious to declare the ideas about the veiling and face veiling issue. The main difference between

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Turkist and I slamist and Progressivist group that always take a reference from history in every social issue. From now, I will give some examples from the Turkist's ideas about the veiling and face veiling.

6.1. ZİYA GÖKALP(1876-1924)

The first name I want to talk about is Ziya Gökalp. Cinsî ahlâk article is published by Yeni Mecmua. In this article, he gives the history of women from ancient times to the contemporary era. The main issue of the article is the causes of gender segregation throughout history. He refers here to the veiling issue. Below, I will give a brief summary of the article.

Sexual morality is experiencing the last period of the crisis in our country today. In a society that is in a period of change, such crises are usual. The only remedy for the treatment of these crises to separate the in-date and outdated rules of sexual morality and to show what verifiable and scientific principles of in date rules of sexual morality are based on. Sexual morality has followed the evolution of religion like other moral circles, so we will analyze the evolution of sexual morality by linking it to the development of religion.³⁵⁴

He began to talk about the consequences of women being a taboo. He gives a reference historical roots of spatial gender segregation and veiling from different societies. He used anthropology sources in this writing.

The third consequence of women being taboo is covering intimate parts of the body and veiling. As society increase in number and the violence of the social conscious increased so, the strength of the taboo increased, the aura of women and men gradually expanded. In the end, it became the veiling for women and the form of clothing for men today.³⁵⁵

Interestingly, In the early twentieth century, he did not differentiates sex and gender and can not constructing gender roles but he knows the gender role is a part of social change.

Those who think that legal difference arises because the differences of body are immutable, consider this difference as constant and eternal. However, the fact that these changes according to societies and times shows that these legal differences are based on social beliefs, not on the differences of body. The fact that women are taboo for men is only a mystery. However, in the view of science, this belief has a truth, like every mystery.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁴ Ziya Gökalp, "Cinsi Ahlak" Yeni Mecmua. N.9. (6 Eylül 1917)p,162.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.p.162-163..

³⁵⁶Ibid.,p.163.

After Islam made all men and women obliged to be honorable, God ordered some special provisions about the wives of the prophets and the woman family member of companions. For example, God ordered every Muslim man should talk to the Prophet Muhammad's wives from behind the curtain. Free women who were wives and daughters of companions together with the family of the prophet, were ordered to separate themselves from the concubines by lowering their jilbâb on their foreheads. It is seen that the religions which has created such distinctions that separate the elite from the ordinary people in other religious groups.³⁵⁷

He gives here, the change in women covering in Islamic history and how does veiling became common between Muslim women. In the period of the Companions, they subjected these two types of women to completely separate judgments. When this period came to an end, instead of the distinctive nature of the jilbâb, it was replaced by a veiling. Hasan Basri accepted the jilbab covering of the odalisque and Ibn'ül Kattan accepted for the beautiful concubines. Because, gradually, class differences among Muslim women had begun to disappear. Those who were originally concubines who want also wanted to rise to the rank of aristocratic women. Thus, the vault of the hijab which was unique to the wives of the Prophet, and the jilbab (jilbab), which is unique to the wives of the Companions, included all women without dividing into free women and concubines.³⁵⁸

He continues his writing with the issue of face veiling and spatial gender segregation. According to him, as for the shape of the jilbâb during the time of the rightly guided caliphs, it is similar to the current headscarf. The cloak of today's veiling can also replace jilbab. During this period, there were neither face veil nor yashmak, nor there were separate apartments for men and women. These customs, which are the consequences of the patriarchal family, were inherited from Muslims from Iran and Greeks who had been passed through this period. However, these bid'ahs remained only in cities as a result of economic and social imperatives. It did not spread to the villages and tribes that avoided imitation and aristocracy. Village and tribal women

³⁵⁷ Ibid.,p.164.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.,p.164

did not accept other customs taken from foreign civilizations they wear jilbab like free women in the period of the rightly guided caliphs.³⁵⁹

He refers to the contemporary veiling understanding here. According to him, in the last century, a social division of labor has started; Just as in the villages, women get a job in the economic and social professions and joined the social division of labor. They began to feel this kind of veiling is bidath unnecessary and harmful in big cities. Since the veil was ordered by Islam which was implemented as a headscarf in the villages and tribes, headscarf was seen as enough to cover the private part of the body in big cities, and the headscarf started to be used on behalf of cloak and veiling.”³⁶⁰

He says that women who -veiled or unveiled women requires equal respect. The veiled women who do not show their face and hands, and live a closed life at home, should be respected again, because, their purpose is superiority in sexual morality. Even though those were originally taken from foreign civilizations, their actions are worthy to respect, However, these honorable women should not expect women who have to work in the public sphere to get their knowledge and skills, earn themselves living, or fulfill their professional and national duties for their nation, to dress like them or to be locked up at home. What sexual morality demands from women, as well as men, is honor and good morality. The veiling is neither a distinguishing characteristic of Islam nor a distinguishing characteristic of morality. Veiling is a matter of custom, as we have explained at length above. Indeed, strict disobedience to the established order is not correct, even though it was originally borrowed from foreign civilizations. Because in the established order, customs also have a more or less moral value. Therefore, women do not have the right to break all customs in one coup.³⁶¹

However, he is sure that women will tear off their veiling and face veiling gradually in time, and he advises conservative men not to oppose this gradual change. Unless the public understanding of honor changes, it is not enough to change the understanding of the elite alone. The understanding of honor, like the other understanding of morality, can change gradually from being an example to reality with

³⁵⁹ Ibid.,p.164..

³⁶⁰ Ibid.,p.164-165.

³⁶¹ Ibid.,p.167.

the replacement of material veiling with spiritual veiling. But on the other hand, conservative people should now accept this slow change.³⁶²

Like all social institutions, customs about sexual morality also change due to social reasons and evolution with social development. In other words, when we understand the source of these customs, neither religion nor nationality, and be sure those are taken from foreign civilizations, we should not insist on this movement. The duty of conservatism in this field consists of showing strength and persistence in the preservation of honor, good morals and decency, which are essential in sexual morality. Changes in customs and fashions are the necessary consequences of natural laws. Therefore, it is time to deal with the true principles of sexual morality, not with figures and examples.³⁶³

As you can see, Ziya Gökalp handled the issue in a very scientific manner and used objective language. He did not make any statements that would lead to any discussion with Westernist and Islamist writers. He took his references from both history, anthropology, and Islamic sciences and strengthened his arguments. In the conclusion part, she stated that women's clothing can change, but this change should not be abrupt but as a result of a social change.

6.2. AHMET HİKMET MÜFTÜOĞLU (1870-1927)

Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu is one of the authors of both Servet-i Fünun and National literature movement. He lived for 57 years and he has been seen the fall of the Ottoman Empire, national struggle, and the newly founded republican Turkey. In many of his stories he wrote during this period, he fictionalized Ottoman modernization and nationalism issues by focusing on female characters. He started authorship career with the translations. His third translation was published the the title of *Tuvalet yahut Letâfet-i Âzâ* from Baronne de Stoff'. The preface of the translation was written by Madam Gülnar and headed the new chapter on Turkish clothes veiling and ferâce.³⁶⁴

In the classical historiography, the fictional writings were not the work of historians. However, in this thesis, I will use fictional works from the Turkist group. Because, as you may see below, these artefacts are precious to understand the mindset of writer and the world that surrounded him. As I said above, he lived in a period of intense social and political transformation. This process covers the transition of Turkish women from traditional lifestyle to modern life and visibility in the public sphere.

³⁶² Ibid.,p.168.

³⁶³ Ibid.,p.168..

³⁶⁴ Baronne De Staff, trans. Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu, *Tuvalet yahut Letâfet-i Âzâ*. (İstanbul, 1893.)

Many of the author's works focus on women who have experienced this transition and their conflicts about the world which surrounds them. In this context, the author's work of Servet-i Fünun period, *Hârîstan* attracted attention among orientalist and was translated into German by Fr Schrader.³⁶⁵ *Hârîstan* consists of 22 stories and 21 of these stories contain female characters. At the center of the stories are some women who are not corrupt, others are non-Muslim women and women who are struggling to not corrupt. *Lâne-i Münkesir* is the first story that I want to refer to. In this story, there are four characters: Neriman, Mihriban Hamra, Kamra. Neriman is the husband of Mihriban and the cousins of Hamra and Kamra. There is a rivalry between Mihriban and Kamran. Neriman prefer to adopts a Western lifestyle like his cousins and he always compare the two women. Neriman says that, "Those who see you on the street, that's nice creature is Neriman's wife, a happy man. They whisper to each other this pearl is mine and the pot of this rose that it is me again."³⁶⁶ This wish seems so European in style and Mihriban resists Neriman's European style wishes. Mihriban is an uncorrupted woman who wants to keep the traditional Muslim boundaries of intimacy. Another reason why neriman does not want to go out is potentially meeting with Hamra. Hamra is also criticize her because of her attitude about attire. Ahmet Hikmet fictionalizes degenerate women in the time of Ottoman modernization through Hamra who loves adornment, follows the fashion, and plays the piano. while at the same time Mihriban signifies non-degenerate women. Mihriban is an uncorrupt woman but she does not understand the Western style of wishes of Neriman. Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu also said, the reasons of the break up marriage. These young people married at a young age without knowing each other. Mihriban could not finish her education because of how early she married. Therefore, she could not understand his wishes. So, Neriman wanted to marry also Hamra and Mihriban refuses to let him and leaves the house. Neither Neriman nor Mihriban is happy. Neriman moves abroad with the ambition to earn money and marries there, but pays the price of his actions by being deceived by the foreign woman. Mihriban also marries a man older than him, but cannot find happiness. Years later, her child Rana grows up, and her father agrees to this marriage on condition that he remarries with her mother. Thus, the story ends with a happy ending. The main idea that comes from the story is this: What is not from our

³⁶⁵ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, "Ahmet Hikmet" İslam Ansiklopedisi. C.1(1978,183-184)

³⁶⁶ Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu, Ş. Aliş (hızl.), *Hârîstan*. İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2005, p.40

national culture brings instant happiness, if we live in our own culture and tradition, we will live happily ever after.

The another story from Ahmet Hikmet's is Hüs-n-ü Aşk. Mübin is the main character of story who wants to marry with beautiful woman. His mother finds a girl for him. He has not seen bride until the first day marriage but his dreams were shattered by the bride's ugliness because of using veiling and face veiling. "I thought that the women who wears the black veil and the black face veil are stars which wrapped in clouds."³⁶⁷ As Mubin says this marriage is a disaster and the cause of this tragedy is the marriage with the encouragement of families, which is the main problem of arranged marriages. The fact that men and women get married without seeing each other, especially that the man does not see the woman he will marry, had been a problem since Şinasi's work 'Poet Marriage'.

The another story named after "Alparslan Masalı" in Çağlayanlar. In this story, Türkan is the main character of the story. Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu describes Türkân in these words:" Türkân Hatun, wrapped in a red veiling, a part of her white hair flowing down her shoulders, some of them shuddered at their head, and now it resembles the white smoke that looked like a smoking flame."³⁶⁸ We can clearly understand, her white hair and red veiling represented the Turkish flag. This so symbolic attitude suggests that the women as a mother and lover affiliate with the homeland, the country's land, the flag.³⁶⁹

6.3. ÖMER SEYFETTİN(1884-1920)

He graduated from the Military Academy in 1903. In 1909, he was appointed to the Ottoman Balkans, where he encounters Christian nationalisms. What he encounters during this mission has a great impact on his writings. He published his writings *Tanîn* and *Türk Yurdu*.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Ibid., "Hüs-n-ü Aşk" .,p.94. "Gördüğüm siyah car, siyah peçe altındaki kadınları tamamiyle bulutlara sarınmış bir Zühre zannedirdim."

³⁶⁸ Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu, edt by Fethi Tevetoğlu "Alparslan Masalı", *Çağlayanlar* (İstanbul: Meb Yayınları, 1971 p.22).

³⁶⁹ Please look at, Afsaneh Najmabadi," The Erotic Vatan [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: To Love, to Possess, and To Protect" 1997, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* V. 39, N.3 (Jul., 1997), pp. 442-467.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., Ülken.,p.444.

He took a part in the staff of *Genç Kalemler* magazine in 1911. The unsigned article titled "New Language" in the first issue of *Genç Kalemler* was written by Ömer Seyfettin. In the article in which simplification in language is defended, the necessity of a national language in order to create a national literature is emphasized. In 1913, he returns to Istanbul. Until his death, he had been writing many short stories and newspaper articles. Below, I will give his stories that use veiling as a motive.³⁷¹

Ömer Seyfettin is another person that we trace the Turkist discourse on the veiling issue. Two of them especially used the European or non-Muslim women as a metaphor to reflect European insincerity through women figures in their literary works. The Muslim/Turk women were depicted as respectable, well behaved, modest and chaste, The European/Non-Muslim women were the exact opposite. I am firstly take a reference from *Primo: A Turkish Boy*. In this story, Kenan had married an Italian women whose name was Grazia.

The harem side, too, started rippling in Kenan's memory; he started seeing his mother with her head covered in green, as well as his saintly sister who always kept her gaze on the floor, and who bore a pink scarf on her shoulder like a halo. How far from these dear bodies, from his own origins and essence he now was...³⁷²

In this scene, Kenan thinks about his Western style house with Grazia. He compares two houses and his sister and mother women relatives. The Turkish woman is virtuous and like an angel. However, Grazia did not resemble these women. The non-Muslim and foreign women were part of erotic scenes but we can not encounter any erotic scene in which Turkish woman act. Turkish women in the stories were always veiled. The dose of using sexuality and the sexual scenes are so rare when it comes Turkish women but when the issue was a non-Turk women, the dose of humiliating scenes increase. The foreign women became a sexual object. The Turkish women stay in defensive line against the immoral wishes of foreign men. In the later pages of *Primo: A Turkish boy* Kenan decided to stay in Salonika instead of escaping here.

Here is my offer to you: If you leave this place and remain Italian, know that there can be nothing whatsoever between us any longer. If you want to stay with me and not break up our family, you shall become wholly Turkish! You will have to forsake your

³⁷¹ For all the writings of Ömer Seyfettin, please look at: Nazım Hikmet Polat, Şair Ömer Seyfettin: Bütün Şiirleriyle, (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2017), Nazım Hikmet Polat, Ömer Seyfettin Bütün Nesirleri (Fıkralar, Makaleler, Mektuplar, Çeviriler), (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2016)

³⁷² Ömer Seyfettin, "Primo: Türk Çocuğu" in *Genç Kalemler*, V.3 no 13 Aralık 1911, pp 3-27. Ömer Seyfettin, ed by. Hülya Argunşah, Ömer Seyfettin: Bütün Eserleri (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1999, p.238.) .

father, your country, your customs, your friends! Your name will have to change ! You will wear the çarşaf , learn Turkish, and not pronounce a single letter of Italian... If it suits you, say yes. If not, you are at liberty! You can go wherever you want as of today. I will divorce you. We shall part company never to see each other again!³⁷³

As you understand, the Turkishness and Turkish women meant that the veiled women. If Grazia wanted to be married with Kenan, she will be a Turk and she should use the veiling. The veiling here is the manifestation of Turkishness. The veiling as a Islamic symbol is a part of Turkish identity. You can read the answer of the Grazia.

Ah, I didn't heed her. I trusted you instead. I couldn't have thought it possible that you would so revert to savagery; that you would start heaping abuse on civilized people, on Westerners; that you would attempt to make me Turkish, to close me up inside the çarşaf, and to turn me into an animal. Ah Kenan, you were so gentle and civilized...³⁷⁴

Conversely, Grazia voices the attitude of the Westerners towards the Turks. Grazia symbolizes the Western attitude toward Turks in her dialogues East or Turkishness on symbolizes on the character of Kenan. Both of them see that the veiling is a symbol of Turkishness but, while Kenan attributes a positive meaning to it, for Grazia it is uncivilized and barbarism. The veiled Turkish women specifically mother and sister symbolizes chastity, obedience, innocence of Turkish women.

As you see, in the story of Ömer Seyfettin, the Turkish/Muslim women and the Non Turkish/Christian women are built contrary each other. They are gendered national identity. While Turkish women reflect the Turkish nation's chastity and honour, the non-Turkish women reflect the characteristics of their own society: inhumanness, insincerity, intrigant. In Primo: A Turkish boy, Kenan see the real face of the West through Grazia.

The another story from Ömer Seyfettin was published with the title of *Aşk Dalgası* (The Love Wave) in *Genç Kalemler*.³⁷⁵ This story begins on the ship and is based on two old friends' conversations about love, society and women.

Everywhere has its own society, a social conscience, which, contrary to all sciences, logic, sciences, philosophies, rules in the most absolute and cruel way. Here, in our society in the society of the Turks, love is strictly prohibited. It is forbidden like a hell machine, a bomb, a box of dynamite ... When a Turk turns fourteen, he cannot see the

³⁷³Ibid.,247.

³⁷⁴Ibid.,248.

³⁷⁵ Ömer Seyfettin, "Aşk Dalgası" *Genç Kalemler*, C.4 S.24-25(10 Temmuz'a mahsûs nüsha) 10 Temmuz 1328/23 Temmuz 1912. Ömer Seyfettin, ed by. Hülya Argunşah, *Ömer Seyfettin: Bütün Eserleri* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1999,p259-269.) The translation is mine.

face of another woman other than his mother, sister, sister, and finally his aunt and aunt. So who will he love? Because in order to love, one has to see it first....³⁷⁶

In our society, mothers, who know very well how the saying "The first duty of a woman is to be beautiful" is a dangerous lie, prevent their daughters from being as beautiful as they can, from being conscious, from grace and freedom. The constant model of the advice that these mothers whisper to their daughters' ears while going out is this: "Daughter! Put your face veil down. Put your hands in the veiling, do not lift your head, they will say hussy ... Look in front of you, don't walk like Frankish wives. Slowly. Don't move your chest forward. They will trail behind us. They will call you horny. Your name will get a bad reputation You will never marry, etc. etc ..!"³⁷⁷

The story is almost over and the hero says the following as the last words while they get off from ship.

Now women too...They are coming out slowly like cursed, banished, sick, dumb puppets carrying very heavy, hidden chains of slavery and cruelty under their dark black veiling. They are trying not to fall by bowing their heads. They were trying to see where they stepped under their thick black veil to not touch anything, not to hit each other, and not to take a wrong step.³⁷⁸

Another story of Ömer Seyfettin' is *Bahar ve Kelebekler* was written in 1911 and published by Genç Kalemler Journal. To summarize the story briefly, the story takes place between a grandmother of her granddaughter. In this story, we can trace the different expectations, impressions, dreams, disappointments, and differences of world view due to generation difference. The young girl embodies the constitutional era's women's wishes while at the same time, the grandmother was embodying the Tanzimat type modernization. The young girl is reading a novel. When her grandmother asks her what the plot of the novel is, she says "Desenchantee". When she asks what does it mean, she says there are "women who are deprived of joy and bliss". When she asked who they are, she replies by saying "We are... Turkish women. The grandmother says that it is not the Turkish women who are unhappy, but the new generation of Turkish women, because they fall on "poisonous books"

All right, great grandmother," she said, I will throw off this book. I do not read. Then, shall I go mad in the loneliness in this boring house, in this indestructible prison for us? I read to have fun, console myself.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶Ibid.,p.262.

³⁷⁷Ibid.,p.266

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³⁷⁹ Ömer Seyfettin," Bahar ve Kelebekler", Genç Kalemler. V.2 N.1 1911

The grandmother had remembered her life 80 years ago, She thought that thanks to the gender segregation in houses, both sexes lived in different realms and that each sex had its fun and pleasures.

Indeed, eighty years ago, women had to be happy. As the new generation read, understood, and is close to men, they were estranged from their primordial femininity and womanhood; the rebellion and revolution in the souls have started. The things of femininity, which old Turkish womanhood regarded as a cause of bliss, seemed to them like a chain from fire and iron. They looked at their houses, which were silent and unknown like a private temple, as imprisoned, their black veiling and thick face veilings were crushing, withering, merciless covers of captivity.³⁸⁰

The grandmother did not attach the meaning that her granddaughter gave to the spatial gender segregation, the veiling and face veiling. Her understanding of veiling and face veiling and spatial gender segregation of Islam was distorted by French novels.

She has dreamed that the promulgation of the Constitution with all noises, joys, speeches, theaters, and conferences of a year before. She was hearing the eternal clapping of hands...How happy those days were for them. He hoped for a moment that they would be saved from this black and tight veiling and that they would gain the human right.³⁸¹

And then she gazes outside to see a butterfly and tries to get some insight into the fate of the Turkish woman, but she saw a yellow butterfly and her grandmother sees a black one. She return to read the book.

The young girl opened her black book. It completely covered her face like a dead black butterfly. She is not reading anymore. She thought with hereditary delusions, butterflies did not lie, that the misfortune of the new generation, the current Turkish woman, was only disaster, grief, death. She thought that, They would not tear their black veiling forever, they would wither without blooming like unknown flowers, and that they would die before born.³⁸²

These kind of women characters have been seen in the stories of Ömer Seyfettin. Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu and Ömer Seyfettin present their ideas about the society-specifically to women issue- in the form of story. To come to the fore in Turkish literature as of the Tanzimat period. women's issues started to become popular in the second half of the nineteenth century. The woman's visibility in the public sphere made her visible in the novels and stories as well. In the context of women's movements, it is seen that important women's issues such as inequality between women and men in the legal field, polygamy, and education of women were brought to the agenda by the

³⁸⁰ .Ibid.,p.

³⁸¹ .Ibid.,p.

³⁸² Ibid.,p.

leading intellectuals of the period in the newspapers and magazines published in the Tanzimat period, the Servet-i Fünûn period and the National Literature periods. Parallel to this, it can be said that "women" and women issues have an important place in the novels and stories of the same period. Müftüoğlu; who grew up with an understanding of literature in the Tanzimat period and Servet-i Fünûn. Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu, who wrote works both in his period and in the National Literature period; in many of his works, he deals with women's issues of the period and places "women" at the center of the concepts of Westernism and nationalism that he focuses on. Some of the women at the center of the stories were portrayed as female characters who did not degenerate in the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire. In the position of the other "non-corrupt women" are corrupted women and foreign women who falter in this modernization process. Ömer Seyfettin also focused on the women's issue. It is over-westernized but also criticizes the traditional type of woman. Apart from this, while the veiling is criticized for preventing men and women from flirting, it also becomes a tool that symbolizes the nobility and innocence of Turkish women. In the stories of both of them, the veiled women were praised and the veiling is used as a leitmotif to imply superiority of Turkish Muslim woman. Traditionally veiled Turkish Muslim woman praised there because, it is a cultural symbolism.

6.4.AHMET AĞAOĞLU(1869-1939)

Ahmet Ağaoğlu is the another important person to the emergence of Turkish nationalism in the Ottoman lands. His pan-Turkist ideas were seen as valuable in the Constitutional Period. In the Armistice period, he was arrested with the some other intellectuals of ITC period such as Ziya Gökalp and the ideas which I will cite here which is taken from his *Üç Medeniyet* (Three Civilizations). He wrote in the *Sebillürreşad* and *Hikmet* journals in the his first years of Ottoman Empire and it is the another example of the connection between Islamist and Turkist.³⁸³ He followed Islamist nationalist way of nationalism because of the Islamist politics of ITC in this era. His articles were also published in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, *Türk Yurdu*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *Le Jeune Turc*, *İslam*,³⁸⁴ His Turkist ideas can be expressed as follows: He

³⁸³ Fahri Sakal, Ağaoğlu Ahmet Bey, (Türk Tarih Kurumu: Ankara, 1999,p.79) Also, please look at: Cemil Aydın, The Idea of Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History, (Harvard University Press, 2017)

³⁸⁴ Ibid.,p.75-77.

thought that the Turkish identity was indispensable for Islam. Besides, he found it useful to benefit from the demographic and geostrategic opportunities of the Turkish and Muslim communities. His Iranism, Turanism, Islamist Turkist mental career ended with a Turkism that remained within the borders of the Misak-i Milli.

This book consists of three civilizations, religion, morality, individual, family, society, state, and government chapters. His rare writing is referred to the women issue. We encounter the women issue in specific to veiling in *Three Civilizations*. In this book, he compares and contrasts Islamic civilization, European or Western civilization, Buddha-Brahman civilization. This work is written in 1919-1920 during the Maltese captivity and published in the *Türk Yurdu*. What is the civilization question takes a part in the introduction of the book. “The common way of life among the people who live in various civilizations was given in this book. He defines civilization as a lifestyle and defines civilization in this way. Within the concept of civilization, all material and spiritual events should be put into this concept.”³⁸⁵ For example, If an ordinary man goes from Istanbul to Marrakech, Mesopotamia, Cairo, Mecca, Damascus, Baku, Tehran, Shiraz, Kabul, Lahore, Calcutta, he wouldn't feel completely foreign in any of these towns; he sees himself among the signboards, shapes, behaviors, and attitudes he is more or less accustomed to them. People's dressing styles, livelihoods, customs are more or less similar to what they are used to in their own homes. The same turban, the same aba, the same veiling for women, the same adhan, the same rituals, the same prayers, and so on. This resemblance is not only external appearance. It goes further: It includes mentalities, intelligence, subjects it is engaged in. An ordinary Istanbulite thinks like an ordinary Marrakeshian, Qabilian Calcuttians like himself, deals with issues that occupy him, conceives in the same way.”³⁸⁶

According to him, “we regard religion as a set of principles that dominate all the material and spiritual parts of our lives, rather than a conscience command that regulates the spiritual bond between the creator and the people. Indeed, the Koran interferes with worldly affairs and arranges some parts of them. However, Islam is not only the Quran, nor is Christianity only the Bible. Both religions, together with these books, consist of the whole of traditions, narrations and hadiths, the behavior, views,

³⁸⁵ Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Üç Medeniyet*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Kültür Yayınları, 1972, p.1)”

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p-2-3-5.

opinions and interpretations of imams and religious leaders.”³⁸⁷If morality consists of the views of good and evil and the rules and sanctions on which these views are based, we have to admit that we are outside and under all contemporary societies that surround us. In fact, in our country, almost all other moral principles, apart from the rules of sexual intercourse, are devoid of sanctions. Morality does not rise above the waist. The sanctions were belonging to this area is specifically the women in the eyes of the public opinion.”³⁸⁸

According to him, religious scholars should not deal with women's clothing, instead of saving Islam from superstitions. Thus, the strengthening of the Islamic civilization could be achieved again. He praises the Islamist modernist thinkers in the Arab world and compares them to the Ottoman Muslim scholars. He says that, If Islamic scholars were able to fight on the paths of Sheikh Abduh and Sheikh Jamaluddin Afghani and Musa Begiyef and they had saved the high ideas of Islam from the superstitions and taken them into our schools, of course, these thoughts would show influence and it will be significant agent to strengthen of the Islamic peoples. It is a pity that the religious chiefs, who have the title of shaykh al-Islam but are a stain for Islam, imitating the al-Kâim billâh's of the tenth-century in- the twentieth century, such as Mustafa Sabri, who drew dress for women and tried to prohibit them from going to the streets, of course, They would never have a soul and big heart enough to understand Islam.³⁸⁹The family organization in our country does not have a positive impact on the child's psyche in terms of sociology. The inequality of law between husband and wife, the introverted way of life caused by veiling, the division of the family in different parts of the house cause to deprive the child of the birth of virtues that are considered important in terms of sociology.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁷ Ibid.,p.20.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.,p.42..

³⁸⁹ Ibid.,p.61..

³⁹⁰ Ibid.,p.76.

6.5. YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI(1884-1958)

Yahya Kemal escaped to Europe in 1903 through the letter of Şekip Bey. One of the reasons that attracted him to Paris was the fascination of the Young Turk movement. Yahya Kemal is soon disappointed. Here, he finds the JönTürk movement as "there is nothing in the field of ideas, again there is nothing in the field of action." There were many intellectual figures in Paris and Europe, both during the reign of Abdulhamid, and between the years 1908 and 1912. Ali Kemal, Hüseyin Siret, Abdullah Cevdet, younger ones such as: Hamdullah Suphi, Abdulkhak Şinasi Hisar are also here.³⁹¹ This is the research period of the first period of his art.³⁹² This period is also a period in which Bulgarian and Greek nationalisms were active, and he continues his education at Sciences Politiques. Here, he took history lessons from Albert Sorel and became interested in the history of the Turkish nation, and began to read Leon Cahun. His ideas about nationalism began to change after this period. After he had been living in Europe for nine years, he returns to Istanbul in 1912. In Istanbul, he first met Yakup Kadri and got caught up in the Nev-Greek movement, but he easily gave up this love because of the political conditions of the period. Also, the Balkan War had started in 1912 and it is also effective in the abandonment of this movement. Ömer Seyfeddin also criticized the idea of the Nev-Yunani movement in the story of the Enemy of Boykot that was published in Tanin and implied Yahya Kemal and Yakup Kadri as two men who recruited the Greek navy and served them.³⁹³ The Orient is like the "Double Rooms" that Baudelaire describes in his beautiful prose poem. We sleep in the pomp and beauty of one and wake up in the misery of the other. Yahya Kemal did not lose this fascination from East.³⁹⁴ Pier Loti, who is a "Turkish friend", has a great influence on Yahya Kemal. As can be seen from the article taken from the *Yeni İnci* journal.³⁹⁵ His ideas are influenced by Pier Loti.³⁹⁶ Beşir Ayvazoğlu also confirms this influence. Yahya Kemal's understanding and consideration of Ottoman civilization and the

³⁹¹ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Yahya Kemal, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1962,p.72)

³⁹² Ibid.,p.75.

³⁹³ Beşir Ayvazoğlu, Eve Dönen Adam(Ötüken Yayınları: İstanbul,p.38) Ömer Seyfettin, haz.,Hülya Argunşah Hikayeler I.(İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2017,p.380-388) Ömer Seyfettin, "Boykotaj Düşmanı" Tanin(1914) p.3-4.

³⁹⁴ Tanpınar, Ibid.,p.24

³⁹⁵ Yahya Kemal, "Yeni Kadınlığa Dair Musahabe" Yeni İnci N.2, (Temmuz 1922), p.3-4

³⁹⁶ Compiled by., Zeynep Çelik,Avrupa Şark'ı Bilmez: Eleştirel Bir Söylem(1872-1932).(Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları: İstanbul,2020) Although it was criticized by many intellectuals and writers of the period, Loti was embraced by Yahya Kemal. He was criticized by Tevfik Fikret, Ömer Lütfi, İzzet Melih, Nazım Hikmet and Ahmet Haşim. You can find the critics of aforementioned intellectuals.

Muslim society annoyed us when we laboured the point because of the resemblance Pierre Loti's Orientalistic understanding of him.³⁹⁷ He compares the Eastern woman and Turkish woman take first place, However, the situation has began to change because of transforming in women clothes.

Until just fifty years ago, Istanbul ladies were at the top of the Orient world; Their beauty, delicacy, elegance, walk, Turkish dialects, manners and many other virtues were remembered by admirers in everywhere: Muslim women from Egypt, Tunisia, Caucasus, Iran and even India see Turkish women as a French women. The Turkish woman was to the eyes of Asian women what the "Parisian woman" was to the eyes of European women at that time; even more than that. The Turkish woman gradually lost this high position after the day she started to become European. It seems that it will be lost altogether;

He implies here the popular Orientalist discourse and he confirms sexualized Western gaze.

If people appreciate Turkish women in Istanbul yet, this preference is for two reasons. One, because the Turkish number attracts curiosity. The other is that no matter how much it is, Turkish woman does not completely lose its status and glory in the past. . But if a little more time passes, on the one hand, this curiosity of the Europeans will be void, on the other hand, the ladies of Istanbul lose their status and glory, and become Frankish puppets.”³⁹⁸

He refers Pierre Loti and he continues to highlight Orientalist discourse: He says that, Pier Loti's famous novel about the new women of Istanbul had a sad meaning that the ladies could understand. We broke Pier Loti's "desenchante girls" title with a completely wrong translation like "nâ şâd girls". Pier Loti, while saying “desenchante girls”, was talking about Turkish women who lost the enchantment. If we translate this famous denomination, which everyone understands the meaning of all over the world, correctly, it means "girls who have lost their magic and its enchantment". These attributes, which Pier Loti gave to the new Turkish woman, discovered a great event in the Turkish world. When he discovered this event, we were burning with the longing of European civilization;³⁹⁹

During the Abdulhamid and Abdulaziz periods, the Turkish woman of Istanbul has changed a lot, became very modern, and has evolved very much. It was very different from the old Turkish women. The women in the Egyptian courts envisioned Istanbul, they loved Istanbul women as the beautiful piece of the Islamic world. Such admiration of women in Istanbul is seen in the works of the most distinguished European writers who traveled to Istanbul at that time. I suppose that if Turkish women has continued on her path of natural evolution, the Turkish woman would still be as genuine and as free as it is today, but she would not be a European puppet like today, she would preserve her magic and enchantment. The vagation of natural evolution become a fact because of governess, Sevres schools, French novels which we write Today I brought to mind the most distinguished ladies of Istanbul wholly European in politeness; if all

³⁹⁷ Ayvazoğlu, Ibid.,41.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.,p.3.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.,p.3

Turkish women were like these women, the Turkish nation would disappear on the world after forty or fifty years later: ⁴⁰⁰

As you see, Yahya Kemal himself like any other Orientalist continues to exoticize Istanbul woman. He did not dissent to the tearing of veiling and face veiling because of Islam and conservatist attitude. However, he keeps the old fashion to protect a Turkish women's attraction and glory.

Except from a very limited class that has completely lost its national spirit, all the modern Turkish women and men do not like the general situation of today: They longingly desire that the progress of Turkish women also will be national advance. How can Turkish women advance in the way of national development. I am thinking that what happens is always done by desire, enthusiasm and passion. For example, desire, enthusiasm and ambition always raised the present-day Westernization to this level. If, at the time when Istanbul women began to fall out of fashion in Westernization, if the women of Istanbul, who had a national feeling, were drawn to the desire, enthusiasm and ambition to be the first in the Islamic world, rather than being in the secondary position between Western women, a great revolution immediately begins, just with the impulse of these feelings. The Turkish women were beautiful in the harem, they will be more beautiful today in liberty. A little while after the spread of this new passion, we see that the tastes and flavors have changed in the way of living, in having fun, in everything, The pleasures of the Orient, Islam and Turkishness permeate the whole life. The Turkish woman has found her old magic and enchantment.⁴⁰¹

The male intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire also wrote in women's journals. We can see that their writing style in the women's journal is more didactic instead of argumentative style in weekly journals and newspapers. Also, we have to add that many male intellectuals or their women relatives were the owner or editors in chief positions in the journal. In these journals, we encounter the forgotten names in the Early Republican era or the names which have a legacy in the Early Republican Era. The *Süs* journal is the first women magazine which I want to refer. Mehmet Rauf is the editor in chief of *Süs* journal. It had been published fifty five issue between the years 1923-1924. In this journal, you can find the interviews of contemporary intellectuals about the answers of 'women question'. Celal Sahir, Cenap Şahabettin, Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, Faik Ali, Filorinalı Nazım, Halide Nusret, Mehmet Rauf, Suat Dervis, Süheyla Muhterem, names who are other authors of the journal.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.,p.3-4..

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.,p.4.

6.6. SÜLEYMAN BAHİRİ(?-?)

Süleyman Bahri: He administered the '*Kadın*' (Woman) journal that published in 1912. The article "Woman and Dress" reflects Fatma Nesibe Hanım's views on clothing. His transliteration to these ideas in *Süs* Journal shows that he agrees on the ideas of Fatma Nesibe Hanım. Therefore, I deem suitable to add this article here.⁴⁰²

According to him, The Turkish women have a shape unique to ourselves, Beautifully dressed Turkish women are like lively advertisements of various businesses. I have seen very few well-dressed women dressed in a determined manner, not with their own personal care, but with semi-determined taste. Besides, look, ladies, what kind of grief, what kind of fear, I do not talk about the national and individual dress. Do not think that I will return to the fashion that once mimicked an Arab robe called the national veiling with a ridiculous and hesitant freak! It was a disaster for the taste of Istanbul women. We need to have a consistent and national taste, let us at least prefer the clothes of a distant or close nation until that blessed taste is established in us.⁴⁰³

While a key carries something of the personality of the hands that make it, how does the dress, which means almost the language of spiritual identity, does not change. - Everything is more or less alike in civilized life. However, by saying people from one pattern, this civilization destroys even the nationality of wearing a coat and a hat...Talent which brings out a local and personal outfit from this general thing that has the ability to surprise everybody, which can only be done by nations that have a national and consistent taste.⁴⁰⁴ However, we will find the principles of all our national elegance in the past. There is no need to go to distant times or go-to experts. Forty and fifty years ago, Istanbul had a unique elegance and a taste that is the product of its nation and it was not a weird piece of imitation. One day, if fate sends to you Anatolia, which has not yet lost grace, the economy of the French, compare and contrast clothes leftover from your grandmothers and what is present there.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² Also, please look at, Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2018.)

⁴⁰³ Süleyman Bahri, "Kadın ve Kıyafet" no:30 5 Kanun-i sani 1924.P.10,11.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.,p.11.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.,p.11.

6.7. ANONYMOUS WRITER

Demet is the first weekly woman's journal that was published after the promulgation of the Constitution. There are published 7 issues in total. The owner of the journal is Celal Sahir Erozan. Here I am giving no name article from this journal. In this article writer refers to the attacks carried out such that several women were tearing their veilings.

According to writer, Do these attackers think that the veiling they tear is the sacred honor of Muslim women, the hearts of the fathers, husbands, siblings, and sons of those women? It is the honor of the nation which they attack. Doesn't the innocent illusion of the young girl who they insulted and tear off the veiling of honor come before your eyes? and these men are not ashamed? Women are worthy of respect; a woman is the mother of the nation. Who is worthy of being insulted as much as those who insult their mother?⁴⁰⁶

6.8. HAKKI BEHIÇ(?)

I did not find any information about this name in the contemporary Turkish thought book. Below, I will give my ideas about who is this guy. Enis Behiç Koryürek (1891-1949), who started to write his poems in aruz prosody, later followed the trend of simplification in the language initiated by *Genç Kalemler* and its circle and started to write his poems in syllabic meter with the advice of Ziya Gökalp. Later published in the journals *Halka Doğru* and *Yeni Mecmua*. I think the person who used the name Hakkı Behiç was Enis Behiç, who would later be known as one of the five poets of the syllable. In addition, when his connection with Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu is known, the opinion that the author is Enis Behiç becomes stronger. Enis Behiç's father is doctor İsmail Behiç. However, in this period, there was another person named Hakkı Behiç (1886-1943) who would later take the surname Bayiç. This person served as a deputy in the first term of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and was the general secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey, which was founded by Mustafa Kemal Pasha with tactical thoughts at the end of 1920.

⁴⁰⁶No Nâme, "Esef-ü Hayret" *Demet*, C.1 N.3 p. Teşrin-i Evvel 1324, p.32

According to him, the woman is the collective honor of society. The aggressive hands reaching out to her violate social honor. Society must take revenge for the violated collective honor through legitimate laws. There is no doubt that this is the right and duty for everyone, Complying with the law means that the law that does not mediate this duty and the government that does not apply this law has a deficiency and is in need of improvement. We demand compensation for this deficiency. It is seen that many vagrants who are not ashamed to abuse the law, still attack women, which means the honor of the nation, and collective honor. We have repeatedly tried to draw the attention of the police force to this issue. We've always seen a stone-like callous indifference. The women who were with the men were attacked last week. Are we still going to neglect our women. We took women out of the political scene in the reign of Abdulhamid II. But have you been able to dismiss women from hearts, family, and intimacy between the couple? While we are thinking about correcting these, while we will be busy with the issues of introducing our women to the law and making our men respectful of the law, we see that our women cannot even go out on the streets, women are attacked brutally when they come face to face with men. Again, societies that do not respect women are in the way of collapse. The government cannot stand silently against this violation of collective honor. If the government is silent, he also joins in violation of the collective honor.”⁴⁰⁷

6.9.HALİM SABİT(1883-1946)

Halim Sabit is an Turkist man from Kazan. He came to Istanbul in 1901 to continue his education there. He graduated in 1910 then he made a journey from Turkestan to Altai. This journey found a place in *Türk Yurdu* journal. During the amelioration of Darülfünun in November 1915, with the advice of Ziya Gökalp, he was among the invited young professors. He had been worked here until 1919. He was one of the member of ITC's culture organization with Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, Celal Sahir Erozan, Köprülüzade Fuad. He also joined the activities of Türk Ocağı. He wrote articles in *Sebliirreşad* and *Sırat-ı Müstakim*. Between 1914 and 1918, with the financial support of the Committee of Union and Progress, he published the *İslam mecmuası*. It was mostly described as modernist-Islamist and Turkist-Islamist. Here,

⁴⁰⁷ Hakkı Behiç, “Zâbita ve Kadınların Muhâfaza-ı Hukûku :Mümtaziyatı Nisvan ve Kadınlara Hürmet” s.105-106 C.1 V.7 Demet

I will give two parts from on the road of Altai. In this part, he came across local religious man and they share their own ideas about the veiling issue.⁴⁰⁸ The writing consists of two parts, the second part of writing were published after months because of his sickness.

When we went to the house of the imam from the mosque, the conversation t came to the issue of veiling. Imam Efendi examined and liked the work named Tahrîrû'l-Mer'e which published in Egypt: He had seen El-Mer'etü'l-Müslime, but could not find it as solid work. He did not seem to support the veiling. He asked me what are the ideas available about the veiling in İstanbul.⁴⁰⁹

The rest of the article was published in 1913. I briefly summarize Halim Sabit's ideas in this way: the issue of veiling is not only religious according to my opinion. The feeling has an important effect on this issue. It is not only sharia that gives rise to this feeling: race, environment, and upbringing are other effects on this issue. But today it has become a state of mind in us today, which is now very difficult to oppose. According to the following thoughts, none of those who are in favor of or against the veiling should not directly include shari'ah in the subject. In my opinion, what the Islamic Sharia recommends and orders about women should be "decency" *hicâb* rather than "veiling. The veiling means covering intimate parts of the body. The faces of the women, on the other hand, do not need to cover like those of the men in the opinion of the majority. In this case, the subject should be decency *hicâb*, not veiling. However, in any case, I suppose that what governed all these differences was the customs, traditions, races, and somewhat their social structures, according to the society of each nation and the living conditions, rather than decretal about the veiling."⁴¹⁰Urban Arabs, Ottoman Turks, Persians, and Bukhara, and the Hindus as I have heard, interpret it with decency *hicâb* veil, but with veiling for the elite rather than sharia. According to these, face, eye, hand. all sides must be covered. Their decency(*hicâb*) cannot reach the level of veiling; The face and eyes are kept closed only to strangers or to those they do not trust, otherwise, it is generally seen. In this sense, there is no veiling in Kazakhs and Turkmens. The decency(*hijab*) consists of not being alone with strangers and not meeting men face to face. This is the case with the Muslims of the North Caucasus. Especially in terms of understanding the Quran, hadiths, and shari'ah, the Gazi Qumuk of the Caucasus, which are not inferior to the Turks and even Arabs, have not

⁴⁰⁸ Halim Sabit, "Altay Yolunda" Türk Yurdu C.1 S.16 Altaylara Doğru 27 Haziran 1912

⁴⁰⁹.

⁴¹⁰ Halim Sabit, " Altaylara Doğru" Türk Yurdu, 23 Ocak 1913. S.32 C.3.

understood the verses of the hijab like today's Turks, today's Arabs, or Persians. Qazi Qumuk admits the abandonment of one prayer that it is suicidal for themselves, do not see it necessary to cover their faces and eyes with veils at home and outside. Today, prostitution among the Turks of Turkey, Arabs, and Persians who abide by a strict veiling is not coming short from any nation. Especially in Persia, prostitution has reached so far that I think it is about to reach the level of Franks, who is considered to be the master of prostitution. On the one hand, after reading the verses of decency hijab and remembering that the purpose of them is chastity and protection of honor, I envision the types of hijab today; On the other hand, I think of the defects of those who interpret hijab with a veiling, but the chastity of Qazi Qumuk women. Yes, although I believe in the actual hijab, I do not yet have detailed information about its form as I have presented above. Consequently, I am standing without judgment for now.⁴¹¹

Even if the Turkist generally sees women as their comrades on the way to progress, the boundaries of this comradeship were drawn by them. The Turkists insistently underlined the education of women, encouraged them to enter working life after the education they received, thus taking one of the steps to strengthen the Turkish type of corporatism. The duty of Turkish women was not limited to this: motherhood was one of the most important social roles of Turkish women and, also, it is a national duty. The education of the mother was also important since the person who would raise the child was a woman. In addition to all these, Turkish women should portray a modern but decent image and should not go to an extreme in their lifestyles. In any case, the issue of women's clothing, especially the veiling, was not a problem for women living in rural areas at that time. The compulsory participation of urban women in working life during the Balkan Wars and the First World War caused the change in traditional veiling and face veiling, even to the disappearance of the veiling. What distinguishes Turkists from Islamists and Westerners is that they create a serious mission for women. Indeed, when the day comes, the ideology that will guide the way the new Turkish Republic handles and solves the women issue is the Turkist ideology. The veiled and chaste women is a cultural symbol of Turkishness for common readers, however, they want to present different Turkish women in international image politics. They were

⁴¹¹ Ibid.,p.

saying the harms of veiling in their own way, but by adopting a moderate attitude, they were trying not to attract the public's reaction. According to them, as a result of social evolution, the veiling would have already disappeared. The way to do this was through the education of men and women. I can summarize the Turkist discourse on veiling and face veiling in this way:

The Turkist modernists are the most inconsistent group about veiling and face veiling. In particular, ideas about veiling in fictional texts contradict the ideas about veiling issue in the articles. In the fictional texts, we came across veiling as a national symbol. In the articles, , veiling is an obstacle to establishing a healthy love marriage. This situation stems from the covering feature of the veiling and its spatial gender segregation rule. The veiling and face veiling is not an Islamic tradition. The veiling was not the product of Islam, but it was the product of the time when women were seen as a taboo in the prehistoric period. The veiling, which has become a custom, has passed from the Arabs to the Turks. Today, material veiling is not necessary, spiritual veiling should replace it. Being moral and chaste protects women from all kinds of evils of men. According to them, the veil will disappear in time as a result of social evolution. Women are worthy of respect no matter how they dress. Women are the common honor of the nation. Turkish women's attire should not be shaped regarding European fashion. Turkish women should create their attire by looking at local examples.

7. IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

Modernization, in the sense of Westernization, is essentially a problem of change in our society, as in other societies. That's why, in this thesis, I tried to read the veiling and face veiling debates, which are a part of the women's issue, in the context of late Ottoman society and Early Republican society from the perspective of Late Modernities. As Deniz Kandiyoti says a history of Ottoman sexualities remains to be written, we must acknowledge that the emergence of contemporary gender identities can not fully be grasped without being informed by this history.⁴¹² In the introduction, I assume that, there is a historical continuity of debates of the veiling and the headscarf. We can trace the roots of the headscarf debate to veiling and face veiling debates in the early twentieth century. In this thesis, how the debates regarding, modernity and gender in relation to women's clothing has its roots in the twentieth century, that continues to play a role today. The Second Constitutional Period and the Early Republic period, which Zürcher calls a single period, are neither a turning point from the Classical Ottoman Empire nor there is a historical continuity. For women, who started to take their place in many fields during the Second Constitutional Era, dress was the subject of discussion. Over time, the status of women in society and the business world has changed, and the current perceptions about women's clothing have also begun to change. This perceptual change is attributed to the necessity of using an article of clothing that will allow the woman, who has started to take place in the business and education world, to move comfortably. Since there was a rapid intellectual change in women's issue in the Second Constitutional Era, one of the main discussion subjects of the currents of thought was women's clothing and, accordingly, the "veiling" issue. In this process, Islamists, especially Progressivist had been serious discussions on the subject. It was the 'Turkists' who became a balancing element between these two currents of thought. In short, the woman was seen as an object of this intense discussion process and was always evaluated from the outside. Therefore, women were perceived as an object of the social change that was desired to be realized and the boundaries of the living space changed in this period. The radical, rapid and compulsory change that the classical Ottoman family went through, especially after

⁴¹² Deniz Kandiyoti, "Gendering the Modern on Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity" in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (Seattle and London :Washington University Press,2000.p113.)

the Tanzimat, pushed them out of the traditional lifestyle and this caused a change in attire. The change first started in the palace and its people, and clothes that could be produced faster and more with mass production spread to the public. While ideas, mentalities, and ideologies changed slowly, the social position of women and their visibility in the public sphere changed more quickly with the accelerating effect of the relatively long wars. As a result, the first changes are the narrowing and shortening of the veiling, the gradual thinning and disappearance of the veil, and the gradual disappearance of the headscarf part. My claim in this thesis is that specifically in Istanbul, women's clothing was forced to change by living conditions rather than the ideas of male intellectuals. I should also add that the ideas of Progressivist or Islamist or Turkish intellectuals have been effective in changing the reader's ideas for or against the veiling, but we can not make out how influential these ideas are. In this thesis, I tried to show the veiling and face veiling debates among male intellectuals between 1908 and 1925 through periodicals. I will briefly summarize the ideas of Islamist Turkist and Progressivist groups on the veiling and face veiling. According to Turkist and Westernist, the veiling issue is sociological. However, Islamists thought that this issue is a religious issue that the state must intervene in veiling and face the veiling subject. Because the Ottoman Empire governed with the Kanun-i Esasi and obeying Islam is the article of it. The police should intervene in the veiling and face veiling through this intervention; the state should provide public order. Islamist says that the veiling and face veiling protect women honor and chastity against men. The veiling and face veiling is no obstacle to get training. Women should get an education for raising children but not for working outside. Women should obey the Islamic veiling and the spatial gender segregation of Islam. Islamist think that, the Quran and the hadiths should be interpreted by the Islamic scholars, not the intellectuals who do not got training in Islamic sciences. According to the Progressivist group, women should take off their veiling and face veiling to attain an education, to marry the right person. Apart from this, face veiling causes health problems. Women who want to be healthy that should not cover their face and body through veiling and face veiling. The Progressivist group claim that veiling causes polygamy and divorce. Woman and man could not see each other before marriage because of veiling and its spatial gender segregation. If a woman and man did not meet each other before marriage, they could not understand their beauty, their intellectual level, their personality so, marriage will shatter after soon afterward. The Progressivist group says that veiling and face veiling

does not protect the honor and chastity of women. One can not say women who properly cover themselves with the veiling and face veiling that does not mean she is honorable. On the contrary, the veiling and face veiling cover not women but dishonesty. Women who use veiling and face veiling could keep themselves anonymous and do whatever they want. The Progressivist, the Quran should be interpreted with new methods which compatible with the era. The Islamist interpret Quran by fair means, but they interpret in compliance with their interests. In addition, veiling has become a sociological issue, not a religious order. Westerners have presumed the veiling in its historical and sociological context and claimed that it has/should be evolved in the society and said that there is no need for veiling. Turkists see the veiling is as a pattern of Turkish rugs, as Ziya Gökalp puts it, they think about the same thing about the effects of the veil on social life, but their voices could not be as loud as the Islamists and the Progressivist. We can see this attitude in the cautious approach of the newly established Republic of Turkey.

The primary sources of the thesis consist of newspapers and journals and partially books. Indeed, as Tarık Zafer Tunaya said, the Constitutional Era was the laboratory of the Republic. The reform ideas discussed in this period had the opportunity to be implemented in the Republican period. The first years of the Republic witnessed the abolition of the sultanate and caliphate, regime change, the alphabet reform, surname act and the hat act. However, women's clothing was not interfered with by the state in the first years of the Republic.

We should also add that in the years when these revolutions took place, the voices of reformist Westerners were louder and more confident, but they could not find a place in the legal plane, only what was said was reinforced by basing its reference on the Republican revolution. In this period, the subject of veiling and face veiling was not so popular as it was in the Constitutional period, but the discourses were sharper than older ones. Since this thesis is limited to the years between 1908-1925 until the Hat Law. I do not include these articles, but I believe that the national fashion debates in the late 20's 30s could be the subject of another thesis. Undoubtedly, the Hat Law began to implement during the days of Takrir-i Sükûn Law. We have to remember that the article which adds within the title of politicizing religion in Hıyânet-i Vataniyye

law.⁴¹³ It could be that article would be considered a disincentive for the hat opponent. Although, After the Hat Law, Kayseri, Malatya, Sivas, Erzurum, Giresun were the scene of minor uprisings. Among the notes he had Mazhar Müfid dictated to Mazhar Müfid during the 1919 Erzurum Congress was the opinion that the veiling and the fez would be removed and the hat would be used like civilized nations.⁴¹⁴

In his speech addressed to women in Konya on March 21, 1923, he said that women always stand side by side with their men. Women are always the ones who plow their fields while men are at war and that carry ammunition to the front with their ox carts. Then, he brought the subject to the issue of veiling.

Two forms emerge in the clothing and veiling of our women in the city; either excess or understatement is seen. In other words, it is either an unknown, very closed outer dress, or a way of dressing that can not be worn even in Europe's most liberal parties. Both of these are neither the advice of the sharia nor the command of the religion. Our religion forbids women from extremism in their veiling. The veiling recommended by our religion is suitable for both life and virtue. If our women were to cover themselves concerning the advice of the Shari'a and the order of religion, they would neither close as much nor open up. Religious veiling is a normal form that will not cause difficulties for women and will not prevent women from working together with men in social life, economic life, working life and scientific life. This normal form conforms to the morals and traditions of our society. Any nation should imitate another one. Because such a nation can neither be the same as the nation that imitates, nor can it remain within its nationality. The result of this is undoubtedly disappointment. What we will consider in the issue of veiling is to think the spirit of the nation on the one hand and the necessities of life on the other. We do not think of making innovations in women's clothing in women's lives. We have a more honest path to walk. Our way is to make the Great Turkish woman common in our work, to walk our lives with her, to make the Turkish woman a partner, friend, and assistant of the man in the scientific, moral and social economic life. To be able to walk with ease and confidence in the issue of veiling is to accept the natural and simple form ordered by religion, national customs, reason and logic, morality and virtue. In the matter of women, shape and dress are secondary issue. The main field of struggle is to equip and adorn our women with true virtue in the light of knowledge, rather than success in form and clothing.⁴¹⁵

He closed the madrasahs with ease and did not leave a single headgear on the streets in one day. Nobody's voice was raised. However, in the woman issue, he went very cautiously in his work. He alone protected those who unveiled women from being attacked. No one dared to look sideways at the female teacher and the governor's wife, who were wearing a hat in the most distant Anatolian town. Against this, no one would tear the veiling or face veiling of a woman. He had given the woman the right to enter all professions. For him, completing the cause of women's freedom and equality

⁴¹³Ibid., Zürcher, p.249.

⁴¹⁴ Mazhar Müfit Kansu, *Erzurum'dan Ölümüne Kadar Atatürk'le Beraber*. (TTK: Ankara, 1966, p.131.)

⁴¹⁵ Nimet Unan, *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri(1906-1938)* (Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü: Ankara, 1952, p.150-154)

consisted of a job of education. The Turkish woman would eventually come out of femininity and become human.⁴¹⁶

Although a law was not enacted on women's clothing, it tried to create public opinion about them to take of the veiling and face veiling and create a modern dress. Latife Hanım was Mustafa Kemal's assistant to underline the attitude taken in favor of modern women around the women's question and create public opinion on behalf of modern women. Undoubtedly, Latife Hanım, who drew a public image of the new Turkish woman through unveiled, educated, and modern image, who was side by side Mustafa Kemal. She is shown both as an ideal for the Turkish woman, and she is a good representation of women's question of Europe. She offered a body to symbolize his views as a wife.⁴¹⁷ It is clear that this marriage is not a love marriage. In fact, Latife Hanım confirms this situation in the interviews she gave to the journalists. When journalist Enver Behnan Şapolyo asked him why he got married, Mustafa Kemal replied with these words:

After that, we will make many revolutions. Among them will be the clothing revolution. We will throw the veiling of our women, the beauty of our girls will be revealed. Black veilings and face veilings do not suit this beautiful-faced nation. As I unveil everybody's wife and daughter, they're going to say, 'He's single, he's taken off everybody's veiling'. I got married to avoid this.⁴¹⁸

Paul Gentizon, correspondent of *Le Temps* newspaper, described Latife Hanım's dress and the innovations brought by the Turkish revolution as follows.

There's more; Gazi did not hesitate to take his young wife with her open face and in her boots to military inspections and restaurants. Gazi especially opposes the veiling of women. He wants it to disappear like the fez. Therefore, he invited the Turkish woman to be like their Western sisters, to wear hats, suits, and coats like them. The

⁴¹⁶ Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Atatürk Ne İdi*,(p.133-134.

⁴¹⁷ "It cannot be said that he is very Westernist in his understanding of women. He didn't even want ladies to paint their nails. He was extremely jealous. It can be said that he was in the harem inclination. It is his feeling, temperament, and habit. In his mind, women should be free and equal as/ to men. There should be no difference between Turkish women and Western women. The Turkish woman had to be freed from all feelings of inferiority. Atatürk, who gave all the rights of the Western woman to the Turkish woman with the civil law, would not tolerate even a Turkish man marrying a foreign woman, let alone a Turkish woman marrying a foreign man. When the great and unique hero of the revolutions had to face the consequences of the law he set himself, he would say: -It's not for us, huh, guys..."⁴¹⁸ Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Çankaya: Atatürk Devri Hatıraları V.II*. (İstanbul: Dünya Yayınları,1961, p.367) Many of the intellectuals, journalist of this era say that Mustafa Kemal did not like Latife Hanım to call him by his first name. This situation shows that Mustafa Kemal wanted traditional gender roles to continue in his micro power area.

⁴¹⁸ aktaran Ahmet Gürel and Eren Akçiçek, *Uşakizade Köşküden Çankaya Köşküne Latife Mustafa Kemal*,(İstanbul: Türkiye İş bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019,p.63) E.B Şapolyo, *Kemal Atatürk ve Milli Mücadele Tarihi*.(İstanbul: Rafet Zaimler Yayınevi, 1958,,p.509)

great majority did not delay in complying with this request. Undoubtedly, such a change of clothes was a change of thought in a way.⁴¹⁹

Latife Hanım was expressing her thoughts on the veiling for the American magazine *The Current Opinion*.

Throwing off the veiling is not a new situation for women living in Turkey, especially in Izmir, Istanbul, and Western regions. My husband is determined that Turkish women should no longer hide their faces, and Turkish women speak with one voice with him. Some men are against women revealing their faces. But at this point, what they say doesn't matter. We have embraced the cause of freedom, any nation can claim liberty while enslaving its women.⁴²⁰

As Lord Kinross says that, Mustafa Kemal had to be cautious because, "to wear a hat of a man in Turkey else, something else to tearing the veiling of a woman. Such a change could not have been achieved either Takrir-i Sükûn or by İstiklâl mahkemeleri."⁴²¹

Suna Kili states that the reason for not enacting a law is due to economic conditions. According to the author, it was impossible for poor people, especially women, to obtain coats, shoes, and clothes which were suitable for the law at that time.⁴²²

According to Feroz Ahmed, Mustafa Kemal knew that if he attempted to revolutionize the status of women, he would face an uprising. He gave long speeches to the crowds about how does veiling and face veiling humiliates women, but he did not attempt to lift the veiling as he had lifted the fez. Atatürk never attempted to impose the values of women on the country. He was so sensitive to tradition in Islamic society that he foresaw the overthrow of king Amanullah when he heard that the king Amanullah had banned face veiling.⁴²³

Atatürk... He does not prohibit by law. Encouragement is enough to set an example. The veiling ban came into question only at the 1935 Congress of the People's Party and decided to leave this work to the municipalities.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.,p.152.

⁴²⁰ İpek Çalışlar, Latife Hanım, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2006 p.265)

⁴²¹ Lord Kinross, translated by Necdet Sander, Atatürk: Bir Millet'in Yeniden Doğuşu, (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 2011, p.486)

⁴²² Suna Kili, Türk Devrim Tarihi, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2001, p.298.)

⁴²³ Feroz Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*.(Kaynak Yayınları: İstanbul, 2015,p.108) Also, we have to add that, the clothing of nursing profession students was rearranged through the efforts of Esmâ Deniz, This rearrangement includes altering veiling and face veiling to nurse hat. Selva Erhan Şentürk, (İstanbul: Nobel Tıp Kitabevi, 1978,p.3)

⁴²⁴ Doğan Avcıoğlu, Milli Kurtuluş Tarihi 1838'den 1995'e. (İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1978, p.1359)

In my opinion, it is impossible not to pass this law because of poverty. As I said in the introduction, women were already getting a new look by modifying their veiling and face veiling. If the law had been enacted, they could have made their veiling look more 'modern' with the same method. In fact, even Mustafa Kemal is not ready for this. People who publish their memories of him shows that he inclined to protect traditional gender roles in their private relationships. If the veiling and face veiling were abolished by a law, this would not be accepted by the people because the patriarchal social norms reinforced by religion would be displaced. Atatürk and his friends were people who could foresee this. Mustafa Kemal is the architect of the laws that change the social position and visibility of women, but we do not know whether he is sincere in these ideas or whether he chose this path to change the image of the newly established Republic of Turkey against the West and to break the Orientalist discourse. The modernization and liberation of women's discourse is also a new patriarchal plane and imposes its own rules.⁴²⁵ Here, there is a new patriarchal system reinforced by capitalism and globalization, and in this system, just like the traditional patriarchal system, it is imposed on women and men. Even if the new republican revolutions gave women the right to vote and be elected and accepted the Civil Code, they could not afford to encounter the traditional patriarchal system reinforced by religion for the removal of the veiling and face veiling, because this encounter could lead to the end of the new regime. That's why they didn't touch women's clothing until 1935. They expected the dressing style of upper-class women close to Kemalist cadres to become widespread among other women. In 1935, practices banning veiling and face veiling were introduced through local governments. Today, the headscarf takes the place of veiling and face veiling. Turkish women have lived side by side different clothing habits. The perspectives of Turkish women on people with different clothing habits and the influence of political discourse on these perspectives and the influence of intellectuals may be the subject of another thesis.

⁴²⁵ Please look at. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated: Reflections on the Turkish Case" *Feminist Studies* V.13 N.2 (Summer 1987) p.317-338.

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