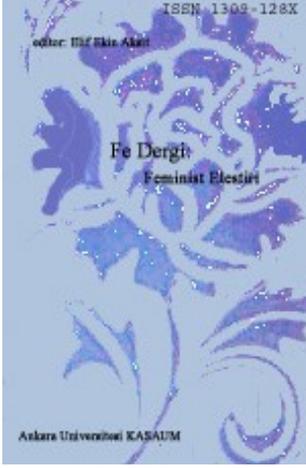


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**Muslim Ottoman feminists' perceptions of their non-Muslim counterparts after Meşrutiyet**  
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**Muslim Ottoman feminists' perceptions of their non-Muslim counterparts after Meşrutiyet<sup>1</sup>***Aynur Demirdirek\**

*This article shows how Muslim and Muslim-Turkish Ottoman feminists interacted with women from other backgrounds and how they perceived both themselves and their non-Muslim counterparts who had similarly taken the initiative of using new platforms to make their voices heard. Several Ottoman Turkish periodicals for women published after Meşrutiyet were reviewed as primary sources for this work. Although feminists conducted their struggles within their own ethnic and religious communities during the Ottoman modernization period, they were nevertheless aware of and influenced by one another. Reflecting an enthusiasm for women's liberation and the complex forces at work in their interactions, the voices that are conveyed here are mainly those of Ottoman Muslim feminists in their writings before the nationalization of the women's movement.*

*Keywords: Ottoman women's magazines, Ottoman feminists, Ottoman modernization, Muslim-Ottoman women, Meşrutiyet*

**Meşrutiyet Sonrasında Müslüman Osmanlı Feministlerinin Gayrimüslim Kadınlarla Etkileşimi**

*Bu makale Müslüman ve Müslüman-Türk Osmanlı feministlerinin farklı etnik ve dini kimlikten kadınlarla nasıl bir etkileşim yaşadıklarını, kendilerini ve Müslüman olmayan ama kendileri gibi - yeni platformlarda seslerini duyurmak için inisiyatif alan - kadınları nasıl algıladıklarını betimliyor. Çalışmada temel kaynak olarak Meşrutiyet sonrasında yayımlanmış Osmanlı Türkçesi kadın dergileri taranmıştır. Her ne kadar Osmanlı modernleşme sürecinde feministler mücadelelerini kendi etnik ve dini cemaatleri içinde sürdürmüşlerse de birbirlerinin varlığından haberdardılar ve birbirlerini etkilemişlerdir. Kadınların kurtuluşuna dair heyecanlarını ve o dönemdeki iletişimlerini etkileyen karmaşık etkenleri yansıtan bu kadın sesleri, büyük ölçüde kadın hareketinin milliyetçileşmesinden önceki döneme aittir.*

*Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı kadın dergileri, Osmanlı feministleri, Osmanlı modernleşmesi, Müslüman Osmanlı kadınları, Meşrutiyet*

**Introduction**

The focus of my research has been on Muslim and Muslim-Turkish Ottoman women who wanted to expand their space of existence and who expressed themselves and voiced their opinions at an intellectual level in the “public space” in print media during the Ottoman process of modernization. My particular interest has been to document and analyse how these women interacted with women from other backgrounds and how they perceived themselves and their non-Muslim counterparts who had also taken the initiative of raising their voices through new platforms.

Even though what can be considered a religious and/or ethnic “community” in that particular historical period cannot easily be delimited, it is possible – at least seen from a standpoint of self-ascription – to talk about women whose “world vision” and life practices had, to a large degree, been shaped by their larger religious and collective identities. However, especially given the changes that were brought by the modernization process, when I look at inter-religious and inter-communal relations I necessarily consider these women beyond their identity that is formed in the dyadic relation of community versus central imperial state power. In this respect, neither identity nor “otherness” can be taken as fixed categories in my quest to learn about these groups of women. Furthermore, I hope that my research will illustrate that the relationships of difference and processes of “othering” in cases of marked contrasts (yet overlapping subjectivities) throughout the history of interaction between these groups have not been stable and that they have been coloured by the ideological currents of the political climate.

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I have sought to grasp what knowledge of these relations in the Ottoman Empire before the 19th century can tell us about future interactions (or the lack thereof) between women and their further transformation throughout the process of modernization. In the centuries prior to the 19th century extensive efforts were made to keep Muslim and non-Muslim separate and to “protect” Muslim women by keeping them away from the influence of non-Muslim women. However, several authors<sup>2</sup> have shown that in the 17th and 18th centuries Muslim and non-Muslim women were aware of the function of the courts and the legal rights that they had been allocated not as “equal” and “free” citizens but as members of the subject populations (*tebaa*). The fact that both Muslim and non-Muslim women applied to the courts by using the same legal procedures suggests the emergence of a common public realm. Although the resources for a more nuanced understanding of these women’s relations are limited,<sup>3</sup> the aforementioned developments show that it is all the more important to study the relations between and perceptions of women from such different backgrounds.

In 19th century Ottoman cities, women from each and every religious-ethnic identity and from different social classes became more visible to each other. The already existing gendered organization of social life continued, e.g. control of the newly emerging public facilities and the applicable codes of conduct (e.g. women-only sections in trams and ferries).<sup>4</sup> However, Muslim Ottoman women pushed the boundaries and limitations in these regulations; the emergence of more widely available professional occupations (e.g. dentistry, hairdressing and photography) led to a change in the use of urban space and brought women of different identities together.

Women with different identities, who were aiming to be and act as subjects and who formulated that desire in their words and activities in the public and political sphere, noticed and observed each other. Yet, with the exception of legal judicial and urban spaces, the possibility for and tradition of using public spheres together with women from different social/religious/ethnic affiliations was very limited. Despite these limitations and despite the lack of common platforms available to these women (of different social/religious/ethnic affiliations and identities) for hearing each other’s voices and engaging in intellectual exchanges, the newer public spaces (press, initiatives/parties, meetings, new means of public transport like trams and ferries, fashion, new forms of urban public entertainment and leisure) expanded the supra-communal public space. These were the conditions of middle-class Ottoman women engaged in intellectual production for themselves as women and for the cause of women in general. It can be argued that the participation of women in urban life and their potential access to the facilities offered by the cities are in themselves significant.

When we approach this era as a whole it seems understandable that women from different religions and communities would conduct their struggle for rights and liberties within their own communities. It is also to be expected that, while acknowledging the existence of women from other communities, they would keep a certain distance to each other.

The Ottoman Constitution of 1876 (*Kanun-i Esasiye*) declared that all subjects of the Ottoman Empire were equal. The status of non-Muslims as imperial subjects was legitimated through their belonging to and membership of their own community. For example, “a *Rum* [Ottoman-Greek] is an Ottoman subject through his/her identity as *Rum*, he/she is entitled to be *Rum*, since he/she is an Ottoman subject.”<sup>5</sup> It is this notion of identity that is also reflected in women’s perceptions of women of different identities. The women in each community conducted “patriarchal bargaining” in the particularities of their own community as well as in the expanding public space that became a common platform for interaction between different communities.<sup>6</sup>

## **Context**

I initially reviewed several Ottoman Turkish periodicals for women that were published in the years prior to the end of the First World War as my primary resources.<sup>7</sup> In the case of the magazine *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Journal for Ladies) (1895-1908) I have limited my analysis to women who wrote regularly; I had to omit the domestic news (*Dahili Havadis*) section despite its large and rich content concerning all women of the era due to its huge volume relative to the scope of this project.<sup>8</sup> Through the collection of articles I studied the writings of leading women such as Fatma Aliye Hanım, Emine Semiye Hanım, Zekiye Hanım,<sup>9</sup> Halide Edip, Nezihe Muhittin, Ulviye Mevlan as well as Aziz Haydar (who wrote both in *Kadınlar Dünyası* [Women’s World] and other publications) and articles by lesser known names. I believe that these articles are historically significant because through these writings women “appeal” to the wider public in a direct manner and they have to carry the responsibility of their “words”. I have also made use of women’s memoirs. Furthermore, I paid attention to the

literary texts of women such as Fatma Aliye Hanım, Halide Edip and Nezihe Muhittin – who also produced novels and stories – and made use of current research on this fictional output as well.

Over the last 20 years, the struggles of feminists from different religious-ethnic identities during Ottoman modernization have been explored and analysed separately for each ethnic group – within their own *millet* context. These studies do not reveal any detail about significant communication between women from different *millets*. Consequently, they are far from providing us with any idea of women’s presence together in the public sphere. We can ask “were there unknown relations or did they not exist at all”? I believe that we have to revisit the feminists of different affiliations if we are to catch a glimpse of their gaze facing their non-Muslim counterparts in an Ottoman society which was segregated by language, religion and script.<sup>10</sup> I did just this by revisiting Ottoman Turkish resources so as to elucidate a more complete picture of Ottoman feminists. Since this rereading with such an aim made it possible to draw conclusions principally on the basis of publications and actions after Meşrutiyet, I have divided the results of my (re-)review of Turkish Ottoman materials into the two main sections below after a brief introduction to the pioneering Muslim Ottoman women who can be regarded as first generation of feminists.

### **First generation of pioneer Muslim Ottoman Women and non-Muslim Ottoman Women**

Of the first generation of pioneering women, it may be asserted that Fatma Aliye Hanım and Nigâr Bint-i Osman were the ones who considered themselves to be elite Muslim Ottoman women, members of the “dominant element” of society. As stated by Yaprak Zihnioğlu,<sup>11</sup> Fatma Aliye Hanım did not level any critique against the theocratic monarchy or the relative positioning of the existing Ottoman components. By “Ottoman” she is consciously referring to an essentially Muslim and Turkish identity in which the “other” components find themselves subordinated to this determining essence. While she is conveying her views on various political issues she seems to be addressing the West and Christian intellectuals in Europe rather than the non-Muslim intellectuals within Ottoman society.

While her articles make no mention of non-Muslim women, the *ud* teacher of the heroine Bedia in Fatma Aliye Hanım’s novel *Udi* (Ud Player) is a Jewish woman. Bedia takes *ud* lessons because she ends up needing work. The other two non-Muslim figures in the novel, Helula (the woman who has an affair with Bedia’s husband) and Helula’s mother Nauma, are also Jewish. The portrayal of Bedia’s rival Helula in *Udi* is quite different to conventional depictions: Fatma Aliye tries to understand a character of whom she does not approve and to envisage her as someone capable of change whose path in the narrative takes a different turn to the norm; when Helula tries to apologise for her behaviour, Bedia says that the real responsibility rests with her husband.<sup>12</sup>

The most significant name among the women whose writing and initiatives that we are able to follow after Meşrutiyet is Emine Semiye. Unlike her sister Fatma Aliye Hanım, Emine Semiye at first supported *İttihat ve Terakki*; however, as the Turkish nationalist tendencies in *İttihat ve Terakki* became more pronounced in the aftermath of the *Meşrutiyet* and since they did not adequately support the progress for women that she had been hoping for, she joined the Ottoman Democratic Party (*Osmanlı Demokrat Fırkası*) as a reaction to *İttihat ve Terakki*.<sup>13</sup> Her belief in the idea of living with non-Muslims as equal citizens under the Ottoman identity enabled her to be more open and eager to connect with non-Muslims when the current political climate was appropriate. This is borne out by her leading role in founding a Women’s Charity Association (*Hizmet-i Nisvan Cemiyeti*) with Muslim and non-Muslim women in Edirne. It was Emine Semiye’s view that Ottoman unity could be achieved through the non-religious education of Muslim and non-Muslim women at high school and university level together as well as the performance of military service by Muslim and non-Muslim men side by side.

If the eyes of our daughters were opened up to science together with their Christian sisters, then they would appreciate what it is to be a citizen. These Christian young ladies warming up to Ottoman identity will give the gift of the idea of being Ottoman to their fathers, brothers and later to their husbands and children and thus the feeling of getting along well would be planted in the hearts of our Christian sisters from Anatolia.<sup>14</sup>

As in this text, she also sought to influence Muslim and non-Muslim women in her writings published in the magazine *İnkılap* (Revolution) under the title “to my Anatolian sisters”. In her writings addressing Muslim women she urged them to get along well with their Christian neighbours. She says

If you treat them well, *Ahmets* and *Mehmets* would eat with *Kirkors* and *Yorgis* together out of the same mess tin and become soldiers of the same battalion. With friendly sweet-talk and bonhomie we can protect being Ottoman. We can convince our Christian citizens.<sup>15</sup>

We can certainly assume that she believed women could only become citizens of a state as individuals if men also came together without any religious and ethnic belonging.<sup>16</sup> In her book entitled “*Hürriyet Kokuları*” (Scent of Liberty) she writes “It is wrong to classify people into tribes such as Greek, Armenian, Bulgarian, Serb, Ulah, Jewish, Turk, Circassian, Albanian, Arab and Kurd. The word Ottoman is the ultimate one, everything else is a detail”. Elsewhere she narrates her conversation with a Greek woman called Eleni whom she met on Big Island (one of the Princes’ Islands in the Sea of Marmara): she feels disappointed when Eleni says “I am not an Ottoman but a Christian”, but at the end of their conversation Eleni accepts that she is a Christian Ottoman.<sup>17</sup>

One may conclude that Emine Semiye formulates ideas that could also be expressed by one of the Ottoman-nationalist intellectuals of the era; as a woman, however, she communicates her ideas using down-to-earth real-life examples such as the demand that all Ottoman soldiers should eat out of the same military mess tin and that Muslim women should get along well with their Christian neighbours without any discrimination.

#### **After the Meşrutiyet: Second generation of feminists and non-Muslim Ottoman women**

When we look to the second generation of pioneering Muslim women we see that - unlike their predecessors - they were working professionals. They had graduated from schools whose numbers were increasing during the Abdülhamit era. In the atmosphere of freedom associated with the *Meşrutiyet* they became much more active in the media, in various organizations, at conferences and in other activities. After the *Meşrutiyet* their expectations were higher and they became bolder. They took up political positioning on issues related both to women and current social / political matters; they increasingly pursued their struggle from a nationalist platform. I shall examine below what was reflected in their writings on women from other backgrounds and in their activities.

Muslim Ottoman women followed individual pioneering women and the women’s movement in the West and elsewhere and reported on developments that affected women. Articles were also published about women from different periods of history, in some instances even under special section titles.<sup>18</sup> While woman-oriented publications supplied literate urban Ottoman women with news from all over the world down to the smallest detail, the initiatives of Armenian, Jewish and Greek Ottoman women in Ottoman lands were rarely mentioned.

In an extensive feature entitled “Famous Ottoman Women” the magazine *Demet* (Bunch), which was published just after the *Meşrutiyet* in 1908, presented leading Armenian women writers (Zabel Asadur, Sırpuhi Düsap, Zabel Yesayan) in three issues, stating that translations of their works would also appear in upcoming issues.<sup>19</sup> First, translations of two short texts of Zabel Asadur (“My Tears” and “Cloud”) were published. The editor of this series, Logofet Fuat, acknowledged that they had sent a written appeal to the Association of Ottoman-Greek Literature (*Rum Cemiyet-i Edebiyesi*) and were also intending to showcase Greek women writers in the series “Famous Ottoman Women”. *Demet* closed down after only 7 issues. The seventh issue of *Kadın* (published in 1908 in Thessaloniki) put out a translation of an edition of the newspaper *Faros Thessaloniki* which contained a large section and detailed news about their own magazine (i.e. *Kadın*) as well as the Association of Ottoman Women’s Clemency (*Osmanlı Kadınları Şefkat Cemiyeti*). *Kadın* included a footnote under the translation in which they thanked *Faros Thessaloniki* for its sincere comments about Muslim women and expresses their wish that Ottoman-Greek women would participate in the charity activities of the Clemency Association.

The magazine *Sıyanet* (Safekeeping), which published seven issues in 1914, contains articles by Halil Hamit under the title “*Âlem-i Nisvân*” (Women’s World) that introduce Armenian, Kurdish and Circassian women in their past and present; he also talks about the associations founded by these women and the writers among them.<sup>20</sup> It would come as no surprise to those who know the structure of Ottoman society (even when we consider the 19th and early 20th century) that press coverage of the activities and undertakings of Armenian, Jewish and Ottoman-Greek women was limited. When we look at other publications, memoirs and biographies, we see that women of different identities were observing each other from a certain distance. Putting aside the concrete events of the era and the political situation to be dealt with later, it is possible to make the following general points as an explanation of this distance: within the Ottoman Empire, “peoples” [*millet*s] that were

organized on the basis of religion had habits stemming from their interrelations throughout their common history. With “invisible obstacles” at many a turn,<sup>21</sup> Ottoman society, in which even those who shared the same language and religion have been said to inhabit closed compartments,<sup>22</sup> changed only gradually as it moved towards equal citizenship; the prevailing mentality and the practices of daily life preserved the existing distances. During the *Meşrutiyet* era the limited number of texts that refer to non-Muslim women bring them up mainly in the context of the progress they achieved in education and the qualitative superiority of their schools as a role model. Zekiye Hanım, who made noteworthy efforts in women’s education in Thessaloniki, wrote in *Kadın* in 1909 that she had visited the Jewish Girls’ School near the Baron de Hirsch Hospital, explaining in detail how the school was operating and stating “I admired the order, decency, success and effort I saw in it.”<sup>23</sup> She expressed her wish for such schools for Muslim women too and stressed her regret at the lack of concrete steps despite the passing of nine months after the *Meşrutiyet*.<sup>24</sup> While she was living in Karaferye<sup>25</sup> due to her father’s post there Aziz Haydar, one of the writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, published an article entitled “Childhood Memories” comparing the school in her neighbourhood with Karaferye Greek Girls’ School, which had facilities designed according to the latest educational methods.<sup>26</sup> At the end of the year, on the initiative of her high-ranking bureaucrat father, the physical conditions of both the girls’ and boys’ schools in her neighbourhood were improved; they were given desks and blackboards and moved into a taller building with a large garden. She states in the same article that out of 31 schools in the province of Karaferye 7 belonged to Muslims, 23 to Ottoman-Greeks, one to Ulahs and one to Jews and argues that these statistics explain “the disaster” in the Balkans. In her article “Bahçe Mektepleri” (Kindergartens) in *Kadınlar Dünyası* Sıdıka Ali Rıza deals with preschool institutions: “Whereas our non-Muslim citizens even in the provinces have several kindergartens, one can cry that even our sultan is bereft of it. I wish we had such schools and teachers in our every neighbourhood.”<sup>27</sup> Naciye Tahsin, addressing one of the regular contributors to *Kadınlar Dünyası*, Atiye Şükran Hanım, mentions that two years after the *Meşrutiyet* she sent her congratulations to the female director of the Alliance Israelite School on the level of organization that she had witnessed at the school.<sup>28</sup> The director had replied: “It is the outcome of our *millet*’s efforts in the last thirty years.<sup>29</sup> Your schools had only a year”<sup>30</sup> – with the implication that they too needed time. In conclusion, all these references – most of which are found in *Kadınlar Dünyası* – reveal that the rapid improvements in the education of non-Muslim women were observed largely with envy and were cited as examples to support the opening of schools appropriate to their religious and cultural requirements.

An increasing number of magazines and newspapers had improved the sharing of knowledge and news among educated Ottoman women. Nevertheless, what brought a larger section of women together was their new way of using the urban landscape, consumption and fashion. At the turn of the 20th century all women, especially Muslim women, had started to travel in the city and be present in the new common public places outside of their own neighbourhoods. In İstanbul the modes of public transport (ferryboat lines, tram and train) became the new sites of important public spaces where people spent a good deal of time together. From time to time we find traces of the reflections on and emotions associated with these encounters in the writings of women. Women with different identities were taking notice of and observing each other more closely than before. Yet the practice of not prying into each other’s lives continued, not going beyond making comparisons between their lives, drawing inspiration from each other and holding up those perceived as “pioneers” as examples. In her article “Trade is not Shameful”<sup>31</sup> Atiye Şükran from *Kadınlar Dünyası* wrote about a Greek woman she had met on a Bosphorus ferry who ran a café in Ortaköy and was “working with her honour” since her husband had been admitted to a mental clinic. Atiye Şükran went further than showing this woman whom she admired as a positive example; she also called upon the Ottoman Society for the Defence of the Rights of Women (*Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti*), of which she was a member, to assist her. Loksandra Aslanidi, a Rum woman who had heard a vendor selling *Kadınlar Dünyası*, bought the magazine just before crossing the Bosphorus to Kadıköy on the ferry; she read it with excitement and subsequently wrote to *Kadınlar Dünyası*.<sup>32</sup> The visibility and participation of Muslim women in social life as well as their emergence from the home became topics that were taken up by non-Muslim women after the First World War.

First and foremost due to the paucity of sources, studies of social history offer scant information about the neighbourhood relations of Ottoman women who – despite their differences – had been leading similar lives. Neighbourhoods, the main unit of administrative and daily life, were divided principally according to *cemaat*(s) (ethnic/cultural/religious communities), although there were also mixed neighbourhoods. Süreyya Lütfi, a reader

of *Kadınlar Dünyası* who had liked and commented on Loksandra Aslanidi's piece - writing among other things "I also live in Gedikpaşa and would like to benefit from your pedagogic knowledge" - , exemplifies the eagerness for mixed neighbourhoods and openness to interactions in the context of modernization. Nevertheless, with the exception of small towns and villages, the neighbourhoods of groups of *millet* were typically closed to each other.<sup>33</sup> After rummaging around for traces of friendship between Muslim women (i.e. those who wrote for the women's magazines) and non-Muslims on the basis of a few texts which reflected some details of daily lives and women's memoirs, I am able to make the following inferences: prior to the urban changes that gave rise to new common public spaces such as centres of commerce and markets, mixed schools and foreign private schools that could appeal to an elite group, the spaces which could bring together members of different communities were limited. Muslim women did not know how non-Muslim houses looked on the inside; however, there were no restrictions preventing non-Muslim women and foreign women entering those households, e.g. as guests or teachers.

Zabel Yesayan had written in "Gardens of Silahtar" (*Silahtar'ın Bahçeleri*) about her summer friendship with Faize, a fifteen-year-old Muslim girl whom she met in the *Rum* village of Maltepe where mainly Armenian and Greek families from Istanbul used to spend their summers at that time. The fact that both families had rented a room from the same old lady had brought them together. Faize's uncle, a medical doctor who took care of the health of his orphan niece, had considered the girls' friendship to be positive and a good opportunity. Yesayan describes the days that they spent together: "Faize had covered her head with an embroidered white scarf; on one of these days she had also given me one so that we could take a walk together on the beach. From that day on we took long walks in the vineyards, fields and olive groves talking for hours."<sup>34</sup> During one of these walks they became scared as a man approached them and asked for the time in Turkish. Yesayan had asked Faize if the man was Turkish, and Faize had replied "a heretic would never dare to approach a Turkish Lady". Faize's answer shows how the confidence of being a woman from the dominant ethnic group was echoed in a young girl's life. However, feminist Ottoman Muslim women did not believe that being from the *millet-i hâkime* transformed their lives; they found their own conditions as Muslim women to be worse than those of other women. Some even thought that while encounters between different *millets* were increasing in urban life, they did not receive the respect they deserved as women of Islam. In the Women's News section of *Kadın*, Zekiye Hanım prepared a news item entitled "Tram Scenes". When she and three of her friends had boarded a tram, they found a man with a hat sitting in the section reserved for women even though the wagon was empty. They had to remind him that the area where he was sitting was reserved for them; the man had moved from that part of the tram in an impolite manner. Commenting on this, Zekiye Hanım wrote: "Poor Muslim women, they were unfortunately unable to occupy a respectable position among their non-Muslim counterparts."<sup>35</sup>

### **Kadınlar Dünyası: The magazine for "all" Ottoman women**

Among more than 30 magazines for women published until 1923 it was only *Kadınlar Dünyası*<sup>36</sup> which made explicit reference in its identifying tagline to the fact that it was intended for all Ottoman women: "Our pages are open to pieces from Ottoman women irrespective of religion and ethnicity".<sup>37</sup> In 1921, when it was published for the last time after a long break, the formulation "Ottoman women" was taken out of the identifying tagline and it announced merely that it was intended for all women irrespective of religion and ethnicity.

The main agenda of the magazine had been the specific problems facing Muslim Ottoman women and the demands arising out of these issues. *Kadınlar Dünyası* was first published in the aftermath of the Balkan War; the after-effects of the war can be traced in the magazine, which gradually became a site in which the transformation of "Ottoman Woman" as well as "Women of Islam" into "Turkish women" could be observed. However, *Kadınlar Dünyası* consciously stayed true to its mandate of serving as a platform for supplying information about the activities of all organizations in which women participated and aiming to present the opinions of feminists with different standpoints – even if it did not share some of their views. I would claim that it was the owner and editor of the magazine Ulviye Mevlan – rather than all the writers or readers who contributed pieces – who avoided entering into a Turkish nationalist discourse; compared to the pieces that were sent in to the magazine, a great deal of care can be observed in her own writings and in the pieces with the *Kadınlar Dünyası* signature<sup>38</sup> in an effort to avoid language which might sound divisive towards Ottoman women. The prevailing political perspective of the magazine can be attributed to a number of factors: Ulviye

Mevlan's political attitude, her Circassian background and the fact that her husband Rıfat Mevlan – a source of great support for publishing the magazine – was an important Kurdish intellectual who uncompromisingly criticized the arbitrary rule of the regime and was sent into exile because of his critique of *İttihat Terakki* politics.<sup>39</sup>

As a result of this predisposition *Kadınlar Dünyası* seems in many respects to have been more open to women of different identities than other publications.<sup>40</sup> Even as early as issue number 27, the editorial of the magazine stated that they had noted how its readership included women of every community (*anasır-ı muhtelif*). A few of their non-Muslim readers had even sent in pieces to the magazine. I consider the writings of these few women to be significant because they document the existence of a platform on which certain topics and values established a dialogue between non-Muslim and Muslim Ottoman women of that era. Among more than 200 issues of *Kadınlar Dünyası* we meet four non-Muslim Ottoman women who contributed pieces and identified themselves with their genuine ethnic/religious identities: Nadya Kantarcıyan,<sup>41</sup> Matmazel Eliz (Mademoiselle Elise)<sup>42</sup>, Loksandra Aslanidi<sup>43</sup> (introducing herself as an inhabitant of the Gedikpaşa neighbourhood, member of *Rum* Community, citizen of Ottoman State [*teba-i devlet-i Osmaniye*] and teacher of French and Greek), Kınar (famous actress Kınar Hanım who signed her contributions with her first name only). It is possible that other non-Muslim women wrote to the magazine without identifying themselves as such. In the last numbers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* published in 1921, two Armenian women, Agavni Necip Hanım and Aznif Manakyan Hanım were introduced to readers within the context of theatre articles.<sup>44</sup> On the cover of the same issue we see the portrait of Matmazel Eliza Ayandalopulu who was a violin and ud teacher at the Kadıköy Music Society.

Mademoiselle Elise sees *Kadınlar Dünyası* as a mirror of women increasingly making their voices heard with the help of the *Meşrutiyet*. She emphasizes that the empowerment of women and the family will make the foundations of the society stronger. According to her, it is now acknowledged by everyone that the world of women is in need of a real revolution.

Loksandra Aslanidi expresses how surprised she was when she heard the newspaper seller shouting "*Kadınlar Dünyası*" as she got onto a ferry. She continues: "I never imagined that Turkish women would speak out on national, economic and social matters", yet concedes that the pieces she read made her ashamed of herself. Later, she explains why the education of children – and in this context the role played by women – is important and claims that men and women were not created differently by the almighty God (*cenab-ı hak*) in terms of their opportunities to get an education and take part in social life. She adds that "the religious regulations on Ottoman women are no obstacle to their development", concluding: "Dear Ladies, I apologize that I dare to write despite not having a good knowledge of the Ottoman language. I got and read your magazine by chance and it immediately evoked my national sentiments, which is why I could not stop myself writing these lines. If you were to ask "but why [are you involved in this]?", I would say that [if you mean that] you are the ones who are Turkish, we too are Ottoman. We are not any different from each other or alien to one other. We are not strangers, we have to meet. We have to unite our ideas because our homeland is one and the same and so should be our concerns." Another reader, Süreyya Lütfü, writes that, like Loksandra Aslanidi, she too lives in Gedikpaşa and would like to profit from her pedagogical knowledge.

Nadya Kantarcıyan, a long-standing reader of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, first gives examples of political revolutions and makes references to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Kant and Pasteur, before expressing a concrete desire. She states that there are no legal obstacles to the establishment of a Girls' Medical School from the point of view of the non-Muslim communities and the central government; she considers the material and intellectual development of women to be a prerequisite for social transformation. In addition to education, she believes that women should also take part in commerce and industry. She claims that it is absurd to hope that such demands could be met by men, who wish women to remain physically and intellectually weak and politically captive – akin to expecting a cruel emperor to offer freedom and justice to his subjects. Believing that it will take centuries more for women to emancipate themselves from misery and captivity if they continue to endure like their grandmothers, she concludes "we have to look for the sovereignty we need in ourselves."

The Armenian actress, Kınar Hanım published a commentary on Atiye Şükran Hanım, with whose opinions in the magazine she had previously concurred, when the latter criticized placement of an announcement by the New Ottoman Theatre in the publication. Finding her attitude to be prejudiced, Kınar Hanım wrote to defend the importance of theatre, adding "from now on I will consider you to be a conservative lady (*mutaassıba*)".<sup>45</sup>

The above-mentioned pieces contain ideas previously repeated in the writings of Muslim Ottoman women. In order to ease communication with Ottoman women who did not have a good knowledge of Turkish as well as foreign women, the following announcement was often published in *Kadınlar Dünyası*: “Foreign ladies as well as our citizens of different elements (*anasır-ı muhtelifeden vatandaşlarımız*) who do not master Turkish are welcome [to our office] every Thursday between one and four o’clock European time.” We do not know the extent to which this invitation was taken up.

As a consequence of the modernization process and the war years, the common spaces and social occasions as well as job opportunities (such as in the civil service) open to educated middle-class women increased. The problems that emerged in connection with the allocation of these jobs also started to appear in the public agenda in terms of religious and ethnic identities. *Kadınlar Dünyası*, for example, had encouraged Muslim women to apply for jobs at the telephone company; when the Muslim women were turned down due to their lack of Ottoman Greek and French language skills, the magazine argued that the contract with the foreign telephone company and the government did not include any such requirement and that lower-class girls did not have the chance to learn any other language. As a result of this opposition and reaction, the Muslim women who applied were employed. It is possible to argue that competition for employment was an important impetus for Muslim women in making their voices more noticeable. Seamstress workshops were a good example of this: Muslim women usually preferred non-Muslim seamstresses and women’s magazines engaged in some action to increase the competitiveness of Muslim seamstresses.<sup>46</sup>

On another front, one of the most concrete encounters between Muslim and non-Muslim women came out of their separate philanthropic activities. While they were initially working within their own community charities, the Ottoman Red Crescent Delegation of Women (*Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi*) - which was established and supported by the central government - became a common place of engagement for them. This organization was a significant platform that brought together women from different classes and a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds. Besim Ömer Paşa, a founder of the association, has a book that covers a *Conference to Ladies Concerning Hilal-i Ahmer* which was aimed exclusively at Muslim women (January 27th, 1914). The reason why this conference addressed only Muslim women might have been Besim Ömer Paşa’s wish to increase interested Muslim women’s engagement in this organization, since they were faced with greater obstacles and limitations compared to their non-Muslim counterparts. Speaking at the end of the conference, Besim Ömer Paşa stated: “The purpose of Hilal-i Ahmer should be to pay one’s debts to the “motherland” and help the military, rather than humanitarian and charity work [...] Yet, paying one’s debts to the motherland should not be interpreted as neglecting wounded enemy soldiers”.<sup>47</sup> These statements can be interpreted as concrete steps and attitudes being prescribed for the female citizens of the country, thus creating a place for women within the nationalist discourse. In its postwar issues *Kadınlar Dünyası* conveyed the efforts of Islam womanhood with praise.

One of the social-political issues raised in *Kadınlar Dünyası* concerned the purchase of domestic products and support for Muslim-Turkish producers. This had been a topic that indirectly brought not non-Muslim women in particular but non-Muslims in general to the agenda. Speaking at the Conference of the Ottoman Association for the Protection of Turkish Women (*Osmanlı Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*),<sup>48</sup> Nezihe Muhiddin demanded economic independence and criticized the privileges accorded to foreigners who had entered Ottoman land without a penny in their pocket, became rich and were then exempted from paying tax. As a solution she suggested boycotting goods from privileged European countries; her wording of this rallying call – “Let us struggle against the Europeans, the Christian and conservative Europeans, [...] let’s purchase solely, yes exclusively from Muslims”<sup>49</sup> – provoked several protests. Emine Seher Ali stated that the speech [of Nezihe Muhittin] was generally well done, but seemed hurtful towards non-Muslim elements (*anasır-ı gayrimüslime*).<sup>50</sup> Later, Nezihe Muhittin<sup>51</sup> gave a modest answer to the criticisms; in the same issue opinions of other women, both supportive and critical, were also published. In an editorial signed as *Kadınlar Dünyası* an explanation was provided to the effect that “when it is said ‘we should not buy from foreigners’ (*ecnebi*) it is necessary to point out explicitly that this does not include the Ottoman Christians, they also are the children of this homeland, they get their share of the disasters of our country as much as we do.” During these discussions the idea of “supporting local goods” was understood by some to mean buying goods produced by different Ottoman communities (*anasır-ı muhtelif*)<sup>52</sup> and by others to mean supporting the Muslim-Turkish element in production and commerce. In their quest for equal citizenship women positioned themselves both as consumers and potential producers. Their writings show that, while expressing a demand that they should be able to work in

commerce and industry, women were aware of the problems of the era at a macro level and in the last instance they continued to make these claims within a nationalist discourse. During the war they became the mothers who directed their compassion towards their own *millet*, dressing the wounds of soldiers and undertaking “men’s” work when needed.

*Kadınlar Dünyası* was not published during the First World War. The only publication intended for women during the war years of 1914 – 1918 was The Light of the Homeland of Knowledge (*Bilgi Yurdu Işığı*), which came out in 1917 and *Türk Kadını* only started to be published at the end of the war. On the eve of the war *Kadınlar Dünyası* had published a piece by Vera Starkoff entitled “Against the War”<sup>53</sup> inviting Muslim Turkish women to condemn the war and protest against it; it did not, however, give rise to any discussion. At the outbreak of the First World War a telegram was sent to Enver Paşa, the Minister of War, stating that women would also do their part in defence of the motherland.

In the post-war years, when “otherness” became more sharply articulated, there was an apparent absence in women’s writing about each other’s hardships.<sup>54</sup> When the First World War ended the censorship that had been in effect throughout the world was temporarily lifted. News about *tehcir*,<sup>55</sup> the conditions of Armenians<sup>56</sup> and as well as critical comments began to appear, although previously no mention had been made in the Turkish press. Nevertheless, I did not find any reference to *tehcir* and its immense impacts on Armenian women in *Kadınlar Dünyası* and other Muslim Ottoman women’s magazines. However, the fact that Halide Edip and Nezihe Muhittin had conveyed certain views in relation to *tehcir* in different venues is a subject which needs special attention on its own.<sup>57</sup>

In the first issue of *Kadınlar Dünyası* published after the war, Ulviye Mevlan discussed the changes that the war had brought to womanhood (both Muslim and Muslim-Turkish women) – their active role in the newly established associations and Ottoman Red Crescent (Hilal-i Ahmer), how women had worked in several branches as labourers, and how they had become more visible in society.<sup>58</sup>

In 1919, in her piece in Hay Gin, Hayganuş Mark wrote more about the hardships inflicted by the war, noting that besides the disaster and misery it had brought at least one good thing, namely advances in the liberation of women and the realization that they were capable of doing things previously deemed “too much for them.”<sup>59</sup>

## Conclusion

During the Ottoman modernization period the feminists who were aware of each other but conducted their struggles within their own ethnic and religious communities still had an impact on one other. Although at first glance it seems that they followed the example of European modernization processes, the writings of these Muslim Ottoman women reveal that they were also motivated and encouraged by the achievements of their non-Muslim counterparts.

The demands for equality expressed through the *Meşrutiyet* for persons with different gender, language and ethnic identities provided a nascent ground for the notion of identity as a citizen. The sections of society which took equality rights most seriously were first and foremost Muslim women, women in general, non-Muslims and manual labourers. These groups were also the ones which tried to make themselves visible both for the sake of their own identity and that of others in the newer public sphere. This expanded and shared Ottoman public sphere nourished Muslim women and fostered a more feminist discourse. Despite having particular obstacles of their own, Muslim women were the group that benefited most from the newer conditions of the *Meşrutiyet*.

It can be argued that spatial segregation (both in its reality and as a symbol) became the most noticeable marker of the conditions of Muslim women. It is also this segregation that came into conflict most with Muslim women’s newer demands. Muslim women were of the opinion that their non-Muslim counterparts - not being subject to gender segregation and sharing their social life with men - were freer than they were. In their eyes, then, non-Muslim women were closer to the female subject as citizen. However, it is not clear how much Muslim women knew about the relations between non-Muslim women and men and the social status of women in those communities and in the West. For example, there is little evidence that they were aware that women in France did not have some of the legal rights enjoyed by Ottoman women (such as the right of married women to retain control over their own property). The idea that Muslim women had some advantages over European

women was voiced only by a few figures, such as Fatma Aliye Hanım and Gülnar Hanım, who believed that Islam did not constitute an obstacle to women's progress. Otherwise, the most common view was that non-Muslim women were in a better position.

Middle- and upper-class Ottoman women of various communities had worked hard to transform the views of both women and men in their own ethnic and religious communities. They were writing and expressing their thoughts and desires tirelessly with the hope of creating legitimacy for their demands for equal treatment of men and women as subjects at the political and ideological levels. However, the socio-economic conditions were not ripe for these middle- and upper-middle-class women to start working outside of their homes. They were still being provided for by their husbands. In order for them to attain equality and themselves become subjects, they would have needed to be part of working life. Modernization had opened up working space for women but would bring middle- and upper-class women of different *millets* together only later - and even then not in many professions. Indeed, some of the jobs that were created as a result of this process would actually lead to competition between Muslim and non-Muslim women. Non-Muslim women from the lower classes had already started to work as labourers and the number of Muslim workers had also increased; they had even participated in strikes. Yet we do not know what kind of experiences these workers had as a result of their close proximity to each other.

It is evident that the class privileges of women from all ethnic groups influenced their access to writing and hence to the platforms that could connect them to each other. On the basis of their class positions women from different ethnic backgrounds were in fact sharing similar values and a similar language/discourse about womanhood and liberation. We also see them emerging as consumers in the Ottoman market who will be integrated into the (Muslim Turkish) nationalization of the economy.

The perspectives and attitudes of the women who engaged – on their own terms – in the “Women's Revolution” (*Kadınlık İnkılabı*) and who felt enthusiasm for womanhood went through a transformation; however rudimentary this transformation may have been, the sheer presence of small platforms for dialogue carries a historical significance in terms of discussions of gender and ethnic identity, class, citizenship and nationalism.

- <sup>1</sup> This article is a product of my involvement with the project “Gender and Inter-religious Relations in South Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean (19th – 21st centuries)”. I would like to thank Efi Kanner (the editor of the volume based on that project) for her helpful comments and criticisms. I am also grateful to Vincent Nunney and Hülya Demirdirek for their contribution to the English language version of the article.
- <sup>2</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge: 1987); Haim Gerber, “Social and Economic Position of Women in an Ottoman City, Bursa, 1600-1700,” *IJMES* 12 (1980): 231-44; Fatma Müge Göçek and Marc David Baer, “18. Yüzyıl Galata Sicillerinde Osmanlı Kadınlarının Toplumsal Sınırları [Social Boundaries of Ottoman Women’s Experience in 18th Century Galata Court Records],” in *Modernleşmenin Eşiğinde Osmanlı Kadınları [Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Middle East]*, ed. Madeline C. Zilfi, trans. Necmiye Alpay (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), 47-62.
- <sup>3</sup> Yahya Araz, “Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Toplumunda Müslim-Gayrimüslim İlişkileri Bağlamında Lise Ders Kitaplarında ‘Öteki’ Sorunu [Problem of “the Other” in High School History Textbooks in the Context of Muslim non-Muslim Relationships in Classical Age Ottoman Society]” (PhD diss, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2008), 122-128. <http://www.belgeler.com/blg/1byl/klasik-donem-osmanli-toplumunda-muslim-gayrimuslim-iliskileri> Accessed 20.12. 2011.
- <sup>4</sup> Elif Ekin Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi [The Silence of Girls - The Girls’ Institutes in the Early Period of the Turkish Republic]* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2005), 42-32; Serpil Çakır, “Osmanlı’da Kadınların Mekânı, Sınırlar ve İhlaller [Women’s Space in Ottoman Society: Limitations and Contraventions],” in *Cins Cins Mekân [The Very Kinds of Space]*, ed. Ayten Alkan (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 2009), 77-101.
- <sup>5</sup> Athanasia Anagnostopulu, “Tanzimat ve Rum Milletinin Kurumsal Çerçevesi [Tanzimat and the Institutional Frame of Ottoman Greeks],” in *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Gayrimüslimler [Non-Muslims in Istanbul of the 19th Century]*, ed. Pınelopi Stathis, trans. Foti and Stefo Benlisoy (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), 1-35.
- <sup>6</sup> Deniz Kandiyoti, “İslam ve Ataerkillik: Karşılaştırmalı Bir Perspektif [Islam and Patriarchy: A Comparative Perspective]” in *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar - Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşüm [Mistresses in the Ottoman Harem, Sisters, Citizens – Identities and Social Transformation]*, eds. Beril Eyüboğlu, Müge Gürsoy Sökmen, trans. Aksu Bora et al. (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1997), 108-132.
- <sup>7</sup> Unless otherwise indicated all translations of citations and titles of written materials as well as the titles of references in Ottoman Turkish/Turkish are mine.
- <sup>8</sup> It is not clear who wrote the news in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. However, the style of writing makes me think that the items were written by women. Yet, even if they were not written by women they still offer rich content about the lives of women.
- <sup>9</sup> She is from Thessaloniki and should not be confused with Nakiye Hanım who wrote for *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* under the alias Zekiye.
- <sup>10</sup> Johann Strauss, “Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)?,” *Arabic Middle Eastern Literatures*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2003): 40.
- <sup>11</sup> Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003), 50.
- <sup>12</sup> Firdevs Cambaz, “Fatma Aliye Hanım’ın Romanlarında Kadın Sorunu [The Question of Women in the Novels of Fatma Aliye Hanım]” (Master’s thesis, Bilkent University, 2005), 50.
- <sup>13</sup> Şefika Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketinde Bir Öncü Emine Semiye [Emine Semiye: A Pioneer in the Ottoman Women’s Movement]* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2008), 125.
- <sup>14</sup> Emine Semiye, “Anadolulu Kız Kardeşlerime [To My Anatolian Sisters],” *İnkılap* 14, October 23, 1909, 212-213, quoted in Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketinde Bir Öncü Emine Semiye*, 143.
- <sup>15</sup> Emine Semiye, “Dostluk [Friendship],” *İnkılap* 13, October 16, 1909, 195-196, quoted in Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketinde Bir Öncü Emine Semiye*, 142.
- <sup>16</sup> Emine Semiye, “Anadolulu Kız Kardeşlerime,” *İnkılap* 14, October 23, 1909, 212-213, quoted in Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketinde Bir Öncü Emine Semiye*, 142.

- <sup>17</sup> Emine Semiye, “Osmanlılık, [To be Ottoman],” *İnkılap* 8, September 11, 1909, 115-116, quoted in Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketinde Bir Öncü Emine Semiye*, 143.
- <sup>18</sup> For example, “Women in Ancient Rome”, “Women in Ancient Greece”, “Women in Ancient Persia” (ed. Fatma Aliye Hanım, in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*); “Women under Bani Isra’il”, “Indian Women in History”, “Chinese Women”, “Life among Arabs and Women’s Rights” (in *Kadınlar Dünyası*).
- <sup>19</sup> Logofet Fuat, “Osmanlı Meşâhir-i Nisvânı [Famous Ottoman Women]: Madam Zabel Asadur,” *Demet* 1 (1908): 7-8.
- <sup>20</sup> Halil Hamit, “Âlem-i Nisvan: Kürt Kadınları [World of Women: Kurdish Women],” *Siyaset* 15 (1914): 12-13.
- <sup>21</sup> Meropi Anastassiadou, *Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri (1830-1912)* [Thessaloniki: An Ottoman City in the Era of Tanzimat (1830-1912)], trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 70.
- <sup>22</sup> İlber Ortaylı, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Millet [Millet in Ottoman Empire],” *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 2, 996-1001.
- <sup>23</sup> Zekiye, “Şayan-ı Takdir Bir Gayret-i Milliye [A National Effort to Appreciate],” *Kadın* 25 (1909): 5-6.
- <sup>24</sup> Zekiye Hanım also mentions other details about the school: “It has an attendance of one hundred and ten and a fabric-cutting workshop for twenty girls. The school supplies the meals and the clothing for these mostly poor children. Underprivileged girls who work there are given a small amount of daily salary. Although the school works under the authority of a competent director it is inspected by a supervisory committee of Jewish ladies:”
- <sup>25</sup> An important centre in the Balkans in Macedonia on the road between Thessaloniki and Bitola (Monastir).
- <sup>26</sup> Aziz Haydar, “Hatıra-i Sabavet [Childhood Memories],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 40 (1913): 2.
- <sup>27</sup> Sıdıka Ali Rıza, “Mekteplerimiz [Our Schools],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 17 (1913): 4.
- <sup>28</sup> Naciye Tahsin, “Çalışalım, Yapalım [Let us Work and Achieve],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 17 (1913): 3.
- <sup>29</sup> It is documented that schools of Alliance Israelite Universelle had a thirty-year existence: “From 1860 onwards, the Alliance Israelite Universelle took on the task “regenerating” Eastern Jewish communities.” Rena Molho, “Female Jewish Education in Salonica at the end of the 19th century” in *Salonica and İstanbul*, 139.
- <sup>30</sup> The reformation of girls’ schools were actually initiated before the *Meşrutiyet* but the improvements and their recognition first became more noticeable after the liberation in the constitutional period.
- <sup>31</sup> Atiye Şükran, “Ticaret Ayıp Değildir [Trade is not Shameful],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 68 (1913): 1-2
- <sup>32</sup> Another article by Atiye Şükran made reference to the fact that *Kadınlar Dünyası* was sold in the new public spheres open to women such as points of public transport. “At the train station there was a seller calling *Kadınlar Dünyası*” Atiye Şükran, “Ne Güzel! [Oh Joy],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 13 (1913): 2.
- <sup>33</sup> İlber Ortaylı, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Millet,” *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, 997.
- <sup>34</sup> Zabel Yesayan, *Silahtarın Bahçeleri* [Gardens of Silahtar], trans. Jülide Değirmenciler (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2006) 101-102.
- <sup>35</sup> Zekiye, “Şüun-ı Nisvan: Tramvay Meşhudatı [Women’s News: Tram Scenes],” *Kadın* 9 (1908): 15.
- <sup>36</sup> *Kadınlar Dünyası* interrupted its publication three times. Publication periods: April 1913-February 1915 (Number: 1-162), March 1918- October 1918 (163-194); January 1921-May 1921 (194/1-194/15).

- <sup>37</sup> “Illustrated newspaper defending the rights and privileges of women. Our pages are open to pieces from Ottoman women irrespective of religion and ethnicity”. This formulation was changed in 1914 into “Illustrated newspaper defending women’s rights and privileges, published on Saturdays”.
- <sup>38</sup> Serpil Çakır and Mithat Kutlar both assume that the pieces signed as *Kadınlar Dünyası* were written by Ulviye Mevlan on the basis of the style of writing. Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 83; Mithat Kutlar, *Nuriye Ulviye Mevlan ve ‘Kadınlar Dünyası’nda Kürtler* [Nuriye Ulviye Mevlan and the Kurds in ‘Kadınlar Dünyası’] (İstanbul: Aveste, 2010), 43.
- <sup>39</sup> Kutlar, *Nuriye Ulviye Mevlan ve ‘Kadınlar Dünyası’nda Kürtler*; Mevlânzade Rıfat, *Sürgün Hatıralarım [My Memories of Exile]*, ed. Mithat Kutlar (İstanbul: Avesta, 2009).
- <sup>40</sup> *Kadınlar Dünyası* also includes pieces by foreign female writers who were not Ottoman citizens. It is important to approach them separately
- <sup>41</sup> Nadya Kantarcıyan, “Hakiki İnkılabı Doğru [On the Way to the Real Revolution],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 114 (1913). In the magazine the name of Kantarcıyan is written probably by mistake as “Nayda”.
- <sup>42</sup> Mademoiselle Elise, “Kadınlık Âleminde İhtiyacı İnkılap [Necessity of Revolution in the World of Womanhood],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 13 (1913): 1-2.
- <sup>43</sup> Loksandra Aslanidi, “Kadınlar Dünyası Muharrirelerine [To the Writers of Kadınlar Dünyası],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 62 (1913): 4.
- <sup>44</sup> Bintülbetül, “Sahnelerimizde Çalışanlardan: Agavni Necip Hanım [One of Those Who Work on Our Stages: Agavni Necip Hanım],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 194-10 (6 Mart 1921): 13-14. ; Bintülbetül, “Temaşa Hayatı: Aznif Manakyan Hanım [Life of Entertainment: Aznif Manakyan Hanım],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 194-12 (26 Mart 1921): 12.
- <sup>45</sup> Kınar, “İtiraza İtiraz! [Objection to the Objection],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 33 (1913): 4.
- <sup>46</sup> Yavuz Selim Karakışlalı, “Osmanlı Hanımları ve Kadın Terziler-1,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 232 (Nisan 2003):11-20; “Osmanlı Hanımları ve Kadın Terziler-2,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 233 (Mayıs 2003):52-60; “Osmanlı Hanımları ve Kadın Terziler-3,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 234 (Haziran 2003):39-46.
- <sup>47</sup> Besim Ömer, *Hanımefendilere Hilal-i Ahmer’e Dair Konferans* [Conference to Ladies Concerning Hilal-i Ahmer], ed. Turan Hacıfettaoğlu (Ankara: Kızılay Derneği, 2007)
- <sup>48</sup> Founded after the Balkan War to support and provide job opportunities for the orphaned daughters of soldiers and Balkan refugees.
- <sup>49</sup> “Konferans [Conference],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 3 (1913): 3-4.
- <sup>50</sup> Emine Seher, “İktisat [Economics],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 4 (1913): 1-2.
- <sup>51</sup> For Nezihe Muhittin’s opinion about non-Muslims see, *Kadınsız İnkılap* [Revolution without Women], 69-76.
- <sup>52</sup> Aziz Haydar, “Yerli Malları [Domestic Goods],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 53 (1913): 1-2.
- <sup>53</sup> Vera Starkoff, “Harbe Karşı [Against the War],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 121(1913): 2-3.
- <sup>54</sup> Karakışla’s work provides extensive details of the Ottoman Turkish newspaper *Tanin*’s reporting on orphans in the years 1915-1916: the number of orphaned children had exceeded 16,000 in İstanbul. This, he explains, prompted the Ottoman government to cooperate with women working in the Islamic Society for the Employment of Women (*Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi*) and the Society for the Protection of Children (*Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti*). A commission consisting of one American, one Armenian and one Muslim woman was set up by the Directorate of Orphanages (*Darü’l-eytam Müdüriyeti*) to “determine” the ethnic roots of these orphaned children. Karakışla quotes reports that tensions arose in the work of the commission. Yavuz Selim Karakışla, “Savaş Yetimleri ve Kimsesiz Çocuklar: ‘Ermeni’ mi Türk mü? [War Orphans and Children without Identities: ‘Armenian’ or Turkish?],” *Toplumsal Tarih* 69 (1999): 46-55.

- <sup>55</sup> *Tehcir*, the literal meaning of which is “forced immigration”, is the term used very commonly during the Ottoman period and especially in the Turkish Republic both to refer to or rather not refer to the Armenian Genocide.
- <sup>56</sup> Nezihe Muhittin, “İzzetinefimize Hürmet Bekleriz [We Expect Our Honour to be Respected ],” *Âti*, 24 November 1918, 3; Bengi Kümbül, “Tercüman-ı Hakikat Gazetesine Göre Osmanlı Ermenileri 1914-1918 [Ottoman Armeinans According to Tercüman-ı Hakikat Newspaper 1914-1918]” (me. Theses, Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi, 2005), 81-83, 90-93.
- <sup>57</sup> Yaprak Zihnioglu (ed.), *Nezihe Muhittin Bütün Eserleri 4. Cilt* [ Nezihe Muhittin Collected Works vol.4], (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008),193; Çalışlar, *Halide Edib Biyografisine Sığmayan Kadın*,15, 29.
- <sup>58</sup> Ulviye Mevlan, “Düşünüyorum [I am Thinking],” *Kadınlar Dünyası* 163 (1918): 2-3.
- <sup>59</sup> Hayganuş Mark, “Mer Campan [Our Way],” (*Hay Gin*, 1st November 1919, Number 1, trans. Sırpuhi Bilal, in *Bir Adalet Feryadı*, 317-318.

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