

THE PREDICAMENTS OF *ALLA FRANCA*:  
VISIONS OF PROPER BEHAVIOR IN LATE OTTOMAN ETIQUETTE  
LITERATURE

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THE PREDICAMENTS OF *ALLA FRANCA*:  
VISIONS OF PROPER BEHAVIOR IN LATE OTTOMAN ETIQUETTE  
LITERATURE

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## Dissertation Abstract

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“The Predicaments of *Alla Franca*:  
Visions of Proper Behavior in Late Ottoman Etiquette Literature”

This dissertation is about late Ottoman etiquette (*âdâb-ı mu’âşeret*) books published between 1889 and 1918. It examines these books as behavioral literature and discusses the emergence of this literature within the late Ottoman socio-political and cultural milieu and contemporary world context. It analyses late Ottoman etiquette books in terms of context, content and agenda as the visions of proper behavior of each etiquette author. By studying this genre and the manners it introduced, this study aims to obtain insights into how contemporary men of letters understood, confronted, negotiated and coped with change and transformation and how they define Ottoman etiquette under different circumstances and situations. In this manner, firstly, it analyzes late Ottoman etiquette books as a literature with all its differences and common points within a conceptual framework. Then, it reveals how it defines its audience and delineates different realms of life from dress to domestic life to patterns of sociability.

## Tez Özeti

Fatma Tunç Yaşar

### Alafranga Halleri: Geç Dönem Osmanlı *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* Literatüründe Doğru Davranış Biçimleri

Bu tez, 1889 ve 1918 yılları arasında yayımlanmış geç dönem Osmanlı *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* kitapları hakkındadır. Bu kitapları davranış literatürü olarak ele almakta ve bu literatürün ortaya çıkışını geç dönem Osmanlı toplumsal, siyasi ve kültürel atmosferi ve dünya bağlamında tartışmaktadır. Geç dönem Osmanlı *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* kitaplarını her bir yazarın doğru davranış vizyonu olarak kapsam, içerik ve gündem açısından incelemektedir. Bu literatürü ve ortaya koyduğu doğru davranış biçimlerini çalışarak, Osmanlı entelektüellerinin değişim ve dönüşümü nasıl algıladıklarını, onunla nasıl yüzleştiklerini, uzlaştıklarını ve başettiklerini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda ilk olarak *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* kitaplarını farklılıkları ve ortak yanları itibariyle bir literatür olarak kavramsal çerçevede incelemektedir. Sonrasında ise bu kitapların hedef kitlesini nasıl tanımladığını ve giyimden ev hayatına ve sosyalleşme biçimlerine varıncaya kadar hayatın farklı alanlarını nasıl kurguladığını ortaya çıkarmaktadır.



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My mother and father Hanük and Mehmet Tunç, and  
my granfather İlyas Tunç*

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*“Nothing, at first sight, seems less important than the external formalities of human behavior, yet there is nothing to which men attach more importance... The influence of the social and political system on manners is therefore worth serious examination.”*

*Alexis De Tocqueville<sup>1</sup>*

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is about the late Ottoman etiquette (*âdâb-ı mu’âşeret*) books published between 1889 and 1918. It examines these etiquette books as behavioral literature and analyses their context, content and agenda within the late Ottoman socio-political and cultural atmosphere. In this vein, it tries to reveal the place and the position of this etiquette literature within the broader context of transformations, changes and innovations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The late Ottoman etiquette books which explain codified rules of behavior for a targeted audience suggest how men of letters viewed manners as a remarkably important aspect of the transformation of Ottoman political, social and cultural life. Thus, by studying this genre and the manners it introduced, this study aims to obtain insights into how contemporaries understood, confronted, negotiated and coped with change and

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<sup>1</sup> Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Knopf Publishing Group, 1969), p. 605.

transformation. It considers etiquette books as a discourse about ideal social norms and behaviors that expose as much as reality does, or maybe even more, about a society. Although this study does not ignore how Ottoman society actually was, its emphasis is more on the realm of aspirations as revealed in the etiquette books. It affirms that behavioral ideals expressed in late Ottoman etiquette books can be most meaningfully viewed as cultural responses to and reflections on rapid, far-reaching and dramatic changes of the late Ottoman world.

This dissertation deals with late Ottoman etiquette literature as both the object and subject of the aforementioned transformations and change. It means that it can be studied from two perspectives. First, it can be studied as being a result of a transformations process realized in late Ottoman life as a requirement of the time. Secondly, it can be studied as a project of Ottoman men of letters for transforming Ottoman society. This study, however, emphasizes the reflexive and multidimensional character of late Ottoman etiquette literature. In this manner, firstly, it discusses late Ottoman etiquette books as a literature with all its differences and common points within a conceptual framework determined by authors or translators of etiquette books. Then, it reveals how it defines its audience and delineates different levels of life from dress to domestic life to patterns of sociability.

## Historiography: Late Ottoman History

In world history, the nineteenth century has been studied as a long century. It is considered as a century that lasted more than a hundred years because the beginning of the events and processes that produced it can be traced well into the eighteenth century, and their results well into the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> As the age of transformation, the nineteenth century witnessed enormous changes in virtually every aspect of Ottoman life. Therefore, it is accepted as the longest century by some historians because so many far-reaching events were compressed into it.<sup>3</sup> It is studied with a variety of concepts by historians such as westernization, modernization, civilizing process, progress, transformation, change and innovation.<sup>4</sup>

Until the last three or four decades, the nineteenth, especially the second half of the nineteenth century of Ottoman history had been studied as a part of the westernization processes in different realms of Ottoman life. Recently, with new approaches this paradigm has begun to lose its weight. Nowadays, late Ottoman history seems to have been rescued from macro-

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<sup>2</sup> Irvin Cemil Schick, "Introduction," *Thirty Years in the Harem*, Melek Hanım (New Jersey: First Gorgias Press Edition, 2005), p. v.

<sup>3</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> In his study on Ottoman official etiquette of the nineteenth century, Hakan Karateke calls the nineteenth century 'the century of contradictions'. Hakan Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), p. 10.

explanations and paradigms. Historians of the late Ottoman past have begun to apply multilayered, complex and diversified explanations for topics and issues on different realms of Ottoman life. Avoiding theory-oriented explanations, their studies inevitably have revealed more flexible and complex interpretations. Historians such as Selçuk Esenbel, Ussama Makdisi, Suraiya Faroqhi, Selim Deringil, Hakan Karateke, Shirine Hamadeh and Sibel Zandi-Sayek<sup>5</sup> have used more complex and dynamic words on different topics of the late Ottoman world such as change, transformation, civilizing and innovation in order to explain developments in the late Ottoman context. Their studies are not only about explaining one dimension of change, but are also about giving weight to the inner dynamics of the Ottoman world.

Despite the fact that cultural interchange between the Ottoman Empire and Europe was an everyday reality in the preceding periods. As Cemal Kafadar denotes, the Ottoman state had always been involved in European politics and diplomacy not simply in the inert sense that it held lands in the continent, but through making and breaking alliances or fighting and negotiations from the fourteenth century onwards.<sup>6</sup> Hence, the Ottoman Empire's encounter with western culture has a long history of political,

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<sup>5</sup> Sibel Zandi-Sayek, "Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Public Rituals in Nineteenth-Century Izmir," *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, Nezar Al-Sayyad, ed. (Westport: Praeger, 2001), 42-66.

<sup>6</sup> Cemal Kafadar, "The City that Ralamb Visited: The Political and Cultural Climate of İstanbul in the 1650s," *The Sultan's Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657-1658 and the Ralamb Paintings*, Karin Adahl, ed., (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), p. 68.

religious and most significant, military confrontation and interaction with Europe. However, as Selçuk Esenbel points out, the Ottoman interest in western culture as a medium of reform was quite late.<sup>7</sup> The transformation and change of the nineteenth century in the different realms of Ottoman life was inextricably associated with the issues of reform, modernization and westernization. Therefore, the overwhelming presence of the West in the late Ottoman transformation process could not be ignored in this study dealing with etiquette literature. It seems difficult, if not impossible, to reveal aspirations, aims, concerns or strategies without taking the West into account. As Exertzoglou points out, reference to the West was inherent in any meaningful discourse about the self and the community. 'Civilization', 'progress', 'novelty', 'literacy', 'respectability' and other key words of the western vocabulary of civilization were widely employed in public discourses as primary cognitive means to define particular situations.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, the process of transformation and change in different realms of Ottoman life was neither monolithic nor self-evident, but rather full of ambivalence. There were different and sometimes overlapping patterns, methods and conceptions for approaching the place and position of

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<sup>7</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, "The Anguish of Civilized Behavior: The Use of Western Cultural Forms in the Everyday Lives of the Meiji Japanese and the Ottoman Turks during the Nineteenth Century," *Japan Review*, V. 5, (1994), p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> Haris Exertzoglou, "Metaphors of Change: 'Tradition' and the East/West Discourse in the Late Ottoman Empire," *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe, 1850-1950*, Anna Frangoudaki and Çağlar Keyder, eds. (I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2007), p. 45.

European culture within Ottoman life as it was transformed by reforms and changes. As an example, within the late Ottoman transformation process, the reforms and policies of the Hamidian period (1876-1909) were quite different from the Second Constitutional period (1908-1914) in terms of education, bureaucracy, social disciplining, and publishing. For this reason, explaining all the transformations and changes in the late Ottoman world as a linear development leading to modernization, and describing the period by completely relying on the westernization paradigm will prevent us from distinguishing local and inner dynamics, multiple negotiations and complex syntheses in Ottoman life.

As Selçuk Esenbel points out, the experience of modernization is a product of decision-making processes. Although it seems universal, it takes its shape mainly through the inner dynamics of local culture.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the experience of the modernization and westernization of each culture diverges according to its background in regard to its political, economic, cultural, demographic and religious experiences. The Ottoman government, attempting to rejuvenate the empire and confront European encroachment on its own terms, had undertaken modernization programs as early as the last decade of the eighteenth century. Many technical, administrative, legal and educational reforms were based on European models during the

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<sup>9</sup> For a detailed discussion, see: Selçuk Esenbel, *Japon Modernleşmesi ve Osmanlı: Japonya'nın Türk Dünyası ve İslam Politikaları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012).

nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> In *Displaying the Orient*, Zeynep Çelik has argued that the issue of self-definition for many Muslim societies was very important during the nineteenth century since they engaged in a struggle to balance modernization imported from West with local values and forms.<sup>11</sup> The Ottoman Empire showed special interest in participating in world expositions and presenting itself in a defined image both as modern and traditional.

Hamadeh, in her study on the poems of the eighteenth century emphasizes the multidimensional character of the process of Ottoman cultural borrowing and transformation. She says that the eighteenth century is not only a period of opening to the West, but also opening up to the world. She argues that the Ottoman state needed new imperial images to re-affirm its legitimacy, but the models for the new imperial image interestingly have not been sought solely in Western culture, but to a great extent in other imperial traditions like Safavid Persian, Mughal Indian, and pre-classical Ottoman repertoires.<sup>12</sup>

As regards the government system and other practices, borrowing from others is not a strange situation for Ottomans who adapted an eclectic government, society and culture during their long history. All the early

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<sup>10</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (California: University of California Press, 1992), p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Zeynep Çelik, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity: "Inevitable" Question of Westernization," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 63, 1(March 2004), p. 45.



sultans had borrowed from those around them from the Byzantines and other Christian and Muslim polities. They borrowed ideas whenever they thought it would be helpful. If it worked, everything adapted from others merged with Turkish traditions and became Ottoman.<sup>13</sup> The policy of reconciliation (*istimâlet*) which Ottoman sultans practiced in newly conquered territories is a well-known example of how Ottomans encountered other cultures. As İnalcık argues, the Ottomans maintaining local laws and customs in newly acquired territories by this policy of *istimâlet*, were ready to negotiate with local cultures.<sup>14</sup>

Suraiya Faroqhi also reveals that there was no isolation or seclusion between the Ottoman Empire and the worlds around it, but rather a long-established and complex network of diplomatic, economic, cultural and religious connections. Faroqhi talks about “a common world” for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Ottomans, Frenchmen and Venetians, and argues that Ottomans inhabited a world not apart from their early modern neighbors in Europe.<sup>15</sup> In fact, there was a local traditional basis of close contacts and cultural syntheses as making the Ottoman world like other early modern polities such as Safavids and Mughals. Sanjay Subrahmanyam

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<sup>13</sup> Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire* (London: Arnold, 2001), p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> See. Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds, the Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) and Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), p. 25.

in his studies on south Asia also brings into focus the world connections of different geographies in early modern period. He documents the polyvalence of local histories and makes the case that historical change and transformation is a worldly and conjunctural experience rather than a result of forces spreading out from Europe.<sup>16</sup>

Keeping in mind all the contributions of recent historiography, it is necessary to study late Ottoman history as a part of world history. Even when it was the Sick Man of Europe, the Ottoman Empire never became a geography isolated from the world. In a century called “the age of civility”, it is crucial to rethink social and cultural transformation in the late Ottoman world alongside political, social and cultural changes and developments in the world, especially in Western Europe.

### Literature Survey

The scholarly study of “etiquette” has become gradually more popular in the last three decades. The most important contribution to the literature, by far, is Norbert Elias’ book, *The Civilizing Process*,<sup>17</sup> examining how post-medieval European standards of modes of behavior regarding violence, sexual

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<sup>16</sup> Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Penumbral Visions: Making Politics in Early Modern South India* (Delhi/Ann Arbor: Oxford University Press/University of Michigan Press, 2001).

<sup>17</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, Edmund Jebhcott, trans., Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom and Stephen Mennell, eds. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

behavior, bodily functions, table manners and forms of speech were gradually transformed by the civilizing process which led to the emergence of European civilization.<sup>18</sup>

From the Renaissance to the French Revolution, proper etiquette and good manners were accepted as indispensable aspects of ideal civilization. Courtesy and etiquette books as genres which continued for almost three hundred years from Elyot to Chesterfield remained a lively and important strand of European literature.<sup>19</sup> These books published with the titles such as manners, gentility, propriety, politeness and etiquette have been studied by many social historians and scholars from different fields. These studies explore the definitions and boundaries of courtesy and etiquette literatures, and analyze them from a variety of perspectives. Many of these studies dealing with etiquette genres and literatures have focused on to the evolution of European behavioral literature from sixteenth to twentieth centuries.<sup>20</sup> Inspiring by Norbert Elias, they examine the socio-political and

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<sup>18</sup> Elias argues that the concept of civilization since its creation has expressed the “self-consciousness of the West.” He writes that one can even take it as a form of “national consciousness” as it sums up all areas in which Western society of the last two or three centuries has believed itself superior to earlier societies or “more primitive” contemporary ones. According to Elias, eastern societies do not have such kind of a civilizing process which is peculiar to them. Thus, their civilizing process can be realized only through colonization. Therefore, he argues that the acceptance of etiquette rules by non-Western states implies cultural conquest. Elias, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Curtin, “A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy,” *The Journal of Modern History*, 57, 3 (Sep. 1985), p. 395.

<sup>20</sup> *The Crisis of Courtesy: Studies in the Conduct-Book in Britain, 1600-1900*, Jacques Carré, ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); Marjorie Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class in England, 1774-1858* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994); Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes*

cultural developments which underline the transformation of the European behavioral literature. According to these studies, the rise of the bourgeoisie and the expansion of a literate middle class led to the emergence of a new set of behavioral standards. Thus, the addressee of conduct books shifted from the court society to the broader middle class.<sup>21</sup> There are also specific studies on etiquette books dealing with the issues of politeness<sup>22</sup>, gender<sup>23</sup>, class<sup>24</sup>, masculinity<sup>25</sup>, femininity<sup>26</sup>, as well as the studies particularly dealing with the etiquette books published in different countries<sup>27</sup> and time periods.<sup>28</sup>

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*of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 1998); Jorge Ardit, *A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998); John Gillingham, "From Civilitas to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002); and, Benet Davetian, *Civility: A Cultural History* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

<sup>21</sup> The transformation of European etiquette literature will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

<sup>22</sup> Jennifer Claire Georgia, "Polite Literature: Conduct Books and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England," (PhD. diss., Harvard University, 1994).

<sup>23</sup> Michael Curtin, "A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy," *The Journal of Modern History*, 57, 3, (Sep. 1985), pp. 395-423.

<sup>24</sup> Sarah Esther Horowitz, *States of Intimacy: Friendship and the Remaking of French Political Elites, 1815--1848*, (PhD diss., University of California, 2008).

<sup>25</sup> Michèle Cohen, "Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750--1830," *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (April 2005), pp. 312-329.

<sup>26</sup> Jorge Ardit, "The Feminization of Etiquette Literature: Foucault, Mechanisms of Social Change, and the Paradoxes of Empowerment," *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Autumn, 1996), pp. 417-434.

<sup>27</sup> William Robertsan, "History of Manners in German, 1770-1795," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 58, 1 (1997); C. Dallet Hemphill, *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620-1860* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and, John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wand, A Division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1991).

<sup>28</sup> Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, eds., *Medieval Conduct* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Michael Curtin, *Propriety and Position: a Study of Victorian Manners* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1987) and Andrew St George, *The Descent of Manners Etiquette, Rules The Victorians* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993).

It is curious that historians focusing on the Ottoman Empire have rarely paid attention to the etiquette and social codes of the Ottoman society as a substantive field of research. Virtually no current scholarship critically addresses the etiquette books of the late Ottoman period. Nevertheless, there are a few studies concerning the changing manners in late Ottoman society. One of them is a master's thesis by Nevin Meriç which examines changing daily life through the etiquette books in late Ottoman and early Republican periods.<sup>29</sup> This study deals with the books published under the name of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*. It uses the accumulation of obtainable etiquette books and introduces them to readers through a descriptive framework providing information on the backgrounds of authors, the topics discussed in the etiquette books, sometimes quoting small passages from them. It approaches etiquette books from a sociological perspective and evaluates the changes in late Ottoman society as the recognition and adoption of the Western way of life, sometimes through imitation, and sometimes as a result of an intellectual concern for modernization. In this manner, as a method, it takes the westernization paradigm to the center and applies it to the late Ottoman etiquette books with a set of predetermined questions.

The book in question deals with the period between 1894 and 1927, which includes both late Ottoman and early Republican periods within the

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<sup>29</sup> Nevin Meriç, *Osmanlı'da Gündelik Hayatın Değişimi: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret, Osmanlı Toplumunda Batılılaşma* (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2000).

context of change, transformation, and westernization. Despite some continuities and similarities between the etiquette books of these two periods, I would argue that they need to be evaluated separately from a historical perspective. These two etiquette literatures should be discussed in terms of similarities, differences and ruptures within a detailed framework of analysis. Still, Meriç's book is an important work for inspiring future research, since it is the first study which deals with the etiquette books as a literature.

As regards the secondary literature touching upon late Ottoman history, there is a general tendency to see the emergence of etiquette literature simply as the manifestation of the Westernization of lifestyle, and to interpret all the developments in this framework. However, the idea of transformation of entire Ottoman society in favor of a Western lifestyle is a highly debatable issue. Although there has been an assumption that newly emerging manners were gradually accepted by the Ottoman urban middle class, this does not mean that everyone in Ottoman society experienced the transformation in the same way.

It is well known that every change or transformation in the Ottoman Empire, whenever it occurred, came across a certain resistance by some groups or personages. Thus, it is possible that these new manners adopted by some elite families of the Ottoman society were foreign to the majority of the Ottomans who continued to sit cross-legged on *divans* and eat from

shared bowls. In the period under scrutiny, *alla franca* and *alla turca* lifestyles continued side by side, and were sometimes intermingled. As Ekrem Işın pointed out, the Ottoman expression “*âdâb-ı mu’âşeret*” emerged as a term to reduce the tension between the traditional lifestyle, *alla turca* of the Ottoman society and the new manners of modern life, *alla franca*.<sup>30</sup> In fact, many Ottoman etiquette authors such as Ahmed Midhat, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, Mehmed Emin, Abdülaziz Bey and Lütü Simavi drew attention to the tension and differences between European and Ottoman lifestyles and manners. Some of them such as Ahmed Midhat and Lütü Simavi tried to find a way between the new way of life based on European lifestyle and Ottoman way of life in their etiquette books while some like Antakyalı Çençenzade Hakkı, Mehmed Emin, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem and Abdülaziz Bey rejecting the adoption of European manners by Ottomans. This means that Ottoman encounters of the West were diversified, complex and even conflicted on the issues of change and transformation in favor of Westernization and proposed different ideas on how Ottoman way of life and etiquette should be in a changing world.

Suraiya Faroqhi discusses in *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily life in the Ottoman Empire* how Ottoman Muslims and non-Muslims actively participated in the process of change and transformation in nineteenth century through their efforts and enterprises in the new forms of art such as

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<sup>30</sup> Ekrem Işın, “*Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret*,” *Tarih ve Toplum*, No. 44 (August 1987), p. 32.

theater, novel, photograph and oil painting. According to Faroqhi, this engagement on the part of Muslims and non-Muslims alike shows that it is a gross simplification to trace all the cultural transformations of the late nineteenth century as an attempt to imitate the European powers in political and military terms. Rather, these men and women had the courage to attempt using innovations from European culture as the starting point for their own version of the Enlightenment.<sup>31</sup>

In this context, it can be argued that inner dynamics were important as well as western impact in the process of the transformation of Ottoman society. By keeping in mind the westernization and modernization paradigms as significant explanatory parameters of the period, it seems necessary to go one step further and ask more peculiar questions for a deeper understanding of etiquette. In this context, this study suggests the term “transformation” which takes into account both inner dynamics and European impact instead of the terms of westernization and modernization which express only one side of late Ottoman history.

Selçuk Esenbel’s articles on the recognition of western cultural forms in Ottoman and Meiji Empires in the nineteenth century are important in terms of their approach and method.<sup>32</sup> This study is indebted to her

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<sup>31</sup> Suraiya Faruqi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 2000), p. 271.

<sup>32</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, “Medeni Davranışın Aczi I: Batı Kültür Formlarının 19. Yüzyılda Meici Japonlarının ve Osmanlı Türklerinin Gündelik Yaşamlarında Kullanımı”, *Toplumsal Tarih*,



approach in many aspects. Esenbel argues that both Ottoman and Meiji Empires formed eclectic cultural syntheses in their particular experiences of westernization. However, she does not accept modernization and westernization as useful conceptual tools to explain this ambiguous process. As an analytical investigation, these two terms do not say much about the inner and private meanings of modernization for an individual in a multicultural environment which emerged through the harmonization of the western way of living with local cultures. On the other hand, studying changing clothing habits, household structures and everyday manners can say more about the meaning and impact of western culture. According to Esenbel, the Ottomans devised more eclectic, flexible and consistent attitudes towards the western way of life by intermingling it with local customs, religious beliefs and local traditions. They did not see an absolute contradiction between modern and traditional lives. Especially in the private domain, Ottomans were more successful in combining two different lifestyles that were totally separated from each other by the Japanese.<sup>33</sup>

It is very inconvenient to read nineteenth century Ottoman history within the narrow framework of the westernization or modernization paradigms. Especially for the study of daily life, it is very difficult to look

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(Kasım 1997), pp. 6-14; "Medeni Davranışın Aczi II: Batı Kültür Formlarının 19. Yüzyılda Meici Japonlarının ve Osmanlı Türklerinin Gündelik Yaşamlarında Kullanımı", *Toplumsal Tarih*, (Aralık 1997), pp. 7-15; "The Anguish of Civilized Behavior: The Use of Western Cultural Forms in the Everyday Lives of the Meiji Japanese and the Ottoman Turks During the Nineteenth Century," *Japan Review*, 5, (1995), pp. 145-85.

<sup>33</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, 1995, pp. 145-185.

from a general perspective that categorizes people as modern, traditional or conservative. Thus, it is not right to consider all cultural transformations in the late Ottoman society as being a mere imitation of European civilization in military and political arenas. One of the main concerns of this study is to see what “*âdâb-ı mu’âşeret*” meant for late Ottoman men of letters, how it was defined and written, and to what extent *alla franca* manners were explored and propagated by the late Ottoman etiquette authors. Were they applied exactly or were they transformed according to local needs, expectations and beliefs in their appropriation of the western norms? To what extent were they flexible? Were these norms applied only in shape, or were they informed and inflected by certain intellectual considerations which were specific to the Ottoman domain?

## Methodology and Sources

At first sight, the endeavor to study the enormous topic of etiquette historically seems overwhelming and the possibilities of sources seem both unlimited and also fragmentary. To borrow from John Kasson who studies the civility in the nineteenth century urban America, “The effort is rather like looking for salt in the sea: traces are everywhere but usually so thoroughly

diluted as to frustrate one's efforts."<sup>34</sup> An enormous range of records and pieces of material culture could be used to reveal many aspects of late Ottoman lifestyle and etiquette. For example, it is possible to trace table manners by examining pictures, furniture, kitchen implements and literary accounts on meals. Architectural data could reveal some information about forms of sociability, standards of hygiene and concepts of privacy. It can also be possible to examine literature, memoirs, letters, traveler accounts, and even state archives for examples of the pattern of social conducts between and within ranks, sexes, family members and age groups. Almost every record could be included in this research from cookery books to novels, and from personal diaries to photographs. However, it seems that this kind of research, without limiting sources or topics, would remain never-ending and unfocused, producing simply a diverse inventory of data. Therefore, it can be said that there are various way to study etiquette. One way that etiquette can be studied as a subject is not as some amorphous whole, but as particular issues and topics whether domestic life, education, costume, households, etc. However, limiting research to a topic is valid if one's effort is to make a total history of manners based on all available evidence of practice.

On the other hand, the aim of this study is not to embark upon a vague description and general definition of daily practices and etiquette

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<sup>34</sup> John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wand, A Division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1991), pp. 4-5.

rules (although its conclusions will certainly deal with social standards and practices). Instead, it tries to analyze the discourse behind the definitions and descriptions of etiquette literature (*âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*) composed by late Ottoman authors. This dissertation is therefore based mainly on books which are self-consciously concerned with the discussion or description of principles of courtesy and civility, the codification of proper social practices, and the critique of contemporary impolite manners. It includes thirteen etiquette books which were published with the Ottoman title "*âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*," and its synonyms and related concepts such as *usûl-i mu'âşeret*, *âdât*, *merasim*, *teşrifât*, *zarâfet*, *nezâket* and *centilmen* in the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>35</sup> Within this conceptual framework, this dissertation does not only study literary works on the western way of life, on *alla franca* and its adaptation to the

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<sup>35</sup> Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, *Nezaketi ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavâ'id-i Âdâb* (İstanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar Matba'ası, 1306/1889); Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1890/1307); Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1312/1894); *Avrupa'da Merasim ve Âdât*, trans. M. Ş. (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1312/1894); Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1316/1898); Mehmet Emin, *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hasıl Olur* (Aydın: Vilayet Matba'ası, 1321/1904); *Usul ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Askeriye, 1327/1910); Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsi-i Tıbaat Matba'ası, 1328/1911); Kontes Dumagalon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti*, trans. Ahmet Cevad (İstanbul: İbrahim Hilmi Neşriyatı, 1328/1911); Lütü Simavi, *Teşrifât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, (İstanbul: Matba'a-i İctihad, 1329/1914). (2nd edition, 1333/1918; 3rd edition, 1342/1923); *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları*, Kadınlar Dünyası Külliyyatından (İstanbul: Kadınlar Dünyası Matba'ası, 1331/1912-13); *Vesaya-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvan*, trans. Kaşif Dehri (İstanbul: İtimad Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir, undated, probably between 1912-1916); Abdülaziz Bey, *Adat ve Merasim-i Kadime: Tabirat ve Muamelata-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye (Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri)* (1910s.) Kazım Arısan, Duygu Arısan Günay, eds. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995).

Ottoman context; but also deals with all the books about etiquette (most of which were discovered during the course of this study) published in the specified period (1889-1918).

I would argue that the typical etiquette book in the Ottoman context is in fact much more than a guide to etiquette and manners. It concerns the establishment of a way of life, a code of principles and moral and ethical behavior by which to live. It talks about how to set the fork, the knife and the spoon. But the most important parts in these books are the lessons on how to avoid being ill-mannered, impolite, rude, thoughtless, offensive and discourteous. Therefore, it deals with issues of propriety, behavior and morals, with a particular focus on life in a specific environment.

Widespread Ottoman interest in proper behavior and etiquette in the late nineteenth century is indicated by the considerable number of books and articles written about manners and etiquette. There are a substantial number of books to teach the Ottoman reader good manners and proper behavior in the late Ottoman period and they are called etiquette books in this study. However, there is no specified format and content for etiquette books in either the European or the Ottoman literary context. Late Ottoman etiquette books are very diverse in form and tone. Some are simple prescriptions for easy learning while some are lengthy and sophisticated productions for a limited polite environment. Some are strict and pedagogical in approach, while others are entertaining and satirical. They offer advice on dress, table

manners, modes of conversation, household design, the use of new transportation vehicles, the ways of entertaining and leisure time activities. Some claim to be comprehensive like Ahmed Mithat's book on *alla franca* while others are highly specialized like Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem's book on the specific etiquette of *Dersaadet*.

Each of the late Ottoman etiquette books employed a variety of methods in their approach to the subject. Most of the books published in Ottoman Turkish in this period were translations or adaptations heavily based on foreign works, mostly French. There was a growing interest in translation activities in the second half of the nineteenth century Ottoman literary world. Translations, however, were not consistent and organized. Most of the translations were shortened, changed or left incomplete.<sup>36</sup>

Many of Ottoman etiquette authors or translators published etiquette books without any indication of authorship, but only by specifying the language they translated it from. At first glance, the ignorance of the name of the original book and its author in the Ottoman translation seems to stem entirely from the contemporary Ottoman mode of translation. The translator of a French etiquette book in the Ottoman context can be considered the author of that book. The book named, *Vesaya-yı Medeniyeden Zarafet-i Nisvan* translated by Kaşif Dehri is typical example in this kind. It is written on the

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<sup>36</sup> Berrin Aksoy, "Translation Activities in the Ottoman Empire", *Meta: Journal des Traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal*, vol. 50, No. 3,( 2005), p. 953.

cover that the book has been translated from French without giving the name of the original book and its author. The chapter named “Kadın” starts with the poem of Abdülhak Hamid about women and continues with the explanations of Kaşif Dehri on the relation between the progress of women and the progress of civilization, and his critiques of the societies who imitate the manners and etiquette of western civilization.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, Marjorie Morgan argues that determining authorship is problematic for many etiquette books in Europe, particularly after the mid-nineteenth century, probably since they were produced for the upwardly mobile middle class craving for information on the minutiae of upper class life.<sup>38</sup> According to Morgan, an aristocratic author guaranteed sales and authenticity, but no member of upper-class, fashionable ‘Society’ could afford the stigma of having his or her name associated with a book so obviously designed to make money. Thus, they used the names such as “a gentleman”, “an English lady of rank”, and “a member of the aristocracy”.

It may be thought that the etiquette books translated to Ottoman Turkish already had no authorship in their original print. From the thirteen books under scrutiny here, five indicate on their covers right under the title

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<sup>37</sup> Kaşif Dehri, “Kadın”, *Vesâyât-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvan* (İstanbul: İtimad Kütüphanesi), pp. 56-59.

<sup>38</sup> Marjorie Morgan, p. 21.

of the book that they were translated from French.<sup>39</sup> Only one book, it is indicated, was translated from Persian and Arabic sources.<sup>40</sup> Others seem to be collated works, judging from their covers, because they do not have any information about the book or books on which they were based. On the other hand, it is very easy to understand from their contents that they are a mix of compilation and translation. Among the etiquette authors, only Ahmet Midhat cites the names of the authors he benefited from in the introduction of his book *Avrupa Adâb-ı Mu'âşeret-i Yahud Alafranga*. Still, some of the Ottoman etiquette books like *Rehber-i Müsafirin ve Adâb-ı Mu'âşeret* by İbrahim Edhem, *Adâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hasıl Olur* by Mehmed Emin and *Adât ve Merasim-i Kadîme: Tabirat ve Muamelat-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye* by Abdülaziz Bey seem to be the original works of their authors.

Even a general assessment of the Ottoman etiquette books between 1889 and 1918 represents the colorful spectrum of this literature ranging from French, Arabic and Persian translations, to books written by Ottoman authors. It can be said that the number of etiquette books written by Ottoman authors is small in comparison with the number of books translated from French. At first glance, the readiness of Ottoman authors to rely on foreign

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<sup>39</sup> *Nezakat ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavâ'id-i Âdâb*, Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, trans. (İstanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar Matba'ası, 1306/1889); *Avrupa'da Merasim ve Âdât*, trans. M. Ş. (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1312 / 1894); Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsi-i Tıbaat Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911); Kontes Dumagalon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret-i*, trans. Ahmet Cevad (İstanbul: İbrahim Hilmi Neşriyatı, 1328/1911); *Vesaya-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvan*, trans. Kaşif Dehri (İstanbul: İtimad Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir, undated).

<sup>40</sup> Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1890/1307).



texts, mostly on French, can easily be read as a part of the Westernization process, utilized by many historians to explain all the developments in the Ottoman world after the second half of the eighteenth century. Before applying such a broad explanation, it seems necessary to discuss the Ottoman way of writing, translating or compiling an etiquette book.

The first thing to mention is that late Ottoman etiquette authors attributed different meanings to *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* and wrote from different perspectives. Even when they wrote on European etiquette, their way of approach diverged. Some of them wrote European etiquette rules not as they actually were, but by transforming, altering, synthesizing, sometimes ignoring and even refusing them when they seemed contradictory to the Ottoman way of life and morals. Therefore, their way of writing and composition appear to be an eclectic combination of European, Ottoman and sometimes other components. Not surprisingly, these semi-translated books gained more reputation and respect among Ottoman people than direct translations from French. The book of Lütfü Simavi named *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, which was published three times in 1914, 1918 and 1923, can be mentioned as one of these books.

In fact, most of the etiquette authors, like many Ottoman men of letters and ordinary people, had no wish to become exactly like Europeans. Many of the Ottoman etiquette authors or the publishers explained why an Ottoman man should learn European etiquette in their introductions. Then,

they usually wrote the *alla franca* etiquette selectively, warning the readers to remain Ottoman in many respects, because they still had great confidence in their system and their way of life based on traditional norms of morality. But they thought that in order to compete with the Europeans in political and military terms and reach their point of progress, they had to learn the European way of life like a science, since it was a need under some circumstances, but not in all parts of life. What this exposes is that learning European manners was not just a matter of importation from a foreign life, in this case French. Rather it was a complex mode of acculturation and a hybrid process of appropriation and re-interpretation.<sup>41</sup>

On the other hand, not only non-Europeans, but also many of men letters from European nations who were interested in manners and civility settled for translations of courtesy and etiquette books from French, Italian and Spanish to a great extent, sometimes even translating works one century after the original publishing date. Anna Bryson, in *From Courtesy to Civility*, which is about the conceptual framework and vocabulary of etiquette literature in Europe, argues that from the sixteenth century onwards, Italian,

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<sup>41</sup> Discussion of Ottoman etiquette books will be made in the next chapter. In this chapter, the approaches, different viewpoints, contrasting attitudes as well as overarching characteristics of etiquette books will be analyzed.

Spanish and French cultures were extending their prestige and European culture began to be determined by their pioneering.<sup>42</sup> Anna Bryson writes:

Only a handful of books giving extensive detailed prescription for civil behavior were published in England in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and these were mainly translations or were heavily based on foreign work.<sup>43</sup>

According to Bryson, English authors who were interested in social behaviors relied mainly on foreign texts, often produced decades before.

Likewise, Norbert Elias, in *Civilizing Process*, talks about the eighteenth century German bourgeoisie, and he says:

French spreads from the courts to the upper layer of the bourgeoisie. All *bonnêtes gens* (decent people), all people of “consequence” speak it. To speak French is the status symbol of upper classes. In 1730, Gottsched’s bride writes her betrothed: “Nothing is more plebeian than to write letters in German. If one speaks German, it is considered good form to introduce as many French words as possible.”<sup>44</sup>

So it is obvious that French culture played a role as a leading and transforming agent not only in non-European countries, but also inside Europe from the late sixteenth century onwards. In this vein, the absence of substantial etiquette books written by Ottoman men of letters, and the readiness of Ottoman authors dealing with etiquette (*âdâb-ı mu’âşeret*) to rely

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<sup>42</sup> Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 75-76.

<sup>43</sup> Anna Bryson, p. 75.

<sup>44</sup> Elias, p. 9.

on French etiquette books can be regarded as a part of a common response to follow a general trend of the time in etiquette, lifestyle and fashion.

### On Sources: Possibilities and Limitations

This study is a historical approach to the etiquette literature and its relation to the late Ottoman cultural milieu. Etiquette literature might be helpful and suggestive in describing and analyzing the changes and transformations of the period under scrutiny, but it cannot be accepted as the actual evidence of the late Ottoman way of life. One should bear in mind that late Ottoman literature on manners, like all conduct or courtesy works, poses particular problems. It can be reasonably imagined that their actual readership was quite limited despite the growth of literacy and the increase in publications in the nineteenth century. The polite and proper etiquette described in late Ottoman etiquette literature was produced for an increasingly urban, educated and socially mobile population. Furthermore, specialization in one source is a very hard task in the absence of a framework or monographic study in the field. In this manner, this dissertation aims to be a monographic study of late Ottoman etiquette books.

Etiquette literature occupies a slippery area between the real and the ideal, and between the practice and the rhetoric. Evidence from etiquette literature is prescriptive rather than descriptive; it is evidence not of actual

behavior, but of the thoughts of its authors on how proper behavior should be. The relationship between prescription and actual behavior is complex and persistently challenging. Thus, etiquette books imply to a great extent a static, monolithic and stationary nature. Therefore, it can be asked to what extent the literature on *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* represents the changes and transformations of late Ottoman society.

On the other hand, etiquette literature has transmitted a picture of social styles, standards, codes and rules at various periods, and some authors have been ascribed with the conscious motive of depicting the manners of their times. The *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* books as handbooks undertook a mission to define how the modern individual should be, what kind of characteristics he/she should have, and how he/she should behave in public and private domains and to accelerate the diffusion of modern manners. Thus, it seems that the newly emerging Ottoman *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* books carried a reflexive character. They were not only an outcome of a necessity that appeared due to changes in the way of living, but also an expression of an ambition to manipulate the direction of change in lifestyle and manners of the Ottoman society. Therefore, this rich source should not be ignored because of its prescriptive nature; rather, it should be accepted in its own right as a cultural artifact of behavior.

For a historical study, it is impossible to make a fieldwork of actual behavior and manners of late Ottoman society. But one can learn much from

the writings of a culturally dominant group who considered themselves to be in a position to offer conduct advice. Their works provide a partial view of their society, but they have the value of allowing us to see the picture through their particular perspective.

Etiquette books are the major source of evidence for this dissertation and their study is supplemented by an investigation of novels, periodicals, collections of letters, diaries, autobiographies, and traveler accounts.

Actually, before the books of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, these new manners were discussed in the Ottoman newspapers and magazines in the form of news from European social life. Especially women's magazines included many articles about new kinds of clothing, new fashions and suggestions about western models of house decoration. In this vein, they also advertised these new products. Therefore, periodicals of the time can also be useful in order to expose the reflection of these manners in peoples' lives.

Diaries, letters, novels and traveler accounts are also important sources in the study of manners. Letters and diaries were very popular in the second half of the nineteenth century. They were usually written to be published. They include very important information about daily life and experiences of modernization. They also reveal how people perceived the redefinition of daily life with respect to the western lifestyle.

On the other hand, novels of the time are good examples of the tension between *alla franca* and *alla turca*. Their characters usually represent the

ambiguity, crisis and confusion that emerged with the existence of these two different lifestyles together. In addition to these, traveler accounts are significant sources since they observed changing daily life from a foreign perspective. They make comparisons and give overall information about Ottoman social and daily life. In spite of their orientalisng gaze, travelers' accounts contain very colorful observations especially on the experiences in the communal spaces of modern İstanbul.

### Structure

The dissertation is composed of four chapters —following the first introductory one— which deal with different but complementary facets of late Ottoman etiquette literature. Chapter Two is about the Ottoman concept of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* and its vocabulary as it appeared in late Ottoman etiquette literature (1889-1918). It discusses the emergence of late Ottoman etiquette literature within the context of the literature on manners around the world in the nineteenth century. It focuses on the concept of civility which appeared as the main concept of European conduct literature from the medieval to the modern periods. It examines the emergence of civility in Europe as a concept and its relation to the transformation of European etiquette literature. In this way, it tries to reveal the contacts of late Ottoman etiquette literature with the European civilizing process and also its particular conditions and

dynamics. Finally, it analyzes how late Ottoman etiquette literature determined its own way between modes of European civility and the Ottoman morality.

Chapter Three examines dress, fashion and body as the essential components of etiquette rules, good manners and self representation, as described in late Ottoman etiquette books, manuals and writings. It discusses the place and importance of dress and appearance to the state, society and individuals and its symbolic meaning in the late nineteenth century. In this manner, it tries to reveal how late Ottoman etiquette writers approached the issue of appearance, dress and fashion, what they wrote about it and how they determined proper clothing for men and women. It gives a basic terminology associated with clothing, dress and costume in late Ottoman etiquette literature and discusses the basic forms for both men and women in order to explore the current trends, styles, and types of the period more fully and discuss how the forms and composition of clothes determined a vocabulary which reveals the direction and stimulation of transformation and change in clothing and manners.

Chapter Four is about the writings of late Ottoman etiquette authors on the house and household life. It deals with the use and meaning of domestic space as a material expression of a matrix of socio-cultural changes and transformations in the late Ottoman society. It discusses how Ottoman etiquette authors approached house-related etiquette issues and how they



wrote about them. In this manner, it focuses on inner decorations, home furnishings, table manners, and household activities such as visits, invitations, tea gatherings, soirees and balls. It also discusses the relation between the etiquette rules and the transformation and change in the Ottoman house and house life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Chapter Five deals with the etiquette applied in public places, common gathering arenas and entertainments. In this vein, it specifically examines an interesting book called *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (1898) among the late Ottoman etiquette literature which is completely devoted to the etiquette of living in urban milieu of İstanbul. Then, it focuses on street manners, etiquette rules in transportation vehicles such as trams, trains and boats and etiquette rules in social gathering places like theaters, sea baths and *mesires* by analyzing the writings of late Ottoman etiquette authors.

To sum up, this dissertation dealing with the late Ottoman etiquette literature published between 1889 and 1918 refers to and tackles with a very wide-ranging problem; it does not have a claim to solve it. It makes an introduction to a field of examination that has hitherto received relatively little interest, and embarks on the first steps toward an explanation. In brief, it aims at producing a comprehensive account of Ottoman literature on

etiquette from historical points of view, while also providing a template for further and detailed studies in the field.

## CHAPTER 2

### LATE OTTOMAN ETIQUETTE LITERATURE:

#### EUROPEAN CIVILITY AND OTTOMAN *ÂDÂB-I MU'ÂŞERET*

This chapter is about the Ottoman concept of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* and its vocabulary as it appeared in late Ottoman etiquette literature (1889-1918). It aims to discuss the emergence of late Ottoman etiquette literature within the nineteenth century world context. In this manner, it focuses on the notion of “civility” which appeared as the main concept of European conduct literature from the medieval to the modern periods. It examines the emergence of civility in Europe as a concept and its relation to the transformation of European etiquette literature. In this way, it tries to reveal the contacts of late Ottoman etiquette literature with the European civilizing process, and also examines the particular conditions and dynamics of its development in the Ottoman context. Finally, it tries to analyze how late Ottoman etiquette literature determined its own particular course of development between notions of European civility and Ottoman morality.

## The Nineteenth Century Background: the Age of Civility

The nineteenth century has been known as the age of transformation in world history due to the far-reaching changes, revolutions and reforms all around the world, especially in technology, lifestyle and manners. The long nineteenth century is also named “the age of civility” in many contemporary and scholarly works. In 1835, Charles Lamb (Elia) expressed this view with such words: “The nineteenth century, the era from which we date our civility...”<sup>1</sup> Confirming Charles Lamb, John F. Kasson wrote that on both sides of the Atlantic in the nineteenth century, etiquette manuals appeared in unprecedented numbers, corresponding with the rise of the bourgeois culture and the new age of print.<sup>2</sup>

The growing interest on civility and the rapid increase in the number of works on etiquette led to define the nineteenth century as the age of civility. In fact, the nineteenth century as the age of civility emerged as a culmination of developments in the course of time from the medieval ages to the modern periods. This transformation was called “civilizing process” by Norbert Elias in his book on the history of manners in Europe.<sup>3</sup> In *The*

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Lamb, *Essays of Elia: Letters and Rosamund, a Tale* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1835), p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wand, A Division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1991), p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994 (1939)).

*Civilizing Process* (originally published in 1939), Elias studied the notion of civility as a developmental process. By focusing on the advices offered in the etiquette books circulated over the centuries, he charted long-running trends in the advance of codes of civility between the thirteenth and the nineteenth century across Europe. In this book, he argued that since the time of Erasmus, there has been a steady increase in the pressure to hide bodily functions, to endow public behavior with dignity, and to conform to established standards of politesse beginning among the elite, but gradually diffusing to every strata of society. In the explanation of “civilizing process”, Elias gave a decisive role to the feeling of shame and delicacy and argued that the standard of what society demands and prohibits changes; in conjunction with this, the threshold of socially instilled displeasure and fear also changes.<sup>4</sup> Elias draws attention to the point that the change and transformations in behaviors and increasing self-discipline in relations were closely correlated with the monopolization of violence by the state. According to Elias, high levels of social anxiety and low thresholds of embarrassment begin to exert pressure on individuals to control their behavior in public situations during the modern period.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Norbert Elias, p. xii.

<sup>5</sup> The social theory of civilizing process of Norbert Elias was criticized for many reasons by later studies on the development of civilization. One of these criticisms is his Euro-centric explanation of civilization and civilizing process. Interestingly, Benet Davetian, in *Civility: A Cultural History* (2009), criticizes Elias to be focused on absolutist French monarch, but he also continues to this Eurocentric vision of civilization by enlarging his examples from the

On the other hand, although increasing attention on manners and politeness was a common process almost for all societies, the turning points within this process were realized at different periods depending on their socio-cultural backgrounds. Many studies have been made on European courtesy and civility literature, and these studies revealed that in countries like England, France and Germany, interest on etiquette and etiquette literature started earlier than the nineteenth century. For example, Jennifer Claire Georgia, in her work on conduct books and novels in eighteenth-century England, and Jason D. Solinger in his work on the gentrification of ordinary man in England, showed that England was strongly interested in “politeness” in eighteenth century as compared to earlier times.<sup>6</sup> Norbert Elias also pointed out in his study of *Civilizing Process*:

In seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – earlier or later according to the structure of each nation – we find the same pattern in a still smaller circle: the interpenetration of the standards of conduct of the nobility and bourgeoisie. In accordance with the power-relationship, the product of interpenetration is dominated first by models derived from the situation of the upper class, then by patterns of the conduct of the lower, rising classes, until finally amalgam emerges, a new style of unique character.<sup>7</sup>

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different parts of Europe. *The Civilizing Process* of Elias was also criticized for its male-centric explanations and deterministic and evolutionist approaches.

<sup>6</sup> Jannifer Claire Georgia, *Polite Literature: Conduct Books and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1994); Jason D. Solinger, *Becoming the Gentleman: British Letters and the Gentrification of Ordinary Men* (MA. Thesis, San Diego State University, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> Norbert Elias, p. 464.

As shown by Elias, there is a close relationship between the European civilizing process and the emergence of the concept civility and its widespread usage in etiquette literature. Above all, the more or less sudden appearance of words within languages nearly always points to changes in the lives of people themselves, particularly when the new concepts are destined to become central and long-lived. In fact, the emergence of civility as a term signifies important transformations in different fields of life.

According to Elias, the concept of *civilité* acquired its meaning for Western society at a time when chivalrous society and the unity of the Catholic Church were disintegrating. For Elias, the emergence of this concept, *civilité* represents a specific stage in the formation of Western manners or “civilization”.<sup>8</sup> He argues that the concept of *civilité* is an expansion and symbol of a social formation embracing the most diverse nationalities, in which, a common language is spoken, first Italian and then increasingly French. These languages take over the function earlier performed by Latin. They manifest the unity of Europe, and at the same time the new social formation which forms its backbone, court society. The situation, the self-image, and the characteristics of this society find expression in the concept of *civilité*.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Norbert Elias, *On Civilization, Power and Knowledge: Selected Writings*, ed. Stephen Mennell and Johan Goudsblom (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> Norbert Elias, *On Civilization, Power and Knowledge*, 1998, p. 75.

The etymology of the word civility indicates that it means a state of cultural refinement associated with good citizenship. Sharing a root with the Latin word for city (*civitas*), it refers to the sophisticated behavior of an urbanite of the times, in contrast with rudeness or barbarism.<sup>10</sup> Politeness derives from the Greek polis which also means 'the city.' Therefore, rules of civility and politeness as etiquette manage areas of personal conduct and behavior in public, including table manners, bodily carriage, dress, conversation, courtship, and personal hygiene. They are indications of how life is to be best lived in cities in which citizens are dependent on one another and the state for functional relations within complex social networks.<sup>11</sup>

The concept of civility as a word was thought to first emerge in Italy and as it spread throughout Europe, the terms civil and civility changed their meanings gradually displacing the fashionable terms courteous and courtesy that denote medieval norms of approved conducts.<sup>12</sup> In *From Courtesy to Civility*, Anna Bryson contends that "civility" as a new concept means a new way of seeing social conduct and social life. While medieval courtesy writings, which emerged in the twelfth century as a genre, emphasized practices of lordship and service within the restricted noble household, the

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<sup>10</sup> Todd Stillman, "Civility", *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*. Ed. George Ritzer. Vol. 1 (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Reference, 2005), p. 102.

<sup>11</sup> Benet Davetian, *Civility: A Cultural History* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> John Gillingham, "From Civilitas to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), p. 267.



corresponding early modern conduct books on civility with Erasmus's *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium* (1530) known as the first to prescribe a code of manners under the heading of civility, are said to present "civil" behavior as a practice for the representation of personal virtue within a broader "civil" community. Therefore, civility in manners becomes an extensive practical knowledge of sociability rather than a set of rules for use in a limited range of situations.<sup>13</sup>

John Gillingham argues that civility is not a term that first emerged with Erasmus' work which was a drill-book for lower forms although its readers probably came across the words *civilis* and *civilitas* for the first time in their lives. In fact, the words *civilis* and *civilitas* meaning refined or polished had been commonly used many centuries earlier by English authors who knew their classics: by Bede and Alcuin in the eighth century; by William of Malmesbury, John of Salisbury, Herbert of Bosham and Gerald de Barri in the twelfth century. John of Salisbury used civil in the sense of embracing the aesthetic criterion of good taste, moral standards of self-restraint and political values of good lordship.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the contention about when the concept of civility actually appeared, many scholars accept that civility became more embraced in terms of manners with the work of Erasmus even though it had existed as a term

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<sup>13</sup> Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 267-268.

<sup>14</sup> John Gillingham, p. 280.

before. At the time of Erasmus, most of the etiquette books were generally written for Renaissance courtiers. Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), Giovanni della Casa's *II Galateo* (1558), and Stefano Guazzo's *The Civile Conversation* (1570), all provided advice to nobility on how to find the way in the details of court life. These rules of etiquette were soon applied to national traditions, including the instructions of Lord Chesterfield on how to be an English gentleman, and to other social positions, including servants, children, and women.

Then, civility did not denote the propriety of court society or upper class; it was related to urban life and anybody could learn it. Indeed, Erasmus' work immediately achieved an enormous circulation in different languages in Europe even until the late eighteenth century. Likewise, many of the conduct books with their cheap prices had become accessible to a wider population. After certain phases of education or even via emulation, everyone could become a gentleman or a lady. Consequently, in the advent of civility as a term, the most considerable point is the evolution of the courtly manners from a distinct area of implementation to a wider social environment.

On the other hand, Jacques Carré pointed out that the shift from the courtly to the bourgeois likewise caused a downgrading of the courtesy-book into the etiquette manual, stripping it of its previous intellectual, moral, and

aesthetic pretensions.<sup>15</sup> In this manner, as a concept, it involved self-presentation and performance, although it is understood as an indicator of good breeding. As a modern adage says “A gentleman is known not by his circumstances, but by his behavior in them.”<sup>16</sup>

In nineteenth-century Europe, civility had become more pervasive and was embraced by various social strata. The simultaneous emphasis on civility and the increase in the number of etiquette books in European countries and the United States of America support the idea that the nineteenth century actually emerged as the age of civility in which a disciplined and refined way of conduct emerged not only as the culture and experience of a particular environment called aristocracy or elite, but also that of the bourgeoisie and urban middle class.

During the nineteenth century, the codes of civility had been also used as evidence of the superiority of one culture to another. The European colonizing powers referred to savage, barbarous, and semi-civilized nations. They justified their colonizing in the name of superior modern civilization, a combination of Christianity and scientific rationality.<sup>17</sup> Anindyo Roy in *Civility and Empire* argues how “civility,” a normative code of behavior in

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<sup>15</sup> Jacques Carré, ed. *The Crisis of Courtesy: Studies in the Conduct-Book in Britain, 1600-1900* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).

<sup>16</sup> Todd Stillman, “Civility”, *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, Ed. George Ritzer. Vol. 1. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Reference, 2005), p. 102.

<sup>17</sup> Timothy Fitzgerald, *Discourse on Civility and Barbarity: A Critical History of Religion and Related Categories* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 110.

British nineteenth-century society, became a means of imposing control and effecting exclusion when transferred to the colonial domain.<sup>18</sup>

### The Ottoman Literature on *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*

It is time to ask whether there is a relationship between the increase in etiquette books on civility in the Western world in the nineteenth century and the appearance of etiquette books one after the other in the late Ottoman world. If there is, what kind of a relation is that? Can the emergence of the Ottoman etiquette literature be accepted as part of the civilizing process defined by Elias for European societies from the middle ages to the modern times? In this manner, the starting point of our inquiry may be whether Ottomans had a higher regard for etiquette rules and manners in the nineteenth century than in the earlier ages. If it indeed is the case, one must then ask to what extent this increasing concern of the Ottomans on politeness and civility was related to the Western experience of the civilizing process and its etiquette literature.

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<sup>18</sup> Anindyo Roy, *Civility and Empire: Literature and Culture in British India, 1822 – 1922* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

Table 1. The List of Late Ottoman Etiquette Books (1889-1918)

| Author                                   | Book                                                                                                             | Publisher                                                                                    | Date                                                                                                              |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü                  | <i>Nezakat ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavaid-i Âdâb</i>                                                                | İstanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar Matba'ası                                                        | 1306 / 1889                                                                                                       |
| Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı               | <i>Zarâfet</i>                                                                                                   | İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası                                                                   | 1307 / 1890                                                                                                       |
| Ahmet Mithat Efendi                      | <i>Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti Yahud Alafranga</i>                                                                  | İstanbul: İkdâm Matba'ası                                                                    | 1312 / 1894                                                                                                       |
| çev. M. Ş.,                              | <i>Avrupa'da Merasim ve Âdât</i>                                                                                 | İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası                                                                   | 1312 / 1894                                                                                                       |
| Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem                   | <i>Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Adâb-ı Mu'âşeret</i>                                                                    | İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası                                                                   | 1316 / 1898                                                                                                       |
| Mehmet Emin                              | <i>Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hasıl Olur</i>                                                                         | Aydın: Vilayet Matba'ası                                                                     | 1321 / 1904                                                                                                       |
|                                          | <i>Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret</i>                                                                                  | İstanbul: Matba'a-i Askeriye                                                                 | 1327 / 1910                                                                                                       |
| Hasan Basri                              | <i>Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret</i>                                                                               | İstanbul: Tevsi-i Tıbaat Matba'ası                                                           | 1328 / 1911                                                                                                       |
| Comtesse De Magallon, trans. Ahmet Cevad | <i>Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti</i>                                                              | İstanbul: İbrahim Hilmi Neşriyatı                                                            | 1328 / 1911                                                                                                       |
| Lütfü Simavi                             | <i>Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret</i>                                                                              | İstanbul: Matba'a-i İctihad                                                                  | 1 <sup>st</sup> edition 1329 / 1911). (2 <sup>nd</sup> edition, 1333 / 1914; 3 <sup>rd</sup> edition, 1342 / 1923 |
|                                          | <i>Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları, Kadınlar Dünyası Külliyyatından</i>                                                | İstanbul: Kadınlar Dünyası Matba'ası                                                         | 1331 / 1912-13                                                                                                    |
| Trans. Kaşif Dehri                       | <i>Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvan</i>                                                                    | İstanbul: İ'timad Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir                                            | Undated, probably between 1912 and 1916.                                                                          |
| Abdülaziz Bey                            | <i>Âdât ve Merasim-i Kadime: Tabirat ve Mu'amelat-ı Kaomiye-i 'Osmaniye (Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri)</i> | Republished by Kazım Arısan, Duygu Arısan Günay, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995. | Probably from 1910s.                                                                                              |

First of all, it is possible to say that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman literary elite was generally interested in etiquette (*âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*), but they did not necessarily define *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as the

etiquette of the Western way of life, but rather as the proper way of behavior in the period of transformation. In comparison to the Western literature on etiquette and manners published in Europe and the United States of America in the nineteenth century, the number of relevant books in late Ottoman publishing is relatively small, but not trivial. In the period between 1889 and 1918, there are thirteen books about good manners, etiquette, and politeness as far as I have discovered. In addition to these specific books on etiquette, there are also innumerable articles, editorials and news in different periodicals and novels in respectable numbers.

On the other hand, the sudden appearance of etiquette books in late nineteenth century does not mean that the concern on politeness and propriety was a totally new phenomenon for the Ottomans. *Âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, as a term denoting the rules of being refined, well-bred and polite in behaviors, has a long history in the Ottoman literary world. There were some books and booklets on *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* produced within the discourse of traditional morality literature in which manners and morals as the summary of rules regulating conduct at the personal, familial, social and other levels were closely related, even intermingled. There were also respectable works having some references to the term *âdâb* or *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* such as Kınalızade's *Ahlak-ı Alâî*;<sup>19</sup> Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali's *Mehasinü'l-Âdâb* and

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<sup>19</sup> It is accepted as the first scholarly book written in Turkish on moral philosophy. It was one of the most influential and widely read books from the time it was written until the end of

*Meva'idü'n-Nefais Fi-Kava'idi'l-Mecalis*; anonymous *Risale-i Garibe*; Esad

Efendi's *Teşrîfât-ı Kadime* (1287/1870-71) and some specialized books on the habits expected from *Sufis*.<sup>20</sup>

French historian and journalist Abdolonyme Ubicini (1818-1884), who long resided in the East and wrote letters on religious, political, social and commercial conditions of the Ottoman Empire, argues that Easterners and especially Ottomans gave a special emphasis to etiquette and manners, and that the Ottomans were similar to the Chinese who consider etiquette to be almost a science and a duty for humans. Ubicini says that 30 of 216 morality books in the library of the Ottoman Palace are specifically on *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*. These books have titles such as "the book of politeness", "the explanation of politeness", "the basic rules of politeness", "the scale of politeness", "the fragrant garden of politeness" and "the explanations on the beauty of politeness." These books were about manners and customs, dressing, how to

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the Ottoman Empire. That it was a textbook for morality courses in *madrassahs* until the end of the Ottoman Empire demonstrates the influence and reputation of this book. İstanbul libraries have carried more than seventy copies of the book and handwritten copies have been found in libraries all over the world. Enver Uysal, "Kınalızade's Views on the Moral Education of Children", *Journal of Moral Education*, 36, 3 (September 2007), pp. 334.

<sup>20</sup> Mehmet Şeker, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali ve Meva'idü'n-Nefais Fi-Kava'idi'l-Mecalis* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997); Kınalızade Ali Çelebi, *Ahlak-ı Alâî*, Mustafa Koç, ed. (İstanbul: Klasik, 2007); Hayati Develi, *XVIII. Yüzyıl İstanbul Hayatına Dair Risale-i Garibe* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001).

stand up, how to sit down, how to eat at table, how to behave toward elders and peers, how to greet and talk to others.<sup>21</sup>

In terms of the readers and the appliers of Ottoman etiquette books, it may be said that Ottoman *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as behavioral codes experienced a similar kind of transformation with the European etiquette evolving from a courtly way of conduct to the urban way of life. The conceptual framework and the contents of essays and books produced as behavioral literature from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries remind the transformation of European etiquette from courtesy to civility. In this manner, Kınalızade's *Ahlak-ı Alâi* which is about both morality and daily conduct and Mustafa Ali's *Meva'idü'n-Nefais Fi-Kavâ'idü'l-Mecalis* on how to behave in high societies can be evaluated as courtesy literature which is limited to the Ottoman elite milieu. Both books have flowery expressions and call upon a more limited milieu. On the other hand, the etiquette books of late Ottoman authors like Ahmed Midhat, Hasan Bahri, M. Ş., Mehmed Emin and Lütü Simavi are convenient to read by many and understandable to an ordinary Ottoman audience.

The aforementioned change in the language and content of Ottoman etiquette literature from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century can be evaluated as the result of the expansion of the elite from court to merchants,

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<sup>21</sup>"Nezaketi kitabı", "Nezaketi İzahı", "Nezaketi Temel Kaideleri", "Nezaketi Terazisi", "Nezaketi Kokulu Bahçesi", "Nezaketi Güzelliği". M. A. Ubcini, *Osmanlı'da Modernleşme Sancısı* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 1998), p. 177.



officials and intellectuals.<sup>22</sup> According to Göçek, this was the unintended consequence of Western-style education by which the Ottoman sultan aimed at training a new social group loyal to his person. This new elite was more visible and more effective in the Ottoman social life. Their way of life and manners were more accessible and applicable for many through emulation. Therefore, more people were taking into consideration how to behave in certain conditions and places in comparison to the limited environment of the pre-nineteenth century.

In fact, *Risale-i Garibe* is a good example of how the manners and etiquette of people in the pre-nineteenth century were. The author of *Risale-i Garibe* in the seventeenth century severely criticizes the people who spit on streets, who do not follow table manners, who cheat in shopping, who do not comply with the decisions of the council, who are adulterous, who are traffickers, and who are drug addicts. He harshly criticizes people from almost every part of social life who misbehave.<sup>23</sup> Confirming to *Risale-i Garibe*, in his introduction to the *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti* (1910), Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi also complains about the triviality of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* both among upper class and ordinary public in the previous centuries. He says that people paid little attention to etiquette in the previous

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<sup>22</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Risale-i Garibe: XVII. Yüzyıl İstanbul Hayatına Dair*, ed. Hayati Develi (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001).

ages. According to him, it cannot be expected from a class of men who disgrace their national and political dignity to avoid rudeness against the people they contacted.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand, the writings of İbrahim Hilmi with many others writing after 1909, on how manner and etiquette were disregarded in the previous years should be evaluated from a different perspective. As observed, there is no romanticism of the past's good manners in late Ottoman etiquette literature; rather, late Ottoman etiquette authors talk about significant improvements in the consideration of etiquette rules among the Ottoman ordinary public and officials in their times. In fact, the negation of the past in the etiquette books after the Second Constitution usually means the negation of the age of Abdülhamid II for the legitimization of the values of the Second Constitution. As Üstel pointed out, the books of *Malumat-ı Medeniye*, published as textbooks to be read in the schools of this period, obviously had created the discourse of "previous period" (*devr-i sabık*) in order to provide loyalty to the Constitution and the homeland (*vatan*). In the same manner, late Ottoman etiquette literature may have created a "previous period" in order to justify the way of life that they presented.

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<sup>24</sup> "Devr-i sabıkda bu âdâb ve mu'âşerete pek de dikkat edilmezdi. Çünkü haysiyet-i milliye ve siyasiyesini terzil eden bir tabaka-i ictimaiye, temasda bulunduğu insanlardan mı çekinecekti?" İbrahim Hilmi, "İfade-i Naşir: Yaşamayı Bilmek," in Comtesse De Magallon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti*, trans. Ahmed Cevad (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Askeri, 1328/1911), p. 4.

Despite the expansion of Ottoman elite in late nineteenth century, late Ottoman etiquette books were inevitably limited to a particular environment in comparison to the European etiquette books addressing a larger middle class. Unlike the traditional *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* based on knowledge transmitted through generations, late Ottoman *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as Western standards to daily life was a novelty for many Ottomans, even for many educated men and women since it is totally based on the knowledge of an another civilization. So, having a modern way of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* necessitates a certain kind of relation with the civilization emulated via travel, education, or reading. Even the skill of reading, which was the most accessible way to learn European manners, was limited. Although the print was spreading in the second half of the nineteenth century, reading a book and having a library at home were still the privilege of some people who had a certain degree of education and a considerable amount of wealth. Besides, living on the standard of civilized life which is presented in the etiquette books requires a great deal of expense for an ordinary Ottoman subject. Therefore, it is likely that modern Ottoman etiquette was applicable mostly to upper level bureaucrats, educated men and distinguished wealthy families.

Besides that, many of the late Ottoman etiquette authors did not intend to spread upper-class culture to the Ottoman middle class or society in general. Not necessarily but generally, they define the target reader as people who have contacts with Europeans and especially those who are engaged in

the profession of diplomacy.<sup>25</sup> Some of them even worry about the adoption by the general public of the European etiquette in their books. As a good example of this anxiety, İbrahim Hilmi who published Comtesse De Magallon's book after getting it translated from French says:

I think this book is very important. However, by publishing this book, I don't mean to say be like this by including the Western etiquette in our manners. Just learn their etiquette and during social intercourse do not be alienated, and get them to like you.<sup>26</sup>

Leading etiquette authors like Ahmed Midhat and Lütfü Simavi also attract attention to the necessities of learning the European etiquette for defined circumstances rather than its arbitrary application in all aspects of daily life.

It should be added that the evolution of the Ottoman concept of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* differentiated from the process in which etiquette and manners evolved from courtesy to civility in Europe. The process from courtesy to civility in Europe was realized within and on the dynamics of European societies. This process did not only represent the spread of court culture to a wider urban middle-class, but also the change in the nature and meaning of etiquette. For some like Jacques Carré, new etiquette manuals were the downgraded versions of courtesy books which had lost their previous moral

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<sup>25</sup> Lütfü Simavi, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul, Matba'a-i İctihad, 1329 /1911), pp. 8-9.

<sup>26</sup> "Bu kitap bence pek mühimdir. Bununla beraber bu eseri neşr etmekle garb mu'âşeretini terbiyemize dahil ederek siz de böyle olun demek istemiyorum. Yalnız onların âdâb-ı mu'âşeretini öğreniniz de ihtilât ettiğiniz zaman yabancı kalmayarak kendinizi sevdiniz." İbrahim Hilmi, "İfade-i Naşir: Yaşamayı Bilmek," p. 3.

and aesthetic pretensions. For him, in the Renaissance, the courtesy books were not narrowly prescriptive; they essentially aimed at creating harmony between the outward behavior of men and women and the fundamental moral and social values of the time. But this spiritual significance of courtesy was sooner lost.<sup>27</sup>

In contrast to nineteenth century European etiquette literature which emerged with the transformations and the changes in earlier European courtesy literature, the late Ottoman etiquette literature was neither a continuation of Ottoman court etiquette nor morality literature. In fact, in the Ottoman court, an official etiquette (*teşrîfât*) was observed in official ceremonies and palace life. It was limited to a number of people who were related to the court and its rules applied within specific situations or ceremonies. Excluding official etiquette, etiquette among the Ottoman public was mainly based on oral culture rather than a literary one.<sup>28</sup> There were also morality books mainly for a limited environment. Late Ottoman etiquette literature is also independent from this morality literature which continued in itself until the end of the Empire. It can be said that when the late Ottoman etiquette literature emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, it did not replace the existing morality literature. However, it consisted of books in

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<sup>27</sup> Jacques Carré, "Introduction," in *the Crisis of Courtesy: Studies in the Conduct-Book in Britain, 1600-1900* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> However, this does not mean that there were not literary works related to conduct and etiquette. In this manner, as mentioned before, there was a huge literature on morality which is not independent from daily conduct and etiquette.

really authentic forms such as Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü's *Nezaket ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavaid-i Âdâb*. His book has a quite interesting organization and content including both some modern etiquette rules like putting the table napkin on knees and religious discourse like verses from the Quran, hadiths and prayers. It can be categorized in somewhere between late Ottoman etiquette literature and morality literature.<sup>29</sup>

On the other hand, in Europe too, there always existed a morality literature which took its reference from tradition and religion apart from its secular etiquette literature although two literatures are not mutually exclusive. Therefore, the division of conduct literature as morality and etiquette literatures or their synchronous existence is similar cases for both European and late Ottoman literary worlds. What is different is that, compared to the huge European literature on etiquette, the number of books on etiquette excluding the morality books in Ottoman literary world was quite limited in the periods before the nineteenth century. Thus it is difficult to talk about a continuation in the Ottoman etiquette books from medieval to modern times.

In this manner, it can be said that the emergence of late Ottoman etiquette literature is neither the transformation of Ottoman morality

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<sup>29</sup> For the characteristics and contents of morality books in the period of Second Constitution see. İlhan Tetik, II. Abdulhamit Dönemi Ahlâk Kitapları (*Risâle-i Ahlâk, İlmi-i Ahlâk ve Bergüzâr-ı Ahlâk*) Üzerine Bir İnceleme (MA Thesis, Süleyman Demirel University, 2009).

literature nor a break from this literature. Rather, the emergence of this literature can be accepted as a rupture from the earlier conception of etiquette which was determined on the basis of tradition, religion, values and morality and conveyed to later generations mainly through oral culture, and sometimes with literary works. The emergence of late Ottoman etiquette literature was realized first as part of a trend of increasing interest in etiquette in the western world and took its shape in conditions particular to itself and on its own dynamics.

The Vocabulary of Late Ottoman Etiquette Literature:  
The Concepts of *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, *Medeni*, and *Alla franca*

Beyond dispute, the foremost and most widely used concept in late Ottoman etiquette literature is *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*. *Âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* is translated in a dictionary from Ottoman Turkish into modern English as "rules of good manners, etiquette."<sup>30</sup> The phrase of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* came into existence from *âdâb*, the plural form of *edeb*, and *mu'âşeret* derived from *aşr*. *Edeb* as a term means good manners and behaviors recognized as custom, convention or rule in a society. Although there are different suggestions about its etymology, it is generally accepted that *edeb* may have derived from two different origins; one is "*edb*" which denotes evocation and invitation, and

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<sup>30</sup> *Redhouse Turkish / Ottoman – English Dictionary* (İstanbul: Sev Matba'acılık ve Yayıncılık, 2000), Eighteenth Edition, p. 12.

the other is “*edeb*” which means politeness and respect. In any case, the oldest meaning of the word is that already given: it implies a habit, a practical norm of conduct, with the double connotation of being praiseworthy and being inherited from one’s ancestors.<sup>31</sup>

Table 2: Vocabulary Relating to *Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret*

| Modern Turkish | Ottoman Turkish                                         | English                                                                                                                                             | French                                                   |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Görgü          | <i>Âdâb-ı mu’âşeret</i>                                 | Etiquette                                                                                                                                           | Savoir Vivre                                             |
|                | The knowledge of social life, procedures. <sup>32</sup> | Conventional requirements as to social behavior; proprieties of conduct as established in any class or community or for any occasion. <sup>33</sup> | Worldly sophisticated wisdom and civility. <sup>34</sup> |

Gabrieli argues that the evolution of this primitive sense accentuated its ethical and practical content: *âdâb* came to mean “high quality of soul, good upbringing, urbanity and courtesy”, in this acceptance corresponding to the refining of Bedouin ethics and customs as a result of Islam. He argues that at the beginning of the Abbasid epoch, *âdâb* was the equivalent of the Latin

<sup>31</sup> F. Gabrieli, “*Âdâb*,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), v. 1, p. 175.

<sup>32</sup> “*Âdâb-ı mu’âşeret*,” “İçtima’î yaşayış bilgisi, usûlleri”, Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat* (Ankara: Aydın Kitabevi Yayınları, 2010), Twenty-sixth edition, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> “Etiquette,” *Random House Webster’s Unabridged Dictionary*.

<sup>34</sup> “Savoir Vivre,” *Babylon French-English Dictionary*.



*urbanitas* which means the civility, courtesy and refinement of cities in contrast to *Bedouin* uncouthness.<sup>35</sup>

*Âdâb* is also used as “the way of doing something”, like *âdâb* of eating, drinking, dressing, *âdâb* of the boon companion, *âdâb* of disputation (books on *âdâb al bahs*), *âdâb* of study (books on *Âdâb al-Dars*, *Âdâb al- ‘Âlim wa’l-Muta ‘allim*, and *tadris*) and as “the knowledge necessary for given offices and social functions” like *âdâb al-kâtib*, *âdâb al-viziers*, *âdâb al-kadî*.<sup>36</sup>

The second word of the phrase, *aşr*, means “living together, getting on well with people and teeming.”<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, *mu’âşeret* means “living at the same time with one another or having social relation with another.”<sup>38</sup> Taking the meaning of *mu’âşeret* and its usages into consideration, it can be argued that *mu’âşeret* formed the main word in the phrase of *âdâb-ı mu’âşeret*. In this phrase, *âdâb* seems to be used as a way of doing something. Therefore, *âdâb-ı mu’âşeret* as a phrase implies rules, methods and ways to live in accordance with appropriate and good manners that enable individual to be virtuous, polite, and well-behaved in a society.

*Âdâb-ı mu’âşeret* as a term was used with a variety of synonyms and related words. Some of these words are *edeb* (decency), *zarâfet* (grace), *nezaket*

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<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>38</sup> “*Mu’âşeret*,” *Turkish and English Lexicon*, by Sir James W. Redhouse (Beirut, Constantinople: Librairie Du Liban, 1890, New impression 1996), p. 1897.

(politeness), *terbiye* (good breeding), and *hüsn-i ülfet* (good intercourse). The

list of concepts and phrases used in the titles of late Ottoman etiquette

literature:

Table 3: The Vocabulary Used in the Titles of Late Ottoman Etiquette Books and their Explanations in *Kamus-ı Türki*<sup>39</sup>

|                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Âdâb (Edeb)       | Terbiye, Hasen ahlak ve etvar-ı münasibe; zarâfet, naziklik; hicab, haya.                                                                                                                                  |
| Mu'âşeret         | Halk ile birlikte yaşayıp hoş geçinme                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Usûl-i Mu'âşeret  | Fenn-i mu'âşeret, halk ile edilecek muamelat ilmi. Fr. <i>Sociologie</i>                                                                                                                                   |
| Zarâfet           | Naziklik, nazikane tavır ve hal ve ifade, terbiyeli mu'amele, letafet.                                                                                                                                     |
| Alla franca       |                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Merasim           | Resmi mu'ameleler, icrası mu'tad ayineler.                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Âdât (Adet)       | Alışılmış şey, ülfet, her vakit yapılan. Herkes tarafından ri'ayet olunagelinen hal.                                                                                                                       |
| Centilmen         |                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Nezaket           | Naziklik, letafet; zariflik, zarâfet, kabalık zıddı; terbiye, edeb; ehemmiyet, dikkat ve l'tinaya muhtaciyet.                                                                                              |
| Teşrîfât (Teşrif) | Kübera ve rical-i devletin resmi günlerinde ve alay ve mu'ayedelerde ve huzura çıkacakları vakt-i sıra ve sınıflarına ve süferanın suret-i kabulüne ve rütbe ve nişanların tevcihatına nezaret eden daire. |

Despite the fact that these words were used as synonyms in similar contexts, their preferences and way of being used in late Ottoman etiquette literature could refer to totally different agendas and aims. Mostly but not always, the vocabulary preferred to be used in order to explain the term *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* in an Ottoman etiquette book represented the worldview of its author, his attitude toward *alla franca*, Westernization or modernization, and

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<sup>39</sup> Şemsettin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki* (Dersaadet: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1317, İstanbul: Gündoğdu Matba'ası, 1996).

his idea of civilization, transformation, reformation and change. Therefore, it can be argued that the language and its culture from which an Ottoman etiquette book was translated had a secondary importance compared to the vocabulary selection of the author in the analysis of an Ottoman etiquette book. As a good example, *Nezaket ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret* (1889) of Resulzade and *Zarâfet* (1890) of Çençenzade can be mentioned. The vocabulary used in the content of these two books is quite similar, and the structure of the books and their way of approaching etiquette are also quite parallel. Interestingly enough, Resulzade's book was translated from French, while Çençenzade's book was translated from Persian and Arabic.

#### *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* in Late Ottoman Etiquette Literature

Much has been written since the last quarter of the nineteenth century under the title of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* and its related notions of decency (*edeb*), civility or civilized (*medenî*), *alla franca* and gentleman. From thirteen etiquette books, eight of them directly used the term *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* or *mu'âşeret* in its main title on the cover page. However, in this literature, *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* differentiated from its traditional definitions and connotations. As a rediscovered idiom of the late nineteenth century, *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* grew to cover a wide range of meanings such as politeness, gentility, refinements, breeding, manners and evolved into defining a unitary and homogenous

field of etiquette. With some exceptions, many writers of etiquette books in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used the phrase of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* to denote good manners and etiquette.

On the other hand, *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* was a very comprehensive phrase on which late Ottoman authors could write on diverse topics and issues or they could approach the subject of manners and etiquette from many different perspectives. Therefore, it is needed to clarify how late Ottoman authors defined and understood *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* and to what extent their definitions were comparable.

Ahmet Midhat, who wrote an etiquette book under the title of *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti Yahud Alafranga* in 1894, defines *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as the practical knowledge of “way of living” called *savoir vivre* in French.<sup>40</sup> Ahmed Midhat implies that each nation has its own way of life, namely *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*. He explains “*savoir vivre cosmopolite*” as the etiquette responsive to the etiquette of different nations, namely it is international etiquette (*mu'âşeret-i beynel milel*). This etiquette does not resemble the etiquette of any nation while it is not totally unfamiliar to the etiquette of any nation. Therefore, to know the international etiquette does not mean to know the European etiquette.<sup>41</sup> Thus, his book has an obvious claim to be about European etiquette namely *alla franca* not about international etiquette. On

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<sup>40</sup> Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1312/1894), p. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 9.

the other hand, European as the name given to people living in Europe is a quite general term including the people of England, France, and Germany etc. Therefore, Ahmed Midhat's definition of *alla franca* as a way life of Europeans mainly refers to the French way of life since his references mainly come from the famous French etiquette books such as Madam Louise d'Alq's *Le Savoir vivre en toutes les circonstances de la vie* (1877) and Bertall's *La Comédie de notre temps* (1874).

M. Ş. in *Avrupa'da Merasim ve Âdât* (1894) attracts attention to the change in etiquette rules and necessity to accept some of these new codes of behavior as the requirement of the new situation (*yeni halde*). He informs that the book he translated was first published in Paris and then in England and United States of America again and again in millions. He explains in *İfade-i Mütercim* that he chose some of the appropriate ones of European etiquette for Ottoman society.<sup>42</sup> In his book, there is no definition of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* but it is understood from *İfade-i Mütercim* that he thinks *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, as the codes of behavior, changes according to time and situation.

In *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* published by Matba'a-i Askeriye in 1909, *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* is defined as the codes of manners recognized by the civilized world (*umum-ı düvel-i mütemeddine*). It says:

Today, principles and ways of etiquette have been put on paper and turned into rules to such an extent that civilized nations are similar to each other as if they're one single nation. In fact, even Japan that is a

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<sup>42</sup> *Avrupa'da Merasim ve Âdât*, trans. M. Ş. (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1312 / 1894), pp. 2-3.

totally separate nation in the far east has accepted and applied the European customs and behavior at an extraordinary manner since the last revolution. Because they have realized that these also need to be taken as much as science and knowledge.<sup>43</sup>

Due to the aforementioned explanation, it can be said that by civilized nations the author of *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* means European nations, and therefore what it is meant by the “common etiquette of civilized nations” is in fact European etiquette. Like Ahmed Midhat, the author of *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* claims that etiquette is learned as a science in Europe under the name of “*Savoir Vivre*”. However, he argues that this etiquette, written under the name of “*Savoir Vivre*”, is the etiquette of distinguished societies, therefore the book emphasizes that it was written not for all, but for the distinguished class of the Ottoman Empire and the military class of this society.<sup>44</sup> Besides, the book has an interesting claim about the etiquette of civilized states:

Isn't it quite natural for us to study and apply the methods of the science of etiquette that are manners and breeding generally accepted in civilized states which were originally taken from Muslims anyway? And let us also not forget that the Ottoman Empire is a large European state that has its capital in the European continent. The manners and etiquette in question, as some think, have no relation to Christianity whatsoever. Issues of religion in Europe never go outside of the

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<sup>43</sup> “Bugün usûl ve âdâb-ı mu'âşeret 'âlem-i medeniyette öyle kava'id-i mazbûta tahtına alınmıştır ki, milel-i mütemeddine bir tek millet gibi birbirlerine müşâhebet kesb etmektedirler. Hatta aksa-yı şarkda külliye müferrez bir millet olan Japonya dahi inkılab-ı ahirinden beri sur'ati fevkal'âde ile Avrupa âdât ve etvarını kabul ve tatbik etmiştir. Çünkü bunların da 'ulûm ve fûnûnun iktibası derecesinde lazım olduğunu teyakkun eylemiştir.” *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Askeriye, 1327/1910). p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 4.

church and religious conflict is never taken into consideration. Neither in armies nor in salons are members of different religions separated.<sup>45</sup>

In this passage, two points seem quite considerable. The first claim is that the existing etiquette learned from Europeans was essentially taken from Muslims. The second one is the explanation about the European etiquette written in this book having no relation to Christianity. This attitude of *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* is quite different from the other etiquette books defined in this study as late Ottoman etiquette literature. In most of the etiquette books, authors define *âdâb-ı muşaret* as a way of life particular to a nation, but then explain the reasons why European etiquette should be learned by some Ottoman men. Their explanations did not include justifications or legitimizations in order to persuade the target audience of their books. In fact, this approach of the *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* can be related to the political context in which the book was published. The book was published right after the Second Constitution by *Matba' ai-i Askeriye* with no indicated author.

Lütfü Simavi's *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* published in three times (1911, 1914, 1923) is also interesting with its contradictory definitions of *âdâb-*

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<sup>45</sup> "..... zaten esasi ve vaktiyle Müslümanlardan ahz edilmiş olan 'ilm-i usûl-i mu'âşeret-i yani umum-ı düvel-i mütemeddinede kabul olunan âdâb ve terbiye kava'idini tahsil ve tatbik etmeliğimiz pek tabii değil midir? Hem de unutmayalım ki Devlet-i 'Osmaniye, pay-i tahtı Avrupa kıtasında bulunan bir Avrupa devlet-i mu'azzamasıdır.

Mevzu-ı bahsimiz olan usûl ve âdâb-ı mu'âşeret in bazılarının zan batılı gibi Hristiyanlık ile hiçbir münasebeti yoktur. Avrupa'da din mesaili kilise haricine çıkmaz ve din ihtilafı asla nazar-ı itibara alınmaz. Ne ordularda ne salonlarda edyan-ı muhtelifeye mensub zevat birbirinden tefrik edilmez." *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* , p. 3.

*ı mu'âşeret*. As a man of the Ottoman official etiquette, he defines *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as the culmination of decency (*edeb*), breeding (*terbiye*), courtesy (*nezaket*) and ceremony (*merasim*). At the beginning of his book, he harshly criticizes people who ignore the manners of civilized people, but in the next page, says that “each nation has its own etiquette (*âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*) and ceremonies (*teşrîfât*). His understanding of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* is not clear in many respects. At point in his book Simavi says that people who are in contact with Europeans, especially those engaged in the profession of diplomacy, should learn the foreign etiquette.<sup>46</sup> At another place, he defines *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as a science and requires it for everyone.<sup>47</sup> In terms of content, his book includes a variety of topics like *iftar*, hospitality, marriage with European women, which are thought to be the issues of Ottoman society, as well as greetings, dress, visiting, handshake, which seem to be the topics of European etiquette. In many problematic issues such as the contradictions and differences between European and Ottoman etiquette, he finds a solution by giving a priority to Ottoman custom and tradition.<sup>48</sup> In this manner, his etiquette book is quite unique for late Ottoman etiquette literature.

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<sup>46</sup> Lütü Simavi, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i İctihad, 1329 / 1911), p. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Lütü Simavi, p. 56.

<sup>48</sup> See. The discussion on redingote and İstanbulin in the second chapter, and greetings in the forth chapter.



On the other hand, the perception and evaluation of his book in the *İctihad* (1923) by a reader is quite remarkable:

To my brother Abdullah Cevdet Bey  
I read your article numbered 153 in *İctihat* about the second edition of Mr. Lütfi Simavi Bey's book *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*. Just as your article points out, I also excessively appreciate Mr. Lütfi Simavi's services, but I saw that there's something missing in his works. It can be seen that Lütfi Simavi Bey has translated a French book according to us. His purpose is to not let us be in a lowly position before Europeans and to save us from being novice in European lifestyle. Even this alone is a service that deserves appreciation. One would wish that Mr. Lütfi thought that the Turks also have a protocol and an etiquette and wrote about them as well.<sup>49</sup>

For Hasan Bahri who is the author of *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (1911), *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as being courteous and polite is one of the two ways (the other way is to learn a language) to have a happy life.<sup>50</sup> His view of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* is totally based on the Western way of conduct, so he called his book as *Centilmen*. He defines *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as knowing to live like civilized men and associates it totally with European civility.

On the other hand, despite his great emphasis on the necessity of learning European manners, İbrahim Hilmi in his introduction to Ahmed

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<sup>49</sup> "Abdullah Cevdet Bey Kardeşime! Lütfi Simavi Beyefendinin *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* adlı eserinin ikinci tabına dair 153 numaralı içtihatındaki makalenizi okudum. Bu makaleniz delaletiyle Lütfi Simavi Beyefendinin hizmetlerini ziyade takdir etmekle beraber, eserlerinde bir noksan bulunduğunu gördüm. Görülüyor ki Lütfi Simavi Bey Frenkçe bir kitabı bize göre çevirmiştir. Maksatları da bizi Avrupalılara karşı küçük mevkide bulundurmamak, bizi Avrupa hayatında acemilikten kurtarmaktır. Bu dahi teşekkürle layık bir hizmettir. Gönül isterdi ki Lütfi Beyefendi de Türkler'in de bir teşrîfâtı ve bir de usul-u mu'âşeretini olduğunu düşünse ve bunları da yazalar idi." Necip Asım, *İctihad*, 157, (1923), p. 3221.

<sup>50</sup> Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsi-i Tıbaat Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911), p. 3.

Cevad's translation of Comtesse De Magallon's *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti* describes *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as a way of living (*tarz-ı maişet*), and affirms that Ottomans actually have their own manners, and warns his readers at the end of his introduction against incorporating the rules of European civility to Ottoman morals.<sup>51</sup> The book of Comtesse De Magallon published by İbrahim Hilmi gives a definition of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as such: "Etiquette in summary is to show sentiments and follow conducts which we owe to others, and demand sentiment and conducts which they owe to us."<sup>52</sup>

The aforementioned authors agreed upon the necessity of learning the European way of life even though they implicitly defined *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as a way of life or lifestyle which is expected to be peculiar to each nation. On the other hand, some authors who wrote etiquette books under the title of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* in the same period did not refer to the etiquette of European life. Some of them, like Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, Antakyalı Çençenzade Hakkı Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem and Mehmed Emin, even criticized the importation of manners of the Western upper-class environment into Ottoman society.

The first etiquette book to be mentioned in this regard is *Nezaket ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret* (first published in 1889 and then in 1894) translated from

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<sup>51</sup> İbrahim Hilmi, p. 6.

<sup>52</sup> "Âdâb-ı mu'âşeret hulaseten başkalarına medyun olduğumuz hissiyatı izhar ve muamelatı ifadan ve onlardan da bize medyun oldukları hissiyat ve muamelatı talep etmekten ibarettir." Comtesse De Magallon, p. 19.

French by Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü.<sup>53</sup> Resulzade in the introduction of his book, writes about the abundance of books written on *adâb ve ahlak-i umumiye* until his time.<sup>54</sup> But he thinks that still, there is an important need to write in the field since many of the books on *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* until his time were ignorant of *edeb* and *terbiye* which cannot be separated from *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*.<sup>55</sup> According to him, a person whose *edeb* and *terbiye* is lacking is inferior both in front of people and God even if he has progressed in the road of science.<sup>56</sup> He uses the phrase of *usûl-i mu'âşeret* which is the equivalent of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* to denote both *edeb* and *terbiye*. What is interesting here is that the book was translated from French, but it is not in the form of a French etiquette book.

The explanation of etiquette rules on the basis of *edeb* is the common point of the books of Resulzade and Antakyalı Çençenzade Hakkı which were translated from totally different cultures. They have many other points in common. The titles and way of organization and content of the books are also quite similar. They seem to be the continuation of morality literature in terms of content and subtitles. Both attributed religious meaning to daily conducts and etiquette. Their understanding of *edeb* is not an abstract issue of

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<sup>53</sup> Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, *Nezakat ve Usul-i Mu'âşeret: Kavaid-i Âdâb* (İstanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar Matba'ası, 1889/1306).

<sup>54</sup> But we do not know what these books are. I found Resulzade's book as the first etiquette book written under the title of *mu'âşeret*.

<sup>55</sup> Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, p. 2.

morality. Rather, it arranges the relations between people such as the etiquette rules. *Zarâfet* (1890) of Antakyalı Çençenzade Hakkı, written on the basis of Persian and Arabic sources on grace, defined *edeb* as the way of intercourse and friendship (*uslûb-ı mu'âşeret ve ülfet*) and explained it this way:

Decency is such that it is to protect the tongue from bad words and to protect the body's limbs from ugly actions. And the characteristic of decency and elegance is always seeing the world as large and the self as small, it is reverence to the elder and respect to the younger and it is uttering words in a manner and way that everyone can understand.<sup>57</sup>

Mehmed Emin who has a conservative view of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, also explains *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* in his book, *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hasıl Olur* (1904), as realizing the law of morality which is based on the *Qur'an* and *hadiths* of the Prophet in a sophisticated manner.<sup>58</sup> Like Resulzade, he complains that in his time, the modes of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* had multiplied.<sup>59</sup> He says at the end of his book: "I wrote a book completely relying on morality and aiming at the morality of humanity, so it does not include the *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* of the fashionable society of foreigners which is about how to eat food, how to use a fork and knife while eating, how to behave toward women, etc." For him,

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<sup>57</sup> "Edeb şudur ki, lisanı fena sözlerden muhafaza ve aza-yı bedeniyesini hareket-ı menfureden vekayedir. Ve her zaman alemleri büyük, nefsi küçük görmek, mafukuna ri'ayet, küçüğüne hürmet etmek (ve kelemün nas ala kaderü ukulehüm) mefhumunca herkesin anlayacağı surette idare-i kelimeler eylemek hassa-i edeb ve zarafettir." Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1307/1890), p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> Mehmed Emin, *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hasıl Olur* (Aydın: Vilayet Matba'ası, 1321 / 1904), pp. 3-4.

<sup>59</sup> Mehmed Emin, p. 4.

these are not noteworthy things to mention within the framework of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret-i umumiye*, they can be accepted at most as *âdât-ı kavmiye*.<sup>60</sup>

Like İbrahim Hilmi, he accepts that every nation has its own peculiar *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, but conflicting with İbrahim Hilmi, he critically opposes the idea that advocates learning of the European etiquette by the Ottomans. He attracts attention to the necessity of learning our own morality and *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* and the absurdity of learning others' courtesy rules with such words as:

Deviating from our national and racial mode of teaching and training children, and trying to mimic the foreigners is like cooking a meal on water.<sup>61</sup>

Mehmed Emin uses *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as the basic term in his book, but by *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, he denotes *edeb* and *terbiye* based on tradition and religion.

According to his definition mostly based on morality, *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* or *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret-i umumiye* is the same everywhere and does not change from nation to nation. Therefore, he has a claim to write about the unchanging rules of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* instead of temporary and changeable ones.

Abdülaziz Bey, who writes on Ottoman customs and ceremonies at the beginning of the twentieth century, also opposes the Westernization of

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<sup>60</sup> Mehmed Emin, p. 73.

<sup>61</sup> "Kendi kavmimize, kendi ırkımıza mahsus olan talim ve terbiye-i etfalden inhiraf ile sırf ecnebinin mukallidi olmak gayreti su üzerinde yemek pişirmekle beraberdir." Mehmed Emin, p. 6.

Ottoman *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*. For him, *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* is the living custom and tradition of a nation. He writes about customs and traditions of daily life such as birth, death, visiting and entertaining which are known by the old and experienced people and conveyed to later generations to rescue them from oblivion since the new *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* endangered them.

It seems that many of the writers have agreed upon the literary definition of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as the way of living in a polite and courtly manner. But the problematic issue is what will be included under the title of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*: Is it the *âdâb-ı umumiye* of civilized nations? Or is it *âdât-ı kavmiye* of Ottomans. Due to these controversies and differing positions, their writings are quite diverse in the selection of topics, way of writing and viewpoints under the same title, *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*. In a more simplistic explanation, some thought that *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* derived only from tradition and custom passing from generation to generation as a heirloom while some defended the impossibility of being indifferent to European manners and introduced different justifications and explanations for their adoption.

Even authors writing on European etiquette do not severely isolate Ottoman *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* from European manners or prefer one over the other. In fact, their definition of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* is quite complex, shifting, polyvalent and eclectic. There is a degree of vagueness to evade from the margins and search to find a moderate way between Ottoman life and European lifestyle. For some of them, their approach appears as pragmatic as

to finally reach a determined goal, which seems to be Western progress and civility. But a detailed reading and sophisticated analysis of their writings expose that their approach is not so simplistic to be defined as pragmatic, and they are not so gritty and clear about their issues. First of all, they always kept in their minds the question, “why do we have to learn European manners?” not only to legitimize their writings to their readers, but also to themselves. They sometimes intentionally shared their views, problems and ambiguities with their readers instead of encyclopedic descriptions of European manners. It can be said in their approaches to Western way of life, there was a space of negotiation, reckoning and sometimes conciliation.

From Ahmet Midhat to Lütfü Simavi, the most emphasized and repeated explanation of the question “why do we have to learn European manners?” is: “we are a part of Europe”. While explaining the reasons of why it is necessary to learn the European way of life, Ahmet Midhat mentions being next to Europe as the first reason. Like Ahmet Midhat, İbrahim Hilmi also says that “the place we live on is an integral part of Europe and our location is entirely surrounded by Europeans. Besides that, European life began to spread into all parts of our social life with all its force. As soon as we uphold to adapt progress and civilization, our contacts with Europeans will extend day by day into all aspects of life.”<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> İbrahim Hilmi, p. 3.

In *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* published by the Matba'a-i Askeriye in 1909, it is argued that the Ottoman state is an enormous European state whose capital is in Europe.<sup>63</sup> Abdullah Cevdet in his introduction to Lütfi Simavi's etiquette book in 1911 uses the metaphor of "approaching" and forewarns, "Europe is approaching to İstanbul", and then proposes, "let's move İstanbul toward Europe." And years later, in his own book in 1927, he reminds, "I had warned, but we have insisted on not approaching to Europe, now Europe has come next to Çatalca."<sup>64</sup> Because he thought that it was vital for Ottomans to move towards Europe in order to keep Europe away from Ottoman lands, he establishes a relationship between the Ottoman Empire's unsuccessful westernization and the European physical expansion towards Ottoman lands.

In addition to the geographic and social proximity of Europe, for many Ottoman men of letters, learning and applying Western manners amounted to the honor of a nation. Ahmet Midhat argues that a huge number of European populations live in Ottoman lands, especially in İstanbul. Therefore, in order to prevent embarrassment and disruption in social

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<sup>63</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* , p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> Abdullah Cevdet, *Mükemmel ve Resimli Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Rehberi* (İstanbul: Yeni Matba'a, 1927), p. 5.



interaction with Europeans, Ottomans are required to know some rules of European manners and engage in certain practices of European life.<sup>65</sup>

For Hasan Bahri, a person in a foreign country is not a representative of himself, but a representative of his nation. His manner says something not only about his life but also about the broader social life of his country.<sup>66</sup>

Likewise, İbrahim Hilmi affirms that until the recent times people were not concerned with the rules of good manners and therefore demeaned their nations with their rude conduct, especially in Beyoğlu where a significant number of Europeans lived. According to him, having good manners adds not only to the self-esteem of the person but also to the pride of his nation.<sup>67</sup>

For the military class, in *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, it is said that it is not necessary to elucidate how a good and enormous army needs perfect science and new reform. At the same time, it also requires honor, glory and dignity.<sup>68</sup>

Abdullah Cevdet in *İctihad* (1914) explains the tragic results of ignoring Western standards with an outstanding example realized in the late Ottoman period. He mentions an incident from Keşmiri Sadık Mehmet Paşa's observation which puts an Ottoman hoca, an *ulema* member, in a disgraceful position in front of a Japanese religious leader who is an official visitor to Ottoman lands for the investigation of religion. In his description, the

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<sup>65</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 4.

<sup>66</sup> Hasan Bahri, p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> İbrahim Hilmi, p. 4.

<sup>68</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 2.

Ottoman religious leader is in a dirty and appalling costume and does not know a foreign language. He knows a little bit Arabic, but he cannot speak. On the other hand, the Japanese leader not only knows, but also speaks English, French, German, and even Arabic.<sup>69</sup>

#### Civilization and Being Civilized / *Temeddün* and *Medenî* or *Mütemeddin*

Being civilized (*medenî*) and *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* appear as two concepts of late Ottoman etiquette literature that complement one another. Civilizing (as one of the grand terms of late Ottoman etiquette literature as well as late Ottoman cultural milieu) seems to be the primary concern and objective of some etiquette authors and an ultimate goal to achieve which was utilized to legitimize the writing of an etiquette book. The Ottoman authors often used the terms *temeddün* to mean becoming civilized and polished, *mütemeddin* and *medenî* to describe the social quality of people: their housing, manners, tastes, clothing and speech, and *medeniyyet* to mean civilization in a general sense which refers to political, economic, religious, technical, moral and social facts.

In fact, the Ottoman words *medenî* and *mütemeddin*, denoting “civilized”, have often been used by some Ottoman etiquette authors to propose European standards of politeness as unequivocally linked with the

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<sup>69</sup> Abdullah Cevdet, “Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret,” *İçtihat*, 131, (1914), pp. 2820-2821.

image of the Frenchman. When they use these adjectives for someone, it means that he or she is naturally socialized and civilized in a European way. On the other hand, in the dictionaries of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the word “*medenî*”, and other words derived from this word, do not imply anything about European or French culture. Şemseddin Sami in his work, *Fransızca’dan Türkçe’ye Lügat Kitabı* (1901), describes *civilité* and its related words in the following table:<sup>70</sup>

Table 4: *Civilité* and its related words in the *Fransızca’dan Türkçeye Lügat Kitabı* (1901) by Şemsettin Sami.

|                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Civil:</b>               | Şehri, beledi, medeni, ‘askeri ve ruhaniyenin gayri, mülki, sivil. Nazik, zarif, terbiyeli                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <b>Civilement:</b>          | Medeni veya mülki olarak. Başbozukça sivil gibi. Hukuka kanuna tevfiyen. Hukuk-ı medeniyeyi haiz olarak.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Civilisable:</b>         | Kabi-i temeddün ve temeddün, insana alıştırılması mümkün, kabil-i te’nis.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Civilisateur, trice:</b> | Medeniyete iysal eden, Medeniyet bahş, mümeddin.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b>Civilisation:</b>        | Medeniyete iysal, temeddin. Medeniyet, hazriyet, temeddün                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Civilisé:</b>            | Medeniyet ve hazriyete nail, mütemeddin. Talim ve terbiye görmüş.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>Civiliser:</b>           | Medeniyete iysal etmek, temeddün etmek. Nazikleştirmek, kabalığını gidermek. Dökmek, te’dib etmek. (Bir davayı) hukuktan addetmek. Hazriyete nail olmak, temeddün etmek (müstehziyane). Akvam-ı mütemeddinenin fezayiha münhemin (mim-nun-he-mim-kef) olmak. Kesb-i zarâfet etmek, nazikleşmek. Hukuktan ad olunmak. Cinayetden hukuka tahvil olunmak ve uzlaşmak (elif-vav-zel-lam-şe-mim-kaf) |
| <b>Civiliste:</b>           | Kanunun hukuk kısmıyla müteveğğil bulunan alim.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>Civilité:</b>            | Naziklik, zarâfet. (Çocuklara nazikane mu’amelatı ve merasim-                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

<sup>70</sup> Şemsettin Sami, *Fransızca’dan Türkçe’ye Lügat Kitabı*, *Dictionnaire Français Illustré – Turc* (İstanbul: Mihran Matba’ası, 1318 / 1901), 3rd Edition, pp. 502-503.

|                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                 | i zarâfeti öğretmeye mahsus eski bir kitaba telmihen) nezaket, zarâfet. Zarifane mu’amelat, iltifat, ikram.                                                                                                                                      |
| <b>Civique:</b> | Medeni, beledi memlekete mensub, müteallik. - Droits Hukuk-ı medeni. Vatanperverane, hamiyetmendane – vertus fezail-i hamiyetmendane. – Couronne Eski Romada can kurtarana verilmesi mutad bulunmuş olan tac-ı iftihar. – Garde Milis-i asakiri. |

In the same way, in *New Dictionary: Eng. – Turkish*, M. Vasıf translated civility and its derived words in the following in (1912-13).<sup>71</sup>

Table 5: Civility and its derived words in the *New Dictionary: Eng. – Turkish*, M. Vasıf.

|                      |                                                  |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Civic:</b>        | Şehri, medeni, medar-ı mübahat                   |
| <b>Civil:</b>        | Mülki, medeni, edib, mükerrem                    |
| <b>Civilian:</b>     | Başıbozuk, kanunname-i mülki ehli                |
| <b>Civility:</b>     | Nezaket, zarâfet, iltifat, ri’ayet               |
| <b>Civilization:</b> | Medeniyet: terbiye-i medeniye, kemalat, temeddün |
| <b>Civilize:</b>     | Temdin, ta’lim ve terbiye                        |

In contemporary dictionaries, the word, *medeni* was defined as urban, polite, and courteous.<sup>72</sup> In *Lügat-ı Naci*, *medeni* was translated as a person living in the city. Naci adds to his explanation saying that by nature, a

<sup>71</sup> Zabitan-ı Bahriye’den Birinci Sınıf Yüzbaşı M. Vasıf, *New Dictionary: Eng. – Turkish* (Dersaadet: Kasbar Kütüphanesi, 1331), p. 135.

<sup>72</sup> “Medeni”: Medineden 1. Kasabalı, şehri, Bir şehir ve kasaba ahalisinden bulunan, 2. Hazri ve hazribde yaşayan, bedevi veya vahşi olmayıp fûnun ve sanayi’ın semeratından istifade eden mütemeddin, müterakki, Medeni bir adam, akvam-ı medeniye 3. Bir şehir ve kasaba ahalisine ve ala’l ‘umum evlad-ı memlekete ait ve müteallik olan: Hukuk-ı medeniye, vezaif-i medeniye. Civil, politique.” Şemsettin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba’ası, 1317), p. 1310.

human being is required to live in a society (*medeni'l-tab'*) and Aristotle has defined a human being as a social animal.<sup>73</sup> Here, the word, *medeni* was used almost as a synonym of *mu'âşeret* since it means living together with others.

Indeed, many of the writers on *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* conceptualize the term *medeni* almost as comparable to the definitions of current dictionaries.

According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, being civilized means feeling the necessity to live in a social environment in a refined manner. It argues that civilized people, just like civilized states, need a common etiquette to live together.<sup>74</sup> The book emphasizes the unity of manners among civilized people, nations and states and draws attention to the urgent need to partake in the civilized world by adapting these universal manners. According to the book, there are already established rules of etiquette among civilized people and everyone who wants to be civilized should be embedded in it. It appraises the Japanese's flourishing and impetuous application of European etiquette and manners after their last revolution despite the fact that they were a completely detached nation in terms of manners in the East.<sup>75</sup> It

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<sup>73</sup> "Medeni": Şehri, medineye mensup insan, medeni'l tab'; Tabi'atı iktizasından olarak müctemi'an yaşamaya mecbur. Yani İnsan. Muallim Naci, *Lügat-ı Naci* (İstanbul: Asır Matba'ası, 1906), p. 600.

<sup>74</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 3. "Medeni'l tab' olan insanlar cem'iyet ile yaşamaya meyyal ve mecbur olduğu gibi milel-i mütemeddine dahi yekdiğeriyle münasebet-i daime de bulunmakla ve bunun neticesi olarak hemen aynı usûl ve kavaid-i mu'âşerete itba'a mecburiyet hissediyor."

<sup>75</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 3.

considers the learning of manners of the civilized world like learning science and art.

İbrahim Hilmi defines *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as “knowing to live a civilized man.” According to both *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* and İbrahim Hilmi, conduct rules are the indispensable necessities of civilized life. İbrahim Hilmi recites a French idiom “surviving is not living” and says that a nation who is unaware of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* and social breeding cannot be regarded as living.<sup>76</sup> Lütfi Simavi warns that people who sweep aside the manners of civilized people supposing themselves to be superior over the rest and to know everything will be ridiculous with their faults and behaviors.<sup>77</sup>

In late Ottoman etiquette books, it seems that the primary purpose of learning European manners is to be civilized. The writers of these books devoted themselves to achieve the level of contemporary European civilization through guide books focusing on questions such as “what is civilized life, who are the civilized people, and most prominently, how can one be civilized” for their Ottoman readers. But despite their growing concern on being civilized, they do not exactly define what “civilization” is. Some of them touch on the explanation of civilization lightly since they seem to have agreed on the idea that civilized life is definitely the life of Europeans who have proved their advancement in different fields of life such as science,

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<sup>76</sup> İbrahim Hilmi, p. 3.

<sup>77</sup> Lütfi Simavi, 1923, p. 3.

technology and art; and therefore, they assume that the concept of civilization is well-known to everyone. Due to this assumption, they focus only on how to be civilized and how to reach European civilization rather than writing what civilization and civilized life actually are in a discursive manner. However, this does not mean that they are totally uncritical of the civilization and civilized life of Europe. Rather, the format of their writing as a manual guide book does not seem to appropriate a sophisticated conceptual discussion.

Moreover, some writers like Ahmed Midhat and Lütü Simavi deliberately avoided the explanation of civilization that is totally associated with Western life, although some of their descriptions on how to be civilized heavily relied on the translations of European conduct books. These authors tried to develop an idea of civilization from the inside by insisting on being civilized in appearance and staying Ottoman in essence. Some even presented the European manners like their own with small appropriations and adaptations. Many of them obviously had a doubt about defining civilization only as the depiction of European lifestyle and tried to reach a more comprehensive understanding of civilization.

Somehow, there is almost nothing written about the story of the concept of civilization and civility within the pages of late Ottoman etiquette books. Some of the authors treated the issue of civility in a manner as if it had existed for many centuries in Europe without considering the European

civilizing process which was followed by late Ottoman intellectuals and leading figures. Besides this, some idealized Europe and its people by thinking that all Europeans are like gentlemen as depicted in the prescriptive European literature on etiquette rules, and attributed unquestionable and perfect civility to the Western world.

### *Alla Franca*

Muallim Naci, in his dictionary, defined *alla franca* as being appropriate to the procedures and customs of Europeans.<sup>78</sup> Also in the *Kamus-ı Osmani* of Ali Seyyid, it was defined as being in accordance with the attitudes and customs of Franks.<sup>79</sup>

Beyond debate, *alla franca* linked to the notion of progress and new lifestyle, was the catchphrase of many late Ottoman etiquette books. The book named *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları* is totally about the description of a European way of life in many realms of life.<sup>80</sup> Attitudes toward European manners and customs were summed up in the phrase, *alla franca* in opposition to *alla turca*, traditional lifestyle. *Alla franca* had such a common

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<sup>78</sup> "Alafranga": (İtalyancadan) Avrupalıların usûl ve âdâtına muvafık: Alafranga elbise, alafranga giyiniş, *Lügat-ı Naci*, p. 12.

<sup>79</sup> "Alafranga": Frenklerin etvar ve âdetine müte'allik, muvafık olan: Alafranga Sofra, Alafranga Takvim, Ali Seyyid, *Kamus-ı Osmani I* (İstanbul: Matba'a ve Kütüphane-i Cihan, 1330), p. 68.

<sup>80</sup> *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları, Kadınlar Dünyası Külliyyatından* (İstanbul: Kadınlar Dünyası Matba'ası, 1331 / 1912-13).



usage amongst the people of the nineteenth century. People were categorized as *alla franca* or *alla turca* according to their appearance, habits and way of living.

Originally, the term was used by the Ottoman elite of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to refer to European objects such as toilets or furniture. During the *Tanzimat* it began to denote a way of life associated with a particular type of Western individual.<sup>81</sup> It is claimed that *alla franca* was introduced by Sultan Mahmud II after the abolishment of Janissaries and with the introduction of a new army in a Western model.<sup>82</sup> Abdülaziz Bey says that Ottoman manners and habits were always open to changes and transformations due to the Empire's confrontation with others and the mixture of the population with other nations. He determines four turning points in the transformation and evolution of Ottoman manners from the beginning to his time. These turning points were in the period of Sultan Mehmed II after the conquest of İstanbul, in the reigns of Sultan Ahmed III, Sultan Selim III and Sultan Mahmud II. However, he says that in the time of Sultan Mahmud II, changes were so rapid and throughout his period Ottoman methods and manners took a totally new form and process.<sup>83</sup> Like Abdülaziz Bey, Ahmet Cevdet Paşa in his *Maruzat* says that different

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<sup>81</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 100.

<sup>82</sup> Cevdet Kudret, "Alafranga Dedikleri," *Tarih ve Toplum*, (1984/1), p. 267.

<sup>83</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri: Toplum Hayatı*, eds. Kazım Arısan and Duygu Arısan Günay (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), p. 5.

geographies and different periods always have distinct manners. But he argues that it began to totally change at the time of Sultan Abdülaziz who was very appreciative of being welcomed with a European style ceremony in Egypt and İzmir and wanted to see this kind of a welcoming ceremony from the people of İstanbul.<sup>84</sup>

Abdülaziz Bey thinks that this rushed transformation into *alla franca* in Ottoman daily life was due to the tendency of imitation among some Ottoman officials who returned to İstanbul after living in Europe for a period of time. According to him, instead of learning the governing methods, political rules and civilization of Europe which was what was expected from them, these officials learned and adapted European manners and habits on the first impulse, and exhibited these manners freely in İstanbul with great admiration.<sup>85</sup> By then, these habits denoted as *alla franca* had already become firmly ensconced among educated people and members of the upper and middle classes of the Empire. On the other hand, Ahmet Cevdet thinks that *alla franca* lifestyle did not come directly from European but came through the elite of Egypt who migrated to İstanbul.<sup>86</sup>

Despite its widespread usage and popularity, people's and even intellectuals' attitudes toward this term is quite ambivalent. Ahmet Midhat

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<sup>84</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Maruzat*, ed. Yusuf Halaçoğlu (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1980), pp. 57-59

<sup>85</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, p. 5.

<sup>86</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, p. 7.

directly translated the European way of living as *alla franca* in his book titled *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî Yahud Alafranga*. He begins his book by discussing the word *alla franca* with anger for its misapprehensions by his compatriots who do not know what it really is. He mentions that everyone without a doubt has talked about this word in unrelated contexts in the last thirty or forty years.

*Alla franca!* ... Since thirty or forty years, has there been a mouth left that has not used this word? The word "*alla franca*" comes out of every mouth for things that are not related. Sometimes the power of this word reaches a degree of absolute judgment. It is "*Alla franca...*" Who can object to it anymore?<sup>87</sup>

Ahmed Midhat complains about the misinterpretation of *alla franca* in Ottoman society and the legitimization of every kind of scandalous thing especially related to family life and morality just because it was thought to be unquestionably *alla franca*. He gives a very marginal example by saying that some people suppose that women are so fully free in Europe that when a husband knocks on the door, he cannot enter the room if his wife does not permit even if she is there with her lover.<sup>88</sup> Therefore, Ahmet Midhat writes a guidance book about *alla franca* not only to introduce it into the Ottoman society but also to clear up common misconceptions about *alla franca* and to

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<sup>87</sup> "Alafranga... Otuz-kırk seneden beri bu kelimenin ziyaret etmediği ağız mı kalmıştır? Her ağızdan olur olmaz münasebetler üzerine bir "alafranga" sözüdür çıkar. Bazen bu sözün kuvveti bir hükm-i kat'î derecesine varır. "Alafranga imiş..." Artık buna kim i'tiraz edebilir." Ahmed Midhat, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 4.

enlighten people about what it is not in order to protect Ottoman society from the dreadful results of the *alla franca*.

This point somewhat establishes a common ground for Ottoman writers of conduct who believe that *alla franca* as a way of life is misunderstood and usually misapplied by many in Ottoman society. Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem also talks about people who behave contrary to generally acknowledged manners by saying, "Where I want to reside, I reside there, where I want to tour, I tour there, and nobody can interfere with me because this is *alla franca*."<sup>89</sup> İbrahim Edhem explains why this is a misapprehension with the following words:

However, just as there is no doubt that actions against the *Sharia* law will be ill-breeding, it is also understood that without knowing what the *alla franca* etiquette consists of, without studying and giving special attention to the work of the qualified authors on *alla franca* etiquette that they have brought into existence with great effort, actions that are thought to be *alla franca* are actually not *alla franca*, but are reprehensible actions that are not permitted by creed and religion. Nevertheless, thank God (*elhamdülillah*) we are Muslims and a loyal class of the supreme Ottoman Empire. We are obliged to practice the etiquette that is demanded and accepted in the system and in the *Sharia*. Many points that are regarded to be of special respect in the *alla franca* are contrary to our customs. In this manner, while trying to do something that is *alla franca*, one will have done something faulty that is against decency in the eyes of the competent and there is no doubt that he will be accused of ill-breeding. As a result, it is clear that people with good morals will be the praised and accepted ones everywhere and those who oppose these will be the disliked and hated ones.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirin: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1316 / 1898), p. 51.

<sup>90</sup> Halbuki şer'i kanuna mugayir hareketin terbiyesizlik olacağında şüphe olunamayacağı gibi alafranga âdâb-ı mu'âşeret neden ibaret olduğundan da bi haber olduğu, alafranga âdâb-ı mu'âşeret hakkında erbabının büyük himmetler sarfıyla vücuda getirdikleri asar bir

In the passage, İbrahim Edhem approaches *alla franca* from two different perspectives. The first one is that some people do not know what *alla franca* really is. According to him, there is a large and serious literature about *alla franca* written by its connoisseurs and these people who suppose something as *alla franca* are indeed ignorant of this literature. His second perspective is that *alla franca* may not be necessarily coherent with Ottoman life since the rules of respect expected from the members of one society have sometimes been incompatible with the standards of another society. Therefore, in many realms of life, *alla franca* and Ottoman traditional manners which are based on *Sharia* and customs may be naturally different, even controversial. His main argument is that “we have to behave in accordance with the *Sharia* and customs as Ottoman people.” His point of view can be described as neutral or objective to some extent since he does not accuse *alla franca* life for the bad behaviors of people who are obsessed with *alla franca*. But he intentionally gave priority to the established customs and manners of the Ottomans in his whole book, *Rehber-i Müsafirin: Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret*, at a time when people were talking and writing about *alla franca* in an encouraging way. While many

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güzide-i nazar-ı dikkat ve mütala’adan güzar u ol-vakt bu alafranga imiş diye zehab olunan hareketin alafranga olmayıp dinen ve mezheben tecviz olunamayan ef’al-i mekruhadan olduğu anlaşılır. Mamafih biz ki, lehülhamd ve’l-menh ehl-i İslam ve tabaka-i sadıka-i devlet-i aliye-i ‘Osmaniye’deniz. Şer’en ve nizamen makbul ve mergub olan âdâb-ı mu’âşereti ‘itiyad etmekle mükellefiz. Çünkü pek çok mevadda alafrangada hürmet-i mahsusadan ma’dud olan hususat bizce bir ‘aksidir. Bu surette alafranga bir şeyi yapacağım derken erbabı nezdinde mugayir-i âdâb bir kusurda bulunmuş olur ki, terbiyesizlikle inham edileceğine şüphe olunamaz. El-hasıl hüsn-i ahlakla muttasıf olan kimselerin her yerde memduh ve makbul bir ‘aks olanların makduh ve menfur olacakları keş-şems fi vatsın-nehari celi ve aşikardır.” Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, p. 52.

authors of etiquette books like Ahmet Midhat, M. Ş., Lütü Simavi and Hasan Bahri were writing about *alla franca* manners for Ottoman visitors to Europe, he wrote about the urban manners of İstanbul (*Dersaadet âdâb-ı mu'âşeretî*) for visitors to İstanbul from Europe and other Ottoman provinces.

On the other hand, some Ottoman intellectuals like Ahmet Cevdet and Abdülaziz Bey have explicitly negative views about *alla franca*. Accordingly, their derisive attitudes toward the adoption of Western fashion and habits gave way to think of *alla franca* as a moral pestilence to be exterminated. Ahmet Cevdet thinks that *alla franca* is diametrically opposite to Ottoman lifestyle in many aspects. He mentions a well-known argument that “the manners of Europeans and the Ottomans are reverse in many realms of life. For example, Ottomans take off their shoes when they enter a place, but Europeans take off their hats or head attires.”<sup>91</sup> Besides that, he writes about *alla franca* in a pejorative way. For him, *alla franca* lifestyle is the cause of many changes for the worse in Ottoman state and society. For example, he accuses the *alla franca* life for the depression of state budget.<sup>92</sup> In the same way, Abdülaziz Bey argues that Europeans who are aware of the Ottoman passion for *alla franca* exported many luxury goods such as pewter and bric-a-brac for houses and some pieces of women’s jewelry with higher prices

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<sup>91</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, p. 57.

<sup>92</sup> “Öteden beri Devlet-i ‘Aliyye iradına göre masraf ederdi. Memurin dahi vaktiyle ma’aşlarını alıp idarelerini ana uydururlardı. O zaman alfranga hane ve sahilhane tecemmülatı yok idi.” Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, p. 6.

than they are worth.<sup>93</sup> Like Ahmet Midhat, Abdülzaziz Bey's emphasis is not only on the misunderstanding of *alla franca* but, rather on its unconscious and ignorant imitation without evaluating its viability to the needs of Ottoman life and to the moral rules of society.<sup>94</sup> The following account from an Ottoman newspaper in 1869 demonstrates the nature of these complaints:

Most elite families have left the purity, honor, manners, and modesty of Islam. (The women) almost abandoned their dustcoats (*ferace*) and veils (*yaşmak*); women's petticoats (*fistan*) have replaced the loose robes (*entari*). It has become good breeding for women to peddle refinement with a few French words such as "bonjour, monsieur, merci," and to dance arm in arm with Europeans in (the foreign quarter of) Beyoğlu, skimpily dressed. It has become gracious for women to engage in all kinds of such disgraceful behavior. . . . And these "alla franga" manners have infected the entire society from individuals to their families and household members. This new state of affairs has driven many decent and honorable families to disarray.<sup>95</sup>

#### *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* between Outward Civility and Internal Morality

Pre-modern Ottoman books or writings on manners and etiquette are generally evaluated within the discourse of morality and defined as the literature of morality (*Ahlak Literatürü*). In its comparison with modern manuals on etiquette, it is usually thought that early writings on good manners take their reference from tradition and religion, namely the *Qur'an*

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<sup>93</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, pp. 5-6.

<sup>94</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, p. 5.

<sup>95</sup> Quoted from Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 42.

and *Sunna*, so it is related to the sacred in nature. On the other hand, late Ottoman books on *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as manuals of being, appearing and behaving in society are deemed to be related only to the worldly daily practices of an individual, so it is considered secular. Indeed, as assumed, neither the idea of good manners in early literature of morality is totally based upon religion and tradition although it still cannot be described as secular nor the late Ottoman literature of etiquette is as secular and Westernized as it was idealized to be. Therefore, it might be easily expected that the relation between these literatures is more than the difference between internalized morality and displayed civility.

As a matter of fact, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali* in the sixteenth century writes about how to eat in a polite manner and how to act in high societies, just as Resulzade in late nineteenth century warns in his book on decency and good manners that a well-educated man in science and art will be abhorred and contempt both among people and before God if he lacks good manners.<sup>96</sup> Likewise, *Çençenzade* (1890) argues that being happy in two worlds is completely dependent upon being a well mannered person in the world.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, it is important to discuss the relation of late Ottoman etiquette literature with the earlier literature on conduct and morality.

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<sup>96</sup> Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, "Mukaddime", p. 2.

<sup>97</sup> Çençenzade Hakkı, p. 3.



Many of the secondary literature on late Ottoman daily and social life supposes that Ottoman *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* in the late period was avowedly transforming from traditional morality to Westernized and secular etiquette. This prevailing approach explains the existence of a religious discourse in late Ottoman etiquette literature as pragmatism of the Ottoman etiquette authors, just like the many intellectuals of the period. According to this view, Islam and tradition was only utilized for the purposes of an increasingly secular agenda. Amit Bein on his study on Ottoman *ulema* draws attention to the utilization of Islam in the reforms of the late nineteenth century. He argues that the Ottoman Empire sought to reemphasize its Islamic character although its highly prized new-style state schools were producing bureaucrats, army officers, professionals, and intellectuals. Many of them adopted instrumental attitudes toward Islam while detaching themselves socially, culturally and intellectually from the religious establishment.<sup>98</sup>

Indeed, it is true that some who recognize the importance of the Islamic composition of the empire tend to mobilize the population by appealing to Islam as the common denominator to enforce the Western way of life. They sometimes seek a moral basis for their newly introduced rules of conduct and manage to detach themselves from morality taking on its modern meaning of a generalized pattern of conduct intended to refine social

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<sup>98</sup> Amit Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011), p. 12.

intercourse. Then, rules of conduct moved from the realm of morality to the realm of pragmatics; they were encouraged not just because they were good, but because they seemed to produce good results like social order, appreciation, honor and high respect. Although they were applying to traditional sources, their writings include only practical and pragmatic information about how to act when traveling on the railroads, behavior on the street or in the theater, preparing an *alla franca* dinner table, and eating and drinking rather than how to be a good person in both worlds.

The book called *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* is a good example of this kind of pragmatism. By admitting Islam as a viable basis of social life, it revitalized Islamic and traditional resources with an aim to enlighten the military class about the civilized way of Western life. The book even argues that contemporary European manners are essentially derived from Islamic traditions of the past, so it claims that it is very normal to receive these manners which were previously ours.<sup>99</sup> In comparison to other late Ottoman etiquette books, it apparently has more concerns about the justification of European manners for its readers who are thought to have Islamic sensibility. It tries to assure people about European civilization by referring to the Islamic rhetoric. It says:

Because our Islamic and national breeding is compatible with the European etiquette in many ways, it has been taken into account in this

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<sup>99</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 3.

booklet that there is no need to give decency and breeding lessons to our military class. Only important etiquette procedures have been mentioned to prevent problems that will occur because of not knowing the customs and traditions when in high society or in military centers of foreign countries and for no damage to come to the pride and honor of the Ottoman army from the mistakes that will be made this way. There is no need to explain that in reality, a military officer who obeys the law and knows how to get himself respected and treats everyone the way they deserve to be treated and constantly tries to please everyone is a military officer who obeys the decency and breeding rules of Islam.<sup>100</sup>

The book of Resulzade also represents a similar kind of approach in terms of utilizing Islamic and traditional sources. Although his book was advertised as a translation from French written on the cover, it includes a significant number of verses from the *Qur'an*, *hadiths* and Ottoman idioms to support the discussed arguments. For example, Resulzade uses a popular *hadith* in Arabic - interestingly not in Turkish – that says “*etlibu ilm minel mehd ile lehd*”<sup>101</sup> to teach his readers the importance of science and education. By supporting the aforementioned argument, it may be said that some authors needed traditional sources for pragmatic reasons to support their writings.

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<sup>100</sup> Terbiye-i İslamiye ve milliyemiz pek çok hususatta Avrupa *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*i ile kabil-i tevfik olduğundan bu risalede zabitanımıza edeb ve terbiye dersi vermeye hiçbir ihtiyaç olmadığı nazar-ı teemmüle alınmış ve yalnız kibar 'alemlerinde ve düvel-i ecnebiye zabitanı meyanında bulunduğu zaman 'örf ve âdâtı bilmemekden husule gelecek mahazirin önü alınmak ve bu yolda edilecek hatalardan ordu-yı 'Osmaniyenin şan ve şerefine nakise gelmemek için belli başlı usûl-i mu'âşeret zıkr ve te'addad olunmuştur. Hakikatte hukunu tanıyan ve kendine ri'ayet ettirmesini bilen ve herkese layıkı vechile mu'amele eden ve daima cümleyi hoşnut eylemeye gayret eden bir zabıt din-i İslamiye'de şerait-i edeb ve terbiyesine ri'ayet eden bir zabıt demek olduğu müstağni-i kayd ve izahtır.” *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 5.

<sup>101</sup> “Beşikten mezara kadar ilmi isteyiniz.” Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, p. 9.

Despite the fact that there is much that confirms such an instrumental interpretation of morality and Islam in the late Ottoman etiquette literature, still it seems as an oversight in the words of Şerif Mardin, to “underestimate the sacred.” The historiographical tendency to emphasize the secularizing elements at the expense of those associated with the declining tradition reduced the role of Islam and tradition to merely playing a part in an inherently secular agenda. But many Ottoman intellectuals such as Ahmed Midhat, Lütfü Simavi, Mehmed Emin continued to rely mainly on Islam as a religion and believed in the excellence of Eastern morality. They genuinely wanted to continue the process of civilization without compromising these, even at the expense of being left behind civilization. Even though they wrote mainly about European etiquette in their books, they made selections of the European etiquette rules and utilized Islam as a base of what is appropriate and what is not. It is said that:

Something inappropriate in the rules and manners of our religion like taking off the *fez* and drinking holy water (in the church), in no way whatsoever should be done.<sup>102</sup>

As another example, Resulzade, in his book translated from French used a number of traditional sources not only to introduce and affirm Western

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<sup>102</sup> “Lakin baştan fes çıkarmak ve ab-ı mukaddes içmek gibi aka’id ve âdâb-ı diniyemize, mugayir olan şeyleri zinhar yapmamalıdır.” Ahmed Midhat, p. 462.

manners regarding displayed civil behaviors but also to improve people's moral characters such as evading cupidity, being generous and benevolent.

Ahmed Midhat hoped that Islam, if it was reinterpreted with a modern view, would play a more transformative role in the lives of Ottoman people, and in the future of the Empire. Therefore, he made a great effort to integrate the Western system with proper content to the Ottoman context. He incorporated elements of the Ottoman tradition for its own sake because he feared that people were being seduced away from morality, ways of thought, and life patterns including ways of dressing by taking models that are associated with the West.

Nevertheless, Ahmet Midhat developed a very modern view of morality by separating it from etiquette (*âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*) by which he implies Western manners or civility. He discusses the question of whether or not civility is a morality or a virtue. He begins with an important observation that "we have a fairly narrow conception about what counts as a moral issue and civility in Western society. He understands civility as the commitment of individuals to community; therefore it is gentleness, not a moral virtue, even though it is a good thing to have. He argues that after certain phases of education or experience in polite environments, everyone can become a gentleman or a lady. He gives the example of the increase in the number of illegitimate children in Paris day by day although it is the center of politeness

and gentleness. Through this example, he reaches the idea that civility can be a normative and ethical notion without being moral or virtuous. As Ekrem İşın points out, Ahmed Midhat advocates to be selective and adapts the manners of European conservatives to preserve Ottoman society from the bad effects of European civility.<sup>103</sup>

Ahmet Midhat also pays a considerable amount of attention to show the superficialities of the European etiquette and sometimes complains about the formal politeness of the Europeans. His examples of criticism or complaints are more about women and family life. He argues that one can easily suppose that women are fully respected in Western societies by looking at their very graceful rules of etiquette towards women. However, it is only an affectionate and opportunist reverence, not a real respect to women since it is directed only towards young and beautiful women.<sup>104</sup> He argues that the *chengis* of Kağıthane have more eminence in their master's opinion than the women in Paris.<sup>105</sup>

Still, it is difficult to say that civility and morality are strictly separated by Ahmet Midhat. His book is not the translation of a European etiquette book; rather, he wrote an etiquette book by making selections from a number of European etiquette books for the Ottoman audience. Then, he discussed

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<sup>103</sup> See. Ekrem İşın, "Ahmed Midhat Efendi ve Gündelik Hayatın Pratik Bilgisi: *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 8/44 (Ağustos 1987), p. 36.

<sup>104</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Diplomalı Kız*, pp. 82-83. Quoted from Orhan Okay, *Batı Medeniyeti Karşısında Ahmed Midhat Efendi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2008), p. 218.

<sup>105</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Paris'de Bir Türk*, p. 450. Quoted from Orhan Okay, p. 218.

European etiquette rules in the Ottoman context and realigned them for the middle and upper class Ottomans rather than directly translating them.

While doing this, he did not keep morality totally aside from civility.

Sometimes, he used Ottoman standards of morality as a criterion to adapt a rule of European civility. For example, he refused gambling on the ground that this way of making money is immoral even though it was considered as a part of civilized life in Europe. Thus, he did not ignore morality behind the practical knowledge of daily life even though he separated them to a great extent. Rather, he tried to get closer to an eclectic view for the Ottoman etiquette based on European etiquette without compromising Ottoman morality.

To be sure, the main reason behind this kind of a separation of morality and civility seems as the fear of deterioration of Ottoman values with the introduction of Western values. Like Ahmet Midhat, İbrahim Hilmi's concern also is about the descent of morality with the introduction of European manners and he also tries to keep apart etiquette (*âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*) and good manners (*edeb ve terbiye*). He warns his readers in his introduction with the following words:

In my opinion, this book is very important. Yet, by publishing this book of European etiquette, I do not want to say that you should be like Europeans by introducing these manners in our good manners (*terbiye*). You should learn foreigner's manners to endear yourself by not becoming alien while you are in touch with them. If you behave in accordance with *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, everyone respects you whatever

community you are present in and you are praised in your absentia with the words of “mightily polite and well polished” and you are mentioned everywhere with appreciations like “he is a man like he must”. This honor is the greatest privilege in polite environments.<sup>106</sup>

On the other hand, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem and Mehmed Emin questioned that a behavior defined as polite by European standards, would in any sense be moral” and refused *alla franca* on the basis of its incompatibility with Ottoman morality and *terbiye*. Indeed, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem does not separate *âdâb-ı mu’âşeret* and morality and he thinks that they are overlapping. Therefore İbrahim Edhem suggested already existing etiquette rules being implemented instead of *alla franca* by the people of İstanbul. Mehmed Emin devoted his last pages to the explanation of *âdâb-ı mu’âşeret* and morality and their difference from European conception of etiquette. Mehmed Emin clearly differentiates etiquette written on the basis of European lifestyle from morality. He uses morality and the Ottoman word *âdâb-ı mu’âşeret* as synonym. In his definition, the etiquette written on how to eat food, how to use a fork and knife while eating, how to behave to women, etc. can be accepted at most as *âdâb-ı kavmiye*.<sup>107</sup> According to him these are

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<sup>106</sup> “Bu kitap bence pek mühimdir. Bununla beraber bu eseri neşr etmekle garb mu’âşeretini terbiyemize dahil ederek siz de böyle olun demek istemiyorum. Yalnız onların âdâb-ı mu’âşeretini öğreniniz de ihtilât ettiğiniz zaman yabancı kalmayarak kendinizi sevdiniz. Herhangi bir cem’iyette bulunursanız bulununuz âdâb-ı mu’âşerete ri’ayet ettiğiniz takdirde herkes size ister istemez hürmet eder, daima gıyabınızda (pek nazik, pek terbiyeli) sözleriyle medhedilir ve her yerde (*C’est un homme comme il faut*) ‘gereği gibi bir adamdır’ takdirleriyle yad olunursunuz ki, cem’iyetlerde bu ‘unvan-ı şeref en büyük bir imtiyazdır.” İbrahim Hilmi, p. 6.

<sup>107</sup> Mehmed Emin, p. 73.



not noteworthy things to mention within the framework of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret-i umumiye*. Mehmed Emin foregoes writing about daily etiquette and focuses on how to gain *terbiye* which he sees as the sign of morality. According to him, even though the morality and etiquette of high societies seems as overlapping in respect of treat others with respect, deference and self-discipline, their aims on the inside are very different. The etiquette of high society necessitates respecting others only to be respectful. On the other hand, in his view of morality, every human being deserves respect and everyone should respect each other without any expectation. In terms of self-discipline, rules of civility are related to people's relations with others, and restrict them only in front of others. On the other hand, rules of morality are self-discipline in front of God in everywhere and all the time.<sup>108</sup>

Briefly, Ottoman etiquette authors generally tried to rethink and reshape the European way of understanding etiquette (*âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*) which was considered to be a normative notion that was not moral for Ottoman context. Although some authors focused on formal politeness in their books, they often made their selections and synthesized European etiquette by relying on their idea of morality. On the other hand, they considered morality to be an untouchable and unchangeable issue; they also did not have an exact definition of morality. Even Ahmet Midhat, who was

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<sup>108</sup> Mehmed Emin, p. 63.

totally reliant on Eastern morality and defended it, did not give a proper definition of morality in his book on European etiquette or in his other books.<sup>109</sup> Mehmed Emin, who used morality as the synonym of the Ottoman word *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* and devoted his book on *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* on the basis of morality, wrote that the etiquette that he called *âdât-ı kavmiye* can change from nation to nation and from time to time. On the other hand, the rules of morality and *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* do not change anywhere and in any place; they continue their provision.<sup>110</sup>

In fact, this kind of consideration of morality seems quite different from the earlier conception of morality. In Kınalızade's view, morality is the sum of virtues that enable people to be well-demeaned human beings and necessitates both outward politeness and true virtue. These two must necessarily be coherent in an act of a person. As an example, he affirms that a conduct that is primarily oriented to personal gain or to affirmation of social respect is not a good manner in the sense of morality. Indeed, it is at most a disgrace seeming as excellence ("*Faizlet gözüken reziletler*").<sup>111</sup> Thus, rules of *mu'âşeret* were thought to necessarily carry a moral content. Therefore, in traditional Ottoman society, a person who followed the accepted rules of *mu'âşeret* was considered not only as a polite man, but also morally superior

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<sup>109</sup> Orhan Okay, pp. 283-288.

<sup>110</sup> Mehmed Emin, p. 64.

<sup>111</sup> Kınalızade, p. 128.

to a person who broke them because of the idea that a person's behavior and conduct cannot be distinguished from his moral character and a person's morality is indeed the sum of his conducts. On the other hand, this division of civility and morality clearly defined many of the late Ottoman etiquette books. İbrahim Hilmi makes this kind of a division as follow:

One does not only look at the breeding of the ideas and wisdom of people. One also pays attention to their outer appearances, etiquette style, attitude and actions. In fact, the thing that attracts most attention in social life is outer appearance.<sup>112</sup>

In fact, there seems to be another problem in the morality conception of some late Ottoman etiquette authors. Here, it can be said that late Ottoman etiquette authors like Ahmed Midhat had a quite romantic and simple view of morality. In their ideas, there is the division of civility and morality and civility is the secular standards of living in a civilized world while morality is related to religion and customs. Therefore, the emulation of the former is required in the contemporary world while preserving the latter is necessary at some expenses. On the other hand, there was a big dispute in the time of late Ottoman etiquette literature, especially after the Second Constitution, in morality literature about the nature, essence and reference of morality.

According to Baha Tevfik, who is the author of *Yeni Ahlak*, "whether

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<sup>112</sup> "İnsanların yalnız terbiye-i fikriye ve 'akliyelerine bakılmaz. Ahval-i zahirelerine, tarz-ı mu'âşeretine, etvar ve hareketine de dikkat olunur. Hatta hayat-ı ictimaiyenin hemen bütün tabakatında en ziyade nazar-ı dikkati celb eden şey ahval-i zahiredir." İbrahim Hilmi, "İfade-i Naşir", p. 4.

religious or philosophical, former conceptions of morality have failed. In the twentieth century, the source of morality was the human being and could be explained with the science of psychology. The foundation of morality is physiological entities together with physiological formations such as human thought, sensitivity, habits, customs, inertia, instinct of psychological phenomena.”<sup>113</sup> Ahmet Midhat and Mehmed Emin were thinking of morality as unchanged in time, while many books on morality gave a great emphasis on the discussion of the changing nature of morality in time.

Another important difference in the understanding morality in late Ottoman etiquette literature in the classical period and the late Ottoman era is that while earlier morality books were complaining about moral decay in Ottoman society by making a comparison between the old and new Ottoman societies rather than other societies, late Ottoman writers of etiquette were concerned about why impoliteness, rudeness, offensiveness, unhygienic and unhealthy conditions were so widespread in their society while European countries were so civilized. Therefore, their proposed remedy for refinement in the Ottoman way of conduct was the adaptation of European etiquette to the Ottoman world.

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<sup>113</sup> Faruk Öztürk, “II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Ahlâk Öğretimi ve Baha Tevfik’in ‘Yeni Ahlâk’ı,” *Milli Eğitim*, v. 145, 2000.

While doing this, many of the etiquette authors considered European civility and civilization as an outward politeness in a way of softening of manners, urbanity, and refinement of daily conducts in European standards. This way of understanding European etiquette also served to its legitimization to be written and applied since it was not thought to be related to the Ottoman religion, morality and sacred values; it is just limited to public behaviors in order to take part in the contemporary civilized world.

On the other hand, there is an unanswered question: “Why does European civility necessarily mean an outward politeness? In 1760’s, Mirabeau criticizes a common understanding that explains civilization only with displayed politeness and argues that civilization does nothing for society if it does not give it both the form and the substance of virtue.<sup>114</sup> Indeed, Goffman presents a view of social life as a realm in which morality is affirmed by means of everyday-life interaction rituals. He describes social life in a way that reveals the interplay of manipulation and morality.<sup>115</sup> He argues therefore that morality does not reside within us or above us, but is rather manufactured through performances and interaction rituals designed to affirm human dignity.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Norbert Elias, p. 32.

<sup>115</sup> Charles Lemert and Ann Branaman, eds. *The Goffman Reader* (Blackwell Publishers, 1997), p. xlv.

<sup>116</sup> Charles Lemert and Ann Branaman, p. xlvi.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE DRESS OF OTTOMAN GENTLEMAN:

“HE IS A MAN LIKE HE MUST”<sup>1</sup>

This chapter is about dress, fashion and body as the essential components of etiquette rules, good manners and self representation as described in late Ottoman etiquette books, manuals and writings. It discusses the place and importance of dress and appearance to the state, society and individuals and its symbolic meaning in the late nineteenth century. In this manner, it tries to reveal how late Ottoman etiquette writers approached the issue of appearance, dress and fashion, what they wrote about and how they determined proper clothing for men and women. It gives a basic terminology associated with clothing, dress and costume in late Ottoman etiquette literature and discusses the basic forms for both men and women in order to explore the current trends, styles, and types of the period more fully and discuss how the forms and composition of clothes determined a vocabulary which reveals the direction and stimulation of transformation and change in clothing and manners.

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<sup>1</sup> İbrahim Hilmi uses this expression in “İfade-i Naşir: Yaşamayı Bilmek” as “Gereği gibi adamdır” with its French explanation “C’est un homme comme il faut” in *Rehber-i Muâşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret-i*, Comtesse De Magallon, trans. Ahmet Cevad Emre, (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Askeri, 1328/1911), p. 6.

While I am aware of the fact that late Ottoman etiquette literature cannot precisely tell what proportion of the Ottoman population possessed and wore the types of clothes described in these writings and how they were worn, this study aims to reveal to what extent their descriptions of proper clothing correspond to the prevailing assumptions and practices of clothing in the contemporary Ottoman society in general and elite communities in particular.

The rising notion of polite and gentlemanly conduct described in late Ottoman etiquette books, as the new way of acting in accordance with the rules of etiquette, was produced for the increasing urban, educated and elite Ottoman population. As Jirousek pointed out, the *Tanzimat* edicts paved the way for substantial change by proposing alterations in dress that corresponded to westernizing institutional reforms, but it did not reach beyond the imperial household, the military and civil bureaucrats.<sup>2</sup> For this group of people, an individual's relationship with the public and the rest of the world was quite significant and conditional. Therefore, physical appearance was of the utmost importance since it was deemed to be closely related to personal conduct and etiquette, and revealed, displayed and represented Ottoman success in modernization.

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<sup>2</sup> Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire," *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922*, Donald Quataert, ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 223.

Ottoman etiquette authors organized special chapters on “how to dress and appear,” and these chapters formed one of the main sections of late Ottoman etiquette books. As a fundamental issue of the modernizing process and daily life, the issue was discussed in a variety of contexts in etiquette books. But it was primarily tackled as an issue of identity, gentility, propriety and status as well as hygiene and comfort.

### The Symbolic Value of Dress

Dress has been defined as “the total arrangement of all outwardly detectable modifications of the body itself and all material objects added to it.”<sup>3</sup> In addition to its basic function, a garment has a huge symbolic value.

Therefore, it gives an idea and information not only about textile and economics, but also about lifestyle, hygiene, beliefs, morality, notions of the sacred and secular, social aspirations and gender relations. In *The Fashion System*, Roland Barthes argues that clothing, like most cultural objects, is imbued with significations that transcend its functionality. A garment can easily disassociate from an earlier function to assume numerous new significations. He proposes that this process of signification grows all the stronger as a society multiplies the number of its standardized objects. This is

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<sup>3</sup> Mary Ellen Roach, Kathleen Ehle Musa and Anne Hollander, *New Perspectives on the History of Western Dress*, (New York: Nutriguides, 1980), p. 11. Quoted from, Charlotte Jirousek, p. 205.



why modern and technological societies can so easily separate the sign from the function.<sup>4</sup> When the selection of a form of clothing is symbolically charged, the acceptance or refusal of a piece of cloth can be a crucial governmental decision such as requiring all Ottoman bureaucrats to wear a *fez* in 1829 or a hat in 1925 with a specific law.

Nancy Mickelwright argues that unlike many other examples of cultural identification such as architectural style, interior furnishings, or literature, the adoption of a foreign tradition in clothing does not require the transfer of a complex technology or the use of unfamiliar tools. Costume is thus a social statement that is of great communicative value and at the same time easy to manipulate.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the rapid growth of the ready-made industry and the relative enlargement of the upper class outside the palace, including bureaucrats and military men, made the transmission, circulation and transformation of fashion possible and even easy in a short period of time. But still, given the sensitivity and symbolism of clothing and its selection on the basis of some criteria like fashion, aesthetic and economic wealth on the one hand, and state interventions, religious and moral values on the other, it can be still argued that the change in Ottoman clothing was not an easy and unproblematic process for the late Ottomans.

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<sup>4</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, Matthew Ward and Richard Howard, trans. (University of California Press, 1990), p. 265.

<sup>5</sup> Nancy Micklewright, "Public and Private for Ottoman Women of the Nineteenth Century," *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 161.

Clothing was not only determined by its cost and its material availability, but also greatly by a set of values, morals, customs and even laws and rules of a given society and state. Despite the fact that it appears easy to change, manipulation and change in clothing was not easier than change in the Ottoman domestic space or any other realms of late Ottoman society. Dress was always central to the formation and representation of identity as a personal and public statement of the wearer's social identity. Therefore, clothing has inescapably become more associated with identity than other kinds of items such as furniture and household utensils. As an expression of culture and societal formation, dress was also essential to an individual's daily practice and formation of self and mediated his or her relationship with others. As a matter of fact, French style and fashion in Ottoman furniture and decoration was observable as early as the late eighteenth century. Baron De Dott's wife who visited the daughter of Sultan Ahmed III in 1775, talked about the prevalent use of French decoration in the house.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, the earliest photographs showing Ottoman women in European dresses date to the late 1870s and 1880s.<sup>7</sup> Mickelwright

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<sup>6</sup> Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19. Asır Türk Edebiyatı* (İstanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, [10. Edition], 2003), p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> Charlotte Jirousek, p. 229.

also confirms that the elite women in İstanbul were wearing Western dresses in 1860s and 1870s.<sup>8</sup>

Especially in the period under study, clothing as the representation of wealth, power, status, religion, gender and lifestyle was taken with immense seriousness and matters of apparel and deportment were central to the Ottoman social and political life. Therefore, change in cloth for both the Ottoman individuals and authorities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was realized as a result of a quite complicated process of decision-making, but interestingly, it became an area of modernization which was given priority by Ottoman authorities for Ottoman bureaucrats and military class. On the other hand, this priority was not given because it was easy to adapt to, but it was very symbolic just as it had been for centuries.

As Philip Perrot pointed out, although choosing how to be dressed is a personal act in a micro level, there is nothing more social than clothing.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, dressing negotiates between the intensely personal and the prescribed and constructed layers of social.<sup>10</sup> As Perrot argued, clothing is not a matter of freely assembling elements from a wide range of possibilities,

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<sup>8</sup> Nancy Micklewright, "London, Paris, Istanbul and Cairo: Fashion and International Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 7, 1992, p. 129.

<sup>9</sup> Philip Perrot, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Sandra Niessen and Anne Brydon, "Introduction: Adorning the Body," *Consuming Fashion: Adorning the Transnational Body (Dress, Body, Culture)*, Sandra Niessen and Anne Brydon, eds. (Berg Publishers, 1998). p. Xi.

but rather a matter of arranging components chosen from a limited pool according to certain rules.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, throughout history, rulers and authorities always had a policy to determine the way their subjects dressed and therefore publicized clothing laws in order to adjust gender, communal, political, and social relations within and between their administrative, military, and subject classes. Until the nineteenth century, both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, the style, textile and color of an article of clothing affirmed a person's religious, social and economic status; even it did legally in most of the cases.

Donald Quataert in his study on clothing laws argues that by the eighteenth century, the rising classes of Europe and America adopted increasingly luxurious lifestyles including clothing to express their prosperity and their social aspirations.<sup>12</sup> The rapid growth of the textile industry, the sizeable development of the ready-made industry, the unprecedented impact of the department stores and the improvement in living standards eventually made everyone look like a bourgeois.<sup>13</sup> In the accelerating world of fashion, the aristocracy searched for new protectionist ways to keep their social rank visible in the eyes of others such as clothing laws known as sumptuary laws that limited the use of luxury clothing and

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<sup>11</sup> Philippe Perrot, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29, (1997), p. 404.

<sup>13</sup> Philippe Perrot, p. 4.

required people outside the privileged class of aristocracy to dress strictly plain.<sup>14</sup> According to Braudel, the sumptuary laws were an expression of the wisdom of governments, but even more of the resentment of the upper classes when they saw the *nouveaux riches* imitate them.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, at the end of the century, new ideas and concepts of the period such as liberty, equality and citizenship along with the abundance of clothing materials and their easy accessibility by many of the bourgeoisies forced the sustainability of vestimentary laws in France. In 1793, the convention in France issued a decree that was a real break from the former vestimentary codes:

No person of either sex can force any citizen, male or female, to dress in a particular way, under penalty of being considered a suspect, treated as such, and prosecuted as a disturber of peace; everyone is free to wear the garment or garb suitable to his or sex that he or she pleases.<sup>16</sup>

In the case of the Ottoman Empire, until 1829, the Ottoman public (*reâyâ*) that consisted of different religious and ethnic communities were asked to keep their own way of clothing determined by the law. Abdülaziz Bey says:

At the beginning of the century (twentieth century), the shape and style of the Ottoman man's turban (*kavuk*) changed according to the man's class and profession. By looking at the shape of a man's turban,

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<sup>14</sup> Donald Quataert, p. 404.

<sup>15</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, Volume 1 (University of California Press, 1981), p. 311.

<sup>16</sup> Philippe Perrot, p. 20.

his class could be known by everyone. A man could not wear the dress of others since each turban was a sign of difference in class.<sup>17</sup>

Minorities had to comply with restrictions in the way they dressed. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the Ottoman State witnessed one of the most vigorous attempts to control how the population dressed. The sumptuary and legal codes of this period clearly defined and reflected this agenda. Sumptuary laws as proclamations specified what a particular person could, or more precisely, could not wear. A careful reading of these sumptuary laws reveals a concern to control the apparel to keep hierarchy among the subjects.

According to Göçek, sumptuary laws in the Ottoman state served two main purposes, one financial and the other social. The vast Ottoman expenditure on foreign goods meant a loss of revenue to the treasury. The sultan thus subjected any visible act of consumption, be it clothing, food, or housing, to regulation. A 1788 decree for example prohibited the luxury consumption of the officials and those who tried to imitate them.<sup>18</sup> The other purpose of sumptuary laws was to focus specifically on fashion and its disruptive blurring of social stratification among Ottoman social groups.<sup>19</sup> In

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<sup>17</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, *Âdât ve Merasim-i Kadime: Tabirat ve Mu'âmelata-ı Kavmiye-i 'Osmaniye (Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri)*, Kazım Arısan, Duygu Arısan Günay, eds. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), p. 223.

<sup>18</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 39.

<sup>19</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, p. 39.

fact, sumptuary laws can be seen as the extension of traditional Ottoman laws that regulated the habits of Ottoman subjects on the basis of differentiation in the previous centuries. Both the regulating laws of the previous centuries and the sumptuary laws of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which were an intensive version of them, served one main purpose: maintaining hierarchy among the subjects in terms of class or religion.

#### *Alla franca* Dress: Towards Uniformity and Differentiation

On the other hand, the reforms toward modernization beginning in late eighteenth century had opened a new era in the concept of Ottoman clothing. Many of the researchers and specialists on late Ottoman history agreed that the first and foremost important step towards modernization started from the military class. Furthermore, it is also possible to argue that these first attempts mainly focused on the materialistic aspects of Europe, specifically its mode of clothing, lifestyle and materialistic culture. In fact, it was assumed that what was westernized was what appeared western; what appeared western in turn was a measure of change and transformation towards modernization in general and being civilized in particular. This partly stemmed from the increasing role of science and technology in

defining the West – achievements in physical attributes became measures of men.<sup>20</sup>

Not surprisingly, the first efforts to reform Ottoman institutions began in the military. At the end of the eighteenth century, the so called *Nizam-ı Cedid*, which means new arrangements, was established by Sultan Selim III. This new army was composed of soldiers who, like their European counterparts, drilled according to French practice and dressed in French style uniforms. Furthermore, reforms in the clothing of the military and bureaucracy initiated by Sultan Mahmud II can be read as a preliminary step to erode distinctions in costume and promote homogeneity and uniformity, not to proclaim hierarchy as many earlier clothing laws did.<sup>21</sup> The 1829 law specified the clothing and head attire to be worn by civil and religious officials of various ranks. It sought to replace traditional community and occupational signs of differentiation by dress with a homogenizing status marker -the *fez*- that placed the state at the center of Ottoman life as the single remaining arbiter of identity.<sup>22</sup> With the introduction of *fez* as a required piece of clothing on head for all officials, the Ottoman state was organized on a completely new foothold which seems supra-religious. This act was a quite radical attempt to eliminate clothing distinctions that had

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<sup>20</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> Quataert, p. 413.

<sup>22</sup> Quataert, p. 403.



long separated the bureaucrat from the subject classes and the various Ottoman religious communities from one another.

In fact, this process of change and transformation in clothing is not peculiar to the Ottomans in the nineteenth century. Dressing and especially the way of dressing gained more political and social significance all over the world. Many of the nations aiming at westernization started reforms first in their military and then in their clothing. When China was under threat in the nineteenth century, what people in China wore inevitably assumed fresh importance. In 1892, the abandonment of existing forms of dress in their whole country was recommended by one reformist scholar who advocated, "If we wish to alter the bureaucracy, establish a parliament and reform the examination system, we must begin by changing to the western way of dressing."<sup>23</sup> When China was defeated by Japan in 1894, the pressures for wide-ranging institutional reforms were intensified since the failure against Japan was directly read as the success of the Japanese in westernization because their armed men were wearing European-style military uniforms and their people – at least some of them – were wearing Victorian dresses.<sup>24</sup>

Due to their political importance, the military classes were the first respondents of the European etiquette in China, Japan and the Ottoman

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<sup>23</sup> Antonia Finnane, "Military Culture and Chinese Dress in the Early Twentieth Century," *China Chic: East Meets West*, Valerie Steele and John S. Major, eds. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 120.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid*, p. 120.

Empire. In fact, many of the Ottoman etiquette books of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were written by addressing basically two groups: Military men (*zabitan*) and people of high society (*zarif kesian*). In these books, military men were given a special responsibility as the leading figures of the civilizing process not only in the army but also in daily life. Therefore, they were asked to be more careful in their behavior and conduct. In this vein, Matba'a-i Askeriye published a special etiquette book called *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (no author) in 1909 (1327) only for military men. It says:

Today the whole world is looking with appreciation at the military class of the Ottoman Empire who, with an unprecedented revolution, serve to recover a government that has been destroyed for thirty-three years with bad governance. The military class will show the rise of the nation with their behavior and attitude towards friends and strangers within and outside of the state. It is understood that from now on, the spirituality of the behavior and attitude of the Ottoman military class will be very great and very polite. The performance of these duties that we have taken upon ourselves with full pride depends on us showing that we have learned and mastered military science and knowledge.<sup>25</sup>

Likewise, İbrahim Hilmi in his introduction in the translation of Comtesse De Magallon's *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti* (1328/1911) divides

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<sup>25</sup> "Su-i idare ile otuz üç sene tahrib edilmiş bir devleti emsali nadir bir inkılab-ı mes'ud ile ihyaya hizmet eden 'Osmanlı ordusu zabitanına el-yevm bütün cihanın inzar-ı takdiri matuftur. Mülkün dahil ve haricinde yar ve ağyar karşısında zabitan hal ve etvarı ile milletin te'âlisini gösterecektir. 'Osmanlı zabitanının hal ve etvar-ı ma'neviyesi ba'dema pek büyük pek nazik olacağı anlaşılıyor. Kemal-i iftihar ile deruhde eylediğimiz bu vezâifin icrası 'ulûm ve fûnun-ı 'askeriyeye hasr-ı kesb ve vukuf ettiğimizi izhar eylemekliğimize menuttur." *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Askeriye, 1327 / 1910), p. 2.

the Ottoman people as military class (*zabitan*) and civilian (*sivil*) and gives the main responsibility to the military class in the Ottoman civilizing process.<sup>26</sup> Because of the high mission loaded on the shoulders of the military class, the uniform of military men was very important in late Ottoman etiquette books as it was in many of the countries both in Europe and Asia. In many occasions and events of high communities, they were asked to be in their uniforms and with their brands.

Indeed, the proper way of dressing assigned for courteous people outside the military also reminds of a kind of uniform especially for men. In the introduction of *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, it is argued that the Ottoman state should be a part of a universal civilization in which many nations would be as one in terms of manners, clothing and way of living.<sup>27</sup> In the same way, by articulating a close relationship between dress and politics, the scholar-official Kang Youwei (1858-1927) stated, "At the present time, the myriad nations are all in communication and are as one moving toward veneration for oneness. It is just in our country that the clothes are different,

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<sup>26</sup> "İntizam ve temizliğin bir numune-i şa'şadarı olan sınıf-ı zabitan kadar her şey gevşemiş, her şey ihmale uğramıştı. Haftalarca tıraş olmayan zabite, sararıp solmuş leke içinde bir üniformaya, günlerce boyanmamış kundura ve çizmeye hemen her saat tesadüf edilebilirdi. Bir elinde mısır koçanı bir elinde yemiş yünlü mendil ve ..... zabitlere, yine Beyoğlu'nun en yüksek birahanelerde ala melai'n-nas kunduralarını çıkarıp bağdaş kurmuş bir çok zevat-ı mu'tebereye tesadüf edilebilirdi." İbrahim Hilmi, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 3.

so that sentiments cannot be close and friendly and relations between nations cannot be achieved.”<sup>28</sup>

In the introduction of *Elbise-i Osmaniyye: Les Costumes Populaires de la Turquie* (İstanbul, 1873) which was prepared by Osman Hamdi Bey and Victor Marie de Launay for the 1873 Vienna Exposition, there is a critique on the standardized nature of the modern garment.<sup>29</sup> Authors consider that the garment as a modern European manner of dressing effaces all signs of social and cultural differences in a society by homogenizing the world with its strict and cold uniformity whereas the costumes of local people were imposing lively sentiments of confraternity and solidarity.<sup>30</sup> As a symbol, local costumes confirm and reveal differences and similarities, hierarchies and unities according to a set of rules agreed and perpetuated by a society and its institutions. This feature of local costumes was summarized by the authors of *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* under the phrase “variety in unity.” On the other hand, neither continuity nor variety can be applied to the modern garment because there is no differentiation in the short reign of each fashion.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Finnane, p. 120.

<sup>29</sup> Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie De Launay, *1873 Yılında Türkiye’de Halk Giysileri: Elbise-i Osmaniyye* (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1999), p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Ahmet Ersoy, “A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbise-i Osmaniyye Album,” *Muqarnas*, 20 (2003), p. 195.

<sup>31</sup> Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie De Launay, p. 8.

On the other hand, trends toward uniformity in the clothing of the upper class do not mean that they are free of meaning and sign. Indeed, this way of dressing has more potential to convey a message to the environment as a dual trend toward differentiation and similarity at the same time. By dressing in accordance with the elegant style of dressing defined in etiquette books, people of high environments set an invisible wall between themselves and the ordinary population. In other words, they were differentiating themselves from the rest of the society whom they considered to be uncivilized in their behaviors in actual manner. At the same time they were being familiarized with the people in the same environment by agreeing on the definite standards of being polite and respectable in appearance. According to Quataert, the adoption of western fashions meant being a part of a larger civilizing process during the nineteenth century:

By donning lace dresses or cutaway coats in the latest Parisian fashion, individuals were seeking to mark their social differentiation and modernity that they were part of the new, not the old, and were superior to those in their own society who did not wear such attire.<sup>32</sup>

Both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, abandonment of clothing legislations on the basis of religion, race and social rank did not result in the melting of all differences among classes, hierarchies and ranks. Expectedly, people of high social status continued to distinguish themselves from the

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<sup>32</sup> Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 152.

ordinary citizens of the Empire through the extravagance and fashion of their apparel. There never were strict legislations of clothing for different parts of society, but the severe rules in newly emerging etiquette books determining how to dress in different occasions and places of the high society had replaced the clothing laws by reinforcing people to dress in a particular way under the pressure of new ways of punishment tools, such as being embarrassed in front of others or being marked as old-fashioned or being excluded from privileged environments.

Stephen Greenblatt uses the term “self-fashioning” for people’s self-deciding about their appearances and defines self-fashioning as the creation of oneself according to a set of socially acceptable standards: “the achievement of a distinctive personality, characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving.”<sup>33</sup> In this context, the attitudes and efforts of the elite of the late nineteenth century for living and dressing on the standards of civilized life which was described in late Ottoman etiquette literature can be defined as a kind of self-fashioning. Most likely, they felt more pressure to have a great deal of clothes, finery and a great appearance than ordinary Ottoman citizens who dressed in accordance with the Imperial edicts. A cartoon in a satirical journal of 1874 featured an *Alla Franca* lady rebuking an

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<sup>33</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 2.

*Alla Turca* lady who dared to question her dress: “You are the one who should be ashamed of your dress in this century of progress!”<sup>34</sup>

#### Dress and Appearance in Late Ottoman Etiquette Literature:

*Gereği Gibi Adamdır* (“C’est un homme comme il faut”)<sup>35</sup>

It seems that each of the late Ottoman etiquette books stand as a unique response to the change and transformation in the late Ottoman world. Due to this fact, it is hard to categorize them as one describing and encouraging European manners and the other resisting change. Different political allegiances, conflicting ambitions and differences in the education and social backgrounds of the authors determined the content, methods and conception of etiquette literature in the late Ottoman period. In the case of dress, the complexities of Ottoman modernization, reactions, appropriations and negotiations are more observable than many other realms.

Given clothing’s complicated and significant relation to an individual’s appearance, behavior and conduct, as one can easily assume, dress as an issue, was placed on the first pages of etiquette books almost under similar titles. These titles were usually designed according to occasions and gender differences: “dress”, “toilet”, “etiquette in dress”, “cleanup and cleanliness”, “dress and manners of dress”, “women’s dress”,

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<sup>34</sup> *Hayal*, No: 157, 5 Haziran 1291/1875. For the picture, see. Appendix P.

<sup>35</sup> İbrahim Hilmi, p. 6.

“men’s dress”, “the dress of soiree”, “the style of dress” and “glove”.<sup>36</sup> Each of the books reserved at least one page to discuss the issue of clothing or appearance except the one by Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem whose book is on guidance to İstanbul both about the utilities of the city and urban manners. All of the books highlight the importance of appearance and being well-dressed and its positive impacts on social relations. But their attitude, approach and commentary diversified and even involved contradictions depending on their general understanding of *âdâb-ı mu’âşeret*. Their approaches the appearance and dress are mainly based on cleanliness, health, economy, simplicity, politeness, civility and fashion. For example, some books like Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü’s *Nezakat ve Usûl-i Mu’âşeret: Kavaid-i Edeb*, mainly approached the clothing issue as the representation of moral life and criticized overemphasis on being well-dressed. On the other hand, some made emphasis only on hygiene and comfort, while a significant number of others insisted on the vital importance of proper clothing for the Ottoman modernization process. Especially fashion appeared as a totally controversial issue among the Ottoman etiquette authors.

One of the main challenging issues of clothing in the etiquette literature was “who or what should (or must) determine the proper way of Ottoman clothing?” The Ottoman etiquette authors were usually confused

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<sup>36</sup> “Elbise”, “tuvalet”, “telbisde âdâb”, “nezafet ve taharet”, “libas ve tarz-ı telbis”, “kadın tualeti”, “erkek tualeti”, “suare tualeti”, “suret-i telbis”, “eldiven”.



about this issue. According to Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, a man or woman should dress according to the etiquette of their own society (*âdâb-ı umumiye*), not according to the existing fashion. Confirming Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, Ahmed Midhat argues that not only in Europe but also all around the world, it is necessary for a man to be dressed in accordance with the style which was approved by general public.<sup>37</sup> According to him, a slight difference in a piece of clothing which is unusual from general customs draws the attention of people and brings to mind the question, “Why did he do it this way?”<sup>38</sup> Therefore, the clothing style of a person surely must be based on his/her own custom and convention. But interestingly, in the following lines of his chapter on toilet, he has to acknowledge that the refined people of high society have no choice in the selection of their dressing since the dress in these communities was strictly defined for each situations, occasions and events according to gender and official and military ranks in the etiquette manuals.<sup>39</sup>

Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü gives weight to the concepts of hygiene, simplicity and economy in the explanation of how good clothing should be. For him, ideal clothing should be appropriate to the general etiquette of

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<sup>37</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeretü Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdam Matba’ası, 1312/1894), p. 195.

<sup>38</sup> “Bizim buralarda bile adetten büyücek bir fes, adetten daha açık veya koyu renkli bir serpuş, adetten uzun veya kısa bir püskül velhasıl adetten biraz daha ziyade veya noksan olan şeyler derhal enzar-ı dikkati celbederek “Acaba bunu niçin böyle yapmış?” diye ashab-ı merakı derhal düşünmeye sevk eder.”, p. 195.

<sup>39</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 203.

society, must be clean and simple, and suitable for the budget of the person wearing it. Like Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsni, Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı in, *Zarafet* which he translated from Arabic and Persian and Mehmed Emin in *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hasıl Olur* discussed clothing in a very simplistic manner under the title of “cleanness” and “health” and advised their readers to always dress clean and plain. They did not write about how to be dressed in certain occasions like visits, dinners and balls. Rather, their advice on clothing focused on hygiene, simplicity and health. As a good example, Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı gave only one recommendation to his readers about clothing, “don’t go to sleep with your daily clothes”, as an advice of a specialist doctor.<sup>40</sup> Mehmed Emin, who accepts *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as peculiar to each nation itself, discussed only clothing matters related to child growth and health. He combined his advice on clothing and being faithful in the same phrase saying,

Keep your feet warm and your head calm,  
Trust God and don’t think deeply.<sup>41</sup>

It seems that these authors’ point of view on dressing is determined by the clothing principles of Islam which is based on morality, hygiene and simplicity. Interesting enough, they do not explicitly refer to Islam in their writings even though they explain their view of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* within the

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<sup>40</sup> Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarafet* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba’ası, 1890 / 1307), p. 16.

<sup>41</sup> “Ayağı sıcak tut, başı serin, tevekkül ol Allah’a, düşünme derin.” Mehmed Emin, *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hasıl Olur* (Aydın: Vilayet Matba’ası, 1321 / 1904), p. 8.

terminology of morality, custom and tradition, as opposed to *alla franca* promoted by many of the late Ottoman etiquette writers.

These writers are clearly against the emulation of the European dress as a means of strengthening Ottomans against Europe. Aware of general tendencies of his time, Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü harshly criticizes people who were paying more attention to their clothes than other things in their lives. He says:

People who only care about themselves with arrogance and are full of themselves are those who are the ignorant ones, fools and the haughty ones. Raggedness and laziness should be avoided.<sup>42</sup>

Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü recommends his readers to be moderate in clothing by refraining from extremes both in terms of expenditure spent on dress and the style of clothing. He says that paying too much money for clothing is not only being a slave to fashion, which is inadvisable, but also makes a fool of a man in front of other people. It also points to the lack of understanding of its owner.<sup>43</sup> The descriptions of Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı and Mehmed Emin on the proper way of dressing remind the rhetoric of the morality books of their period. The morality literature of this period usually divides morality as individual

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<sup>42</sup> “Yalnız zinet-i nefsiyle hodpesendane ve mütekebbirane uğraşanlar cahiller, ahmaklar ve mağrurlardır. Pejmurdelikten ve tembellikten kaçınılmalıdır.” Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, *Nezakat ve Usûl-i Mu’âşeret: Kavâ'id-i Âdâb* (İstanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar Matba'ası, 1306 / 1889), p. 10.

<sup>43</sup> “Çok masraf etmek moda olmak mahzurundan başka insanı aleme gülünç kılar, sahibinin ‘aklının noksanlığına dalalet eder.” Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, p. 34.

morality (*ferdi ahlak*) and social morality (*ictimâ'î ahlak*), and determines the responsibilities of an individual both to himself/herself and to the society.<sup>44</sup> In this manner, clothing is not a direct subject of morality books, but it is both related to individual morality and social morality, and is explained with terms such as hygiene, plainness, preserving economy, avoiding from arrogance, being modest.<sup>45</sup> What makes the writings of Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı and Mehmed Emin different from morality literature is that late Ottoman morality literature takes virtues to the center of its analysis under titles like humility, being modest, not lying, patience, honor, and chastity. On the other hand, the writings of Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı and Mehmed Emin take the concept of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, as the rules of conduct, to the center of their approach. Still they explain the proper way of behavior with some references to notions of morality and virtue.

İbrahim Edhem, in *Rehber-i Musâfirin ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, writes that the assessment of a person in public life is determined by his behavior rather than his looks and dress. In contrast to contemporary etiquette authors such as Ahmed Midhat, İbrahim Hilmi, Hasan Bahri and M. Ş., who asserted the foremost importance of clothing and appearance in relation to each other, he appraised personal values and criticized evaluation on the basis of

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<sup>44</sup> Hüsameddin Erdem, *Son Devir Osmanlı Düşüncesinde Ahlak* (İstanbul: DEM Yayınları, 2006), p. 124.

<sup>45</sup> Hüsameddin Erdem, pp. 152-156.

appearance by saying: “Gold is gold everywhere. It does not lose its value anywhere. And no matter how gilded copper is, it cannot be gold.”<sup>46</sup>

Excluding the aforementioned authors, it is apparent that most of the etiquette authors such as Ahmed Midhat, M. Ş., *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret*, Hasan Bahri, Lütfü Simavi and *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları* wrote their books’ clothing sections primarily relying on European sources on etiquette. Despite their subjective explanations between the lines, they accepted almost a standard format to discuss clothing matters in their books. One of the basic and decisive factors in the discussion of clothing was “how to dress where.” Therefore, they organized the topic under subtitles like visits, dinners and lunches, balls, evening parties and tea gatherings. Many of them also approached men’s and women’s clothing under different titles. Nevertheless, it is almost difficult to say that the etiquette authors who were writing on the basis of European etiquette manuals were writing from exactly the same perspective and were agreeing on which kind of dress is acceptable in certain occasions. Within the same discourse and even under the same titles, they were writing to different addressees with diverse emphases and references.

Ahmed Midhat, in his book written in the form of a narrative for an Ottoman man traveling to Europe, explains that dress is an issue that must be learned as soon as possible for a man who will attend organizations of

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<sup>46</sup> “Altın nerede olsun altındır. Hiçbir mahalde itibarı tenakus etmez. Ve bakır da ne kadar yaldızlı olsa altın olamaz.” Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba’ası, 1316 /1898), p. 35.

European families and polite environments. For him, proper dress is required not only for the wearer's well-appearance but also for the honor and dignity of its wearer's nation. For him, and for many others, such as Hasan Bahri, in fact, learning European etiquette and being in European dress were closely related to the concern for not being embarrassed in front of Europeans. Ahmed Midhat writes in *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan* that when he participated in the Orientalist Congress in Stockholm (1889) with his daily dress (*kıyafet-i adiyye*), Madame Gülnar warns him to wear the official dress (*kıyafet-i resmiye*) and don his medals. But, he says that "there are many other professors in daily dress, I can apologize as they did for my dress." Ahmed Midhat cites Madam Gülnar's explanation as following:

""No! No! Many people's attention is directed towards you. If a minor flaw is seen in us Europeans, no one interferes, but they exaggerate even the smallest flaw that they see in you. Because no flaw of yours has been seen until now, your success constantly increases. Even though you are excused, my heart does not desire you to have any flaw tonight. The heir apparent to the throne will come. It is probable that His Majesty will also come. I request and advise you not to be lazy and go, wear your civilian clothes and put on your badges and medals.""<sup>47</sup>

Generally, Ahmed Midhat writes his chapter on toilet and describes what Europeans wear in different circumstances and events. However, as he

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<sup>47</sup> "Hayır! Hayır! Pek çok kimselerin nazar-ı dikkati sizin üzerinizdedir. Bir Avrupalı'da ufak tefek kusûr görülse ilişmezler ammâ sizde görülecek en küçük kusûrları bile a'zam ederler. Simdiye kadar hiç bir kusûrunuz görülmediğinden muvaffakiyyâtınız arttıkça artıyor. Velev ki ma'zûr olsanız gönlüm istemez ki bu akşam şöyle bir kusûrunuz olsun. Velî-ahd gelecektir. İhtimâl ki Kral hazretleri de teşrîf ederler. Ricâ ederim ve size nasîhat veririm ki üşenmeyip gidiniz. Sivil kıyâfetlerinizi giyip nişân ve madalyalarınızı takınız." Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan* (İstanbul, 1307/1889), p. 218a.

did with many issues of European etiquette, he filters some European customs dealing with dress and the body, and with some explanations advises the reader not to follow these rules. For example, he writes about the widespread custom of growing nails in Europe as the indicator of wealth, but he does not approve of this practice. He says that it is not accepted by the real European polite society and that the cleanliness of hands and nails is accepted as the indicator of politeness and gentlemanly behavior anywhere in the world.<sup>48</sup> In this manner, his attitude towards the adoption of European etiquette can be defined as selective. In the same way, under the title of *"Merasim-i Medeniye"*, he talks about the necessity of taking off headgears inside the church, but he excludes Muslims from this enforcement.

Something inappropriate in the rules and manners of our religion like taking off the *fez* and drinking holy water (in the church), in no way whatsoever should be done... Ottoman-Christians can accept and enjoy that holy water; however, a Muslim person should not do that dishonesty...Likewise, although to uncover one's head in the church is required for the non-Muslim, it is not for the Muslim. Because the fact that Moslems wear a *fez* and the fact that not covering their heads would be evaluated as disobedience have already been learned by Europeans; let alone protesting Moslems for not taking off their headgears, they even appreciate it.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 213.

<sup>49</sup> "Lakin baştan fes çıkarmak ve ab-ı mukaddes içmek gibi 'akaid ve âdâb-ı diniyemize, mugayir olan şeyleri zinhar yapmamalıdır...Nasara dininden olan 'Osmanlılar kendi dinleri muktezasınca bu ma-i mukaddesi kabul ve nuş edebilirler. Fakat Müslüman dininde olan bu sahtekarlığı yapmamalı, ve din-i nasarayı bu veçhile istihza etmemelidir...Kezalik kilise içinde baş açmak İslam'dan ma'âda cümle için lazım olduğu halde Müslümanlar için lazım değildir. Müslümanın ta'zimi fesini başına koymakta olduğu ve açık başlılığın ri'ayetsizliğe hamlonulacağı el-yevm Avrupaca dahi öğrenilmiş olduğundan Müslümanların başlarından fes çıkarmamalarına i'tiraz şöyle dursun bunu takdir dahi ederler", Ahmed Midhat, pp. 462-463.

*Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (1327/1909), which gives a special mission to the military class in the civilizing and modernizing process, clearly explains the differences between hygiene and proper clothing. According to the book, general cleanliness is essential for everyone and military officers and must be known anyway. Therefore, the book has a claim to explain more than what is known by the general public about hygiene and cleanliness. According to the book, *nezâfet* is not cleaning the hands and face every day and going to the bath often, these are required for everyone as the rules of health. On the other hand, clothing in polite realms is more than this and needs to be explained through the rules of etiquette. Then the author explains issues related not only to dress, but also to the general appearance of hair, beard, mustache and shoes for military officers in different occasions and environments, regardless of whether women will be participating or not.<sup>50</sup>

In *Centilmen*, Hasan Bahri, who is also a physical education teacher, says, "Dress (*libas*) and clothing (*telbis*) is half of human beauty. Cleanliness is already a rule of our religion (*hüküm-i celil*) and then, simplicity is the important evidence of delicacy."<sup>51</sup> He emphasizes both the importance of cleanliness and having proper dress for different events and occasions in his book. According to him, the lack of hygiene is the indicator of the lack of morals.

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<sup>50</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 6.

<sup>51</sup> Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsi-i Tıbaat Matba'ası, 1328/1911), p. 8.



On the other hand, some of the late Ottoman etiquette authors openly divided physical appearance from the inner qualities of a person and gave priority to appearance and dress. In their writings, well-dressing was evaluated at least as important as the morality of a person. İbrahim Hilmi, in his introduction in the translation of Comtesse De Magallon's book, says:

One does not only look at the breeding of the ideas and wisdom of people. One also pays attention to their outer appearances, etiquette style, attitude and actions. In fact, the thing that attracts most attention in social life is outer appearance. Even the highest scholars and the wealthiest people cannot gain special respect in the communities they attended if they do not know how to dress, how to eat and finally, how to live.<sup>52</sup>

İbrahim Hilmi also summarizes the importance of well-dressing with such words:

If you behave in accordance with *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, everyone respects you whatever community you are present in and you are praised in your absentia with the words of "mightily polite and well polished" and you are mentioned everywhere with appreciations like "he is a man like he must". This honor is the greatest privilege in polite environments.<sup>53</sup>

The statement expressed by İbrahim Hilmi, "*hayat-ı ictima'iyenin hemen bütün tabakatında en ziyade nazar-ı dikkati celb eden şey ahval-i zahiredir*" is reminiscent of a

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<sup>52</sup> İnsanların yalnız terbiye-i fikriye ve 'akliyelerine bakılmaz. Ahval-i zahirelerine, tarz-ı mu'âşeretine, etvar ve hareketine de dikkat olunur. Hatta hayat-ı ictima'iyenin hemen bütün tabakatında en ziyade nazar-ı dikkati celb eden şey ahval-i zahiredir. En 'âlim, en zengin insanlar bile giyinmeyi, yemek yemeyi, hasıl yaşamayı bilmedikten sonra dahil olacakları cem'iyette bir mevki'-i ihtiram kazanamazlar." İbrahim Hilmi, p. 4.

<sup>53</sup> "Herhangi bir cem'iyette bulunursanız bulununuz *âdâb-ı mu'âşerete* ri'âyet ettiğiniz takdirde herkes size ister istemez hürmet eder, daima gıyabınızda (pek nazık, pek terbiyeli) sözleriyle medhedilir ve her yerde (*C'est un homme comme il faut*) gereği gibi bir adamdır" takdirleriyle yad olunursunuz ki, cem'iyetlerde bu unvan-ı şeref en büyük bir imtiyazdır." İbrahim Hilmi, p. 6.

popular idiom “*ye kürküm ye*” (fine feathers make fine birds) which criticizes showing respect to the smoothness of apparel rather than personality. The existence of such an idiom can be read as the existence of people showing respect to the appearance rather than the inner quality of a person, but it clearly expresses how people should behave by negating improper behavior.

In the etiquette books of Ahmed Midhat, Hasan Bahri, M. Ş., Lütfü Simavi and Matba’a-i Askeriye, clothing is explored to see and be seen as identifying arenas of visual engagement where people take the opportunity to appraise one another’s appeal. It seems that the assessment of others on the basis of their clothing was quite common among the people of high environments in the nineteenth century. Many of the etiquette authors often warned their readers that they will be embarrassed in front of others if they do not abide by the rules of etiquette on proper clothing.

The overemphasis on dress in etiquette books represents evidence of individuals consciously choosing a particular style of clothing as a means of presenting a preferred identity and also as a way of judging others. Abdullah Cevdet, in his presentation of Lütfü Simavi’s book in *İctihat*, defines *âdâb-ı mu’âşeret* as the compliance to the ways of being approved by others (*beğenilmek usûlüne riayet*).<sup>54</sup> He argues that dress indeed creates a certain identity and then influences behaviors, thoughts and relationships with others. He says that when a well-dressed person appears before you, you

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<sup>54</sup> Abdullah Cevdet, “Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret,” *İctihat*, 131, (1914), p. 2821.

inescapably feel respect for him. In his view, clothes, in a very real sense, did make the man and woman.

## Fashion

The word fashion simply means change in style driven by changes in tastes.

The term fashion, which since the Renaissance had evolved slowly over

centuries and within a closely regulated social space, acquired around 1700

its modern definition of something adopted temporarily on a basis of

collective but ephemeral preferences.<sup>55</sup> Fashion is typically discussed in terms

of esthetics and visual appearance, or perhaps as a social/psychological

phenomenon in which dress is the visual expression of cultural norms in a

particular time or place.<sup>56</sup> In the *Kamus-ı Türki*, *moda* was described as a

French word meaning “preferred style in circulation” (“*Merî ve mütedavil olan tarz*”).<sup>57</sup>

At the same time, fashion is an important area of cultural borrowing that reflects the broader exchanges of ideas between different cultures. Thus, it reveals both personal tastes and cultural values. Fernand Braudel also

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<sup>55</sup> Philip Perrot, p. 17.

<sup>56</sup> Charlotte Jirousek, “Ottoman Influences in Western Dress”, in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, eds. (Istanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2004), p. 203.

<sup>57</sup> Şemsettin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki*, (Dersaadet: İkdâm Matba’ası, 1317), (İstanbul: Gündoğdu Matba’ası, 1996), p. 1427.

suggests that fashion is an indication of deeper phenomena of the energies, possibilities, demands, and *joie de vivre* of a given society, economy and civilization.<sup>58</sup> As Susan Vincent said, fashion is not so much a consequence of choice, but instead some kind of casual agent.<sup>59</sup>

Dress as the most visible and accessible sign of changing lifestyle and manners appeared as a deeply charged field of public contest and confrontation in late nineteenth century publishing. Like the term *alla franca*, fashion, as a term associated with dress, especially women's dress, was also the most controversial issue in Ottoman publishing, especially in the Ottoman periodicals and etiquette literature. In the first Ottoman women's magazine, *Şükufezer* (1884), almost two volumes of the magazine were dedicated to the issue of fashion with specific focus on the fashion of wearing a ring over gloves. In the third volume of the journal, Fatma Nevber, an author of the journal, wrote an article titled "Why would you wear a ring over gloves?" and criticized the adoption of European fashion among women. In the next issue, a female reader of the journal questions this criticism by saying, "Why not wear it when it is fashion?" In that issue, the head editor of the journal, Arife Hanım, retorts with harsh criticism:

Here, this lady is confessing that it is fashion and with this confession, she displays that she is senile. Although it is necessary to respond to these kinds of people with silence, we will still continue

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<sup>58</sup> Fernand Braudel, p. 323.

<sup>59</sup> Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford, New York: Berg Publishers, 2003), p. 5.

to respond condescendingly. Again and again we notify that a ring cannot be worn over gloves. It looks very ugly. It violates natural beauty. It is not politeness. We do not prefer the libertinism called fashion anyway, let alone consider your words “a ring can be worn as long as it is fashion”. May fashion and its lovers be ruined. Do you understand, Miss!<sup>60</sup>

Like the term *alla franca*, the word fashion had quite negative connotations in particular environments. It was associated with the European lifestyle and was seen as unnecessary and even disruptive in the Ottoman modernization process. The main criticism comes regarding its acceptance as a law over everything without questioning its appropriateness to the existing Ottoman customs. In *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, Gülistan İsmet (1899) criticizes the outlook which accepts fashion as the final decision maker of Ottoman dress.

Fashion ... What a strange word! It includes everything, it governs everything. Clothes, furniture, horses, cars, everything is subject to fashion's command. Where does it come from? Who invents it? Why do they invent it? No one knows. No one can argue when it is said, "This is fashion."<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> “İşte hanımefendi moda olduğunu ikrar ve bu ikrar ile bunak olduğunu izhar ediyor. Bu gibilere sukut ile cevap vermek icap ederse de biz yine tenezzülen cevap vermekte devam edeceğiz. Ey hanımefendi! Tekrar tekrar ihtar ederiz ki eldiven üzerine yüzük takılmaz. Göze fena görünüyor. Hüsn-i tabi’atı ihlal ediyor. Kibarlık değildir. Biz zaten moda namıyla yad edilen sefahati tercih etmiyoruz ki “moda olduktan sonra yüzük takılır” gibi bir sözünüze itibar edelim. Moda da mahvolsun onu tahsin eden de. Anladın mı Hanım!” Arife Hanım, *Şükufeza*, V. 4, (1303/1885), p. 60.

<sup>61</sup> “Moda... Ne garip kelime! Herşeye şamil olur, heşeye hükmeder. Hayat-ı melbusat, mefruşat, at, araba, herşey modanın emr-i hükmüne tabi. Nerden çıkıyor? Kim çıkarıyor? Niçin çıkarıyor? Kimse bilmez. “Moda böyle imiş” denilince kimse i’tiraz edemez.” Gülistan İsmet, “Moda Nereden Çıkıyor?”<sup>61</sup> *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, V. 290, 26 Teşrin-i Sani 1316, p. 3. Quoted in Fatma Barbarosoğlu, p. 151.

Mehmed Tahir, in his book *Meşrutiyet Hanımları*, harshly criticizes the passion of Ottoman women for fashion. According to him, the Constitution was for both men and women, but Ottoman women, especially their wealthiest, misunderstood the Constitution by supposing it to be an occasion to follow the latest fashion of Paris.<sup>62</sup> Fashion also was one of the important subjects of the Ottoman satirical cartoons. The new appearance of Ottoman women under the effect of Paris fashion triggered harsh expressions and interesting advices of Ottoman humorists.<sup>63</sup>

As many contemporary sources noted, Paris was the ultimate reference point for stylish and excellent taste; a special place for watching latest trends and a delightful place for launching new fashions. Marquis de Caraccioli echoed this in his *Voyage de la Raison*:

To be in Paris without seeing fashion is to have one's eyes closed. Squares, streets, shops, horse fittings, clothes and people – everything displays fashion... A fifteen-day-old outfit is already very out-of-date among the well-dressed.<sup>64</sup>

Generally speaking, fashion in clothing meant the adoption of the European way of clothing in the context of late Ottoman etiquette literature. Ottoman etiquette literature is not so neutral on the issues of fashion and clothing. As

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<sup>62</sup> İbnü'l Hak Mehmed Tahir, *Meşrutiyet Hanımları*, (İstanbul: İtimat Kütüphanesi, Şems Matba'ası, 1327) p. 13.

<sup>63</sup> See. Hamdi Özdiş, *Osmanlı Mizah Basınında Batılılaşma ve Siyaset (1870-1877)* (İstanbul: Libra Yayınevi, 2010), pp. 157-168.

<sup>64</sup> The Marquis de Caraccioli, *Le Voyage de la Raison en Europe* (1772), Quoted from Philip Perrot, p. 17.

they did for the term *alla franca*, many authors needed to discuss the actual meaning of fashion or how fashion should be understood by Ottoman men and women before describing the proper way of dressing which is appropriate to contemporary *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*.

Many authors, like Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, saw fashion as a distinctive symptom of moral decay. For him, “fashion means spending lots of money for clothing and it makes a man look ridiculous in front of others and denotes the lack of reason of its followers.”<sup>65</sup> Interestingly, he has a special title for fashion in his book. Under this title, he makes the following short explanation: “Those who are smart and moderate save. Those who constantly deal with decoration and show off are fools.”<sup>66</sup> In the same way, M. Ş. warns his readers about fashion. He does not totally ignore fashion but says, “Do not be dependent on fashion in a definite manner.”<sup>67</sup> In other words, he advises his readers to be selective in terms of fashion and suggests not abiding by extravagant fashions.”<sup>68</sup>

Some writers like Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem and Mehmed Emin see fashion as a temporary and casual issue and do not find this topic valuable enough to write about. According to this view, the meaning ascribed to a

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<sup>65</sup> “Çok masraf etmek moda olmak mahzurundan başka, insanı aleme gülünç kılar, sahibinin aklının noksanlığına dalalet eder.” Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, p. 34.

<sup>66</sup> “Ashab-ı ‘akl ve i’tidal-i edibane iktisa ederler. Daima süs ve nümâyişle uğraşanlar ahmaklardır.” Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, p. 45.

<sup>67</sup> “Modaya nihayet derecede tab’iyet etmeyiniz.” M. Ş., *Avrupa’da Merasim ve Adat* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba’ası, 1312 /1894) p. 26.

<sup>68</sup> “Alayışlı modalara tabi olmayınız.” M. Ş., p. 30.

dress changes over time and the same item of clothing may be seen as encumbering and out of fashion a few years later. This was the case especially with women's clothing and some of the Ottoman etiquette writers clearly admitted that they did not write about women's clothing because of its lack of permanency.

Expectedly, a quite moderate approach to fashion comes from Ahmed Midhat. In his view, "more or less in the whole world, there is a bondage to something called fashion. It is mostly seen in Europe. There, it is so valued that an opposition to a fashionable dress is like the violation of one's dignity."<sup>69</sup> Likewise, he writes:

It should be known that it is almost like a duty and obligation for young people to respect fashion, especially the fashion for young people, but it will be found strange and ridiculous if they go from one extreme to the other in terms of abiding by this duty. Even if the person who is extreme in following fashion is young, he/she is called "ğumu" which means "chic" in our language in a pejorative way.<sup>70</sup>

In fact, Ahmed Midhat implicitly makes a division between fashion and *alla franca* dress as he did for the real *alla franca* of European middle class conservatives and its misconception in the Ottoman society. He stands quite critical to fashion and especially to its suppressive influence on Ottoman

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<sup>69</sup> "Moda denilen şeye esaret dünyanın her tarafında az çok vardır. En çok olan yer dahi Avrupa'dır. Orada tuvalete o kadar ehemmiyet verilir ki, moda kıyafetine muhalefet adeta insanın haysiyetini ihlale kadar sui-tesirat gösterir." Ahmed Midhat, pp. 195-196.

<sup>70</sup> "Bilmelidir ki, gençlerin modaya hem de yine gençliğe ait olan modaya ri'âyetleri adeta bir vazife ve bir borç hükmünde bulunmakla beraber vazifeye ri'âyet hususuna ifratın da tefritin de enzar-ı istiğrab ve istihzayı celpten havf olunacaktır. Bu ri'âyette ifrata varanlara genç bile olsa "ğumu" derler ki, bizim burada "Şık" kelimesine verdiğimiz ma'nayı müstehziyane delalet eder." Ahmed Midhat, p. 198.



customs, but writes in detail about the European way of life and dressing in his book. In his view, dressing in European style is different from following European fashions. This view is observable in his novel *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi* (1876) which focuses on the theme of the extent of Westernization or westoxication. Felatun Bey is described as a prototype of an extreme Westernization. He spends his life following daily fashions and entertainment on the European side of İstanbul, gambling and chasing women. Rakım Efendi spends his time working rigorously in order to achieve his goal of leading a modest life. He has not only graduated from Ottoman educational institutions, but also studied French. It is obvious that Rakım Efendi represents a preferred model of Westernization without falling into the trap of engaging in conspicuous consumption and by retaining distinctive traits such as modesty.<sup>71</sup>

In this vein, it can be concluded that most of the late Ottoman etiquette authors who wrote about the European dress in their books were critical about following daily fashions of Europe. According to them, the dress of a civilized and polite Ottoman man had to follow three fundamental principles. It must appear plain and elegant; it should be appropriate by design and decoration to the wearer's age and status (if he is from the

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<sup>71</sup> Ayşe Kadioğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32:2, (1996), pp. 181-182.

military class, he should be in his uniform with his medals) and lastly, it should be appropriate for circumstances and events.

Despite the fact that the majority of the Ottoman etiquette authors advised their readers not to pay a large amount of money for clothing and to be plain in style and appearance, European style clothes necessarily required a certain amount of wealth. Each of the specific places and occasions, from private salons to public theaters, required their own specific brand of stylish clothing. Mehmed Tahir complains about the adoption of French fashion among the women of wealthy Ottoman families and their emulation by the rest of the society which does not have enough money.<sup>72</sup>

### The Dress of the Ottoman Polite Men

From late Ottoman etiquette books, it is possible to describe the ideal way of clothing for the Ottoman man of the polite environment. Generally, the etiquette authors wrote or translated “how an Ottoman or polite man or gentleman should dress on special occasions and ceremonies.” Generally, their way of writing is descriptive by relying on European sources of etiquette. Still, it is possible to see some negotiation and appropriations to the

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<sup>72</sup> Mehmed Tahir, p. 14.

Ottoman context in the books of few authors such as Ahmed Midhat, Hasan Bahri and Lütü Simavi.

In late Ottoman etiquette books that take reference from French or European sources, the chapters on toilet mainly include topics like proper clothing in special occasions like dinners, visits, soirees, theaters; how to use accessories such as shoes, gloves, umbrellas, handkerchiefs; and body-related issues of men like hair, beard, mustache and nails. The first and most important factor that defines men's clothing in these books is whether or not he is from the military class. As mentioned before, late Ottoman etiquette books actually objected two groups of people: the first one was the people of high society namely *zarifkesan* and the other was the military class, *zabitan*. In fact, the military class was seen as the model of the former. Their uniforms were always considered at the highest point of gentle clothing and military officers were expected to be found in almost every occasion with their uniforms and medals. If one had a military medal, he had to show this medal even on his ordinary clothes in the street. In ceremonies like evening ceremonies for special events and balls, it was absolutely necessary for military men to put their medals on. If it was known that a man had a medal and he did not put it on, he was thought to be insulting his medals and he may have been thought to be a socialist or anarchist by dignified people.<sup>73</sup> In this manner, the most recognized and comfortable ones were the military

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<sup>73</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 196.

class according to Ahmed Midhat. The only thing left for them to decide was whether to wear a small or big uniform according to occasions. If they had white gloves, their toilet was all right.<sup>74</sup>

Although the application of the modern etiquette rules seems easy for the military class, there is still a special book only about the etiquette for military officers, *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, published by Matba'a-i Askeriye in 1910. In this book, the toilet of military officers appeared on the first chapter under the title of "Cleanliness and Purity" (*Nezafet ve Taharet*) after a general introduction (*Mûlahazat-ı Umumiye*). Since the dress of military officers was usually predetermined as the uniform, this chapter mainly focused on shoes, handkerchief, hair, beard, mustache and nails of the military officers (*zabitan*). The only thing mentioned in terms of clothing in this chapter of the book is that the European shirt and (removable) collar are required with the uniform in the communities, and the collar and arms of the shirt must be white, preferably from linen.<sup>75</sup> According to the book, the main decisive factor for determining the etiquette, manners and clothing of the military class is whether or not there are women in their communities. For example, it is written that it is shameful to be present in a community where women exist without having shaved for a few days, with unpainted shoes and open

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<sup>74</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 196.

<sup>75</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 8.

chest.<sup>76</sup> Besides this, they are required to wear their ceremonial outfit (*cumalık elbise*) for dinners since there will be women. According to the book, women wear *décolleté* and men wear tailed-jacket (*kuyruklu setre*), frock in these dinners.<sup>77</sup>

The style of clothing of a man who is not a military officer was first defined as occasion-specific. These occasion-specific styles were followed for their gentle connotations rather than for status, practicality, economy and tradition. These occasions were categorized as daily outings, visits, formal dinners, balls and theaters. Ahmed Midhat writes in *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan* that his *soiree* dress neither allowed him to walk as a pedestrian nor allowed him to take the tram or omnibus and it required him to use car.

It was not yet two o'clock in the afternoon. Because we had four hours until the evening, we wanted to use this time to complete today's trip, but this civilian outfit of ours prevented us from strolling around as pedestrians. Although this outfit cannot be deemed a formal outfit like a uniform, it is called "*abı novar*" in Europe which means visiting and *soiree* outfit in the Ottoman language and it is necessary to preserve the value and reputation of this outfit in foreign countries. Because it is not a suitable outfit to walk with as a pedestrian and it is not suitable at all to ride on general transportation like a tram or omnibus, we had to tour the area with a car.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 7.

<sup>77</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 21.

<sup>78</sup> "Ba'de-z-zuhr henüz saat iki değil idi. Akşama kadar dört saat mikdârı zamânımız olduğundan bunu bugünkü cevelânın itmâmına sarf etmek istedik ise de su sivil kıyâfetimiz piyâde olarak gezmeye mâni görüldü. Vâkı'â bu kıyâfet üniforma gibi resmî bir kıyâfet addolunamaz ise de Avrupa'nın "*abı novar*" denilen ziyâret ve suare kıyâfetinin Osmanlıcası demek olup ecnebî memleketlerinde bu kıyâfetin de kadrini i'tibârını muhâfaza lâzımdır. Piyâde olarak gezmeye müsâ'id bir kıyâfet olmadığı hâlde tramvay ve omnibüs gibi merâkib-ı umûmiyyeye binmeye hiç müsâ'id olmadığından

According to the etiquette books, in these occasions, men in different age groups or different social and economic status were expected to be dressed in different manners. Ahmed Midhat summarizes this principle with the following words: “An application to his or her own good taste according to his age, celebrity, mode, and good taste.”<sup>79</sup> Although many of the etiquette books write that each person should dress according to his/her own age, social, cultural and economic status and background, Ahmed Midhat admits in his book that being in proper clothing in high communities in accordance with the rules of European etiquette requires being dressed as if wearing a uniform.<sup>80</sup> For each situation, every detail was determined from the color to the fabric of the dress. Here, it is acceptable to be similar in terms of appearance rather than different on basis of taste. Because of the strict rules, a person who has difficulty deciding how to dress in an occasion can apply his tailor by giving the details of the occasion that he will be participating in. In terms of good clothing, the tailor is the best expert and teacher according to Ahmed Midhat.<sup>81</sup>

In the period between 1889 and 1918, the clothing asked to be worn in these occasions was discussed in the three sub-categories. These categories can be summarized as (1) daily and habitual outings (informal); (2) daytime

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araba ile gezmek lâzım geldi.” Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da Bir Cevelan* (İstanbul, 1307) p. 988a.

<sup>79</sup> “Sin ü sal ve şan ve hale göre herkesin kendi zevk-i selimine müraca’at.” ibid, p. 197.

<sup>80</sup> ibid, p. 203.

<sup>81</sup> ibid, p. 203.

visits, informal dinners without ceremony, semi-official invitations, wedding and funeral ceremonies; and (3) ceremonial dinners, balls and theaters. For these occasions, the authors of etiquette literature mainly focus on the following kinds of dresses: *Veston*, *Redingot*, *Frak*, *Simokin* and *İstanbulin*.

In the daily outings, men are advised to wear *veston* which means jacket in French by Comtesse De Magallon and Hasan Bahri.<sup>82</sup> From their explanations, it is understood that *veston* is a daily dress suit comprising of coat, waistcoat and trousers. This dress is complemented by a white shirt and colorful necktie. The color of the customary suit can change according to the taste of its wearer. Still, whether it is winter or summer, all men of good taste, except the young ones, are advised to carry a topcoat.<sup>83</sup> It seems that habitual clothing gives the best opportunity to men to dress in accordance with their status, economy and taste. Nevertheless, it is also suitable to wear a coat and redingote in habitual outings according to Comtesse De Magallon.<sup>84</sup>

Ahmed Midhat, Hasan Bahri, Comtesse De Magallon and Lütfü Simavi suggest the “redingote” for all kinds of semi-official and informal daytime invitations and visits. The first form of redingote appeared in 1725

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<sup>82</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, Ahmet Cevad, trans. (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i 'Askeri, 1328/1911), p. 11; Hasan Bahri, p. 9.

<sup>83</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 196.

<sup>84</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, “Erkek Tuvaleti”, p. 11.

coming from the English “riding coat.”<sup>85</sup> It was a fitted outer garment with a full-skirted, short-waisted, double-breasted overcoat. Reşat Ekrem Koçu defines redingote as the name of a long men’s jacket worn in *alla franca* style in the time of Sultan Abdülhamid II instead of *İstanbulin*.<sup>86</sup> Ahmed Midhat defines redingote as a frock coat made of black fabric with the chest closed, an inverted collar and two rows of buttons.<sup>87</sup>

The Ottoman etiquette authors are quite confused about redingote which is accepted as a full head of European dress. This confusion is generally about how and in which occasions or circumstances it should be worn. Ahmed Midhat describes redingote as a dress and the events where it is required. Interestingly, he does not need an appropriation for redingote or does not talk about how Ottoman men should wear it. On the other hand, Lütfü Simavi needs an explanation as to how to wear the redingote. He wrote that the redingote is worn without buttoning up even in front of the monarch in Europe. But he says each country has its own way. According to him, it is necessary to button up the redingote in front of important people according to our national custom.<sup>88</sup> This explanation of Lütfü Simavi gives the signals of a serious debate in the society and among the intellectuals

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<sup>85</sup> Philippe Perrot, p. 9.

<sup>86</sup> Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969), p. 196.

<sup>87</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 195.

<sup>88</sup> Lütfü Simavi, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba’a-i İctihad, 1329 /1914), p. 15.



about the way of wearing the redingote. As a matter of fact, fifteen years later (1926), Vasif Necdet makes a special explanation about the way of wearing the redingote in his book which is totally about dress, hat and civilized etiquette. He writes that “it is not suitable to button up the redingote even in front of the biggest person.”<sup>89</sup>

Likewise, the suggestions about the occasions where the redingote must or should be worn change according to the author. Redingote was suggested by Ottoman etiquette authors for a large number of occasions such as all kinds of daily visits, private and informal dinners, weddings, engagement and funeral ceremonies, visits to friends, visits in the afternoon. For example, Ahmed Midhat writes that even in Europe, it is not so obvious where the redingote should be worn in European etiquette books. According to him, the redingote should not be worn in wedding and funeral ceremonies in the Church.<sup>90</sup> On the other hand, in the translated book of Comtesse De Magallon, it is written that the redingote should be worn in wedding and funeral ceremonies and even in the official visits.<sup>91</sup> Aware of the confusion about the redingote, Ahmed Midhat summarizes for his readers that the

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<sup>89</sup> Vasif Necdet, *Mu’âşeret Yolları: Şapka Kıyafet ve Medeni Âdâbdan Bahseder* (Bursa: Kardeş Matba’ası, 1926), p. 6.

<sup>90</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 204.

<sup>91</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 11.

redingote can be worn in every occasion and place except in churches, official gatherings, soirees, concertos, theaters and balls.<sup>92</sup>

In terms of the way of wearing the redingote, Ahmed Midhat also advises his readers to wear the redingote with a black cylinder hat or a round black hat.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, other writers did not give information about what kind of headwear should be used with the redingote, although they had an explanation about wearing gloves with it. As it is known from contemporary photographs, articles and books, Ottoman men preferred to wear the redingote with the *fez*. In the official realm, the *fez*, the redingote and trousers became the formal attire of the Ottoman bureaucrat.

As it appeared both in etiquette literature and in contemporary sources, the adoption of the redingote among Ottoman society was not an easy practice. For the young people, it had become a relatively easy process because of their interest in European fashion. In his memoir, *Hatıralarım*, Hilmi Uran complains about the boring and uncomfortable features of the redingote which was very trendy among the students of *Mülkiye Mektebi* in his time (1905-1908).<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, it was not unproblematic for older Ottoman men to wear this fitted redingote, dress in a starched shirt, attach a stiff starched collar to their necks, and wear the necktie.

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<sup>92</sup> Ahmed Midhat, pp. 204-205.

<sup>93</sup> *ibid*, p. 201.

<sup>94</sup> Hilmi Uran, *Hatıralarım* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matba'ası, 1959), p. 13.

Z. Duckett Ferriman, in his book *Turkey and the Turks* (1911), writes about the means of Turkish clothing with words that emphasize both the comfort as the basis of Ottoman clothing custom and the uncomfortable clothing habits of Europeans:

Of all men, they are the most courteous....They dress neatly, but oddly, when contrasted with European clothing. Still, theirs is the easiest, and does far less injury to health. No carotids or jugulars are unnaturally compressed by a cravat, inviting death by apoplexy. They never torture their heads in hard, unyielding hats, nor breed corns on their toes in shoes too small for the feet.<sup>95</sup>

In addition to the uncomfortable design of the redingote for Ottoman men, some people had opposed to wear the redingote on the ground that it is not appropriate to take ablution and pray for a Muslim. These people criticized those wearing redingote in the society by defining them as *beynamaz*.<sup>96</sup>

Paradoxically, Hilmi Uran writes in his book that they were obliged to wear the redingote and pray without considering whether they had ablution or not in Mülkiye Mektebi which was administrated with a very strict discipline according to Hilmi Uran.<sup>97</sup>

The new attire of Ottoman gentleman, redingote, was quite foreign to Ottoman tailors. Therefore, it was usually suggested by the etiquette authors to get it from ready-wear shops or from famous foreign tailors generally located in Galata. Hasan Bahri, for example, suggests Tiring

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<sup>95</sup> Z. Duckett Ferriman, *Turkey and the Turks* (Mills and Boon Limited, 1911), p. 11.

<sup>96</sup> İlbeyi Özer, *Batılâşma ya da Batılılaşma* (İstanbul: Truva Yayınları, 2005), p. 376.

<sup>97</sup> Hilmi Uran, p. 11.

Mağazası to his readers for the best ready-wear dresses.<sup>98</sup> Hilmi Uran also mentions the names of Tiring and Ştayn shops for the best quality redingote.<sup>99</sup> Ottoman Court Painter Fausro Zonaro also mentions the name of Mayer shop in Galata for the most fashionable redingote in the early years of 1900.<sup>100</sup>

These three apparel shops were owned by Germans. Tiring, owned by Victor Tiring, was in Galata next to Karaköy and served the upper class families of the Abdülhamid period like ministers and pashas. Then, this shop opened a new branch in Beyoğlu.<sup>101</sup> Likewise, Mayer also served in Beyoğlu in the same route to Galata Mevlevihanesi, but it served more modest clients of the polite community.<sup>102</sup> And the other shop, Ştayn or İştayn (Stein), mentioned by Uran was in the Abbas Pasha Inn in Eminönü, then it also had opened a new branch in Bahçekapı and Galata. This shop was well known by the general Ottoman public since it served cheap clothes to the Ottomans

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<sup>98</sup> Hasan Bahri, p. 9.

<sup>99</sup> Hilmi Uran, p. 13.

<sup>100</sup> Fausto Zonaro, *Abdülhamid'in Hükümdarlığında Yirmi Yıl: Fausto Zonaro'nun Hatıraları ve Eserleri*, Cesare Mario Trevigne, ed., (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008).

<sup>101</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Almanlar Dersaadet'te: 1870-1918 Devresi İstanbul'unda Almanlarla Osmanlıların Kültürel ve Toplumsal Buluşma Deneyimi," *Boğaziçi'ndeki Almanya = Deutsche praesenz am Bosphorus*, Dilek Zaptçioğlu and Matthias von Kummer eds. (İstanbul: Generalkonsulat der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 2009), p. 51.

<sup>102</sup> *ibid*, p. 52.

with a quite modest budget.<sup>103</sup> As Uran mentioned, this shop served students, officials and journalists.

The redingote was totally associated with European culture with its appearance and complementary items such as a hat and necktie. It was provided by non-Muslim tailors and shops in Galata and Beyoğlu. The fashion of European jacket-trousers (*ceket-pantolon*) had won prevalence among the public over time, but many Ottomans still did not wish to be seen in a full attire of European style. According to Koçu, the redingote with a necktie and starched collar French shirt was very uncomfortable in the palace ceremonies for the older generation of Ottoman state officials. In the 1860s, İstanbul tailors created an *alaturca* frock coat from Turkish style jacket-trousers which was widespread especially among the intellectuals and this new attire was given the name *İstanbulin* because of its inventors.<sup>104</sup> It was an *alaturca* men's jacket with a closed front and long slits in its skirt. In this respect, this new attire was worn by everyone from Muslims to non-Muslims, from Ottoman viziers to postal officials.<sup>105</sup> Over time, it began to be worn at official ceremonies and feasts.

Interestingly, this Ottoman-invention did not find a place in contemporary etiquette books. Only Lütfü Simavi mentioned the name of

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<sup>103</sup> *ibid*, p. 52.

<sup>104</sup> Reşat Ekrem Koçu, p. 134.

<sup>105</sup> Necdet Sakaoğlu, "İstanbulin," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, V. 4., (Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), p. 253.

*İstanbulin* in his book and he advised it to be worn in dinner gatherings.<sup>106</sup> In this way, he accepts *İstanbulin* as a heavier dress than the redingote which was advised for daytime and informal visits and occasions. Indeed, in the palace and official acceptances, Ottoman statesmen whose majority was old and high civil officials would probably suffer pain and be tortured by wearing the redingote as opposed to wearing the *İstanbulin* which did not require a starched shirt and necktie since it was buttoned up.<sup>107</sup>

On the other hand, the appearance of the redingote and the *İstanbulin* at the same time caused a partial division or differentiation among the Ottoman society. In 1878, Edmond de Amicis confirms this differentiation with the following words:<sup>108</sup>

The reforming Turk wears a long black frock coat (*İstanbulin*)<sup>109</sup> buttoned to the chin, trousers with straps, and nothing Turkish but the fez. The more youthful among them, however, have already thrown aside the black frock (*İstanbulin*), and wear cut-away coats, light pantaloons, elegant cravats, watch chains and seals, and a flower in the button hole. .... The Turk of the black frock coat laughs at the Prophet, gets himself photographed, speaks French, and spends his evening at the theatre.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 15.

<sup>107</sup> Reşat Ekrem Koçu, p. 134.

<sup>108</sup> English translation is in 1878. But there are differences in Turkish translations such as 1874 (Edmonde De Amicis, *İstanbul* (1874), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993) and 1877 (Edmonde De Amicis, *İstanbul*, ed. Filiz İzdem, İstanbul: YKY, 2010).

<sup>109</sup> In English translation, *İstanbulin* is not used, frock coat was used to define new men dress. It is added from Turkish translation. See. Edmonde De Amicis, 2010, p. 103.

<sup>110</sup> Edmonde De Amicis, *Constantinople, "Costume"*, translated from Seventh Italian Edition, by Caroline Tilton, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878, pp. 104-105.

In the same vein, Yakup Kadri, in his novel *Kiralık Konak* (1920), differentiates the period of Ottoman modernization into two major periods with an interesting comparison based on two main dress styles of the age.

There have been two eras in İstanbul: one is *İstanbulin*, the other is redingot...Ottomans have never been as classy, clean and gentle as they were in this *İstanbulin* era. The biggest achievement of *Tanzimat-ı Hayriye* is İstanbul gentlemen wearing *İstanbulin*. This costume gave birth to a new type of man and Turks in this costume appeared as a new special nation between wild Asia and ruthless Europe for the very first time. Considering the lifestyle and manner of dressing, this nation was plainer and more considerate than the oriental nations; according to sentiments and mentality it was appearing as the sum of Mediterranean Civilizations...All of these people were afraid of public things, careful in their pleasures and anger, modest family fathers and gentle *konak* owners...Then came the redingote age and from this sprung up a half- servant, half-slave, hypocrite, cheap generation...In the hands of these men, *konak*-life in İstanbul had turned into köşk-life. No style of living, dressing or thinking had survived; everything had run out of tradition; every mind was surrounded by a distasteful, degenerate Art Nouveau and Rococo interest; our morals and manners were rococoized" like our buildings, furniture and garments...<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> "İstanbul"da iki devir oldu: Biri İstanbulin; diğeri redingot devri...Osmanlılar hiçbir zaman bu İstanbulin devrindeki kadar zarif, temiz ve kibar olmadılar. Tanzimat-ı Hayriye'nin en büyük eseri, İstanbullinli İstanbul Efendisidir. Bu kıyafet dünyaya yeni bir insan tipi çıkardı ve Türkler bu kıyafet içinde ilk defa olarak vahşi Asya ile haşin Avrupa'nın arasında gayet hususi yeni bir millet gibi göründü. Yaşayış ve giyiniş itibariyle Şimal kavimlerinden daha sade ve daha düşünceli olan bu millet, duyuş ve düşünüş itibariyle Akdeniz kıyılarındaki medeniyetlerin bir hülasası şeklinde tecelli ediyordu...Hepsi de umumi işlerden çekinir, hiddetlerinde ve hazlarında ölçülü, namuslu aile babaları ve kibar konak sahipleri idiler... Sonra redingot devri geldi ve redingotu içinden yarı uşak, yarı kapıkulu, riyakar, adi bir nesil türedi...Bunların elinde İstanbul'da konak hayatı birdenbire köşk hayatına intikal ediverdi. Ne yaşayışın, ne düşünüşün, ne giyinişin üslubu kaldı; her şey gelenek dışına çıktı; her beyni tatsız ve soysuz bir Arnuvo ve bir Rokoko merakı sardı; binalarımız, eşyalarımız, elbiselerimiz gibi ahlakımız, terbiyemiz de rokokolaştı..." Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001), p. 10-11. English translation is quoted from Eyüp Can Çekiç, *Savoir Vivre Cosmopolite: Ahmed Midhat's Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretü Yahud Alafranga As a Source for Modernization of The Codes of Social Behavior in the Late Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire* (MA Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2009), p. 24-25.

In the novel, Naim Efendi is portrayed as representing the last of the “true Ottoman” gentry and as having been educated in the refined “*İstanbulin*” period that had begun with Abdulmecit (1839–1861). But his adulthood was spent in the “*redingot*,” a period of moral and ethical as well as economic decay, led by the autocratic and paranoid Sultan Abdülhamid II.<sup>112</sup>

In fact, the adaptation of the redingote into the Ottoman manner of clothing and the invention of the *İstanbulin* as an alternative to the redingote can say something about the contested area of the Ottoman modernization process. As Esenbel pointed out in her article comparing the confrontation of Japan and Ottoman societies with Western culture and modernity, this mixture of European and Ottoman elements in the dress of the Ottoman man represents eclecticism and the Ottomans’ peculiar way of modernization. In this composition of the new Ottoman men’s dress, the *fez* was not simply a symbol of being Muslim,<sup>113</sup> but also the representation of special political privileges of the Ottoman Muslim elite.<sup>114</sup> The western dress with *fez* also reflected the typical Ottoman approach of using western cultural elements and ideas as supportive components to Ottoman polity at this time.<sup>115</sup> At first

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<sup>112</sup> Carel Bertram, *Imagining the Turkish House: Collective Visions of Home* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), p. 113.

<sup>113</sup> By the middle of the nineteenth century, non-muslim subjects of the Empire frequently choose to wear completely western outfits with a European hat.

<sup>114</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, “The Anguish of Civilized Behavior: The Use of Western Cultural Forms in the Everyday Lives of the Meiji Japanese and the Ottoman Turks during the Nineteenth Century,” *Japan Review*, V. 5 (1994), p. 169.

<sup>115</sup> *ibid*, p. 169.



glance, the change in dress of Ottoman men may be seen as the easiest and unproblematic part of whole Ottoman modernization, but in fact it was a quite complicated practice. As Esenbel pointed out, the Ottomans did not want to show themselves to the world as “pure Europeans”,<sup>116</sup> rather, they resorted to synthesis, compilation and negotiation with the European way of life. Because of this reason, transformation and change in the dress of the Ottoman man did not result in the acceptance of a pure European style or image as a whole.

As a third category for the Ottoman man’s dress, the Ottoman etiquette authors mention frock or (habit <sup>آبي</sup>) for ceremonial dinners, soirees, evening parties, balls, concertos and theaters.<sup>117</sup> In the same way, *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları* also defines frock for dinners realized with an invitation. According to this book, the way of dressing should be determined according to the explanation written in the invitation, the invited person’s social status and manners and customs approved by the inviter.<sup>118</sup> According to Ahmed Midhat and the book of Matba’a-i Askeriye, the women’s existence or their dressing style is very crucial in the determination of the men’s dress in the same place or occasion. For example, a man is required to wear a frock in a

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<sup>116</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, “Medeni Davranışın Aczi I: Batı Kültür Formlarının 19. Yüzyılda Meici Japonlarının ve Osmanlı Türklerinin Gündelik Yaşamlarında Kullanımı,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, 8, 47 (November 1997) p. 13.

<sup>117</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 11.

<sup>118</sup> “Tarz-ı telbis verilen izahata, ahval-ı mevki’a, yahud da’vet edilen hanece makbul usûl ve adete göre olmalıdır.” *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları, Kadınlar Dünyası Külliyyatından* (İstanbul: Kadınlar Dünyası Matba’ası, 1331/1912-1913), p. 12.

community where women do not use headgear and a cloak and wear low-neck dresses.<sup>119</sup> In *Alfranga Yaşamak Yolları*, it is written that it is necessary to wear a *habit* or redingote in dinners with an invitation even when women are in high necked dress in that place.<sup>120</sup>

This dress of soirees, frock, is the most important dress among the refined dresses for Ahmed Midhat. This dress is composed of black trousers and tailed-jacket (frock), white necktie, white waistcoat and white gloves. But Ahmet Midhat draws attention to the point that “it must be open front waistcoat only with three buttons designed consecutively. This tailed-jacket of Europeans is different from our *setri* (*İstanbulin*) which is with a flat collar and is single breasted. Therefore, wearing our own *setris* in European salons is inappropriate to European etiquette rules.”<sup>121</sup> On the other hand, Lütfü Simavi suggests the *İstanbulin* with a white necktie for dinner inventions.<sup>122</sup> All of the etiquette writers agree that a military officer should participate these kinds of occasions with his uniform which is considered to be the best form of all gentle costumes.

In addition to the frock, the smoking is also mentioned for the third category of occasions. Comtesse De Magallon and Hasan Bahri suggest the

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<sup>119</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 204.

<sup>120</sup> *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları*, p. 12.

<sup>121</sup> Ahmed Midhat, pp. 202-203.

<sup>122</sup> However, it is impossible to understand how the necktie can be used with *İstanbulin* which was defined and photographed as totally closed with consecutive buttons in front until the neck. Lütfü Simavi, pp. 15-16.

tuxedo (simokin) for the young under eighteen years old.<sup>123</sup> But Lütü Simavi advises the tuxedo only for dinner meetings without ceremony.<sup>124</sup> According to general tendency, the *soiree* dress or frock is like a uniform, so it does not require good taste; everyone is expected to be similar with their dress in such occasions.

### The Dress of Ottoman Polite Women

It seems very difficult, even impossible, to write a narrative of general trends, styles and fashions of the Ottoman women's dresses by only relying on the contemporary etiquette books of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In case of men's clothing, there are comparatively more articles and passages in the etiquette books, at least enough to imagine how an Ottoman gentleman was with his appearance and dress and how he would dress in different occasions and places despite some controversial issues. In fact, it seems important and even meaningful to reveal how the etiquette authors approached, evaluated or ignored women's dresses as well as what a well-mannered Ottoman woman should be advised to wear in different occasions.

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<sup>123</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 12; Hasan Bahri, p. 9.

<sup>124</sup> Lütü Simavi, p. 16.

Taking into consideration the etiquette books of the period, there are only a few books that have a special section or title for women's toilet even though almost all of them have a particular chapter for dress. Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü does not write any passage about women's dresses, but he reminds the harmful and bad sides of fashion and spending a lot of money on dresses both for men and women.<sup>125</sup> In the same manner, in the books of Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, Mehmed Emin, Matba'a-i Askeriye, Hasan Bahri, Lütfü Simavi, and *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları*, there is no chapter for women's dress. Interestingly enough, the authors of these books wrote from different points of view in terms of approach, method and worldview. Among these, there are authors who totally refuse the adoption of European manners by the Ottoman public; those who are exact translators of the European etiquette and those who write by relying on European manners, but adapt them to the Ottoman context when they find them to be inappropriate to the Ottoman way of living. Therefore, the reason for the lack of concern of Ottoman etiquette authors in women's clothing seems to be a reasonably complex, controversial and blurry issue. Only a few of the authors like Ahmed Midhat obviously explained why they did or could not be able to write about women's clothing in their books.

A superficial reading of the books which ignored women dress suggests that many of the etiquette authors refrained from writing about

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<sup>125</sup> Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, p. 45.

women's etiquette of dress mainly for three reasons. The first reason is that they did not have enough information about the women's dress that is appropriate to modern etiquette. Ahmed Midhat explains his reason of ignorance to his readers as his lack of information about European women's dresses. He gives the example of a misunderstanding by a young Ottoman poet who depicted *sabahgah* as a bed dress for women although it is actually a dress for a woman's daily visits and travels. Ahmed Midhat adds that if he had read the book of Madam Louise d'Alq,<sup>126</sup> he would not have gotten this mistaken impression.<sup>127</sup> He claims that not only men, but also European women are ignorant about how to dress where and need a special advisor called *modistra* which means dressmaker for proper dressing.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, writing about women's dress which needs a number of volumes to be explained seems very difficult for Ahmed Midhat.

The second reason is that women's dress is more associated with fashion than men's dress. Many of the etiquette authors consider that the desire to acquire stylish clothes was a phenomenon confined to women. Unlike men, the rules for women's clothing were immensely complex because of fashion. A one-year-old dress might be already out-of-date among the well dressed.

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<sup>126</sup> Madame Louise d'Alq (1840-1901), a women's magazine editor, famous with her guide book to the art of living. Ahmed Midhat mentions her book *Le Savoir vivre en toutes les circonstances de la vie* (1877) as one of his references.

<sup>127</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 217.

<sup>128</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 215.

The last and probably the most important reason behind the ignorance of women's dress in the Ottoman etiquette literature seems that women stand as one of the big and problematic issues of the Ottoman modernization process. Some authors like Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı and Mehmed Emin who define *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as propriety and good breeding (*edeb ve terbiye*) consciously refuse to write about European manners and understandably ignore women's dress in their works. On the other hand, in the books of Ahmed Midhat, M. Ş., Hasan Bahri, Lütfü Simavi and Kaşif Dehri whose books are mainly based upon European etiquette, it is interesting to see criticism about the European etiquette in terms of women and women's dresses. Ahmed Midhat and Kaşif Dehri are clearly critical in the adoption of European manners for Ottoman women. Ahmet Midhat explains why he did not write about women's dress in his etiquette book in a very ironic way.

Oh! Woman merely means toilet in Europe and there are lots of modes and rules of women's toilet changing seasonally. The men of Europe have wriggled through admitting their ignorance in this issue.<sup>129</sup>

In the same manner, Kaşif Dehri in his translated book, *Salon Hayatı: Zarafet-i Nisvan or Vesaya-yı Medeniyeden Zarafet-i Nisvan*, writes a special chapter called "Woman" (*Kadın*), which does not seem to be a translation from

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<sup>129</sup> "Avrupa'da kadın demek hemen tuvaletten ibaret olup, bunun usûl ve kavâ'idî o kadar çok ve her mevsime göre o kadar mütehavveldir ki, Avrupa'nın erkekleri bu meselede ancak i'tiraf-ı cehl ile yakalarını kurtarabilmışlerdir." Ahmed Midhat, p. 215.

French. Like many other Ottoman intellectuals of the period, he establishes a direct and corresponding relation with the progress of a nation and its women, but he advises to be selective in taking the Western civilization as a model in terms of women's progress. He says:

Societies that attempt to imitate the etiquette of Western civilization will eventually drag along the dirt if they don't realize on time the necessity to distinguish the dirty parts of this civilization.<sup>130</sup>

Reminding the ideas of Ahmed Midhat, he claims that the rights given to women in the western world are very artificial. Because of this reason, western women have been struggling for years only to gain their principal rights. The degree and respect given to women in the west is merely a courtesy which is benevolence based on the weakness of woman. On the other hand, the rights of women in the east are wider and well-established.<sup>131</sup>

Still, it is possible to trace some passages and chapters on women's dress in the late Ottoman etiquette literature. Although Ahmed Midhat has no claim to write a section about women's dress, still he summarized how the European women dress in different circumstances and events. He wrote this passage in a very informative and descriptive way which is different from the other parts written in a very practical and selective manner for easy

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<sup>130</sup> "Garb medeniyetini düstur-i ef'al olarak taklide yeltenenen akvam bu medeniyetin mütevessih aksamını tefrik lüzumunu vaktiyle idrak etmezse neticede levsi de beraber sürüklemiş olur." Kaşif Dehri, "Kadın", *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvan* (İstanbul: İtimad Kütüphanesi), p. 58.

<sup>131</sup> Kaşif Dehri, "Kadın", p. 58.

application by Ottoman men. Briefly, this part is about how European women dress in a day and in different circumstances rather than how an Ottoman woman should be dressed in different occasions in accordance with *alla franca* etiquette rules.

In this manner, Ahmed Midhat explains that women's toilet in Europe is divided into four parts. The first one is *deshabiller* which means being undressed but in fact means the simplest dress inside the home. The second one is the *matine* or *sabahgâh* dress worn for daily trips and other travels. The third one is the daytime toilet worn for visits, mesires or acceptances at the home. The last one is the dinner toilet which is worn for dinners, theaters, concertos, balls and special events (*müsameres*).<sup>132</sup>

In the translated book of M. Ş., the dress of women was discussed under the title of "The Etiquette Rules Required for Women" (*Kadınlarca Riayet Lazım Gelen Âdâb*).<sup>133</sup> In this part, the author only mentions what should not be done by women rather than what should be worn. The prohibitions mentioned seem to be generally about hygiene rules and the adoption of European manners such as "do not follow deluxe fashions, do not use pomade, cosmetics and related items, and do not grow your nails."<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 217.

<sup>133</sup> M. Ş., p. 25.

<sup>134</sup> M. Ş., pp. 26-27.



In his book *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti*, Comtesse De Magallon explains women's dress under the subtitle of toilet. She divides women's dress into two parts as daily and ceremonial. According to her, the most suitable and convenient dress for women is the tailor-made suit (*tayyör*). For this costume, simplicity in the form and plainness in color are required. Under the jacket, a blouse made of flannel or linen fabric or a shirtwaist from lacework may be worn. This dress is suitable for afternoon visits or wedding ceremonies. To complement this costume, there must always be an appropriate hat. For important ceremonies, balls, theaters and dinners, she also suggests a soiree toilet which is suitable to show all kinds of glory and jewelry. But the most important thing for her in women's dress is that women should keep expenditures for dresses in accordance with their revenues.<sup>135</sup>

In the book translated by Kaşif Dehri, *Zarafet-i Nisvan*, which is entirely about the elegance of women, it is written that the most important activity of this era was observed in women's toilet. The efforts and costs met by a woman with her body and fortune in this vein increase day by day.<sup>136</sup> A woman in Europe changes her dress three times in twenty-four hours: in the morning, at noon and at night. The target is to display and provide the

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<sup>135</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 9.

<sup>136</sup> Kaşif Dehri, p. 48.

woman's entire beauty in different manners. Gymnastics, walking and movement serve to raise a woman's beauty.<sup>137</sup>

*Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları* interestingly has no special title or chapter about toilet for both men and women although it was published by Kadınlar Dünyası Matba'ası and gave special interest to women-related issues such as table manners, tea gatherings, visits and wedding ceremonies. It deals with issues of etiquette on the basis of occasions such as visits, dinners and greetings. It differentiates women's clothing as décolleté and *montant* (high necked dress). According to the book, a person should determine his/her way of dressing in accordance with the details given in the invitation letter by the inviter, his/her style and social status and the manners and customs appropriate to the inviter's household.<sup>138</sup>

To sum up, there was no consistent information to portray how Ottoman women should dress in different occasions. An Ottoman woman who bought the contemporary etiquette books of her time in order to learn how to dress where in accordance with the modern etiquette rules probably could not find an advice for herself in these books. On the other hand, an Ottoman man could learn how to dress where from these books as well as how European men dress. He could feel himself as the direct respondent of these books because authors were making adaptations and giving special

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<sup>137</sup> Kaşif Dehri, p. 49.

<sup>138</sup> *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları*, p. 12.

explanations for Ottoman men readers such as the redingote being worn with an open front but the necessity to button it up in the Ottoman tradition in front of important people. In contrast, an Ottoman woman would only learn how European women dress in different occasions from the books of Ahmed Midhat, Comtesse De Magallon and Kaşif Dehri. This attire depicted for women in their books seems impossible to be worn rightly by a Muslim woman when taking into consideration the contemporary practices and more importantly legislative orders and impositions. As opposed to the attitude towards male dress, the required appropriation and negotiation were left to Ottoman women themselves without guidance. Then, it would be possible to see the traces of European way of clothing on the Ottoman Muslim women's attire through the skillful tailors of the period with some modifications and adaptations.

On the other hand, by examining late Ottoman etiquette literature it is impossible to trace how the dress of Ottoman women actually changed or transformed in favor of *alla franca* style and trends, and how Ottoman women determined their own modes of dressing. On the other hand, change in the Ottoman women's dress is clearly observable in contemporary periodicals, novels, traveler accounts and memoirs. Women's magazines are good examples of change and fashion in Ottoman women's dress. Besides, they have an important role in the acceleration and spreading of *alla franca* trends. Women's magazines are one of the significant developments that

broke new ground in spreading fashion trends. Until the emergence of women's magazines and articles, women who lived far from the centers, or did not have the means to visit shops and stores for purchasing clothes or staying informed on current fashion, had depended on local tailors or itinerant merchants for the fabrication of new dresses.<sup>139</sup>

It can be said that the practice about the following European fashion in Ottoman society was quite different from what we learn from the Ottoman etiquette writers. This is observable both in contemporary Ottoman periodicals and in European sources. In the British newspaper, *The Newcastle Weekly Courant* (1893), in an article about change in Ottoman social life, it is stated that:

Fashion in dress, no doubt, has played a part in this radical change in old customs. One can scarcely address a lady clad in the latest of Parisian or London fashions as one might speak to a *hanım*, wearing an embroidered vest, a red velvet cap and morocco slippers.<sup>140</sup>

Compared to the Ottoman men who had the opportunity to find a way between the modern European etiquette and the traditional Ottoman lifestyle with some negotiations and appropriations through the help of etiquette books, Ottoman women had to find their own way between Ottoman authorities, European etiquette and Ottoman lifestyle. Therefore, transformation in female attire followed a different process. Ottoman elite

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<sup>139</sup> Onur İnal, "Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes," *Journal of World History*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2011), p. 256.

<sup>140</sup> "Turkish Social Life," *The Newcastle Weekly Courant*, Saturday, February 11, 1893, Issue 11378.

women were not expected to be symbols of westernization as public images in the sense of Ottoman elite men. Because of this, the modern appearance of Ottoman men was supported by political authorities in any case, but that of women was tried to be kept in an unchanging manner. In such conditions, Ottoman women necessarily applied different methods for adaptations and negotiations in order to change their attires.

As Esenbel pointed out, transformation in the Ottoman female attire followed two different patterns in two different realms: public and private. Ottoman elite women privately adopted the nineteenth century European dress at home with the puffy skirts, the thin waisted corsets, and the chignon hairstyle.<sup>141</sup> Likewise, Z. Duckett Ferriman observed that indoors, they availed themselves of all the latitude of the West.<sup>142</sup> On the other hand, Ottoman women in public life were required to wear a long skirted veil which covered almost every part of the body to abide the strict rules of covering required of Muslim women. On the other hand, it is observable that the public dress of Ottoman women did not remain the same in appearance during this period of transformation. According to Şeni, the veil was transformed to resemble the European women's coats as public apparel. In the late nineteenth century, the Ottoman authorities continued to issue a series of edicts warning Ottoman women who attracted attention with their

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<sup>141</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, (1994) p. 170.

<sup>142</sup> Z. Duckett Ferriman, p. 275.

pretentious attire. On the other hand, the existence of these edicts regulating women's dress did not mean the absence of European fashion among the Ottoman women. As Şeni explained, the edicts after the Tanzimat were different from early edicts inviting women to dress according to the convention (*kanun-ı kadim*).<sup>143</sup> Still, women insistently wore public apparel that looked more like coats and their faces were covered just so with a transparent silk veil.

The indispensable need for adaptation and the necessity of negotiation with political authorities led to the increase in the number of women tailors in the late nineteenth century. It seemed impossible for an Ottoman Muslim woman to buy a dress from the famous ready-wear shops of the time such as Tiring, Mayer, and Ştayn, and wear them without any appropriation. Aware of this need, Tiring had opened a new branch only for women serving with women sellers and tailors.<sup>144</sup>

As many pointed out, Ottoman elite women were still wearing traditional dresses in essence, which carried out traces of European styles in appearance. Ottoman women used a synthesis of European and Ottoman styles in very good harmony. The intellectual Fatma Aliye, who advised her friends to use domestic fabrics, said that it is possible to sew fashionable

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<sup>143</sup> Nora Şeni, "19. Yüzyıl Sonu İstanbul Basınında Moda ve Kadın Kıyafetleri," *Seni Unutursam İstanbul...* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008), p. 49.

<sup>144</sup> *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 16 Teşrinisani, 1311 (28 Kasım 1895).

clothes like the clothes bought from shops in İstanbul such as Bon Marché, Mayer, Orozdibak, Şişmanyanko and Tiring that sell imported article.<sup>145</sup>

In the same manner, the way of dressing was just as significant as what was worn in the period. Although the physical properties of a dress like its color, fabric, texture and shape were undeniable and inherent qualities that affected the meaning ascribed to clothes, it was more essential that the manner in which these clothes were used presented and manipulated. Nancy Micklewright argues that in traditional women's clothing, the body was well-hidden by layers of fabric and garments were often interchangeable. The visual impact of the ensemble depended on the colors and textures of material used as well as the embroidery and gold trim with which it was decorated.<sup>146</sup> On the other hand, the way of dressing for both men and women as described in late Ottoman etiquette books aimed to reveal the beauty of the body or conceal the unattractive parts of it. For example, only young women were advised to wear décolleté in ceremonies like soirees. In addition, they were advised not to use jewelry since their young bodies were the real jewel. The old women were warned to be careful about décolleté dresses and were suggested to use more jewelry to hide the traces of their age. In these books, youthfulness both for men and women were brought in

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<sup>145</sup> Nora Şeni, p. 47.

<sup>146</sup> Nancy Micklewright, "Late Nineteenth Century Ottoman Wedding Costume as Indicators of Social Change", *Muqarnas*, Vol. 6, (1986), p. 169.

the foreground. They suggested that the ideal dress should reveal the body of the young and hide the body of the old.



## CHAPTER 4

### HOME DECORATION, *SALON* AND TABLE MANNERS

This chapter aims to analyze how Ottoman etiquette authors approached home-related etiquette issues and what they wrote about them. In this manner, it focuses on inner decoration, home furnishings (such as furniture, tables, beds, cutlery, and knife), table manners, and household activities such as visits, invitations, tea gatherings, *soirées* and balls. It also discusses the relation between etiquette rules and the transformation and change of the Ottoman house and house life in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Changing lifestyle in late Ottoman society had created a split between the *alla turca* and the *alla franca* (respectively Ottoman Turkish and Frankish style) that gradually penetrated the inner workings of domestic space and family life. The use of western equipments and objects of furniture caused a remarkable difference in the use of domestic space and relations between family members. The *alla franca* style of spatial organization and decoration inevitably changed house life, family interactions, and privacy standards as well as the ways of using the house by family members. Sitting in high-backed seats needed different attitudes, preparing and eating in the *alla franca* style involved new rules that introduced a certain distance and even

formality among family members who accustomed to sit on adjoining cushions and dipped into the same bowl of food.

The analysis of the approach of late Ottoman etiquette literature to the home is very important since it is the place where family relations and gendered and class identities are negotiated, contested, and transformed. The home is also significant in the creation of individual identity, social relations, and collective meaning.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the scrutiny of etiquette rules related to the home can be enlightening in many issues such as the agendas of etiquette authors in regard to changing lifestyle, Ottoman modernization, the socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of the target audience of etiquette literature, and Ottoman women's place in the process of Ottoman transformation and reform.

House, as one of the important arenas for the reflection of lifestyle and mentality, appears to be one of the most obvious areas of transformation and changes in particular environments of Ottoman society. As material expression, the house and its interior decoration represent the material and cultural accumulation of its owners, similar to what dress did for its wearer. At this point, it should be compared with dress in terms of its ability to represent identity, lifestyle, socio-cultural and economic background of its owner as well as its ability to characterize Ottoman process of transformation

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<sup>1</sup> John Rennie Short, "Foreword" in *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, Irene Cieraad, ed. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999), p. X.

and change in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the third chapter on dress, change in Ottoman dress was compared to change in the Ottoman house, and the advantage of dress in representation and in symbolic dimensions has been emphasized.

As discussed before, Nancy Mickelwright argues that change in dress realizes in a quicker and easier manner than change in house decoration since it requires less cost and efforts.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, in the Ottoman world or in many other countries, dress was one of the most important symbols representing religion, profession, and lifestyle in the nineteenth century. Although it seems possible to get new and different clothes by a modest wealth in comparison with to change the decoration of a house, material wealth itself had never become an only definer or the most important parameter in the selection of dress throughout history.

On the other hand, change in domestic space seems unproblematic and smoother compared to the change in clothing due to different reasons: House as private realm is far from the control of state authorities, and its organization and decoration is not directly related to religion, morality and values. Thus, domestic space appeared as one of the easiest realms of change and transformation in Ottoman society in terms of adoption of European way of life, even though in financial terms it seems more cumbersome and

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<sup>2</sup> Nancy Micklewright, "Public and Private for Ottoman Women of the Nineteenth Century," *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 161.

difficult. Thus, the introduction of the *alla franca* way of furniture and decoration to the elite houses of İstanbul had started much earlier than the embracing of European dress.

### House in Late Ottoman Etiquette Literature

Late Ottoman etiquette authors did not give a detailed explanation of manners and etiquette at home in their books. Some wrote the idealized form of European etiquette relying on translations, while a few such as Ahmed Midhat and Lütfü Simavi mentioned applied practices, misapplications and appropriations in Ottoman society.

As related to the house, etiquette authors wrote under different titles such as “dinner”, “rules must be applied during dinner”, “visits”, “invitations”, “presentations”, “etiquette rules for foods and beverages”, “public tables”, “arrangement of household”, “invitation to tea”, “soirées”, “balls”, “visiting and invitation cards”, “tobacco and cigarette”, “gambling”, “*salon* etiquette”, “coffee”, “alcoholic drinks”, “toasts”, “handshake”, “dances”. It is possible to organize these titles in three categories: household arrangement, *salon* etiquette, and table manners. It is striking to note that the degree of importance given to domestic etiquette is not the same for all etiquette authors. Some of them allocated only a few lines for the whole issue while some discussed only one issue (of dinner or *salon*) in many pages.

Some etiquette books like Resulzâde Hüseyin Hüsnü's *Nezaket ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavaid-i Edeb* (1306/1889) and Antakyalı Çençenzâde Hakkı's *Zarafet* (1307/1890), which were written before Ahmed Midhat's book on *alla franca*, approached the issue in a quite simplistic manner and wrote only about the etiquette of eating and drinking. In terms of approach and methodology, the first one which was translated from French and the other from Arabic and Persian are interestingly quite similar. Although Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, who defines etiquette as "in the presence of Allah and between people", usually talks about secular etiquette rules, he starts the section on meals by saying that "before meals, thank and pray shortly to God Almighty at least inwardly."<sup>3</sup> In the following lines, he describes where to put the table napkin, how to use spoon, knife and fork, and how to behave at the table in accordance with *alla franca* manners. When the book of Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü is evaluated as a whole, it can be said that it is full of paradoxes. He uses religious, even Islamic terminology on the one hand and writes about *alla franca* on the other. In addition, title selection and organization of book which seems as the continuation of traditional morality literature and often references to the verses from the Quran and *hadiths* can be added to these paradoxes of the book translated from French. In this vein, the reminding about praying to God before the meals by using the words "at

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<sup>3</sup> "Kablet-ta" am Cenab-ı Hakka hiç olmazsa zihnen kısaca bir şükür ve dua ediniz." Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, *Nezaket ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavaid-i Âdâb* (İstanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar Matba'ası, 1889/1306), p. 11.

least" and "inwardly" – not loudly – can be read as an effort to find a modest way between the *alla franca* lifestyle emerging and spreading within particular environments, and the long-established Ottoman way of life based on religion and custom. It can be also read as the effort of author to preserve some religious elements of Ottoman daily life against *alla franca* which is hold responsible to undermine Ottoman values. Similarly, Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı in *Zarâfet* translated from Arabic and Persian noticeably uses a traditional and religious terminology. As regard to house, he deals only with eating and drinking by using Arabic words from a quite traditional point of view. In this manner, his book is the only one in late Ottoman etiquette literature - as far as it was found in this study – which writes about eating by hand.<sup>4</sup>

*Rehber-i Müsafirin ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* of Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem (1316/1898), which carries the characteristics of both city guidebook and etiquette book, approaches *alla franca* etiquette in quite a critical way and *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hasıl Olur* of Mehmed Emin (1321/1904), which defines etiquette on the basis of morality and breeding (*terbiye*), do not write about the etiquette related to house and table. Mehmed Emin explains that his book is not about the etiquette rules of foreigners, and he does not deal with the secondary issues like how to eat a meal, how to use spoon and fork, how

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<sup>4</sup> "El ile yemek ve sağ elin üç parmağını isti'mal etmek lazımdır. Çatal ve bıçak isti'malinde beis yoktur." Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1890/1307). p. 9.

men should behave towards women.<sup>5</sup> According to Mehmed Emin, etiquette rules on these matters change according to the traditions and customs of each nation and therefore they cannot be written as the norms of general etiquette (*umumi âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*).

Except the aforementioned authors, almost all of the Ottoman etiquette authors wrote their chapters on etiquette in regard to house and food by relying on the sources of *alla franca* lifestyle. The most comprehensive and detailed books about the issue are Ahmed Midhad's *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti Yahud Alafranga* (1312/1894) , which is written as a guidebook for Ottoman man traveling in Europe; *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (1327/1910) published by Matba'a-i Askeriye for Ottoman military officials; and Comtesse De Magallon's *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti* (1328/1911) translated by Ahmed Cevad without any contribution or intervention. The other books, which are small in volume such as Hasan Bahri's *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (1328/1911) and *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları* (1331/1912) published by Kadınlar Dünyası Matba'ası mentioned *alla franca* way of domestic life in a quite detailed manner in their limited pages.

Ottoman etiquette authors seem relatively clear about the etiquette rules in regard to house compared to their challenging and diverse explanations about the adoption of European dress. Although there are some

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<sup>5</sup> Mehmed Emin, *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hasıl Olur* (Aydın: Vilayet Matba'ası, 1321/1904), p. 73.

confusions, and practically misapplications about how and where to use European furniture and utensils, there is very little difference of opinion among the Ottoman etiquette authors about the etiquette rules to be applied in *soirées*, balls, invitations, visits and dinners. In fact, Ottoman etiquette authors' different explanations on dress means that they had appealed more to appropriation, synthesis and negotiation instead of direct translation of European dress etiquette due the importance and sensitivity of dress to society and religion. This approach led the emergence of an eclectic and complex understanding of clothing because of different worldviews and ideologies of Ottoman etiquette authors.

In the case of domestic space, the etiquette authors do not usually adapt European furniture to the particular conditions and traditions of Ottoman house although it was done in practice. In fact, they wrote etiquette at home by translating directly from European etiquette books without any revision for the Ottoman elite households. Rather, some authors like Ahmed Midhat warned the readers about the use of European furniture in their correct places and for their original purposes.

In fact, the reasons of writing house-related etiquette explained by the etiquette authors expose “why they did not apply appropriations and negotiations in house decoration, *salon* etiquette and table manners. *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* written for military class in 1909 starts its chapter on banquets with the words “when acquainted with a European man and was



gone to his house...”<sup>6</sup> It means that this chapter was written for an Ottoman man who has potential to go to the house of a European man, not for an Ottoman man or woman organizing his house in European style. If someone wants to decorate his house in European style, he/she must find its own way for appropriation – actually this is not also welcomed by Ahmed Midhat.

As they did for women dress, Ottoman etiquette authors described the house of “other” by relying solely on direct translations of European etiquette manuals. But this house of “other” was not an “other” totally independent and far from the lives of Ottoman men of special environments such as bureaucracy, military and elite; rather they are the houses of Europeans, whom some Ottoman men have an obligation to contact under some occasions and circumstances. Therefore, it is usually explained in late Ottoman etiquette literature that how an Ottoman man should behave and apply to the rules of etiquette when he went to the house of a European family or the house in which European way of life adopted in any occasions such as dinner, visits, *soirées* and balls rather than explaining how an Ottoman man or woman should behave in their own houses or in the houses of their Ottoman neighbors or family friends.

Ottoman etiquette authors assumed that hostess and all female guests in these houses are non-Muslim and European women. One of the good

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<sup>6</sup> “Bir kibar Avrupalı ile ülfet edildiği ve evine gidildiği zaman.....” *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba’a-i ‘Askeriye, 1327/1910), p. 19.

examples of this assumption is that etiquette authors explain that which man will give his arm to which women will be written on cards in big invitations and it is explained to reader by giving the examples of these cards. An example of cards in this kind by Hasan Bahri, written in French and explained in Ottoman Turkish, is quite typical: “*Mr. Bahri voudra bien offrir son bras a Madame Annita.*”<sup>7</sup> In this example and in many others, while the names for men are usually names like Ahmed, Mehmed, Bahri which are the names for Ottoman men, the names for women are foreign names without exception. Again, in the discussion of table manners, late Ottoman etiquette authors always assumed women at the table as non-Muslim. For example, it is reminded that when talking to a woman, it is required to know the language of madam which can be French or any other language known by madam.

Because it will be necessary to speak in French or in another language, even if he does not know a sufficient amount of French or the language the madam speaks in, it is better to endeavor to talk full of mistakes with small words and strive to entertain the woman this way rather than staying like a statue. Even those who are already familiar with the language do not engage in long conversations at the table anyway.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> “Mösyö Bahri kolunu Madam Annita’ya takdim edecektir.” Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsi’-i Tıba’ât Matba’ası, 1328/1911), p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> “Fransızca veya diğer bir lisan ile tekellüm zarureti hâsıl olacağından şayet Fransızcaya veya madamın bildiği diğer bir lisana kâfi derecede vakıf bulunmaz ise bile muhtasar sözler ile yalan yanlış tekellüme gayret ve bu cihetle kadını eğlendirmeye sa’y eylemek put gibi durmaktan elbette ehvendir. Zaten lisana aşına olanlar dahi sofralarda uzun bahislere girişemezler.” *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret*, p. 26.

The main parameter determining the etiquette of household arrangement and life in *alla franca* manner seems as hierarchy. Etiquette authors categorize people from the most credible one to less credible one while mentioning etiquette rules to be obeyed at home. Who will sit next to whom at table, who will greet first, who will give hand before; all of these are defined according to hierarchy. The main thing determining this hierarchy seems primarily as gender and then, age, rank, position and wealth. Except governor and royal family, women are accepted at the top of etiquette hierarchy in almost any kind of community. On the other hand, the degree of respect to be shown to a woman in a community is determined according to her husband's rank and position rather than her own qualifications.

In polite communities, the most respectable ones in etiquette hierarchy after women are soldiers according to their military ranks. They stand as soldiers not as guests in *salons*, and the etiquette to be applied to them and their etiquette to others are absolutely determined according to their military ranks. Except women and military class, age and social status are two main factors determining the degree of respect and value of a person in refined communities. Older people are always given priority in reverence. On the other hand, social status is a blurred issue. In terms social status, improvisational arrangements were made in practice among the people since there are not precise definition of social status.

The degree of courtesy, respect and reverence was totally defined according to the place of people in this hierarchy. In *Centilmen*, Hasan Bahri writes under the title of “the Degree of Courtesy” that:

The special words used when speaking with ministers and judges are not seen necessary when speaking with a small child. An untaught peasant is not treated as if addressing a scholar or a man of letters. And it cannot be spoken to a woman as if giving orders to a soldier.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, some Ottoman etiquette authors such as Ahmed Midhat, Lütfü Simavi and Mehmed Emin criticize behaving and respecting according to the worldly and temporal features of human and highlight the superficiality and lack of morality of European etiquette. In this vein, Lütfü Simavi says:

Because status and rank is not considered between relatives, it is not appropriate to give priority to a relative who has come up to a particular rank or has made a fortune in trade over a relative who is poor, but is well-known for his honor, dignity and knowledge.<sup>10</sup>

At this point Mehmed Emin harshly criticizes the etiquette of high society (*sosyete*) that he refrains from writing. According to him:

They look for a reason to judge people. However, those who are committed to moral laws and have humane characteristics are

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<sup>9</sup> “Bir küçük çocukla görüşülürken nazırlara, hakimlere karşı kullanılan elfaz-ı ihtiramiyeye hacet görülmez. Cahil bir köylüye ‘alim ve edibe hitap eder gibi mu’âmelede bulunulmaz. Ve bir kadınla da askere emir verir gibi görüşülmez.” Hasan Bahri, p. 20

<sup>10</sup> “Akraba arasında rütbe ve mevki’ gözetilmeyeceğinden hizmet-i hükümetde temeyyüz veyahut ticarete kesb-i servet etmiş bir akrabayı fakir fakat namus, haysiyet ve ma’lûmatı ile teferrüd etmiş bir akrabaya tekaddüm ettirmek münasip değildir.” Lütfü Simavi, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret* (İstanbul, Matba’a-i İctihad, 1329/1914), p. 57.

respected and loved without distinguishing in Islam no matter what class they are a member of.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, giving the priority to someone and determining the degree of respect in a *salon* or in any other community on the basis of hierarchy does not mean that there is no consideration on the basis of human values in etiquette literature. It is said in Comtesse De Magallon's *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti* translated by Ahmed Cevad that "If you have poor relatives and friends, make good treatment to them as you did for wealthy."<sup>12</sup> George Winfred Hervey in his book *Principles of Courtesy with Hints and Observations on Manners and Habits* summarizes the principles of respects in this way:

Our expression of respect ought always to be suitable to the age, rank, and other relations of the person addressed. We should avoid familiarity toward superiors, disrespect to equals, and contempt for inferiors. The inspired precept is, "Honor all men," and this applies as well as to the feeblest, as to the mightiest of mankind.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> "Onlar, insanda (insan-ı kamil) hesap nisap ararlar. Fakat kanun-ı ahlaka müte'assibin ve kemalat-ı insaniyeye malik olanlar herhangi sınıfa mensup olurlarsa olsunlar İslamiyette tefrik edilmeksizin hürmet ve mazhar-ı 'atafet olurlar." Mehmed Emin, p. 73.

<sup>12</sup> "Fakir akraba ve ahababınız varsa onlara karşı zengin olanlar gibi hüsn-i mu'âmelede bulununuz." Comtesse De Magallon, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> George Winfred Hervey, *Principles of Courtesy with Hints and Observations on Manners and Habits* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1852), p. 192.

## Home Decoration

The introduction of European forms into the privacy of the Ottoman home is manifested in the adoption of European furniture and changed the inner organization of the rooms as well as interior decoration. By the end of the nineteenth century, European furniture and its use were quite widespread in the homes of İstanbul's elite. Grace Ellison (1915) says:

For a long time now, European furniture has been the fashion in Turkish homes. At first, this craze for everything Western began in the homes of the Government officials, but it has been gradually spreading ever since, so that to-day, in the smaller homes, cheap, gaudy furniture of the worst kind has replaced the beautiful embroideries and accoutrements of the East.<sup>14</sup>

In her article comparing Ottoman modernization with that of Meiji's Japan, Selçuk Esenbel underlines the possibilities provided by domestic space for Ottoman men and women who wish to modernize their lives in contrast to the people of Meiji's Japan who had preferred to wear European clothes in public and preserve their traditional kimono in their homes.<sup>15</sup> The Ottoman home was an active arena to put into practice the desire of progress of

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<sup>14</sup> Grace Ellison, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press Edition, 2007), p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, "Türk ve Japon Modernleşmesi: 'Uygarlık Süreci' Kavramı Açısından Bir Mukayese," *Toplum ve Bilim*, 84, (Bahar 2000), p. 24.

Ottoman elite.<sup>16</sup> In a sense, public arena was restricted area for modernization and Westernization of the Ottoman elite.

Europeanization was not limited to only physical features of the Ottoman house. The nineteenth century Ottoman elite house was the first arena to break the strict rule of gender segregation. The Ottoman elite and their families met as couples or as men and women in their private realms among themselves by removing the traditional separation of the *harem* and *selamlık* (men's greeting room).<sup>17</sup> Although Ottoman etiquette authors insist on talking about the houses of other Europeans and European women, the elite families of İstanbul had begun to visit their relatives and friends as couples of man and woman in the *selamlık* part of their houses.<sup>18</sup>

When it was analyzed in the light of contemporary sources such as newspapers, journals, memoirs and traveler accounts, it seems that transformation and change in the interior decoration of houses in favor of European style in the houses of Ottoman upper class were quite fast. However, late Ottoman etiquette literature – except Ahmed Midhat's book – did not write about how to decorate houses in European way, or how house life should be in accordance with *alla franca* way of life. In his book on *alla franca*, Ahmed Midhat does not talk about Ottoman house decorated or will

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<sup>16</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, "The Anguish of Civilized Behavior: The Use of Western Cultural Forms in the Everyday Lives of the Meiji Japanese and the Ottoman Turks During the Nineteenth Century," *Japan Review*, V. 5, (1994), p. 174.

<sup>17</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, 2000, p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, 1994, p. 174.

be decorated in *alla franca* style, rather he talks about the houses of Europeans to which Easterners go for any reason. Besides, the houses described by Ahmed Midhat as models are middle-class homes like small houses or apartment flats. He writes that it is not easy to have a private family house in Europe, and he could not be able to imagine a mansion or chateau since he did not go to such a house.

According to most of the Ottoman etiquette authors, house decoration stands behind the urgent needs. They thought that it has not a priority in the process of civilizing which is usually thought to require in military, bureaucratic, technological and governmental realms. What is important about the household manners is the etiquette rules which must be known by Easterners or Ottoman upper class men in order not to be ashamed in the houses of Europeans or houses decorated in *alla franca* style. Another reason for the lack of concern of Ottoman etiquette authors on house is that they considered house decoration as a matter of interest to women. As discussed before, women were not accepted as direct respondent of etiquette books by many etiquette authors.

Ahmed Midhat in his book describing European etiquette as a narrative to a man travelling in Europe explains his justification for writing the section on “house decoration” by saying “Now, it is time for those in



Europe to be able to go visits, meals, *soireés*, and balls into the families..."<sup>19</sup>

According to him:

Among the easterners in Europe, feeling the need to organize a house in *alla franca* style is far from reality. In this respect, the need for house arrangement in a wide and regular manner in order to organize feasts and balls is not felt by an easterner in a million.<sup>20</sup>

Then, why did Ahmed Midhat write European way of the household arrangement and decoration in quite detailed and complicated manners although he finds *alla franca* household arrangement unnecessary for easterners? He described all the details of *alla franca* house from the public reception rooms - vestibule, antechamber, dining room, and *salon* - to the more intimate spaces of the dwelling - *boudoir*, *cabinet de travail*, and bedroom. In a sense, Ahmed Midhat, who devoted his book to explain what European etiquette really is and prevent the misunderstandings and misapplications of *alla franca* by easterners, witnesses many errors about *alla franca* household arrangement in his environment emulating European style of house decoration. Whereas he does not advise to organize Ottoman houses in European way, he gives detailed information about which furniture will be used where, how and where valuable paintings and

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<sup>19</sup> "Avrupa'da bulunanların familyalar içine vizitelere, ziyafetlere, suârelere, balolara gidebilmek sırası gelmiş olacağından..." Ahmed Midhat, 1312/1894, p. 273.

<sup>20</sup> "Vakı'a bizim şarklılarımızdan Avrupa'da bulunacak zevat için bir hane tanzimine lüzum görülmesi hakikaten istib'ad teshil edecektir. Bahusus ziyafetler, balolar verilecek surette vasi' ve muntazam hane tanzim etmek ihtiyacı şarklılarımızdan bir milyonda bir kişinin yanından bile geçemez." Ahmed Midhat, p. 274.

tableaus will be hanged on the walls in order to correct these misunderstandings and give real knowledge of *alla franca* house decoration.<sup>21</sup> According to Ahmed Midhat, the most important issue to be considered by the people who attempt to organize *alla franca* house is the use of items in right places in accordance with their actual purposes. As a matter of fact, Ahmed Midhat himself observed that hanger which must be on the nearby to the front-door was moved to *salon*.<sup>22</sup>

According to Ahmed Midhat, a man, who enters a house in European style, first finds himself in a place called “*vestibule*”. Although man is a general term, it can be said that the addressee here in any case is the Ottoman man. In the following sections, Ahmed Midhat respectively mentions the toilet room, the *salon (antechamber)*, the woman’s study room (*boudoir*), the men’s study room (*kabin dü ray*), the small *salon*, the dining room, the bedrooms and the etiquette that should be followed and applied in these places. Just like Lütfü Simavi, Ahmet Midhat also tells the things to be avoided through stories that are either his own observations or narrated by others. For example in Europe, he writes that people who clean and decorate places in sight like the *salon* of the house, whereas they leave places that are

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<sup>21</sup> Ancak şimdilerde biz dahi eski alaturka salonlarımızı nasılsa beğenmeyerek *alafranga* usûlde salon tanzim edeceğiz diye hayli hatalara düçar olmakta bulunduğumuzdan Avrupalıların hanelerini nasıl düzelttikleri hakkında velev muhtasaran olsun ma’lûmât peyda edecek olur isek kendi tanzimat-ı beytiyemiz hususunda biraz daha uyanık bulunuruz da hatalarımız dahi azalır. Ahmed Midhat, p. 274.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid*, pp. 274-275.

out of sight like the bedroom messy and dirty are called “half-courteous”. In the same way, people who organize the *salon* in an exaggeratedly ostentatious manner are called “quarter-courteous”. According to a narration, one of the young and novice nobles falls in love with a beautiful woman who belongs to the quarter-courteous class. He likes her elegance and manners very much. Her dining room and *salon* are very stylish. One day he somehow enters the woman’s bedroom. He finds the room so messy and dirty that he was nauseated. According to Ahmed Midhat, he regrets and decides not to trust the glamorous outer appearance.<sup>23</sup> This story narrated by Ahmed Midhat, in fact, is not only a story to explain the quarter-courteous nobles of Europe, but an advice for its Ottoman readers not to fall for the superficial courtesy of European etiquette. Ahmed Midhat once again reminds the reader that European courtesy can be shallow and formalist.

It is seen that Ottoman etiquette authors’ reference to negotiation and adaptation is less about house organization as compared to clothes.

However, it is difficult to say that the practice is quite like this. Although there are some wrong applications - which are seen as mistakes, not adaptations by Ahmed Midhat - it is seen that some different regulations are applied. For example, Ottoman families living in a collective culture used European furniture, but they place it in their homes according to their own lifestyle. The placement of the modern sofas and chairs against the wall just

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid*, p. 293.

like traditional Ottoman *sedirs* is one of the most significant manifestations of this understanding.<sup>24</sup> In fact, these types of applications can be seen as appropriation and eclecticism rather than as a mistake.

### Organization of the *Salon*

The *salon*, that is, the living room, is a French word adapted to Turkish as is. The *salon* reserved for entertainment and guests is the room which is open to public and decorated with the most prestigious status symbols of the family.<sup>25</sup> Without doubt, the most important and the appropriate room in the Ottoman house for European style decoration was the *salon*. However, *salon* organization required careful consideration, a good decoration and presentation.

In the nineteenth century, the *salon* was a new concept for many Ottoman elite families. In earlier periods, the *selamlık* section of Ottoman houses met the need for a *salon* to a great extent. The “*selamlık*”, where the men in the house came together with other men outside the family for work and social relations, as a word means greeting area. Such that, many government officials like judges, governors, viziers and the city’s wealthy people did their work in the *selamlık* section of their large houses or *konaks*.

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<sup>24</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, 2000, p. 28.

<sup>25</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, 1994, p. 174.

Because of this function of it, there was a *selamlık* in all of the large *konaks* without exception.<sup>26</sup> In *Ceride-i Havadis* (1276/1859-60), in advertisements of houses for sale or rental in İstanbul, the houses are described with their *harem* and *selamlık* sections with different sizes.<sup>27</sup>

With the adoption of the European style; the *selamlık*, which was defined as the area that belongs to men in the Ottoman family, slowly began to evolve into European style of *salons*. At the beginning of the twentieth century, many women's magazines like the *Mehasin* wrote that *selamlıks* should turn into *alla franca salons* where women and men can easily be hosted together. On the other hand, the transformation of the Ottoman *selamlık* into *alla franca* style *salon* reveals some contradictions within itself. Harem and *selamlık*, which existed in Ottoman *konaks*, mansions and large houses, represented the spatial separation of the private (*mahrem*) and non-private (*gayr-i mahrem*) rather than the separation of living spaces of men and women. In this sense, while the *selamlık*, which is defined as the men's area, was the window of the house that opened to the public; the harem, meaning protected, was the area which was protected from the public nature of the street. But harem was not only a space which belonged to women and children of household; rather it was actually the space which belonged to

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<sup>26</sup> Carel Bertram, *Imagining the Turkish House: Collective Visions of Home* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), p. 30.

<sup>27</sup> Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Ev," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, V. 4., (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), pp. 5402–5403.

whole family. However, if there were a woman visitor who was not a member of the family, then a male family member who had completed puberty would not be allowed to be present inside the harem.<sup>28</sup>

On the other hand, *salon* in *alla franca* house is the place where the hostess of the house is responsible from all the activities and organizations. Although just like *selamlık*, it is the area in the house which is open to public; in contrast to the *selamlık*, where Ottoman man is responsible of everything, the boss of *salon* in every way is the hostess of the house. In this sense, the transformation of Ottoman *selamlık* into European *salon* was not an easy process. This process required more than the physical reorganization and arrangement of a certain place. The transformation of Ottoman *selamlık* into *salon* gave Ottoman woman, who is the boss of the harem where only women guests are hosted, the responsibility of an area where there are new activities and both sexes are welcomed and carried her to a position that she is completely unfamiliar. The periodicals of the time like *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, *Hanımlar*, *Demet*, and *Mehasin* have published many articles that sometimes questioned this new responsibility of Ottoman woman and sometimes served to help in her new job.

On the other hand, this complex and challenging process of transformation in Ottoman elite houses is not mentioned in late Ottoman etiquette literature. Etiquette authors except Ahmed Midhat preferred to

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<sup>28</sup> Carel Bertram, pp. 30-31.

remain silent on *alla franca salon* decoration. Many different reasons can be mentioned about their ignorance. They probably thought that *salon* decoration is not necessary in the Ottoman modernization; it is a private space to be protected from a foreign culture; house organization is the matter of women; it is inextricably complicated; it is not known enough by men intellectuals and they do not have sufficient sources on *alla franca salon* decoration.

*Salon* organization is described in detail in Ahmet Midhat's book.

However, both periodicals and novels of the period show that *alla franca* style house and especially *salon* organization became widespread within a particular environment. In an unsigned article published in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, it is stated that some families who were randomly imitating *alla franca* gave excessive importance to *salons* and competed with each other in *salon* decoration. It is emphasized in the article that a house is indispensable for family life and a modest method has been adopted regarding an *alla franca* house and *salon* organization. According to the article, neither a too impressive nor a too plain method should be adopted in house organization. The house should be attractive enough for men who earn house's livelihood. Otherwise, men would leave house and eat dinner in French style restaurants and night clubs located in districts like Beyoğlu just because it is more ostentatious and they would spend their time in these places that they should spend with their family.

According to the article; for family happiness, there is no mistake in decorating a house and *salon* in *alla franca* style. It states that, some people criticizes *alla franca* style *salon* decoration by saying that the European style *salon* life is suitable for Europeans who do not apply gender segregation or for families who accept guests and visitors without segregating men and women. By taking into consideration of all criticisms, article explains its own approach:

It is not possible to deny that our families who randomly followed the *alla franca* gave a lot of importance to *salons* and it cannot be considered that the competitive decoration of the *salons* did not happen. Some of them see this as too much. We also hear the ones who say that *salons* are suitable for the French namely for those families who know nothing about segregation and accept guests and visitors without segregating men and women. We also hear some words from the ones who take these various ideas and opinions into consideration and judge them and we agree with them. For us, neither the advices of the ones who are eager to constantly imitate *alla franca* nor the advices of conservatives completely deny the needs of civilization and time are worth following.<sup>29</sup>

The approach revealed by the author of this article differentiates *alla franca* *salon* organization from *alla franca* *salon* life. In fact this is the idea advocated by many intellectuals at the time that separation of life style and materialistic

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<sup>29</sup> “*Alafrangaya* gelişigüzel ittibâ’ eden ailelelerimizde salonlara epeyce ehemmiyet verildiği kabil-i inkâr değildir ve salonların rekabetkârâne süslenip bezenmesi de vaki’ olmamış şeylerden sayılamaz. Bir takımı bunu da fazla görüyor. Salonların Frenkler’e yani kaç göç olmayan ve kadınlı erkekli misafir ve ziyaret kabul eden ailelere daha ziyade yakıştığını söyleyenleri de işitip dinliyoruz. Şu muhtelif fikirleri ve mütala’aları derpîş eden ve bunları muhakeme eyleyenlerden de bazı sözler işitiyoruz ve haklı buluyoruz. Ne *alafrangayı* daimen taklide heveskar olan ve ne de ihtiyacat-ı medeniyye ve zamaneyi redd ve inkâr eden efkar-ı mu’tedile ashabının öğütleri bizce şayan-ı imtisaldır.” *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 130, pp.1-2. Quated from Arzu Şeyda, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 101-200 (MA Thesis, Atatürk University, 2003), pp. 142-143.



culture is possible. It is difficult to say that Ahmed Midhat has a mission to adopt “*alla franca salon* life” by giving a detailed description of the *alla franca* house and *salon* organization to Ottoman family. Indeed, Ahmed Midhat not only in his etiquette book, but also in many of his works, defended staying eastern in terms of moral values like moral principles and family life; but as a requirement of the time for progress, he drew attention to the necessity of the recognition of European civilization. As mentioned earlier, he wrote this chapter on house for Ottoman men who are in touch with European families and for people who were attempting *alla franca* house decoration.

As understood from Ahmet Midhat’s descriptions, the place which is shown the most care in house is *salon*. It is organized and decorated on the basis of a hierarchy. The armchair placed to the right side of fireplace always belongs to the hostess of the house. Even though mothers and mothers-in-law have been offered to sit on this armchair, the right to sit on it has not been given to them. The most precious sofa is placed across this armchair and it is reserved for the madam’s most prestigious guest.<sup>30</sup> Apart from these, there are sofas and armchairs in different parts of the *salon*. The most indispensable furniture in a *salon* furnished according to *alla franca* style is the large table in the middle of the *salon*. Some of the newly-released books, the latest issues of literary magazines and daily newspapers are placed either on this table or on one of the other tables close to the madam’s armchair.

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<sup>30</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 275.

Besides this, visiting cards that the most prestigious guests had left were placed either inside a cup, plate and basket made of gold or silver or something carved from wood and knitted from straw like a very elegant basket or if nothing, inside a metal ware plate on one of the tables. According to Ahmed Midhat, these used to be framed and hung on the wall to imply “reputable people like this give us visiting cards”.<sup>31</sup> In fact, although putting it in a plate seems like a more graceful behavior, both practices of showing visiting cards have actually similar meanings. An important point that draws attention here is how the expression “reputable” is constantly highlighted. Apparently, ordinary visitors’ cards were not included in these bowls.

Another point that determines the organization of the *salon* is the fact that *salon* is considered as a public space which is open to display. For this reason, comfortable sofas to lie down on must not be placed in the *salon*. Again, photos of the family should not be hung on the walls of the *salon*. Only the most gorgeous charcoal, watercolor or oil paintings can be shown in the *salon*. Again, the expression “the most gorgeous”, used as an adjective here, draws attention to a hierarchical order and exclusiveness. If the man of the house does not have a business room, the library can be placed in the *salon*; but the study desk (*yazıhane*) certainly cannot be placed here. One of the important matters in the decoration of *alla franca salons* is lighting.

According to Ahmed Midhat, the more kinds of lighting devices there are,

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<sup>31</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 276.

the more courteous it is.<sup>32</sup> The most beautiful lighting devices of the period are chandeliers, lusters and lamps. Europeans even put colorful lampshades on the lamps. In fact, *salons* are an exhibition area like an antique shop that make all sorts of showing off permissible and display the house owner's status and wealth.

Despite the many detailed descriptions regarding *alla franca salon* decoration in the periodicals of the time and in Ahmed Midhat's book, many different practices have emerged in the Ottoman *konaks* in which European styles were adopted. Some of these practices are the placement of hanger or the cloakroom in *salon* whereas it should be placed near the door, putting the study desk, which should be in the study room, as a decorative item in the *salon*, hanging the family photos on the walls of *salon* whereas they should be in between two covers in albums and putting the mirror, which is put on the console in Europe, on the nightstand and many more applications like this can be listed. Apparently, some people who attempted an *alla franca* style *salon* organization placed every object which seems European, regardless of what its intended use was, in *salon* which is the most visible part of the house.

Ahmed Midhat sees these applications as a mistake caused by not knowing very clearly what *alla franca* is. As he did for other matters like clothes and entertainment, Ahmed Midhat is in favor of adopting the

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<sup>32</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 277.

etiquette norms which are appropriate to morals and customs of Ottoman society and completely rejecting those which are not, rather than appropriating them to Ottoman way of life. According to him, European etiquette, which is appropriate for Ottoman society, can be taken; some like gambling and dueling, which are against the moral values of the east, should not be taken. As opposed to Ahmed Midhat, Lütü Simavi has made appropriations when he saw necessary. He appropriated a French-style object or etiquette in accordance with his own traditions in regard to clothes and etiquette to be followed in *salon*.

### *Salon Etiquette*

Inside a *salon* decorated fully in a European style, it was seen as an obligation for the attendants to behave according to European etiquette. For family members and guests, it appeared as a psychological tension area where there is the obligation of behaving the best way, dressing properly and thinking like a European.<sup>33</sup> As opposed to their ignorance of *salon* decoration, Ottoman etiquette authors explained “*salon* life” and its etiquette in a detailed and understandable manner by giving the readers some life saving tips in troubled situations like if you do not know how to behave, just look at those around you, and tried to reduce this tension.

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<sup>33</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, 1994, p. 174.

The target audience of *salon* etiquette is undisputedly Ottoman men. At this point, with a few exceptions, the *salon* etiquette was written from the perspective of Ottoman man who will, with any reason, be included in the *salons* of European women; not from the perspective of the Ottoman woman who is responsible of *salon*.

The most important feature of the *alla franca salon* life for Ottoman men is to share the same space with women. Although European men are familiar to this situation, this is not an accustomed situation for many Ottoman men and military class. In *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* which was prepared for the Ottoman military class by Matba'a-i Askeriye, it is claimed that real breeding and civility of a person will show during conversations made with women in the *salon*. The following words are expressed to encourage the military class:

“Nevertheless, the organization of an entertainment after the banquet has never happened. In that case, people return back to the *salon* after smoking cigarettes. At that time, men must find words and stories that are pleasing to women. This is where real breeding and civility is shown. Those who are not accustomed to talking with woman naturally get bored and bore women. But polite woman endeavor to encourage these men who are not “*mondain*”, that is they’re not accustomed to going to high societies, and get them used to conversing. They never ridicule and they recently make many compliments to the Ottoman military class who has been honored with a higher status. And they turn a blind eye to any behavior that may cause embarrassment”<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>“Mamafih ziyafeti mütea’akib hiçbir eğlence tertip olunmadığı dahi vaki’dir. O halde sigaralar içildikten sonra yine salona gelinir. İşte o zaman erkekler kadınların hoşuna gidecek sözler ve hikayeler bulmalıdır. Asıl terbiye ve medeniyet burada izhar olunur. Kadınlar ile konuşmaya alışmamış olanlar bittabi’ sıkılırlar ve kadınları da sıkırlar. Ama

*Salon* etiquette is one of the most challenging areas for the Ottoman men who will be included in the elite community. There are so many etiquette rules to be followed for a person who is not familiar with elite communities. In the newspapers, magazines and novels of the time, the new *salon*-based life style was discussed on the basis of definitions like “*salon* life”, “*salon* woman” and “*salon* man.” Kaşif Dehri’s *Salon Hayatı: Zarafet-i Nisvan* on the elegance of women that he translated from French, and Safveti Ziya’s *Salon Köşelerinde* (1912)<sup>35</sup> which is about the *salon* life are just two of these examples.

*Salon* etiquette includes all the processes from the guest’s entrance from the door of the house to the departure from the house. The etiquette rules are organized according to the event - like visits, ball, *soirées* and banquets - which takes place in the *salon*. According to M.Ş., who is the translator of *Avrupa’da Merasim ve Adât*, a person should not enter *salon* with a coat, hat and umbrella. Right after entering the *salon*, one should not sit on the most special place without an offer. Stance of a person in *salon* is also

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kibar kadınlar böyle mondain olmayan yani cem’iyetlere gitmeye alışkın bulunmayan erkeklere teşci’ edip musahabete alıştırmaya gayret ederler. Asla istihza nedir bilmezler ve son zamanlarda ‘umûmen mazhar-ı tevcih olan ‘Osmanlı zabitanına pekçok iltifat ederler. Ve mahcubiyeti mu’ceb harekatı görmemezliğe gelirler.” *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret* , p. 27.

<sup>35</sup> The novel was first published in 1898 in the *Servet-i Fünûn* magazine, but could not be published as a book because of censorship. It was published as a book in 1912 after the Second Constitution. The subjects of the novel are *salon* life, Westernization, change and transformation in the house and social life and the *alla franca* life style of Beyoğlu and its surroundings. See. Safveti Ziya, *Salon Köşelerinde* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2009).

very important. One “should neither be seen as very cold nor as too boisterous, but rather be moderate.”<sup>36</sup>

After entering the *salon*, the first person to greet is the hostess of the house and then the host. Permission should first be taken from them before leaving. If a woman enters, all men must stand up and remain standing until the woman sits down. Women may respond to greetings while sitting down.<sup>37</sup> As for soldiers, even in *salon*, they should salute as a soldier according to their rank.<sup>38</sup> Soldiers should salute people who are older or smaller than them in the same way by bring their right hand to their right temple. The length of time to keep the hand on the temple is proportional to the rank of the soldier he is saluting.<sup>39</sup>

For two people in order to greet each other, they should have been introduced to each other before. It means that they should have been introduced to each other by someone else. In the occasion of the encounter of two people who know each other in a *salon* or another place, the issue of who will greet first is controversial in existing literature. Ahmed Midhat and Lütüf Simavi underline that in regard to greeting, the practice in Ottoman society both in *salon* and on street is different from European etiquette of saluting. According to Ahmed Midhat, the older people give the first

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<sup>36</sup> M.Ş., *Avrupa'da Merasim ve Âdât* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1312 /1894), p. 11.

<sup>37</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 15.

<sup>38</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 231.

greeting and the younger people accept that greeting in the Ottoman society except military class.<sup>40</sup> Lütfü Simavi who wrote his book about ten years after Ahmed Midhat's book on *alla franca* also states that in Ottoman society until now, the older person compliment (*iltifat*) the younger one by greeting, but now with the adoption of the new etiquette, this practice was confused.<sup>41</sup> Thus, in European etiquette, the younger person always greets the older one. According to Comtesse De Magallon, the one who is lower in hierarchy always greets first the one who is higher. For this reason, men always greet women.<sup>42</sup> In regard to men and women's greeting each other in their encounter in the street, there are different practices between Ottoman and European societies and also in different parts of Europe.

On the other hand, there is no difference between the European and Ottoman culture in regard to handshaking. Priority always belongs to the older one in giving hand. It is a compliment for the person who is lower in rank when a higher person shakes hands with him. However, for the lower person to give hand without waiting for this courtesy is a behavior which is against good breeding.<sup>43</sup> In European etiquette, the lower one can greet the superior one, but cannot give hand for handshake.<sup>44</sup> According to

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<sup>40</sup> *ibid*, p. 232.

<sup>41</sup> Lütfü Simavi, 1329/1914, p. 14.

<sup>42</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 14.

<sup>43</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 250.



Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, “to give hand before the one, who is superior than you, is a sign of deficiency of courtesy and frivolity.”<sup>45</sup> Basically, the hierarchically higher one should give hand to the one who is lower. In any case, a man cannot give hand to the woman who is always accepted at the top of the etiquette hierarchy before she gives her hand.<sup>46</sup>

One of the matters to be careful about *salon* etiquette is the issue of presentation. Ahmed Midhat describes presentation as “the commendation and introduction of an unknown man to the people whom he wants to get acquainted with and interact.”<sup>47</sup> The first rule which should be known is that the responsibility of introducing people, who do not know each other, belongs to the hostess of the house and the one who is smaller in age, status and rank is always presented to the one who is bigger. If the people to be introduced are a man and a woman, the man’s name is always said first and presented to the woman. Even the princes, who belong to caliphate and monarch families, and men with the highest status are presented to women.<sup>48</sup> The hostess of the house does not present each man and woman who enter the *salon* separately; she introduces the last person who entered *salon* by saying his/her name, and then shows a place to sit.<sup>49</sup> If the hostess of the

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<sup>45</sup> Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, p. 9.

<sup>46</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 12.

<sup>47</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 132.

<sup>48</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 15.

<sup>49</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 17.

house does not know the person who entered the *salon*, this person introduces himself/herself through a servant or directly says his/her name.<sup>50</sup> In a large community, if the host or the hostess of the house is busy with the guests, he/she can neglect the matter of presentation. In this case, the ones who are smaller in age and rank must get themselves presented to ladies and older people through their friends.<sup>51</sup>

For Ahmed Midhat, the matter of presentation is a bit more complicated. First of all, presenting two people to each other means to guarantee that they are worthy of knowing each other.<sup>52</sup> For this reason, presentation is a very important task that requires a big responsibility. According to Ahmed Midhat, the one, who is lower in rank, is presented to the higher one, the one who is smaller in age is presented to the older one and the one who is of a lower degree of civilization is presented to the higher one. Although what is implied by the degree of civilization was not defined, it can be thought as the place of a person in high community or as a measure of courtesy. According to Ahmed Midhat, if two people are very close to each other in terms of age and status, their degree of civilization becomes important. However, according to Ahmed Midhat, before all these comparison criteria, the people who will be introduced to each other should

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<sup>50</sup> *ibid*, p. 17-18.

<sup>51</sup> Lütü Simavi, p. 13.

<sup>52</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 220.

be in accordance with each other in terms of honor, dignity and sedateness to meet and interact.<sup>53</sup> For this reason, before the person who will take the responsibility to introduce two people to each other, it is appropriate for him to say “please allow me to present to you” to the superior one.<sup>54</sup>

In some cases, the elders might want youth who have scientific, literary, working abilities to be presented to themselves. Because a woman cannot be presented to a man in any way, she cannot request the presentation of herself to any man or the presentation of any man to herself. Men should ask to be presented to women. The reason for this is that in the existing hierarchy, women are always accepted at the top. In addition to this, for a woman to present another man to her husband is not generally considered appropriate. In the same way, young girls are not given the responsibility of presenting men to others. A young girl cannot even present any man to her father.<sup>55</sup> As seen here, Ahmed Midhat’s presentation section, which is prepared with reference to Madame Louise d’Alq, is much more detailed in comparison to others, but just as confusing to the reader. The most important thing that separates him from others is that he added moral norms like honor, dignity and sedateness to the formal hierarchical norms such as age, gender, rank.

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<sup>53</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 221.

<sup>54</sup> *ibid*, p. 223.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid*, p. 227.

One of the other rules to be complied with regarding *salon* etiquette is not smoking in the *salon*. According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, the French like to smoke and drink coffee at the table. The British remain at the table to smoke after women get up from the table. However, in polite meetings and large banquets, the coffee is drunk in the *salon* and the smoking is done in separate rooms called *fumoir*.<sup>56</sup> According to Hasan Bahri, who explains the etiquette regarding smoking under the heading “smoking”, the room called *fumoir* was reserved just for smoking. It is usually located right next to the *salon*.<sup>57</sup> It is certainly not permissible for women to come to the smoking room.<sup>58</sup>

One of the most basic elements determining *salon* etiquette is the protection of privacy and distance between individuals. Because of this, the manner and content of the conversations which are going to be held in *salon* was described in detail under the title “conversation” (*mükâleme*) in etiquette books. The most important factor that determines conversation is that even though *salon* is a space inside the house, it is strictly not regarded as a private area. For this reason, one of the most important advices is for a “person not to talk about himself much.”<sup>59</sup> Even if there is a person in *salon* whom he does not like, he certainly should not show his hostility; even if he is

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<sup>56</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>57</sup> Hasan Bahri, pp. 18-19.

<sup>58</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 27.

<sup>59</sup> M. Ş., *Avrupa'da Merasim ve Adat* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1312 /1894), p.11.

offended, he should not show his displeasure; if his close buddy is there, he should keep distance from him; he should cough as little as possible and he should not mention any illness or disaster about him. To sum up, the person who is included in *salon* life should leave all his personal issues aside and have a suitable amount of fun, be distant, rational and cold blooded. The penalty for not complying with *salon* etiquette is never again being invited to anyone's *salon* that is a very severe punishment in polite societies. In *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, it is said that a military officer who drinks and becomes drunk will never again be invited to any *salon*.<sup>60</sup>

If we assume that what is written in late Ottoman etiquette books was exactly practiced, it would not be an exaggeration to say that a significant part of an upper or an upper-middle-class gentleman's or lady's time was spent with visits and the acceptance of visits. According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, the basis of social life is friendship and good social intercourse. And the essence of this, with no doubt, is the visits that are a duty of civilization.<sup>61</sup> According to the book, along with many reasons for a visit and visiting card such as New Year and congratulation, there are also many situations that require a return visit. The book lists the obligatory visits and

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<sup>60</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 26.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid*, p. 38.

states that neglecting these will be regarded as being unsocial and not wanting to join the society.<sup>62</sup>

In *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları*, formal visits are divided into three categories which are upon arrival in city, in New Year and before departure.<sup>63</sup> In fact, all visits can be divided into two categories as ‘formal’ and ‘informal’. Some are formal visits to those of a certain status and rank. And some are visits of high society which are mandatory although they are not formal. These visits, all the time for women and most of the time for men, are realized at home. For this reason, the etiquette to be complied with during visits has quite an important place in etiquette literature. The etiquette to be practiced and the clothes to be worn vary according to the context of the visits. It can be said that visits, which are accepted as an

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<sup>62</sup> It lists the obligatory visits as following:

1. Visits for New Year, bairam, rank and tenure congratulations.
2. Return visit: Within a week, visiting the person who has come to visit for the first time.
3. Digestion visit: Visits given to the person whom dinner has been eaten or a feast has been joined in his house. These cards are called vizite de digestion or digestion visits.
4. Condolence visit: An invitation with four black sides is sent. If the deceased is a great man, a uniform is worn to his funeral. “On sera en grande tenue” is written on the invitation meaning “presence will be made with a grand uniform”. And also, congratulations visits for weddings are required.
5. Thank you visit.
6. Farewell visit: p.p.c meaning pour prendre congé is written on the cards for permission.
7. Visiting an ill person *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret*, p. 38.

<sup>63</sup> *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları, Kadınlar Dünyası Külliyyatından* (İstanbul: Kadınlar Dünyası Matba’ası, 1331/1912-1913), pp. 2-3.

indispensable requirement of civilized life, are a quite sensitive matter in terms of etiquette.

One of the rules, which is valid almost for all of the visits, is leaving a visiting card to the host or hostess of the house who was not at home during the visit. Some writers like Hasan Bahri opened a separate title for visiting cards.<sup>64</sup> On all the visiting cards left in absence, the reason of the visit is written as a French acronym and the card is either folded or its left corner is bent. However, it is seen as “an insult to the family to leave a folded or broken visiting card on acceptance days”.<sup>65</sup>

### Table Manners

Lévi-Strauss (1966) explains that food preparation, which is an activity identified with the home and food, is the most important tool for comparing different cultures and societies.<sup>66</sup> In fact, food preparation and food has the characteristic of best revealing cultural and social separation, the status of men and women, the roles of parents and children in in-house activities and

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<sup>64</sup> According to Hasan Bahri, “The most gorgeous and beautiful visiting cards and invitations are printed by “İtimad” library on Bab-ı Ali Street. Hasan Bahri, p. 15.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted from Roderick J. Lawrence, “Domestic Space and Society: A Cross-Cultural Study,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (January 1982), p. 104.

space usage.<sup>67</sup> One of the masters of eating and drinking of the eighteenth century, Jean Anth  lme Brillat-Savarin, has said, “tell me what you eat, and I will tell you what you are,” in a famous saying.<sup>68</sup>

Rules to be followed during the meal is considered one of the most important topics in late Ottoman etiquette literature and also in contemporary European and American etiquette literature. One of the most important motives behind the emphasis on table etiquette is without doubt the relationship established between table etiquette and good breeding in modern etiquette literature. Despite the fact that this relationship was also established in traditional literature, in the modern etiquette literature, a person’s way of eating has been accepted as almost the sole indicator of his delicacy and grace. In *The Perfect Gentleman or Etiquette and Eloquence*, under the title “Table Etiquette”, it is first written that “Nothing can show a man’s breeding more clearly than his table etiquette.”<sup>69</sup> In the same way, Ahmet Midhat says:

Knowing how to eat in the European way is deemed to be one’s breeding degree. Eating in *alla franca* style is such a fine art that if a person does not get himself properly used to it, he will be fairly

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<sup>67</sup> *ibid*, p. 104.

<sup>68</sup> Jean Anth  lme Brillat-Savarin, *The Physiology of Taste: Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy* (New York: Dover Publications, 2000), p. 3.

<sup>69</sup> A Gentleman, *The Perfect Gentleman or Etiquette and Eloquence* (New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, 1860), p. 168.



embarrassed in many places.<sup>70</sup>

Abdullah Cevdet, in his *Mükemmel ve Resimli Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Rehberi* (1927), also started the chapter on “*Umumi Âdâb-ı Taam*” by narrating that Münif Paşa said, “In order to understand a man’s degree of civilization, breeding and worth, it is enough to be with him on the table only once.”<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, it is wrong to claim that the importance attributed to table etiquette in the Ottoman society is completely related to the change and transformation experienced in the nineteenth century. In the traditional Ottoman society and especially in “the communities of viziers (*vüzera*) and the great ones (*kübera*), table etiquette was determined within the framework of certain rules and behavior patterns. The principles of the etiquette to be applied during the meal were determined mostly from the perspective of hygiene rules, moral principles, and also according to the level of dignity of the people at the table.

In traditional Ottoman table manners, a notion of cleanliness had been developed along with the practice of everyone eating food from the same plate.<sup>72</sup> The customs such as cleaning hands through a ewer and towel, and serving pleasant fragrances like rose water to the guests before the meal

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<sup>70</sup> “Avrupaca yemek yemesini bilmek insanın mi’yar-ı terbiyesi ‘ad olunur. Alafranga usûl ile hüsn-i tenavül-i ta’am bir ince sanattır ki, insan kendi kendisini güzelce alıştırmaz ise pekçok yerlerde ‘adeta mahcub olur.” Ahmed Midhat, p. 147.

<sup>71</sup> Abdullah Cevdet, p. 37.

<sup>72</sup> Özge Samancı, “Osmanlı Sofra Âdâbında Değişen Temizlik Kavramı,” *Temizlik Kitabı*, Emine Gürsoy Naskali, Salih Mehmet Arçın, eds. (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2009), p. 61.

provided the development of a certain etiquette based on the principle of cleanliness.<sup>73</sup> Kınalızade writes that hands, mouth and nose should be cleaned before eating and one should start eating by saying

“*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim*” after the host of the house started eating.<sup>74</sup>

According to Mustafa Ali, on the table of the elders, it is rudeness to start eating before the host does, to take the food which is in front of others and to finish all food which must be left for the servants.<sup>75</sup> The use of only three fingers during the meal is the especially highlighted.

Ali Rıza Bey (1842-1928) in one of his articles on “*Üçüncü Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı*” writes that the foods were eaten by hands in the polite *konaks* of İstanbul; eating from different plates in the same table and using fork and knife for eating were vilified.<sup>76</sup> After the banquets given in the houses of the viziers and the great ones, it is also one of the necessities of table etiquette to bring actors, singers and musicians to entertain guests.<sup>77</sup>

The eighteenth century is accepted as a turning point, during which the interest in European lifestyle increased in the palace and its surroundings. It is narrated that Sultan Mahmud II was the first sultan to eat

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<sup>73</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, *Âdât ve Merasim-i Kadime: Tabirat ve Mu’âmelât-ı Kavmiye-i ‘Osmaniye (Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri)*, Kazım Arısan, Duygu Arısan Günay, eds. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), p. 284.

<sup>74</sup> Kınalızade Ali Çelebi, *Ahlak-ı Alâî*, Mustafa Koç, ed. (İstanbul: Klasik, 2007), p. 380.

<sup>75</sup> Mehmet Şeker, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali ve Meva’idü’n-Nefais Fi-Kava’idi’l-Mecali* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997), p. 206.

<sup>76</sup> Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı*, Ali Şükrü Çoruk, ed. (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2011), p. 357.

<sup>77</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, pp. 284-285.

food sitting on a chair at a dining table and applying the *alla franca* table etiquette.<sup>78</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century, the eating habits, table setting and kitchen utensils of the Ottoman upper classes have entered a process of rapid change. In this process which was based on taking the European food culture as a model, the European eating habits started gaining popularity amongst the upper classes starting with the palace. In his memoirs where he told the 1910s, Ahmet Cemaleddin Saraçoğlu wrote that the people of İstanbul with plenty of money, who are *alla franca* food enthusiasts and keen of the French lifestyle, are regular customers of the *Tokatlıyan* restaurant in Beyoğlu street and the youth of the middle-class families are regular customers of *Yani* and *Nikoli* restaurants on the same street.<sup>79</sup>

The *alla franca* style of eating, which started to be adopted by certain fractions of society, deeply changed the traditional table etiquette. The transition from the traditional dining style to the *alla franca* style of eating led to fundamental changes in the kitchen culture and in the spatial organization of the house. First of all, the transition from the shared plate to personal plates and the usage of different kinds and sizes of utensils like forks, knives and spoons for each kind of food instead of using a spoon or the fingers led

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<sup>78</sup> Özge Samancı, "19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı Elitinin Yeme-İçme Alışkanlıkları," *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek ve Barınak*, Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, eds. (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), p. 185.

<sup>79</sup> Ahmet Cemaleddin Saraçoğlu, *Eski İstanbul'dan Hatıralar*, İsmail Dervişoğlu, ed. (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2005), pp. 8-9.

to increase in the quantity of Ottoman kitchen utensils. In addition to this, the transition to the dining table from mobile trays (*sini*), which could be put almost anywhere in house, made it obligatory to reserve a particular space for eating.

The change and transformation in the table and food etiquette made it compulsory for late Ottoman etiquette books to approach the topic in detail. Thus, the topic, which is most touched upon, appeared as the table etiquette in existing etiquette literature. If we do not count Çençenzâde's *Zarâfet* translated from Arabic and Persian, it is possible to argue that the literature on this topic agreed on writing about the *alla franca* table etiquette and teaching it to its readers. Therefore, even writers like Ahmed Midhat and Lütü Simavi who exempt their Ottoman readers from European etiquettes like dancing, gambling and dueling highlight the necessity of learning European style of eating etiquette.

Due to its importance, table etiquette was discussed in great detail. It is important to note that the topic was discussed not only from the perspective of a passive participant or an Ottoman man or woman invitee, but also from the perspective of the host and hostess who organize it. The most discussed topics in terms of invitees regarding visits and table etiquette are practical matters like where to put the napkin, which food will be eaten with what, how to sit and stand from the table and what to talk about during the meal. In terms of the host and hostess, the preparation of the invitation

for dinner, listing invitees, determining menu, giving directions to servants about service and determining seating arrangement are the points to be careful about during service.

An important point to be mentioned before proceeding to table etiquette is that meal times have been re-determined according to *alla franca* time. Ahmet Midhat explains this change by converting which meal in Europe corresponds to which meal in the Ottoman Empire in *allaturca* time. Accordingly, there are basically two meals, lunch (*déjeuner*) and dinner (*le dîner*), in Europe and these correspond to the late morning and evening meals (*kuşluk* and *akşam*) in the Ottoman Empire. Prior to the meal called *déjeuner*, a snack is eaten with coffee with milk or tea. Dinner is eaten from eleven up to two-thirty in *allaturca* time. It is quite important in terms of etiquette to eat meals at the determined times since the visits, tea invitations, *soirées* and balls are all arranged according to meal times.

Since eating together requires closer contact between individuals, a more courteous, careful and detailed etiquette is considered as necessary. Therefore, everything should be very well-organized for hostess and for the invitees who will attend dinner. According to etiquette literature, because a banquet is considered to be a heavy ceremony, the invitations should be sent at least a week before and the person who receives the invitation should

respond to the invitation within twenty-four hours.<sup>80</sup> The person who is invited to the banquet must participate in the banquet unless he declares an excuse and he is also obliged to invite that person as soon as possible. A particular emphasis is put on the necessity to go to banquets at the time which is written on the invitation. According to Ahmet Midhat, the British consider themselves to be compelled to come on the dot, not a minute later and not a minute earlier than the specified time, and this obligation is applied all over Europe.<sup>81</sup> According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, it is appropriate to go five or six minutes earlier or later, but it is not appropriate to go a quarter earlier or later.<sup>82</sup>

Table manners include a process starting from the gathering of invitees in *salon* to passing to the dining room, and ends returning back to *salon*. Because of this, the first thing to know is which man will give his arm to which woman, while going to dining room after getting up from *salon*. Hasan Bahri says that in “big”<sup>83</sup> invitations, it is notified with a written card which man will give his arm to which woman while going to the dining table and he gives examples to show the readers what these cards are like. The

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<sup>80</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 330.

<sup>82</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 19.

<sup>83</sup> According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, banquets that have less than 10-12 guests are defined as “small” and banquets are defined as “big” if the number of invitees exceeds 20 and they require a lot of ceremonies. *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 22.

following example given by Hasan Bahri with its Turkish translation is typical."Mr. Bahri voudra bien offrir son bras a Madame Annita."<sup>84</sup>

After a maid or one of the family members informs that the food is ready to be served, the host and hostess of the house invite their guests to the dining room and show the way. If which gentleman will give his arm to which lady was not declared before, each gentleman gives his arm to a lady who is appropriate for him in rank and age and accompanies her to the dining table.<sup>85</sup> In *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, the importance of this issue for both inviter and invitee is reminded with such words:

The number of male guests in banquets is more than females most of the time. In this respect, naturally, several men go into the dining room without a woman. However, a woman can never go into the dining room without a man. So it means that not having a man to give his arm to her is practically a disaster for that woman and it is a cause of embarrassment for the man who is lazy in his duty. After that, a conscientious man is obliged to take that woman in his arm and take her to her place in the dining room.<sup>86</sup>

However, there are different opinions on the matter of giving an arm in Ottoman literature. According to Ahmet Midhat, who formed his book by relying on the works of important French etiquette writers such as Madam Louise d'Alq (*Le Savoir vivre en Toutes les Circonstances de la Vie* - 1877), Bertall

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<sup>84</sup> "Mösyö Bahri kolunu Madam Annita'ya takdim edecektir." Hasan Bahri, p. 21.

<sup>85</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 50.

<sup>86</sup> "Ekseriyetle ziyafetlerde erkek müdavinin mikdarı kadınlardan fazla olur. Bu cihetle bittabi birkaç erkek kadınsız ta'amhaneye dahil olur. Lakin hiçbir vakit bir kadın erkeksiz ta'amhaneye gidemez. Demek olunur ki, kendine kol verecek erkeğin ihmali o kadın için adeta bir felaket ve vazifesinde tekasül eden erkek için mucib-i hacalettir. Artık o kadını insaflı bir erkek koluna alıp ta'amhanedeki yerine götürmeye mecbur kalır." *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, pp. 22-23.

(*La Comédie de Notre Temps*, 1874-1876) and Monsieur de Marn, men should offer their right arm to ladies while going to dining room.<sup>87</sup> On the other hand, in Hasan Bahri's book *Centilmen*, in *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları* published by Kadınlar Dünyası Matba'ası and in the book *Salon Hayatı: Zarafet-i Nisvan* translated by Kaşif Dehri and prepared as an etiquette book only for women, it is written that the host of the house will go to the dining room by giving his left arm to his most prestigious lady guest.<sup>88</sup>

The differences that emerged regarding giving arm to a woman while going to the dining table in the Ottoman etiquette literature are actually also seen in the Western etiquette books of the same period. In the book *Decorum: A Practical Treatise on Etiquette and Dress of the Best American Society* published in 1883, it is mentioned that a man should accompany a woman all the way to the table while going to the dining room by giving his arm, but which arm should be given is not written.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, the same book specifies that a man should give his right arm to a woman to accompany her on the street, but if the conditions are not appropriate, he can give his left arm.<sup>90</sup> Again, in the book *Etiquette for Americans*, it is stated that a man should give

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<sup>87</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 336.

<sup>88</sup> Hasan Bahri, p. 21; *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları*, p. 28; Kaşif Dehri, *Vesaya-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvan*, (İstanbul: İ'timad Kütüphanesi) p. 99.

<sup>89</sup> S. L. Louis, *Decorum: A Practical Treatise on Etiquette and Dress of the Best American Society*, (New York, Boston, Cincinnati and Atlanta: Union Publishing House, 1883), p. 96.

<sup>90</sup> S. L. Louis, p. 124.



his arm to a woman.<sup>91</sup> In a large volume and comprehensive etiquette encyclopedia called *Encyclopedia of Etiquette: A Book of Manners for Everyday Use* (1915) prepared by Emily Holt and printed many times, it is written that men should give their left arm to women while going to the dining room.<sup>92</sup> On the other hand, in the book *Rules of Etiquette and Home Culture* (its 25th edition was published in 1893), it is written that the right arm should be given.<sup>93</sup>

In *alla franca* table arrangement, the most valuable part of the table is determined as the middle and the hostess of the house sits there. The host sits right across the hostess. Just as it is in the arm giving ceremony, table arrangement is also completely determined according to the hierarchy amongst the invitees. The places to the right and left of the house owners are called "*palace d'honneur*" which means "the most honorable place".<sup>94</sup> According to this, the right and left of the hostess belong to the first and second most reputable male guest respectively. Likewise, the right and left of the host have been reserved for the first and second most reputable female guest respectively.

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<sup>91</sup> A Woman of Fashion, *Etiquette for Americans* (Chicago, New York: Herbert S. Stone & Company, 1898), p. 86.

<sup>92</sup> Emily Holt, *Encyclopedia of Etiquette: A Book of Manners for Everyday Use* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1915), p. 103.

<sup>93</sup> Walter R. Houghton, James K. Beck, James A. Woodburn, Horace R. Hoffman, A. B., Philputt, F. E. Lyster, and W. R. Houghton, *Rules of Etiquette: Home Culture, What to Do and How to Do It* (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Company, Publishers, 25<sup>th</sup> Edition, 1893), p. 166.

<sup>94</sup> Hasan Bahri, p. 22

The invitees should also be seated as one woman one man, and spouses should not sit next to each other. The purpose of this is not to talk about personal matters, to talk about subjects that everyone can participate in and for different people to get to know each other more closely. The first responsibility of a man on the table is to serve the woman next to him - such as filling her glass with water or wine - and entertain them with stories, beautiful words and compliments as much as they can.<sup>95</sup> According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, "because it is necessary to speak in French or in another language, even if he does not know French enough or the language of the madam, it is better to endeavor to talk full of mistakes with small words and try to entertain the woman in this way rather than staying like a statue."<sup>96</sup> In fact, according to Lütfü Simavi, even if a man does not know the husband of the woman he sit next to during the meal, he should go to the woman's house within two or three days and should leave a visiting card to her and her husband.<sup>97</sup>

Along with the etiquette principles to be complied with after sitting at the table explained in detail in literature, topics like where to put the napkin or towel, how to use fork and knife, how a kind of food should be eaten, what topics should be discussed during the meal and how to attend to

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<sup>95</sup> Kaşif Dehri, p. 99.

<sup>96</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 26.

<sup>97</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 17.

women are explained. Amongst these topics, etiquette authors mention the existence of different practices regarding where the napkin will be put.

Amongst these practices, practices like tying it on the neck, hanging it on the collar, leaving half of it on the table end letting it hang from the table and putting it on the knees are mentioned, but all of the literature agrees that the etiquette, which is still valid, is putting the napkin on the knees without fully opening it. According to Resulzâde Hüseyin Hüsnü, hanging the napkin on the collar is now an abandoned custom.<sup>98</sup> And according to Ahmed Midhat, this practice that is regarded as banality means “I’m clumsy, I might spill on myself”.<sup>99</sup>

One of the most challenging topics in terms of *alla franca* table etiquette is the usage of forks and knives. Thus, holding the fork with the left hand, putting the food in the mouth with the left hand and using different utensils for each kind of food have not been situations that were easy to get used to for those who had been used to using a spoon and their right hand in the traditional Ottoman table manners. On this topic, etiquette authors explain how to use fork and knife to their readers starting from the lowest level. Some of them only explain how to use fork and spoon in the simplest way thinking that an excessive amount of etiquette principles will get their readers more confused. According to this principle, food like meat and

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<sup>98</sup> Resuzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, p. 11.

<sup>99</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 137.

chicken will be eaten using knife, vegetables and fish (in case of the absence of a knife for eating fish) will be eaten only with fork. And some authors like Hasan Bahri explain how to eat different varieties of food like asparagus, artichoke, turkey, duck, strawberry, peach, hazelnut and chestnut under separate titles in detail.<sup>100</sup>

It is seen that the etiquette authors explain what should not be done as well as what should be done under the heading table manners. In fact, some authors like M. Ş. have mostly explained what should not be done. Under the title “Public Dining Etiquette”, M. Ş. lists many things that should not be done:

Do not sit before the women do and without the house owner’s invitation. Do not present anybody at the table. Do not sit away from the table. Do not make noise with your mouth while drinking soup. And do not ask for a second portion after finishing. Do not bite the bread, but tear it and do not put it into the soup. Do not eat anything with the knife. Do not hold the fork vertically and do not hold the knife like a dagger. Eat slowly, not fast.<sup>101</sup>

Along with generally known points that can be neglected, there are also unfamiliar *alla franca* practices in certain environments of the Ottoman society that participating in a banquet without knowing these can cause to be embarrassed. The first one of these is the finger bowl. This bowl is usually brought to the table half-way filled with water with flowers inside generally

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<sup>100</sup> Hasan Bahri, pp. 26-30.

<sup>101</sup> M. Ş., pp. 4-5.

after the fruits and nuts.<sup>102</sup> Ahmed Midhat, Lütfü Simavi and *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* wrote that the water in this bowl was thought to be juice and drunk by some Eastern guests.<sup>103</sup> Lütfü Simavi narrates in his book that an Indian prince who was invited for a meal by the King of England, Edward the Seventh, drank the water in the bowl which was reserved for washing hands without knowing and upon this, the king had to drink the water in his bowl not to embarrass his guest.<sup>104</sup>

In etiquette literature, rules to be careful about as well as warnings draw attention about alcoholic drinks which are seen as an indispensable part of *alla franca* table manners. According to Ahmed Midhat, even though all varieties of alcoholic drinks, especially fine and expensive wines, are considered an indication of wealth, drunkenness is considered to be extremely shameful in Europe.<sup>105</sup> According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, no one will ever again invite a military officer who drinks and gets drunk.<sup>106</sup> Ahmed Midhat writes that the act of clinking glasses called “*toast*” is also considered shameful in courteous and honorable dinners in Europe. On the other hand, according to *Salon Hayatı: Zarafet-i Nisvan*, it has now become fashionable to *toast* when drinking to someone’s health. Toasting to cheers

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<sup>102</sup> Emily Holt, “Use of Finger Bowl,” 1915, pp. 110-111.

<sup>103</sup> Ahmed Midhat, pp. 346-347; Lütfü Simavi, p. 18; *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 26.

<sup>104</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 18.

<sup>105</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 355.

<sup>106</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 26.

which was an old custom is now practiced even in the highest societies.<sup>107</sup>

According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* which was prepared by Matba'a-i

Askeriye for the military class, when it is *toasted* to someone's honor, even

those who do not drink champagne have to lift the glass and pretend to take

it to their mouth and then put it back on the table.<sup>108</sup> Besides this, it is said in

the book that it is not appropriate for a person to mention that "he does not

use alcohol and alcohol is disapproved by *Sharia* and medicine because this

will be the repetition of words that are known by everyone and because it

might be considered as an insult to people who drink wine at the table."<sup>109</sup>

The book is actually stating that those who do not use alcohol have to exactly

comply with the etiquette of alcohol.

The different attitudes displayed toward "*toast*" which was accepted

as an *alla franca* etiquette in the late Ottoman literature partly reflects

different attitudes towards change and transformation in that period. First of

all, it is important that Ahmed Midhat emphasized that "*toast*" is not an

etiquette which is approved by the polite and honorable societies of Europe.

According to Ahmed Midhat, it is a big mistake for some people in the

Ottoman society to accept everything which is thought to be *alla franca* just as

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<sup>107</sup> *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları*, p. 21.

<sup>108</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 25.

<sup>109</sup> *ibid*, p. 26.

it is.<sup>110</sup> Accordingly, by the frame of “polite and honorable”, Ahmed Midhat determines the boundary for adopting European etiquette. This attitude is also adopted by many intellectuals of the period toward Western civilization. The Ottoman men of letters, who defended taking material aspects of the Western civilization, thought that the conservative middle class in Europe could be taken as a model in terms of moral principles. Lütfü Simavi also emphasizes the “real European etiquette” in his book and says that the etiquette practiced by some French who live in Beyoğlu and speak French, and the etiquette of some people who take them as model cannot be compared to the customs that are really valid in the polite societies of Europe.<sup>111</sup>

Another approach towards European-referenced change and transformation shows itself in the attitude adopted towards “toast” in *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları*. Just like Ahmed Midhat, the book is aware that “toast” is not so esteemed in polite societies of Europe, but with the opinion that clinking glasses is fashionable amongst the elite in the Ottoman society as a reality and thereby it is not interested in which societies in Europe this etiquette is practiced by or whether or not it is appropriate for the Ottoman society. The book explains all the details of this etiquette under the heading “toasting to cheers” and does not make any contact with the reader.

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<sup>110</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 2.

<sup>111</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 21.

Comtesse De Magallon's book *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti* translated by Ahmed Cevad constitutes one of the best examples of this approach. Excluding İbrahim Hilmi's "İfade-i Naşir", it is an exact translation from French, there is no contact with its Ottoman reader and many topics discussed in detail do not have an equivalent in the Ottoman society.

And finally, *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*'s attitude towards "toast" can be read as the reflection of the understanding of "top to bottom" change. It defends that whether this understanding is adopted sincerely or not, all the requirements of the European civilization, including etiquette, have to be practiced for "progress" and it forces everyone to abide by it. According to it, a person who is at an *alla franca* table is expected to comply with all the *alla franca* etiquette rules or act as if he is complying. This attitude of *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* towards the necessity of European etiquette actually does not seem to be an accepted approach in late Ottoman etiquette literature. This approach is mostly seen in some etiquette books published in the early years of the Republic like Vasıf Necdet's *Mu'âşeret Yolları* (1926) and Cahid Sahir's *Âlem-i Medeniyette Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret: Elbise ve Şapka Giymek Usûlleri* (1925).



## *Soirées and Balls*

Evening parties given at night and especially meetings carried out for a particular purpose are called *suâre*. The word *suâre* comes from the French word "*soirée*". According to Ahmet Midhat, *soirée* is a kind of tea invitation which is spent with companions during the time from dinner to sleep. Its difference from a ball is that there is no dancing.<sup>112</sup> Because their etiquette is very similar, *soirées* and balls have been addressed together in most of the etiquette books.

The chapters on *soirées* and balls in most of the etiquette books focused on how to behave in accordance with etiquette principles in *soirées* and balls rather than how a *soirée* and ball will be organized. Whereas in the contemporary etiquette literature of Europe and the United States of America, under the titles "*soirée and ball*", the topic was generally addressed under two separate sub-titles in terms of hostess and guests.<sup>113</sup> The only exception in the Ottoman etiquette literature is Comtesse De Magallon's book which is an exact translation from French. Comtesse De Magallon described every detail from the preparation of the invitations to the

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<sup>112</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 375.

<sup>113</sup>For the examples, see. Florance Hartley, *The ladies' Book of Etiquette, and Manual of Politeness: A Complete Hand-Book for the Use of the Lady in Polite Society* (Boston, De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., 1875). See also. *Rules of Etiquette: Home Culture, What to Do and How to Do It*, 1893, pp. 147-160.

organization of the house for people who will organize a *soirée* and ball in her book.<sup>114</sup> As understood from Lütfü Simavi's statements, organizing a *soirée* and ball is not very common amongst Ottoman families. According to Simavi:

As it is a custom for the aristocratic class and the other wealthy and ambassadors to give big night parties in the winter season in Europe, it is known that some of the ambassadors in our country organize these kinds of entertainments.<sup>115</sup>

Topics like how to dress, greetings, conversation, presentation, buffet manners, relationship with women and dance are generally mentioned in regard to balls and *soirées*. However, the definition and explanation of ball and *soirée* by the Ottoman etiquette authors for the Ottoman reader before proceeding to the *soirée* and ball etiquette is interesting. Thus, it is seen from these definitions, which can be considered as simple and encyclopedic, and from the etiquette authors's approach to the topic that etiquette authors do not accept the addressed reader to be familiar with the topic.

There are three types of *soirée* according to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*:<sup>116</sup>

1. *Soirée musicale* (Musical *soirée*)
2. *Soirée dramatique* (Theatre *soirée*)
3. *Soirée dansante* (bal or ball)

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<sup>114</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 63-73.

<sup>115</sup> "Mevsim-i şitâda Avrupa'da zâdegân sınıfı ve diğer mütemevvilîn ve ecnebi sefirleri tarafından büyük suâreler vermek âdet olduğu gibi memleketimizdeki süferânın bir kısmının da bu gibi müsâmereler tertîb ettikleri ma'lûmdur." Lütfü Simavi, p. 19.

<sup>116</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 32.

*Soirée* and balls, along with taking place in the *salons* of large houses, are organizations where the most public rules of courtesy are valid.

According to Ahmed Midhat, the *soirée* gathering can have between 30 to 80 people.<sup>117</sup> And according to Lütü Simavi, because hundreds of people are invited, the owner of the house may not know some of the guests.<sup>118</sup> As it is not obligatory to attend every *soirée* and ball invitation just because an invitation was sent, it is also not obligatory to notify in advance that you will not be able to attend. But whether it has been attended or not, a visit is given to that family within a week, being a thank visit if it has been attended, an apology visit if it has not been attended. Hierarchically, *soirée* is a ceremony that is more serious than a tea party and less serious than a ball. For this reason, invitee should go there a little later than a tea party and before a ball. Invitee should not go before 10 and after 11 according to *alla franca* time. He/she should first greet the hostess and host of the house and then go next to the people you are acquainted with.<sup>119</sup>

According to Ahmed Midhat, besides dancing, *soirées* and balls are very similar to each other in terms of etiquette. And in terms of outfits, there is no difference between the outfits worn in *soirée* and balls. Men wear a

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<sup>117</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 375.

<sup>118</sup> Lütü Simavi, p. 19.

<sup>119</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 376.

tailless-jacket (*kuyruksuz setre*) and women wear a low-cut dress.<sup>120</sup> According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* written for the military class, because *soirées* are at a lower level than balls in the etiquette hierarchy, *soirées* are not attended with as heavy outfits as balls. *Soirées* should be attended with a *cumalık elbise* and balls should be attended with a grand uniform.<sup>121</sup>

A night meal called “*souper*” is required in *soirées*. It is the cavalier’s duty to take women in their arm and take them to *souper* or the buffet.<sup>122</sup> As soon as the host or hostess of the house declares “monsieur, take the madams to the *souper*”, it is an appropriate manner to offer the arm saying “let me take you to *souper* if you are available” to the woman he is with, if he is not with a woman, then coming across a madam who is not with a man whom he has met before and saying it to her. Even if another man has approached that madam to take her to *souper*, she is grateful for this treatment and apologizes very politely even though she will not be able to accept it.<sup>123</sup>

The same *soirée* etiquette applies to the ball. It is defined by Comtesse De Magallon as “a specifically organized ceremony with dance.”<sup>124</sup> According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, a ball is a kind of *soirée*. The only thing that is written on the invitation is “there will be dancing (*on*

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<sup>120</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 378.

<sup>121</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 32.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid*, p. 32.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid*, p. 32.

<sup>124</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 63.

*dansera)*".<sup>125</sup> Due to the presence of dance in its content, ball etiquette is more challenging for the Ottoman man in comparison to *soirée*. Because as the Ottoman man is not familiar with dancing, dancing is also considered by some to be shameful or frivolous. For this reason, *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* reminds its readers before teaching how to dance that "everyone in Europe learns to dance at a young age and dancing is not considered shameful". And after that, it gives some warnings and tips to those who do not know how to dance. For example, it is a discourtesy for a person who does not know how to dance to ask a woman to dance and to step on her dress or foot.<sup>126</sup> Those who do not know how to dance, if insisted, can only participate in a dance called "*quadrille*". Because someone will be controlling the *quadrille* and the dance steps are quite simple, it might be possible to work out the situation by paying attention to the commands and imitating others.<sup>127</sup>

According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* and Ahmed Midhat, for the Ottoman man who will be involved in civilized societies, dancing is not an obligatory thing, but an etiquette principle that he should be familiar enough with to save the situation when needed. Thus, even though Ahmed Midhat says that dancing is a must in ball etiquette and that in Europe it would be more appropriate for a young person who does not know how to dance to

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<sup>125</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 30.

<sup>126</sup> *ibid*, p. 34.

<sup>127</sup> *ibid*, p. 35.

not go to the ball when he was invited, but Ahmed Midhat exempts Easterners from the obligation to dance. According to him, saying “I do not know” and mentioning that there is no dancing in the customs of our nation and people” will be considered an accepted apology and Easterners who make this confession won’t be condemned.<sup>128</sup>

On the other hand, Ahmed Midhat shares all the details regarding ball etiquette and dance whether practiced or not in his book with his readers. Accordingly, the first person to be invited to dance is the hostess of the house or her daughters. Inviting others to dance before them and being left them in a corner are seen as disrespectful. Therefore, it is mandatory for them to be invited to dance first and again mandatory for them to accept this dance invitation.<sup>129</sup> It is also an obligation to wear gloves while dancing.

It can be said that balls which are accepted as a requirement of civilized life are not an easily adopted ceremonies in the Ottoman society. First of all, it requires not only sharing the same space by woman and man, but also it requires physical contact for dancing. This situation caused some concerns to arise and etiquette writers put emphasis on these concerns. Such that, *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret* has felt the need to explain what the purpose of a ball is and what is not. According to this:

One must not forget that the purpose of the ball is not for women and men in honorable families to have fun with each other. It is to prepare

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<sup>128</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 398.

<sup>129</sup> *ibid*, p. 385.

an opportunity for girls to find a husband and boys to endear themselves to girls for marriage. That is to say, men and women at the ball are obliged to display their skills on the matter of decency, breeding and delicacy as if competing with each other. A girl who catches attention with her laughter and cannot preserve her sedateness and dignity faces the danger of becoming subject of gossip and being left without a husband her whole life.<sup>130</sup>

A ball is not a ceremony which is easy to prepare because of its financial burden and because of its heavy etiquette rules. As stated by *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, "Ball organization cannot be done by an ordinary family. Only the wealthy, the ambassadors, the bankers and ministers of council can attempt to give a ball.<sup>131</sup> The physical conditions of the house should also be suitable for a ball organization. More than one *salon* and many rooms are necessary for a ball organization. Other than a large *salon* for dancing, at least four rooms are needed including a room for the orchestra, a room for gambling, a room for tired people and people who do not join the dance and a cloakroom.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> "Şunu unutmamalıdır ki, balodan maksat namuslu ailelerde kadın erkek birlikte zevk etmek değildir. Kızların koca bulması ve erkeklerin izdivaç etmek üzere kızlara kendilerini beğendirmeleri için vesile hazırlamaktır. Demek oluyor ki, baloda erkek ve kadın edeb ve terbiye ve nezâket hususunda birbirlerine rekabet edercesine izhar-ı maharet mecburiyetinde bulunur. Baloda kahkahalarıyla nazar-ı dikkati celbeden, vakar ve haysiyetini muhafaza etmeyen bir kız dillere düşüp müddet-i ömrünce kocasız kalmak tehlikesine maruzdur." *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 36.

<sup>131</sup> *ibid*, p. 32.

<sup>132</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, p. 63.

## CHAPTER 5

### PUBLIC MANNERS:

#### THE ETIQUETTE OF LIVING IN LATE OTTOMAN İSTANBUL

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one of the most obvious areas of the socio-cultural change and transformation caused by the phenomena of westernization and civilizing, as overlapping and synchronous processes, was public life. This chapter deals with the writings of Ottoman etiquette authors on public places, common gathering arenas and entertainments. In this vein, firstly, it examines specifically an interesting book called *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (1898) among the late Ottoman etiquette literature which is totally devoted to the etiquette of living in the urban milieu of İstanbul. Then, it focuses on street manners, etiquette rules in transportation vehicles such as trams, trains and boats, and social gathering places like theaters, sea baths (*deniz hamamı*) and public parks (*mesires*) by analyzing the writings of late Ottoman etiquette authors. This chapter focuses mainly on İstanbul for a number of reasons: some of these can be mentioned as the leading role of İstanbul in cultural transformations of the late Ottoman world, İstanbul as the major focus and field of application for the late Ottoman etiquette literature, and the abundance of sources on İstanbul such as newspapers, journals, traveler accounts and books.



*Rehber-i Müsâfirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*: The book on the Etiquette of Living in  
İstanbul

In late Ottoman etiquette literature, there is an interesting book entirely devoted to the etiquette of living in *Dersaadet*, İstanbul. It was written by Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem in 1316/1898 and named *Rehber-i Müsâfirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*.<sup>1</sup> This book is written first for new officials who came to İstanbul from different provinces, travelers from Europe and from different parts of the Empire, as well as for the whole public living in İstanbul. As it can clearly be seen from the title, the book is organized both as a guide and an etiquette book.

*Rehber-i Müsafirîn* is obviously a part of the existing Ottoman etiquette genre despite its significant differences. It is unique in its form and contents both as a guide and etiquette book which is devoted to İstanbul. The first half of the book is almost like a city guidebook which is quite popular in nineteenth century Europe. Ahmed Midhat talks about these books under the title of “*Cevelanlar*” in *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti Yahud Alafranga* which explains the details and etiquette of traveling for an Ottoman man on voyage to Europe. Here, Ahmed Midhat informs that there are city guidebooks for almost all the big and important cities of Europe and that these books are

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<sup>1</sup> Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1316 /1898).

about the famous places to see and visit, districts and streets. They also include information about when these places are open, if they need tickets, the price, and information about the transportation vehicles such as omnibus, tram, train and steamboats and their routes.<sup>2</sup> Ahmed Midhat also uses different travel guidebooks to his travel in Europe and mentions these guidebooks in his book, *Strolling in Europe (Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan)*.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly enough, there is no city guidebook to compare with that of Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem in contemporary Ottoman literature, although the genre seems to be quite popular in European literature.<sup>4</sup>

Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem legitimizes his writing of this book by pointing to the differences between the etiquette rules of İstanbul and the provinces of the Empire. This is explained by him under the title “*Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret ve Hüsn-i Ülfet*” with the following words:

The aim of this booklet is nothing but guidance. There is a big difference between the morals, customs and etiquette of the people who live in the provinces and of the ones who live in *Dersaadet*. But it is not recorded until now. I hope to write on this matter as much as possible.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu’âşereti Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba’ası, 1312/1894), p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelan* (İstanbul, 1307/1889)

<sup>4</sup> For the city guidebooks on İstanbul, see. Kazım Baycar, “İstanbul Şehir Rehberleri Üzerine Bir Çalışma,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 3/6, (2005), pp. 607-616.

<sup>5</sup> “... Şu risalenin esasen vazifesi rehberlikden ibaret olup taşralarla Dersaadet ahali-i mütemeddineleri meyanında ahlak ve âdât ve âdâb-ı mu’âşeretce de fark-ı azim bulunduğu vareste-i kayd ve iştibah olmağla bu babda da ala kadri’l-imkan iyfa-yı vazifeye bezl-i mukadderat olunur.” Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, pp. 33-34.

The first and most important difference between the etiquette of İstanbul and the provinces mentioned under this title is the cold and distant relations of the inhabitants of İstanbul with the newcomers in public places such as coffeehouses and clubs. It is completely opposite of provincial etiquette which is warm and friendly to the newcomer or visitor.<sup>6</sup> According to the author, this is a serious problem for a newcomer coming from a province who expects a warm and courteous welcome. As one can easily expect, these kinds of differences between the etiquette of İstanbul and the etiquette of the provinces have always existed since earlier times for different reasons such as high population, cosmopolitan culture, work intensity of people in İstanbul in comparison with provinces with relatively small populace, common local culture, and free working hours.

On the other hand, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem's book attracts attention not only to existing differences, but also to the gap opening between the lifestyles in İstanbul and the provinces due to rapid changes and innovations in İstanbul during the second half of the nineteenth century in terms of transportation, use of technology, institutions, way of life and conducts. It is clearly stated in the contemporary etiquette books that İstanbul is approaching Europe by moving away from Anatolia. Abdullah Cevdet, in his introduction to Lütfi Simavi's etiquette book of 1914, says, "Three years ago, I said that Europe is approaching İstanbul and let's move İstanbul

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<sup>6</sup> Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, p. 34.

toward Europe".<sup>7</sup> Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar, in his famous book, *Beş Şehir*, also writes about the rapidity of change in İstanbul at the beginning of the twentieth century and finds this process of change different from earlier periods. According to Tanpınar, every big city changes from one generation to another, but İstanbul changed otherwise between 1908-1923 by completely leaving behind its former identity.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, this process of transformation and change was not unique to the Ottoman capital of İstanbul. Like Tanpınar, French authors describing Paris at this time wrote that Parisians had seemingly woken up to find that their city had transformed overnight. Beginning in the 1830s, large numbers of panoramic tableaux of Paris were published in quick succession, each implying to better catalogue than the others the new-found phantasmagoria of a city where "everything changes, everything transforms, everything goes, everything appears and disappears."<sup>9</sup> Zeynep Çelik also suggested that the second half of the nineteenth century was the age of flourishing capitals in Europe. In this vein, the transformation process of İstanbul corresponds to the rebuilding of Paris under Napoleon III and his prefect Eugène Haussmann (1853-1872), the Viennese Ringstrasse

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<sup>7</sup> Abdullah Cevdet, "Tab'ın İfadesi," Lütfü Simavi, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i İctihad, 1329/1914), p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar, *Beş Şehir* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, (1957)/2005), p. 122.

<sup>9</sup> Edmond Texier, *Tableau de Paris*, Vol. 1 (Pans Pauhn et Le Chevalier, 1852), 11. Quoted from Stephen Potyondi, *The Discovery of the Street: Urbanism, Gentrification, and Cultural Change in Early Nineteenth-Century Paris* (MA Thesis, Department of History and Classics, the University of Alberta, 2011).

development of the 1860s, and the reorganization of Rome in the 1880s according to Alessandro Viviani's plan of 1882.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the transformation and reorganization of these big capitals of Europe were probably one of the main motives for Ottoman rulers to reevaluate the appearance and silhouette of İstanbul with new considerations based on modernization and "the civilizing process".

At this point, it can be said that the differentiation between İstanbul and the provinces does not result from an ongoing process of change lasting for centuries, but results from the innovations and radical transformations in the daily life of İstanbul under the impact of European culture and technology. Therefore, it can be said that the transformation of İstanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century on the model of European capitals has widened and sharpened the existing gap between the Ottoman capital of İstanbul and the provinces. Therefore, the book of Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem could probably serve to understand the rapid changes and transformations which were not easy to adapt by public, especially by newcomers and travelers, as well as reveal differences in the etiquette of İstanbul and the provinces.

As an etiquette book, *Rehber-i Müsâfirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* is quite different from the contemporary literature on manners and etiquette. The

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<sup>10</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. xvi.

first and the most important distinction is the target group determined by the author as readers. As mentioned before, the main target group for the other etiquette books is clearly people of the Ottoman elite communities desiring to adopt European manners and etiquette, and upper-middle class longing for the lifestyles of the polite families. On the other hand, the specified target reader of Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem's book is new officers coming from provinces for official duties and travelers from different parts of the Empire and from foreign countries.<sup>11</sup> Because of this, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn* is not about an idealized lifestyle taking its reference from European etiquette and etiquette books, but about the existing lifestyle and etiquette of İstanbul. Aware of existing etiquette literature, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem openly criticizes European etiquette or *alla franca* lifestyle at the end of his book with the following words:

Some people make the mistake of favoring certain behavior and actions that are against decency under the name of *alla franca* by saying I can sit anywhere, stroll anywhere, who can interfere with me. .... Nevertheless, thanks to God we are Muslims and a loyal class of the supreme Ottoman Empire. We are obliged to practice the etiquette that is demanded and accepted in the system and in the *Sharia*. Because many points that are regarded to be of special respect in the *alla franca* are the opposite to us. In this manner, while trying to do something that is *alla franca*, one will have done something faulty that is against decency in the eyes of the competent and there is no doubt that he will be accused of ill-breeding.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, "Mukaddime," pp. 2-3.

<sup>12</sup> "Bazı kimseler istediğim yerde oturup istediğim mahalde gezerim bana kim ne karışır diyerek bir takım mugâyir-i âdâb evza' ve harekâtında alafranga namıyla hoş görmek gibi hatada bulunur. .... Biz ki, lehülhamd ve'l-menh ehl-i İslam ve tabaka-i sadıka-i devlet-i

In the second half of his book, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem writes about the etiquette rules which should be considered by new comers to İstanbul.

However, as opposed to the existing trend, he does not write about *alla franca* etiquette. His chapters on etiquette are about the general rules of courteousness in theatres, coffeehouses, *mesires*, restaurants etc. On the other hand, most of the contemporary etiquette books wrote on the Ottoman public etiquette with particular reference to the European etiquette and conduct. In this vein, Ahmed Midhat's *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret-i Yahud Alafranga* (1312/1894), *Avrupa'da Merasim ve Adat* (1312 /1894) by M. Ş., *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (1327/1910), Hasan Bahri's *Centilmen* (1328/1911), Ahmed Cevad's translation of *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret-i* (1328/1911), Lütfü Simavi's *Teşrifat ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (1329/1914), *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları* (1331/1912-1913) and Kaşif Dehri's *Zarafet-i Nisvan* all write about the new way of public life based on *alla franca*, but from different perspectives and with different agendas. The aforementioned literature focused on etiquette rules concerning a variety of activities outside the home. Among these, street, travel, country visits, sea baths, public parks (*mesires*), theaters, clubs, reading parlors (*kıraathanes*), coffeehouses, restaurants are often

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'aliye-i 'Osmaniye'deniz. Şeren ve nizamen makbul ve mergub olan âdâb-ı mu'âşeret-i tiyad etmekle mükellefiz. Çünkü pek çok mevadda alafrangada hürmet-i mahsusadan ma'dud olan hususat bizce bir aksidir. Bu surette alafranga bir şeyi yapacağım derken erbabı nezdinde mugayir-i âdâb bir kusurda bulunmuş olur ki, terbiyesizlikle itham edileceğine şüphe olunamaz." Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, pp. 51-52.

mentioned and entertainment forms of civilized life of Europe such as plays, gambling and duels are pointed out with reservations and criticisms.

On the other hand, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem writes about the etiquette of being in a coffeehouse, applying to a library, behaving in *mesires* and clapping in theatres, without any reference to European etiquette. His understanding of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* reminds the definitions of Mehmed Emin and Abdülaziz Bey who define *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as the customs and conventions that are peculiar to each nation.

#### Street Etiquette: A Showcase of *Alla Franca*

During the nineteenth century, an intensive effort was made to transform the Ottoman capital of İstanbul into a Western-style capital. In the process, the police, the fire brigades, public transportation services and utilities were reorganized.<sup>13</sup> İstanbul's major streets underwent significant urban renovation. The street was transformed from a filthy and dangerous space dominated by carriages into an agreeable paved public walk equipped with sidewalks. These spaces which were open to the public transformed the codes of behavior and generated new cultural practices such as strolling, window-shopping, and outdoor night-life and gave rise to novel forms of sociability. The contemporary etiquette literature agreed that such

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<sup>13</sup> Zeynep Çelik, p. 32.



transformations in urban life forced people to be civilized in their behaviors and avoid rude and impolite conducts.

In the period of transformation, the new public realm required a kind of relation and communication between individuals that was different from the previous centuries. The neighborhoods were becoming public venues as the state penetrated every level of city life through municipal authorities. With the increase in transportation opportunities such as trams, trains, and steamboats, the relationship between the individual and street needed to be redefined. As opposed to orientalist norms, the street became a showcase of transformation in *alla franca* manners, etiquette, communication and behavior. In this arena, people began to resemble each other with their similar clothes, speaking styles and cliché greeting words.<sup>14</sup>

It was clearly defined in the existing etiquette literature that the street is quite a public place in front of everyone, and vulgarity there was seen as one of the major obstacles in the process of Ottoman transformation which promoted modernization and being civilized. İbrahim Hilmi, in his introduction to the translation of Comtesse De Magallon, lists rude behaviors of Ottoman military officers on the streets which caused the Europeans to hate the Ottomans.

The men whose majority had been raised as scruffy and dishonorable would have made the Europeans whom they make contact with

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<sup>14</sup> Nevin Meriç, *Osmanlı'da Gündelik Hayatın Değişimi: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2000), p. 40.

coincidentally or compulsorily hate them anyway with their lifestyles and manners that don't comply with the east or the west. .... At almost every hour, you could come across an official who had not shaved for weeks, a faded uniform with stains all over it and shoes and boots that had not been shined for days. You could come across officials who have a corn cob in one hand and a handkerchief full of nuts in the other hand and again, many reputable people who have taken off their shoes and sat cross-legged in front of everyone in the highest pubs of Beyoglu.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, the late Ottoman street was quite limited in representing all aspects of the change and transformation process in the late nineteenth century Ottoman milieu. During this period, the Ottoman street was under the strict control of central authority and was arranged entirely by state laws. Not surprisingly, the measure of change and transformation reflected to the street to the extent allowed by Ottoman legal authorities. Indeed, how women and men were to dress on the street, how common places would be used by different sexes were issues solved directly by the Ottoman authorities. Therefore, the picture observed on the street especially for Ottoman women was poor, even misleading in representing the whole change and transformation realized in the individual, family and society levels. Due to the determinative forces on public places in

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<sup>15</sup> "Zaten ekserisi paspayegandan, erazilden yetişen sınıf-ı rical, ne şarka ne de garba uyan ma'îşet ve mu'âşeretleriyle tesadüfen veya mecburen temasda bulundukları Avrupalıları kendilerinden nefret ettirirlerdi. ... Haftalarca tıraş olmayan zabite, sararıp solmuş leke içinde bir üniformaya, günlerce boyanmamış kundura ve çizmeye hemen her saat tesadüf edilebilirdi. Bir elinde mısır koçanı bir elinde yemiş yüklü mendil ve .... zabitlere, yine Beyoğlu'nun en yüksek birahanelerde ala melai'n-nas kunduralarını çıkarıp bağdaş kurmuş bir çok zevat-ı mu'tebereye tesadüf edilebilirdi." İbrahim Hilmi, "İfade-i Naşir: Yaşamayı Bilmek", *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti*, Comtesse De Magallon, trans. Ahmed Cevad (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Askeri, 1328/1911), p. 4.

general and street in particular, it can be said that the Ottoman individuals had more opportunity to express their perceptions and thoughts on transformation, modernity and civility in their private realms. Indeed, Ahmet Rasim drew attention to this dilemma between the Ottoman public and private realms with the following words:

Several times a year, Abdülhamid's government makes the obstacles that prevent women from walking in the streets half-coquettishly, wearing their chador and veil in a way that does not suit the Islamic traditions, openly meeting and talking with a man, being seen by men on trams and steamships much more strict and bans them from strolling on holy nights (*kandils*) and Ramadan evenings, sitting behind cages in places for strolling, walking around in bazaars and department stores in Beyoğlu and declares that those who act against this order will be followed and the man whose daughter, wife or relative she is will be notified about her situation. Doing this was putting women in a discrepant situation where she is allowed and free to go on with all kinds of embarrassing situations in closed areas and respect the general moral rules in open places.<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand, the control of royal authorities over the street was not unique to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries or against the European-based modern manners. Supervisory control over the street was more related to religion and custom on the basis of "*emr-i bi'l-ma'ruf nehy-i*

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<sup>16</sup> "Yılda birkaç defa Abdülhamid hükümeti kadınların sokaklarda yarı kırıtarak gezinmelerini, çarşaf ve peçelerini İslamlığın geleneklerine yakışmayacak şekilde giyip tutunmalarını, kadının ulu orta bir erkekle konuşup görüşmesini, tramvaylarda vapurlarda erkekler tarafından görülmelerini önleyen engellerin daha çok sıkı altında bulundurulurak kandil ve ramazan akşamları ve gecelerinde dolaşmaların önlenmesini, gezinti yerlerinde kafes arkasında oturmalarını, Beyoğlu'nda bazar ve Bonmarşe gibi dükkanlarda dolaşmalarını yasaklıyor, bu emre aykırı davrananların takip edilerek kimin kızı karısı yakını ise durumunun o kimseye bildirileceğini ilan ediyordu. Bu haller kadını kapalı temsillerde her çeşit utanç verici durumları seyr etmekte hür ve serbest, açık yerlerde genel ahlak kurallarına saygılı bulundurmak gibi bir zıtlık içinde bırakıyordu." Ahmet Rasim, *Muharrir Bu Ya*, Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, ed. (Ankara: MEB Yayınları, 1969), p. 98.

*ani'l-münker*" that was accepted as a responsibility of each individual as well as the government.<sup>17</sup> With this venue, the changes in women's clothing and abuses in gender segregation in common places had always attracted the interest of Ottoman authorities and deterrent measures had been taken in this issue even before the introduction of modern manners and etiquette to the Ottoman society.<sup>18</sup> Still, it is difficult to say that the state was totally inactive and neutral in the implementation of European manners during the period after the *Tanzimat*. It can be said that it was certainly in favor of modernization and reformation in the case of state affairs and urban morphology, but it was neither restrictive nor compelling in the adoption of European manners by the public in daily life. In this manner, the efforts to standardize the dress of the Ottoman army in İstanbul and in provinces in the European style such as the efforts of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha in Bosnia to

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<sup>17</sup> From the archival documents it can be possible to trace such policy. For an application of this order in Islamic tradition, see. Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>18</sup> "Haslar ve tevabiinde vaki mahalatta sakin ehl-i İslamdan bazıları mahallelerinde olan cevami' ve mesacide varmayıp taklil-i cema'ata bais oldukları istima' olunmakla imdi mahallatta sakin cema'at-ı müslimin cevami' ve mesacide müdavemet ve vukat-ı hamsede eda-i salat-ı mefrüzeye muvazebet edip hatunlarına bed renk ferace giydirmeyip peçe ile vecihlerin dahi gereği gibi setr ve başların eğri bağlamayıp adet-i kadim üzere bağlatıp çarşı ve pazarda eğer müslim ve eğer kefer ve Yahudî dükkanlarında bey ve şıra bahanesiyle oturtup meks etmelerine ruhsat vermeyip men' olunmak üzere mahallat imamları ve esnaf kethüdaları getürtüp muhkem tenbîh ve tekîd ve dekakîn ashabına işae eylesesiz. Emr-i ma'ruf ve nehyi 'anilmünker vacibat-ı diniyyeden olmakla şöyleki hafiiyyeten tecesüs olunur, hilafına hareket edenler ahz olundukta mahkem haklarından gelinmek mukarrerdir. Ana göre habir ve agah ve mazmun-i münîfin tefhim eylesesiz deyü." Eyüp Mahkemesi, D. 12, V. 3/2, 10 Safer 1121 / 21 April 1709.

establish a Bosnian army dressed the same way as the Ottoman army in İstanbul and many other reforms in the Ottoman bureaucracy.<sup>19</sup>

A similar attitude shows itself in late Ottoman etiquette literature. In terms of the street, there was no common stance and unified language; only basic issues of street etiquette were discussed while many were left to the readers. For example, men were advised to wear an ordinary suit (*veston* or *âdî takım* with cot and trousers of the same color) and women were advised to be dressed up plain.<sup>20</sup> The lack of clear-cut definitions in street etiquette gave opportunities to Ottoman individuals for negotiation between their way of life and modern etiquette. Therefore, it can be said that despite the authoritative control over the street, the street was not dominated by uniformity and decisiveness. For example, Ottoman men and women of different social classes continued to dress in their traditional way of clothing as they did for centuries. The requirement of *fez* was only for Ottoman men of service, not for the ordinary public. Within the boundaries moderately determined by authorities, the means and degree of modernization were left to the individuals and society. This attitude of the Ottoman state authorities

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<sup>19</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Sultan Abdülhamid'e Arzlar (Ma'rûzât)*, Yusuf Halaçoğlu, ed. (İstanbul: Babıali Kültür Yayıncılığı, 2010), p. 101.

<sup>20</sup> Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsi-i Tıbaat Matba'ası, 1328/1911), p. 9.

shows itself in *Elbise-i Osmaniyye: Les Costumes Populaires de la Turquie* (İstanbul, 1873) as the celebration of local diversity in dress.<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, early Republican etiquette literature adopts a quite formal attitude towards the street and penetrates to every level of daily life through the enforcement of modern etiquette rules. As opposed to late Ottoman etiquette literature, the place of the street is well-defined in the modern etiquette hierarchy and Republican etiquette authors such as Safveti Ziya, Cahid Sahir, Vasıf Necdet and Abdullah Cevdet<sup>22</sup> use a compelling language to their readers such as “must” instead of “should”. Safveti Ziya clearly defines the realms of modern etiquette in his book by criticizing earlier assumption which is observable in many late Ottoman etiquette books and requires *alla franca* etiquette only for a defined social environment and circumstances.

It is a mistake to think that etiquette is exclusive only to salons, balls, ceremonies and assume that everyone is free to act as they please in public places and that this does not have rules, courtesy and laws. In civilized life, the relationships and reciprocations, actions and behavior of men with good breeding are concrete, orderly and stable in every field. Every phase, every incident, every possibility of daily life has been considered, how one is required to act in every place has been decided with agreement. An order and orderliness has been

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<sup>21</sup> Ahmet Ersoy, “A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbise-i Osmaniyye Album,” *Muqarnas*, 20 (2003), p. 196.

<sup>22</sup> Cahid Sahir, *Alem-i Medeniyette Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret: Şapka ve Elbise Giymek Usûlleri* (Ankara: İktisat Matba’ası, , 1341/1925); Vasıf Necdet, *Mu’âşeret Yolları: Şapka Kıyafet ve Medeni Âdâbdan Bahseder* (Bursa: Kardeş Matba’ası, 1926); Safveti Ziya, *Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret Hasbihalleri* (İstanbul: Marifet Matba’ası, 1926); Abdullah Cevdet, *Mükemmel ve Resimli Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret Rehberi* (İstanbul: Yeni Matba’a, 1927).

established.<sup>23</sup>

Abdullah Cevdet also writes in 1927 that a man or woman must be present in the street as if s/he is in a polite society or salon.<sup>24</sup> The comparison of the street with a salon where the heaviest etiquette rules are applicable can be evaluated as an official stamp on modern way of life.<sup>25</sup>

As opposed to the Republican etiquette literature, the late Ottoman etiquette books addressed a few foreground matters like how to walk on the street, who greets whom, and how to use the umbrella. The first and foremost issue in street etiquette is how to appear and how to walk on the street. First, it is necessary to be in a proper dress which is suitable to be seen by public.<sup>26</sup> Then, the main principle in street etiquette is not to disturb others. In this vein, it is necessary to avoid hitting anyone – if he does, he must apologize - , putting hands in the pocket, smoking, touching others with an umbrella or walking stick, disturbing people who enter or exit by

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<sup>23</sup> “*Âdâb-ı mu’âşeret*i yalnız salonlara, balolara, müsamerelere, münhasır zannetmek, umumi mahallerde herkesin arzu ettiği surette hareket etmekte muhtar olup bunun kavâ’idi, âdâb ve ahkamı olmadığını farzetmek hatadır. Medeni hayatta terbiyeli adamların münasebet ve mükabeleleri, hatt-ı hareketleri her sahada mu’ayyen, müdevvin ve müsebbittir. Hayat-ı ruşmerrenin her safhası, her hadisesi, her ihtimali derpişt edilmiş her yerde ne suretle hareket edilmesi mukteza olduğu müttefikan kararlaştırılmış ve bir nizam ve intizam tesis etmiştir.” Safveti Ziya, p. 213.

<sup>24</sup> Abdullah Cevdet, p. 104.

<sup>25</sup> Ekrem Işın, “Abdullah Cevdet’in Cumhuriyet *Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret*i,” *Tarih ve Toplum*, V. 48, (1987), p. 334.

<sup>26</sup> Lütfü Simavi, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret* (İstanbul, Matba’a-i İctihad, 1329/1914), p. 42.

standing in front of a common building's door, holding somebody for a while by unnecessary chatting and removing gloves to shake hands.<sup>27</sup>

It is interesting to note that late Ottoman literature on etiquette is apparently quite limited in comparison with European literature on street etiquette or manners. There are only a few Ottoman books which have special chapters on etiquette on the street.<sup>28</sup> Besides, these books' small chapters on street manners do not correspond to that of European etiquette books in terms of content. The street is one of the basic chapters of contemporary western etiquette books and in these chapters, how to walk in the street - especially how a man and woman should walk together - is one of the basic issues of street etiquette.

In Western literature, the main factor that is used to determine a person's place before another person is hierarchy based on gender, social status, age, and military rank. It is a general rule accepted by the literature that the right side of a person towards the wall belongs to anyone to whom he wishes to show respect.<sup>29</sup> A gentleman walking alone should give the preferred part of the walk-side to a lady, or to a superior in age or station, or

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<sup>27</sup> M. Ş., *Avrupa'da Merasim ve Adat* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1312 /1894), pp. 18-19.

<sup>28</sup> M.Ş., pp. 18-19; Lütfü Simavi, pp. 42-43; Hasan Bahri, p. 17; *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları, Kadınlar Dünyası Külliyyatından* (İstanbul: Kadınlar Dünyası Matba'ası, 1331/1912-1913), p. 29.

<sup>29</sup> *A Manual of Politeness: Comprising the Principles of Etiquette and Rules of Behavior in Genteel Society for Persons of Both Sexes* (Philadelphia: W. Marshall and Co., 1837), p. 142.



to a person carrying a burden.<sup>30</sup> Ahmed Midhat and Hasan Bahri are the only two Ottoman authors who mention “how a man and woman should walk together”. Both wrote that a woman should be on the right side of a man, because a man should give his right hand to a woman while accompanying her on the street.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, if a man and woman are walking on the left side of the street, the man should give his left arm to the woman. The main determinative decisive factor for Ahmed Midhat is women’s protection; therefore, women should always be between a man and a wall or shop.<sup>32</sup> In the same way, if a man and a woman who are walking together pass through the door of a shop, house or church, the man, as a protector of the woman, should pass before to see inside.<sup>33</sup>

Ahmed Midhat and Hasan Bahri, in determining the position of a woman next to a man on the street as the right side, disagree about the validity of etiquette of giving the arm to a woman. According to Hasan Bahri, it is an abandoned etiquette for a lady to take the arm of a gentleman on the street.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, Ahmed Midhat attracts attention to a changing rule about giving the arm to a woman on the street, but this change

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<sup>30</sup> Walter R. Houghton, James K. Beck, James A. Woodburn, Horace R. Hoffman, A. B., Philputt, F. E. Lyster, and Mrs. W. R. Hpoghton, *Rules of Etiquette: Home Culture, What to Do and How to Do It* (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Company, Publishers, 25. Edition, 1893), p. 98.

<sup>31</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu’âşereti Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba’ası, 1312/1894), p. 262; Hasan Bahri, p. 16.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid*, p. 263.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid*, pp. 266-267.

<sup>34</sup> Hasan Bahri, p. 16.

is not about the etiquette itself, rather about which arm will be offered to a women. According to Ahmed Midhat, giving the arm to a woman in open places such as gardens and streets is contingent upon the demand or order of the woman. Besides that, when a man accompanies two women on the street, he should give his arm to the more honorable one and the other walks alone. If a man gave his two arms to two women at the same time on the street, he was deridingly looked at as a cube with two handles (*iki kulplu küp*).<sup>35</sup>

Here, the different explanations by Ahmed Midhat and Hasan Bahri about the etiquette of giving the arm to women bring to mind the question: “Why there is a difference or disagreement between the writings of two books in particular and other Ottoman conduct books in general translated from the French etiquette literature?” The first reason that comes to mind is the up-to-datedness of translated Ottoman books with original reference books from which they were translated. At this point, Hasan Bahri talks about a rule of propriety which is said to be outdated, so timeliness with the contemporary French literature becomes very important in order to precise the validity of an etiquette rule in contemporary French or European etiquette.

As mentioned in the first chapter, it is usually impossible to find the original reference book which was translated to the Ottoman Turkish and compare them in terms of content and publishing dates. As an exception,

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<sup>35</sup> Ahmed Midhat, pp. 263-264.

Ahmed Midhat mentions his reference books in his introduction as Madame Louise d'Alq (*Le savoir vivre en toutes les circonstances de la vie* - 1877), Bertall (*La Comédie de notre temps*, 1874-1876) and Monsieur de Marn - his book is a compilation rather than a direct translation of one book – and it is clearly seen that Ahmed Midhat published his book less than twenty years after the original publication date of their reference books. In the same way, Ahmed Cevad's translation (*Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti*) of *Le Guide mondain, art moderne du savoir-vivre* (published by Larousse in 1908) by Comtesse De Magallon was published in 1910, just two years after its first publication in France. It is known from secondary literature on the nineteenth century Ottoman translation activities that Ottomans generally were not late to follow their contemporaries in the publishing arena.<sup>36</sup>

At this point, another question can be asked: "Did Ottoman authors of etiquette read the Ottoman etiquette books published before in general, and in particular did Hasan Bahri read Ahmed Midhat's book on *alla franca* manners while writing his book?" It is impossible to answer the second question only by relying on their writings. On the other hand, it can be said that even if Hasan Bahri read Ahmed Midhat's book, it is impossible to see his knowledge on Ahmed Midhat from his book since it was produced as a translation rather than a compilation like Ahmed Midhat's. It is possible, but

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<sup>36</sup> See. Berrín Aksoy, "Translation Activities in the Ottoman Empire," *Meta: journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal*, 50/ 3, (2005), pp. 949-956.

rare to see references in Ottoman etiquette books if they are not translated from another language. As a matter of fact, Ahmed Muhtar, in his book *Malûmât-ı Ahlâkiye ve Medeniyeden Adâb-ı Mu'âşeret Notları* (1926), points out his sources after the cover page, before the introduction.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the most important reason for the differences among the etiquette books of Ahmed Midhat and Hasan Bahri takes its sources from the differences in European etiquette literature itself. A famous etiquette book, *Rules of Etiquette: Home Culture* published in 1893, explains taking a gentleman's arm on the street as an abandoned etiquette rule with its reasons:

Time was when a lady took a gentleman's arm when walking with him in the day-time, but this is no longer allowable, except in the cases mentioned. The innate respect and chivalry of the American citizen assure to the woman at all times perfect immunity from danger and insult, and the protection implied in taking a gentleman's arm is unnecessary. In the evening a gentleman may offer his arm to a lady, especially in crowded, thoroughfares, and she is at liberty to accept it or not, as she chooses.<sup>38</sup>

On a theoretical level, the Ottoman etiquette literature can be considered as quite descriptive and remote from the Ottoman practice of European etiquette, since it is deemed far from Ottoman realities of gender, morality and religion. It is also interesting to note that whether it is edited or

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<sup>37</sup> Ahmed Muhtar mentions the names of these books as "Muahhazlar": *Mâlûmât-ı Ahlâkiye ve Medeniye* – Muslihiddin Adil Bey; *Teşrifât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* – Lütü Simavi; *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret* – Comtesse De Magallon – Ahmed Cevad Bey and *Centilmen* – Hasan Bahri.

<sup>38</sup> Walter R. Houghton, James K. Beck, James A. Woodburn, Horace R. Hoffman, A. B., Philputt, F. E. Lyster, and Mrs. W. R. Hpoghton, p. 96.

translated, Ottoman etiquette books are composed and compiled on the basis of the world view and agendas of their authors or translators. It can be said that they did not translate or suggest European manners and etiquette, but interpreted for the Ottoman audience. Due to their subjective approach, it is possible to see how Ottoman etiquette authors dealt with the issues of European etiquette, how they negotiated and how they reformulated its rules. This is also another explanation of why Ottoman etiquette authors wrote differently on the same subjects while relying on the same references.

Another common topic discussed by the Ottoman authors who wrote on street etiquette is greetings on the street. The main issue of greeting etiquette is who will greet whom. As discussed before, who is first is determined by a hierarchy defined from an inferior to a superior on the basis of gender, age, social status and knowledge of civility. Here, there is a big contradiction between the Ottoman tradition observed by the general public and *alla franca* etiquette written in the books and applied by the Europeans. In French etiquette literature, greeting in the street first comes from the inferior. In this literature, it is clearly defined who is inferior or superior in the hierarchy in which women are always accepted to be on the top after the people of the royal dynasty. As opposed to the European etiquette, in Ottoman society, there is no established and well-defined hierarchy among the people for etiquette rules. There seems to be a hierarchy, but not consistent for all cases and conditions.

Both Ahmed Midhat and Lütü Simavi, whose writings are not only about the European etiquette but also about its reflections and applications in the Ottoman society, wrote that there is a rule in the Ottoman society that the superior always greets the inferior except in the military class, but this is totally opposite of the European etiquette of greeting.<sup>39</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, in his book *Âdât ve Merâsim-i Kadîme: Tabirât ve Muâmelât-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye*, also writes that the first salute should come from the *kübera* and it is impolite to give one's hand to the *kübera* before him.<sup>40</sup> Lütü Simavi, who wrote nearly ten years after Ahmed Midhat, attracts attention to the confusion about greetings in Ottoman society depending on the adoption of European etiquette.<sup>41</sup> Comtesse De Magallon reminds the strict rule that the inferior always greets first in the street or in other encounters. For this reason, men always greet women in their confrontations because of the established etiquette hierarchy between men and women in European society.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, in the European etiquette literature, it is stated that it is necessary for an inferior to wait for an act of the handshake from the superior, and giving the hand before the superior is considered to be impoliteness and

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<sup>39</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 232.

<sup>40</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, *Âdât ve Merâsim-i Kadîme: Tabirât ve Muâmelât-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye* (*Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*), Kazım Arısan, Duygu Arısan Günay, eds. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), p. 275.

<sup>41</sup> Lütü Simavi, p. 14.

<sup>42</sup> Comtesse De Magallon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti*, Ahmed Cevad, trans. (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Askeri, 1328/1911), p. 14.

transgression. In the same manner, giving the hand to a woman before her is considered as a big mistake and rudeness.

What is different and interesting here is that handshake and greeting as etiquette manners were considered in the same category in the Ottoman culture and they were evaluated from the point of compliment (*iltifat*) which always belongs to the superior. When it comes to Ottoman women, it is difficult to determine the point of view or the main criteria that defines etiquette rules for women and defined by women in the late Ottoman cultural milieu. Lütfü Simavi writes salutations under a specific title, but this section is primarily devoted to explain different practices and customs in terms of salutations between Ottoman and European societies. In this section, he writes that men salute women in all of Europe except England, but a man can avoid saluting a woman if she has reasons that justify her not wanting to see him.<sup>43</sup> Simavi implicitly gives a message in his writings that there is not only one way of civilized saluting even within the European borders, so it is not necessary to apply all the rules of etiquette as they are actually written, especially if they are contradictory to the Ottoman understanding of morality, women and religion. In the same way, *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları*, published by Kadınlar Dünyası Matba'ası in 1915 (1331), clearly explains that when a man comes across a woman with whom he is familiar on the street, he

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<sup>43</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 14.

should always greet first. On the other hand, if the woman pretends not to see him with her state and actions, the man should not greet that woman.<sup>44</sup>

It seems that Ottoman etiquette authors did not imagine the Ottoman Muslim man and woman walking together in the street. Ahmed Midhat's examples of the street are only valid for European streets since he writes for Ottoman men traveling or being in Europe for any reason, official or unofficial. In his explanations, he takes the protection and privacy of woman to the center of his writings on street etiquette. Likewise, Hasan Bahri talks generally about the *alla franca* etiquette rules in his book, *Centilmen*, for Ottoman audience, but interestingly he distinguishes Turkish women from the French women by writing that it is not appropriate to salute a man who is accompanying Turkish women on the street even if you are familiar with him.<sup>45</sup> Their conservative approach to street manners reveals that the street in particular and the public in general were still conceived as dangerous for Ottoman women although they were open to them. Thus, Lütü Simavi allocates most of his chapter on streets to women's manners in the street. He uses the term "family woman" (*aile kadını*) and describes her dress and manners in the street. According to Simavi, these women do not dress in an attractive manner, do not use heavy-scented perfume, do not look around

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<sup>44</sup> *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları*, p. 29.

<sup>45</sup> Hasan Bahri, p. 16.



while walking, do not look attentively at the faces of others, do not look behind and do not laugh loudly, etc.<sup>46</sup>

Besides greetings, there are a number of etiquette rules emerging due to changing conceptions of street and street life. Using an umbrella or parasol was a totally new phenomenon and its use was discussed generally as a part of women's etiquette. According to Abdullah Cevdet, there were two kinds of umbrellas in Europe used for the protection from the rain and the sun. The parasol was a light umbrella, generally made of much lighter, less durable materials than an umbrella and not intended to protect the user from rain. It was developed as a fashion accessory in late-sixteenth century Italy and soon spread throughout Europe. At first used only in southern European countries, parasols became popular in England by the mid-eighteenth century and remained an important fashion accessory for women throughout Europe well into the nineteenth century. They were essential to helping women maintain their fashionably pale complexions.<sup>47</sup>

Like other fashionable accessories, the parasol soon became a vehicle for the display of taste and manners for the Ottoman woman. A Imperial Decree (*Hatt-ı Hümayun*) dated 1790 says that Muslim women walk on the streets with umbrellas like Franks and prohibits their use by Muslim

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<sup>46</sup> Lütü Simavi, p. 42.

<sup>47</sup> Doreen Yarwood, "Parasol," *The Encyclopedia of World Costume* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), p. 588.

women.<sup>48</sup> But then, umbrellas became widespread among the Ottoman men and women in the second half of the nineteenth century and authorities just limited its use in front of the Palace. A document dated 1886 reminds the existing law and etiquette forbidding opening an umbrella while passing in front of the palace.<sup>49</sup>

The etiquette literature of the late nineteenth century also confirms the use of the umbrella as a Frankish fashion. In late Ottoman etiquette literature, the basic principles of using an umbrella were introduced to the readers without elaborating on aesthetic details. In this manner, the critical rule was when walking with an umbrella raised, you should not thrust it before you in such a manner that every person is required to give up the whole sidewalk or receive a blow in the face. It is also advised to neither hold the parasol very close to the face nor very low down in order not to run against somebody. Improper use of parasols could sometimes cause problems that were reflected to the official documents. In one of such document, the governor of Lanka informs İstanbul with a telegraph about a dispute between Haşim Efendi and Abbas Bey whose umbrella touched

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<sup>48</sup> "... Hem müslüman karıları frenk gibi şemsiye ile geziyorlar, tenbih edesin hele ben kimi görürsem öldürürüm, bir sıkı tenbih edesin.", BOA, HAT, 195/9735, 29/Z/1204.

<sup>49</sup> "Padişah sarayı önünden geçilirken şemsiye açılmaması ve kaide-i edebiyeye riayet olunması icab eder iken, Maliye memurlarından birisi oradan geçerken uzun uzadıya gitmiş ve saray hizasını geçer geçmez uşağına şemsiye açtırmış olduğundan, bu gibi âdâba mugayir harekatta bulunulmaması ve bulunacaklar hakkında tedibat icrasının Sadaret'ten emrolunduğu." BOA, C.ML, 665/27204, 29/Z/1300.

upon the veil of Haşim Efendi's wife and Haşim Efendi said a few insulting words.<sup>50</sup>

Gloves need special mention in regard to proper etiquette in street. There is an entire section dedicated to glove etiquette in the book of Lütü Simavi.<sup>51</sup> Many of the etiquette books also gave a special emphasis on gloves, and they wrote about what materials were to be used, what colors were acceptable, and what length would be worn with each dress type. Both men and women are advised to always wear gloves on the street. When a man encounters his friend on the street, he gives his hand with gloves on if his friend is wearing gloves. If his friend is not wearing gloves, he should take off his gloves for a handshake. It is discourteous on the street for a man with gloves to give a hand to a woman who is not wearing gloves.<sup>52</sup> According to Lütü Simavi, gloves are especially required for women in the street; even during visits, they should not take off their gloves.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> "Abbas Bey'in şemsiyesinin Haşim Efendi'nin ailesinin çarşafına dokunmasından dolayı bir kaç kelime-i tahkiriye sarfettiği ve meselenin bundan ibaret olduğuna dair Lankaza Kaymakamının telgrafı." BOA, TFR.I.SL, 29/2854, 01/Za/1321 / 1903.

<sup>51</sup> Lütü Simavi, p. 16.

<sup>52</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 8.

<sup>53</sup> Lütü Simavi, p. 16.

## Traveling Etiquette: Trains, Steamboats, and Trams

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, inner-city journeys were realized on foot and streets were organized according to the movements of pedestrians and animals. Until the first quarter of the nineteenth century, only Ottoman sultans had horse carriages, but then, after the *Tanzimat*, important Ottoman bureaucrats could ride horse carriages determined according to their official ranks. On the other hand, by the late 1800s, the different modes of public transportation established mostly by foreign entrepreneurs made connection possible between different districts of İstanbul. Boats left from the İstanbul side of the Galata Bridge; Eminönü was the terminal point for the trains, boats and trams.<sup>54</sup> After the Second Constitution, motor vehicles were added to İstanbul's transportation. In this vein, the spread of carriages both as horse carriages and motor vehicles in İstanbul was not an easy process and these developments first required to expand narrow streets and implement traffic regulations.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to physical regulations, the spreading of public transportation and individual carriages required a different way of communication and different etiquette rules to obey during the journeys

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<sup>54</sup> For the details of Ottoman public transportation in the nineteenth century, see. Vahdettin Engin, Ahmet Uçar, Osman Doğan, eds., *Osmanlıda Ulaşım: Kara, Deniz, Demiryolu* (İstanbul: Çamlıca Yayınları, 2012); Zeynep Çelik, pp. 82-103.

<sup>55</sup> İlbeyi Özer, *Batılma ya da Batılma* (İstanbul: Truva Yayınları, 2005), p. 180.

among the citizens. The leading authors of Ottoman etiquette literature such as Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, Ahmed Midhat, M. Ş., Hasan Bahri and Lütfü Simavi wrote about the principles of etiquette during inner-city journeys and international travels developed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Only Çençenzade, in his *Zarafet*, writes the principles of a journey (*Muamele-i Tarik*) without a reference to the means of transportation. He writes that a person should protect three things during the journey which are money, life and honor (*nakid, ser ve izzet*).<sup>56</sup>

According to Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem (1316/1898-9), the means of transportation in İstanbul was divided into six categories: Boğaziçi and Haliç passenger boats, Rumeli and Anatolia Railroads, tram, tunnel, caique and rowboat, carriages and horses.<sup>57</sup> In the first part of his book, he explains each means of transportation with its proper functions – what it carries: passenger or goods - the lines of travels and charges determined for ordinary passengers and military class (*eḫrad-ı esakir-i şahane*) for whom the charge is half of the ordinary payment. In the second part of his book, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem talks about the differences between the etiquette of İstanbul and the provinces and gives practical information about how to ask an address or location, how to use money in a proper and economical way, how

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<sup>56</sup> Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1890/1307), pp. 11-12.

<sup>57</sup> Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, pp. 5-13.

to apply to libraries and hospitals, the basic rules to be obeyed in *mesires* and theatres etc.

As opposed to the expectations from the book *Rehber-i Müsâfirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* which is claimed to be a guide and conduct book of İstanbul, he does not talk about the etiquette rules to be applied in trains, trams or boats under a specific title, but he touches on etiquette rules in different transportation vehicles such as steamboats, trains and trams at the end of his book under the title “*Mütenevvia*” which is devoted to other issues not mentioned under definite headings.<sup>58</sup> Still, he explains the importance of learning the traveling etiquette of *Dersaadet*:

Even in travel with Bosphorus and Golden Horn steamships and transport vehicles like the train and tram, the importance of being mindful is necessary.<sup>59</sup>

Among the etiquette rules to be obeyed in *Dersaadet* trains, he mentions not talking about detailed issues, not smoking in wagons even if it is allowed, not occupying places of others with burdens, not pushing others in order to go out. Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem attracts attention to the crowds in both steamships of *Şirket-i Hayriye* and trams and advises to give place to the elders in all conscience, even though it is not necessary as an etiquette rule.<sup>60</sup> He also reminds the readers of a general rule established for both steamships

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<sup>58</sup> Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, pp. 49-51.

<sup>59</sup> “Boğaziçi ve Haliç vapurları ve şimendifer ve tramway nev’inden vesait-i nakliyelerden biriyle seyr u seferde dahi şayan-ı dikkat mevaddandır.” Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, p. 49.

<sup>60</sup> Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, pp. 50-51.

and trams which is the segregation of men and women while waiting and going out of steamships.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, he talks about giving places to and helping Muslim and non-Muslim women in trams, but it is known that just as it was in steamships, women's places were determined in the front wagons and were separated with a curtain.<sup>62</sup>

For Ahmed Midhat, travel is one of the most important aspects of civilized life since it is possible to see foreign civilized countries only by the means of travel. Because of this reason, he begins his book on European manners with travel which is the first title after the introduction. Hasan Bahri explains the importance of traveling with the following words:

Yes, it should now be acknowledged that traveling is a great teacher for mankind. However, traveling is not to take the bag in your hand, put the bed on the back of a carrier and go about as you please. It is for a man who will be a gentleman to first learn the art of traveling and then cross the country's border and enter foreign lands while maintaining his nation's honor. Just as the elegance of a person is judged at first sight by the way he is dressed, during travel, the rule also applies in relation to the perfection of his travel equipments.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> According to the Regulations of Şirket-i Hayriye, women will travel in the salons only allacoted to them. Vahdettin Engin, "Boğaziçi'nde Deniz Ulaşımı: Şirket-i Hayriye", *Osmanlıda Ulaşım: Kara, Deniz, Demiryolu*, Vahdettin Engin, Ahmet Uçar, Osman Doğan, eds. (İstanbul: Çamlıca Yayınları, 2012), p. 178.

<sup>62</sup> Vahdettin Engin, "İstanbul'un Atlı ve Elektrikli Tramwayları", in *Osmanlıda Ulaşım: Kara, Deniz, Demiryolu*, p. 347.

<sup>63</sup> "Evet, Seyahatın insan için büyük muallim olduğu artık kabul edilmelidir. Lakin seyahat çantayı eline, yatağı hamalın sırtına verip keyfe ma yeşa gezmeye çıkmak değildir. Centilmen olacak zat evvel bi-evvel san'at-ı seyahati öğrenmek badehu hududundan geçerek ecnebi toprağına milletin şerefini muhafaza ederek girmektir. Nasıl ki, insanların zarâfeti yek nazarda tarz-ı telbisine nazaran hükm olunursa esna-yı seyahatte bu hal levazım-ı seferiyesinin tekamülatıyla kaimdir." Hasan Bahri, p. 35.

Hasan Bahri also suggests that a young man's qualification of breeding and the degree of his elegance are exposed mostly during travel.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, most of the Ottoman etiquette authors concentrate on international voyages or travel within the borders of Europe in their books. In Ahmed Midhat's book, travel only means international voyages; more exactly, voyages from Ottoman lands to the civilized European countries. If it is considered that his book was planned as a guide book for an Ottoman man traveling to Europe, this consideration seems quite meaningful. In this context, he talks about the etiquette of the train (*şimendifer*) and boat which were the only two means of transportation that made it possible to arrive at a European country.<sup>65</sup> Despite the fact that Ahmed Midhat's book is one of the most comprehensive etiquette books of the period, it is impossible to find information about the other means of transportation and etiquette rules expected from the passengers in İstanbul. In the same way, for Lütfü Simavi, travel meant voyage to a foreign country and he also focused on travel with train which is the most common way of international travels. In his book, he writes about trams and buses.

In terms of etiquette rules to be applied during the journey, Ahmed Midhat compares trains and boats and finds travel with train easier and simple. Train etiquette was written on the basis of long-distance travels. In

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<sup>64</sup> "Ala'l ekser esna-yı seyahatte bir gencin nasıl terbiye ile muttasıf bulunduğu ve derece-i zarâfeti tezahür eder." *ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>65</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 13.



this manner, the main principle of train etiquette is not to disturb the companions during the journey. Among these rules are not to smoke except in the tobacco-smoking wagons, to not take off shoes, to put baggage in only determined places reserved for one passenger, not to consume foods that smell of garlic before the voyage, if nut will be eaten, to offer others before, not to eat meals inside the wagon, not to chat with the wagon companions about private issues, not to talk about detailed issues with people whose background one does not know.<sup>66</sup>

Ahmet İhsan who traveled to Europe in 1891 with a quite modest budget talks about the different train standards in Europe and speaks in praise of the comfort and luxury of trains in Germany, Switzerland and Austria. He says that the second-class in the trains of these countries corresponds to the first-class of trains in France, Italy and England. On the other hand, his observations and experiences during the train journey are like lists of misbehaviors in train etiquette described in contemporary etiquette literature both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Despite the signboard of “no smoking”, one in ten people in France and almost all of the people in Belgium smoked in wagons. People eating from the baskets in front them, a person throwing up on the window while trying to open it, a lady

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<sup>66</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 14-35; Lütfü Simavi, p. 43.

occupying all the places inside the wagon with her packages and baskets were only a few examples of his observations.<sup>67</sup>

In fact, the etiquette book of Ahmed Midhat represents the ideal not only for Ottoman readers but also for Europeans. His following words confirm the words of Ahmed İhsan:

In fact, even though it is seen that some passengers in the wagons spread a cloth on their knees and eat sausages wrapped in a newspaper, cold cuts, boiled chicken etc. that they have taken out of their baskets or drink wine or beer from bottles, it is not necessary for them to be decent just because they are Europeans. How do you like a European who does not comply with their own etiquette, or in fact, does not even know the general etiquette?<sup>68</sup>

Like the trains, the steamships mentioned in the Ottoman etiquette literature are mostly international with their cosmopolitan passenger profile. In Ahmed Midhat's descriptions, the passengers traveling for days in steamships were like the guests of the captain who was thought to be like the hostess of a polite salon in terms of the application of etiquette rules. In these steamships, there usually was no cabin allocated for one person; rather, a few people shared a cabin for sleeping. As Ahmed Midhat described, a steamship as a whole was considered to be like a refined home and divided into different parts on the basis of purposes. For example, it is forbidden to eat

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<sup>67</sup> Ahmet İhsan, *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm, Tuna'da Bir Hafta* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007), pp. Xxiv-xxvi.

<sup>68</sup> "Vakı'a Avrupalılar meyanında dahi bazı yolcuların vagonlarda dizleri üstüne bir peşkir yayarak sepetlerinden çıkardıkları gazete kağıtlarına sarılmış sucuklardan, söğüşlerden, haşlanmış tavuklardan vesaireden yedikleri ve şişelerden şarap veyahud bira içtikleri görülür ise de Avrupalı olmalarıyla mutlaka terbiyeli olmaları dahi lazım gelmez. Kendi âdâb-ı mu'âşeretlerine ri'ayet etmeyen ve hatta âdâb-ı mezkureyi hiç de bilmeyen Avrupalı ne kadar istersiniz?" Ahmed Midhat, p. 22.

something in the sleeping cabins. The salon is available in steamships as a sitting room where there is a library and a piano. It is not appropriate to be in this place with a nightdress and also with an improper daily dress. Women are obliged to show more care to salon etiquette in steamships and required to wear their dinner toilets in their every outing to the salon. Even the etiquette of presentation in the steamship's salon was like that of the salon of a house; a person cannot talk with an unfamiliar person directly without presenting himself through the medium of the captain or another person in the steamship who is familiar with both sides.

Ahmed Midhat complains that Easterners were generally deprived of ferry etiquette. Some Easterners who were unaccustomed to *alla franca* foods of steamships preferred to fudge meals with olive and *pastırma* in their sleeping cabins. These attitudes of Easterners were not normally welcomed by ferry passengers and servants. On the other hand, Ahmed Midhat informs the Eastern people who can have a religious sensitivity to not eating pork that they can order the servants to set a special table in their own room or in the afterdeck of the salon where there are small tables by informing the cook about their eating preferences. Indeed, Ahmed İhsan who was traveling to Europe for developing his knowledge on the European world of the press as an Ottoman man with *fez* on his head was a typical Easterner described by Ahmed Midhat. The difficulties he confronted in the *Kamboç* Steamship and his experiences openly reveal the vital need for an etiquette book on

European manners which would be written by Ahmed Midhat three years later. Ahmed İhsan exactly represented the target reader defined by Ahmed Midhat. He was traveling to Europe for the first time in his life and did not have enough knowledge about the European way of travel and etiquette rules. He explains his troubles in the following words:

Living the European way compels a person to comply with certain rules called etiquette. In fact, even though we are exempt from complying with most of these rules because we are travelers, the ones that we have to comply with are a heavy burden for people like us who are not accustomed to it.<sup>69</sup>

Interestingly enough, the Kamboç Steamship described by Ahmed İhsan is a famous steamship which carried many Ottoman men to Europe before. More interestingly, Ahmed Midhat traveled to Europe in 1889 for the International Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm with this steamship.<sup>70</sup> In fact, the remarks of Ahmed İhsan about the behaviors and manners of people in the Kamboç Steamship – dinner rooms, dinner tables with men and women, entertaining with piano, gambling, singing, outward conversations among passengers – overlaps with Ahmed Midhat’s descriptions of polite steamship voyages.

On the other hand, the descriptions of steamships by Ahmed Midhat are certainly not valid for all steamships traveling between Europe and the

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<sup>69</sup> “Avrupa usulüyle yaşamak insanı etiket denilen bir takım kavâide riayete mecbur eyler. Vakıa seyyah olmak cihetiyle şu kavâ’idin pek çoğuna riayetden istisna ediliyorsak da yine mutavaata mecbur bulunduklarımız bizim gibi alışmamış olanlara bar-ı sakil geliyor.” Ahmet İhsan, p. 12.

<sup>70</sup> Ahmet İhsan, p. 9.

Ottoman lands. Stylish and elegant salons cannot be always accessible for steamship passengers. Likewise, the descriptions of the journey about going from Constanta (*Köstence*) to İstanbul (1864), written by René Du Paraquet, were formally similar to that of Ahmed Midhat's, but not in terms of the behavior and etiquette of the passengers. In Paraquet's steamship, Greeks in European clothing gamble, drink and hurl curses around in contrast to the politeness in their appearance. The pauperism of Muslims attracts the attention of Paraquet in the same steamship.<sup>71</sup>

It should be noted that Ottoman etiquette authors devoted their chapters totally on international voyages that lasted for days and that had luxurious conditions and a polite environment. It seems that they focus on the etiquette rules which are valid in European trains and steamships. The increase in the use of trains and steamships within the boundaries of İstanbul was often mentioned in the Ottoman press of the late nineteenth century and these transportation vehicles were known to be used by passengers from almost all walks of life in Ottoman society. Especially from the second half of the nineteenth century, the *Şirket-i Hayriye* ferry service operated with a number of steamships decorated elegantly for the people of İstanbul. It can be thought that the importance given to the design and decoration of these steamships and the daily increase in the number of passengers certainly

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<sup>71</sup> René Du Parquet, *İstanbul'da Bir Yıl*, Sertaç Canbolat, trans. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), p. 3.

composed a new realm of etiquette for the Ottoman people. However, the etiquette rules to be obeyed in these transportation vehicles of İstanbul were generally neglected by late Ottoman etiquette literature which mentioned only examples of discourteous behavior in steamships and trains. Likewise, Ahmed Midhat who does not mention the etiquette in the steamships of *Şirket-i Hayriye*, under his title of Steamships, complains:

It is sad that on the beautiful floor paved with oilcloth of the first-class salons of our *Şirket-i Hayriye* steamships, it is not rare to see people who spit phlegm and then stomp on it with their feet.<sup>72</sup>

Despite the existence of a number of writings and cartoons about the etiquette and public behavior in the urban realm, interestingly but also understandably, late Ottoman etiquette literature did not reveal any interest in this matter. When the general content of the late Ottoman etiquette literature is taken into consideration, it is clearly seen that it refers to a very exclusive society of upper class or a social environment emulating the values of this society. Ahmed Midhat who describes the voyages of trains and steamboats, in fact, writes the book for an Ottoman-Muslim-male traveling into Europe where he will confront Europeans and their etiquette, not for a Muslim male or female living in İstanbul. In this manner, the international passengers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman world, unsurprisingly, were the members of the Ottoman royal family, upper level

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<sup>72</sup> "Teessüf olunur ki, bizim Şirket-i Hayriye vapurlarının birinci mevki'-i salonlarında yere döşenen güzel muşambalar üzerine balgam tükürüp ayak ile dahi ezildikleri müşahedatı nadireden değildir." Ahmed Midhat, p. 186.

bureaucrats with their families, well-situated men who were curious about Europe or its technology, science and culture, and tradesmen.

All of the etiquette rules to be asked from a passenger during journeys that lasted for hours or days signify the train and steamboat totally as a public place and require being rational and keeping a certain distance from others in these places. According to Ahmed Midhat, the conversation with the travel companions should be about the places they saw and toured before, or the characteristics in their countries. The conversation among the companions of travel should not be about serious and important issues. Lütfü Simavi also says that a person should answer the question of his companion within the boundaries of politeness and start to read a newspaper or a magazine to not continue the conversation.<sup>73</sup>

Especially in the book of Ahmed Midhat, traveling etiquette was determined wholly according to the rules of public places. As he wrote, the most prestigious places in trains are the corners and these places belong to the person who sat first. The right of opening or closing the windows also belongs to the person who is right next to the window. When a person enters the wagon, he does not have the right to remove the person already sitting at the corner. In the same way, if you sit down on the window seat, no one has the right to displace you from the corner. Even if asked for an elderly or ill person, you are not obliged to give your place, but if you do, it is accepted as

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<sup>73</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 43.

your courtesy. According to Ahmed Midhat, if you are the first person next to the window, no one can force you to open or close the window. The key principle of the traveling etiquette of the train, according to Ahmed Midhat, is that “you are not forced to any kind of altruism for courtesy other than the etiquette rules which you are obliged to follow.”<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, Hasan Bahri warns the person next to the window to respect the rights of others and to not open or close the window according to his own desires.<sup>75</sup> Confirming Hasan Bahri, Lütfü Simavi writes that it is in accordance with kindness to ask the opinion of the person next to the window in order to open or close the window in trams and trains.<sup>76</sup>

The words of Ahmed Midhat about the sleeping cabin shared by a few people is also striking in revealing his understanding of traveling etiquette which is totally based on necessities of European etiquette rather than values.

He says:

Let us assume that the cabin is shared and say that along with the cabin being shared, the passenger can do whatever he pleases as if he is alone. He is not obligated to shy away from the other passenger on any matter. That place is both of their independent bedrooms. If there is something that can be deemed as an obstacle for acting as he pleases, that is the passenger’s own decency and bashfulness. He is free in lying down, getting up, undressing, dressing, washing face-hands etc, the toilet, in brief, in everything and acts as if there is no one next to

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<sup>74</sup> “Şimendifer seyahatlerinde hakkında mecbur olduğunuz adaptan başka nezaketen hiçbir fedakarlığa mecbur değilsiniz.” Ahmed Midhat, pp. 17-18.

<sup>75</sup> Hasan Bahri, p. 19.

<sup>76</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 24.



him.<sup>77</sup>

It is interesting to note that Ahmed Midhat who often criticizes European etiquette for superficiality and deprivation of morality has determined the etiquette rules of voyages on the basis of rationality, rights and responsibilities, instead of altruism, decency and morality. Here, he separates etiquette (*âdâb-ı umumiye*) from decency. In his view, etiquette rules are accepted like the laws of a state a person must act upon, whereas decency depends on the level of the self-sacrifice of a person. It can be said that Ahmed Midhat sees an Easterner in position to perform the etiquette of Europeans when he confronts the Europeans by obeying the rules of etiquette (*âdâb-ı umumiye*). In his view, Europeans also violate all kinds of prohibitions of morality in their private life, but they exactly comply with the rules of etiquette for appearance. He evaluates the etiquette of international voyages with trains and steamships totally within this framework.

In terms of trams which are one of the most important transportation vehicles of the period, there is no detailed information in late Ottoman etiquette literature. Lütfü Simavi, who generally writes about the living etiquette of İstanbul rather than the European ideal, handles the etiquette in

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<sup>77</sup> “Biz kamarayı müşterek farz edelim de diyelim ki kamara müşterek olmak ile beraber yolcu güya orada yapayalnız imiş gibi her istediğini yapar. Hiçbir hususta diğer yolcudan ihtiraza mecburiyeti yoktur. Orası ikisinin de müstakilen yatak odasıdır. İsteddiği gibi harekete mani addolunabileceği birşey var ise o da yolcunun kendi edeb ve hayasından ibarettir. Yatmakta, kalkmakta, soyunmakta, giyinmekte, el-yüz vesaire yıkamakta, tuvalette velhasıl herşeyde muhtar olur yanında hiçbir kimse yok imiş gibi hareket eder.” Ahmed Midhat, p. 37.

the tram from the perspective of decency and self-sacrifice rather than the rights and responsibilities of passengers, he emphasizes the necessity of giving priority to elders and women. In contrast to Ahmed Midhat who begins his book with the etiquette of travel, Lütfü Simavi writes that if there is a place where official etiquette (*teşrifat*) is not required, this place is the steamship, train and tram. Attempting to obey protocol while entering and exiting vehicles and preventing the public from passing forgetting that “these are transportation vehicles for the general public is the biggest of naughtiness”.<sup>78</sup> Here, Lütfü Simavi means the *alla franca* manners which prevent the traffic of people with superfluous courtesies. Indeed, it is narrated by Malik Aksel that when the steamships of *Şirket-i Hayriye* started departing from the ports later than their specified time schedule, the director of *Şirket-i Hayriye*, Hüseyin Haki Bey, asked the captain for an explanation and the captain said:

How can we arrive on time when Çengelköy’s vegetables, Kuzguncuk’s insects and Beylerbeyi’s protocols just will not finish? When the steamship stops by Beylerbeyi, starting at the dock, while everyone goes on uttering words such as: Sir please, you first, please! Do not mention it, you go ahead please! You compliment this humble person too much, how dare I sir, I am... to each other, the steamship cannot depart on time.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Lütfü Simavi, p. 23.

<sup>79</sup> “Çengelköy’ün zerzevatı, Kuzguncuk’un haşaratı, Beylerbeyi’nin teşrifatı bir türlü bitmiyor ki vaktinde gelebilelim. Vapur Beylerbeyi’ne uğrayınca daha iskelede herkes birbirine: Efendim rica ederim buyurun lütfen! Estağfurullah, zâtı âliniz buyurunuz! Hakipayinize fazla iltifat buyuruyorsunuz, ne haddime efendim, bendeniz... gibi sözler devam ederken vapur zamanında kalkamıyor.” Malik Aksel, *İstanbul’un Ortası* (Ankara:

Still, a few Ottoman etiquette authors touch upon the etiquette in trams superficially. M. Ş. advises not to ride filled trams and omnibuses and wait for another.<sup>80</sup> Hasan Bahri writes the misconducts observed in trams by using a humorous language:

As it is of the very rude and ugly customs to spit on the floor, take off the shoes, sit with crossed legs, noisily blow the nose and then open the handkerchief to check and look at the jewels inside, itch the nose and ears with the hand, cross legs with muddy feet, burp, sneeze as if going to swallow the person sitting across, yawn as if opening the upper lip towards the heavens and the lower lip towards the earth and not close the mouth with the hand while doing so, take snuff while spilling on clothes, mustache and beard, it is also not nice or proper to smoke which will probably breach the comfort of others.<sup>81</sup>

Interestingly, there is not any reference to the omnibus except in *Avrupa'da Merasim ve Adât* (1312/1894) written by M. Ş. The neglect of the omnibus which was used for inner city transportation might have resulted from the preference of the Ottoman etiquette authors to focus on international travels as mentioned before. On the other hand, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, who lists all means of transportation in İstanbul in his book *Rehber-i Müsâfirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (1316/1898), does not talk about omnibuses. However, it is well

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Kültür Bakanlığı, 1977). Quoted from İlbeyi Özer, "Küreselleşme ve Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Türkiye'de Gerçekleşen Toplumsal Değişimler: *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*," *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Asian Philosophical Association*, 2005, Fatih University, pp. 233-234.

<sup>80</sup> M. Ş., p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> "Yere tükürmek, ayakkabılarını çıkarmak, bağdaş kurmak, mendillere gürültülü burnunu silmek sonra mendilini açıp mücevheratını muayene ve seyr etmek, eliyle burnunu kulaklarını karıştırmak, çamurlu ayaklarını üst üste atmak, geyirmek, karşısındakini yutacak gibi aksırmak, üst dudağını semaya alt dudağını arza doğru açarak esnemek, bu hareketinde elini ağzına götürmemek, üst başına, bıyıklarının ve sakallarının üstüne dökerek enfiye çekmek pek kabih ve çirkin adetlerden olduğu gibi diğerlerinin rahatını ihlal etmesi me'mul olan tütün içmek de hoş ve münasip değildir." Hasan Bahri, p. 20.

known that omnibuses were utilized in August 1872 soon after the establishment of the tramline between Perşembe Pazarı and Pangaltı.<sup>82</sup>

Lastly, it seems meaningful to mention that late Ottoman etiquette authors do not write about Ottoman women in their descriptions of travel, whether international or local. Although Ahmed Midhat partly writes about the etiquette rules of women, he writes about the rules that will be applied by European women or those that will be performed by Muslim Ottoman men encountering European women. Thus, in the novels of Ahmed Midhat, the dignified elegance and esteem of Ottoman men was admired only by European women.<sup>83</sup> The steamships mentioned by Ahmed Midhat were those where men and women ate at the same table. He even warns his male readers about these women who are thought to be certainly non-Muslim and European with the following quite interesting words: "Sometimes it is normal to come across women who are traveling alone in the steamship. The human nature necessarily leads men to incline to these women."<sup>84</sup> In the same way, the trains mentioned by Hasan Bahri were not gender-segregated. In these trains, men and women traveled together in the same wagon even in

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<sup>82</sup> Vahdettin Engin, "İstanbul'da Şehiriçi Toplu Taşımacılığının Bir Unsuru Olarak Omnibüsler", *Osmanlıda Ulaşım: Kara, Deniz, Demiryolu*, p. 68.

<sup>83</sup> Orhan Okay, *Batı Medeniyeti Karşısında Ahmed Midhat Efendi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2008), p. 221.

<sup>84</sup> "Vapurda bazen yalnız başına seyahat eden genç kadınlara tesedüf edilir. Tabiat-ı beşeriye insanı mutlaka bunlara imale eder." Ahmed Midhat, p. 48.

the sleeping compartment where the lower floor of the bunk was allocated to women as a rule of propriety.<sup>85</sup>

In the etiquette hierarchy established for traveling and public transportation where Ottoman women do not exist, the general rule of European etiquette was repeated that woman was always at the top of hierarchy and was always to be respected and pleased by men around her. On the other hand, women were required to obey more rules during the journey where their virtue and respect had primary importance. Thus, while men were allowed to lie down in the wagons, women were not. A woman was obliged to be in her dinner toilet inside the steamship with the exception of the interior of her sleeping cabin.

On the other hand, it would be really appealing to see the place of Ottoman women in literature on the traveling etiquette of İstanbul. In late Ottoman etiquette literature, it is unfortunately impossible to see traveling manners of Ottoman men and women in the transportation vehicles of İstanbul. On the other hand, the absence of women in late Ottoman etiquette literature does not mean that Ottoman women did not use public transportation. In order to move around town, either for business or for

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<sup>85</sup> Hasan Bahri, pp. 19-20.

social reasons, women did take public transportation such as the ferry and the trolley.<sup>86</sup>

It is known from the archival sources that in the steamships of *Şirket-i Hayriye*, there were different sections for male and female passengers and authorities tried to take required measures not to merge men and women in waiting areas.<sup>87</sup> The rule for gender segregation seems valid in other means of transportation in İstanbul such as trams and trains. However, it seems that women were not pleased with this enforcement. They wrote letters of complaint about the segregation practices and the rude behavior of the public employees. Such complaints by women about segregation and harassment on public transportation and in entertainment venues were good proof of women's increasing visibility in different realms of social life.<sup>88</sup>

#### Etiquette in Places of Amusement: Theater, Sea Baths and *Mesires*

Peter Burke suggests that leisure time was a product of industrial capitalism since it differentiated leisure time from working time. Pre-industrial societies had festivals (together with informal and irregular breaks from work) while industrial societies have leisure time, weekends and vacations. Thus, the

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<sup>86</sup> Pelin Başcı, "Advertising Modernity in Women's World: Women's Lifestyle and Leisure in Late-Ottoman İstanbul", *Hawwa*, 2, 1, (2004), p. 48.

<sup>87</sup> Zeynep Çelik, p. 86.

<sup>88</sup> Pelin Başcı, p. 48.

emergence of leisure is therefore part of the process of modernization.<sup>89</sup> As Peter Burke clearly pointed out, this is not of course to deny that late medieval and early modern people engaged in many recreations which we would describe as leisure or even as sporting activities - jousting, hunting, tennis, card-playing, travel, joking and so on. The point is simply that these concepts were not in use at that time, and more generally that hunting, gambling and the like were not regarded as part of a larger category called leisure.<sup>90</sup>

Despite the fact that efforts regarding the separation of leisure time from working time are observable in late Ottoman reforms, it is difficult to say that any activities were defined within the leisure time category by etiquette authors. Indeed, there is no categorization made by these authors such as “etiquette of leisure time activities” or “places of amusement”. Given the fact that there is no chapter-based thematic categorization in late Ottoman etiquette books, the absence of such kind of categorization seems meaningful. On the other hand, it does not mean that there is no order or categorization. The related issues or themes in late Ottoman etiquette books were generally mentioned one after another according to the author’s understanding of order of importance. Interestingly, the etiquette of activities in places such as theaters, picnics, sea baths, horse races, coffeehouses,

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<sup>89</sup> Peter Burke, “The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe,” *Past & Present*, 146 (February 1995), p. 137.

<sup>90</sup> *ibid*, pp. 137-138.

restaurants and casinos were mentioned independent from each other in different parts of the books. Therefore, the title used here “Etiquette in Places of Amusement” is a totally constructed category for an easier understanding.<sup>91</sup>

A kind of categorization is visible only in the book of Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü’s *Zarafet* translated from French as “Recreation Times” (Teneffüs Vakitleri). According to Resulzade, recreation times are the times for resting and are very important for mental relaxation and physical health. Under this title, he talks about excursions, conversations, gymnastics and gambling. While he is talking about the benefits of excursions, conversations, gymnastics, he talks about how gambling is harmful for individuals and societies.

The others like Ahmed Midhat, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret*, Hasan Bahri and Lütfü Simavi independently deal with a selection of topics such as theaters, sea-baths, picnics, performances, horse races, excursion, strolling, hunting, coffeehouses, restaurants, casinos and summerhouses. In coping with these issues, the clear stance of the etiquette authors is remarkable. The etiquette authors see these realms as parts of European social life, but they clearly refuse some of them on the grounds that they are destructive to the Ottoman family and social life. Ottoman etiquette

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<sup>91</sup> Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, *Nezaket ve Usul-i Mu’âşeret: Kavâ'id-i Âdâb* (İstanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar Matba’ası, 1889/1306), p. 13.



authors have reservations, warnings, and even criticism especially in regard to the modes of European entertainment. As argued by Resulzade, entertainment can be permissible as the act of recreation only if one complied with the requirement of being moderate.<sup>92</sup>

No matter what the issue was, the etiquette authors mainly focused on greetings, dress, the use of tobacco, treatment towards women, the nature and content of conversations, the compensation of expenditures in common places and entertainments. The etiquette in these places is totally determined in accordance with the rules of public places which required the protection of privacy, a certain distance among the individuals, and rationality. It is assumed that public places are open to everyone from different social, religious and economic backgrounds.

*Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* writes about the clubs of Europe as the communal places and warns readers not to talk about religion, religious sects, politics or about the private affairs of a person if he is not present.<sup>93</sup> Ahmed Midhat claims that Europeans do not talk about religion, denominations, and professions in common places even among themselves. As opposed to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, he argues that Europeans have clubs to talk about these issues.<sup>94</sup> Lütfü Simavi defines these kinds of places as *sosyete* in his book and

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<sup>92</sup> Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, p. 13.

<sup>93</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 43.

<sup>94</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 112.

writes the etiquette of conversation in high society by attracting attention to the cosmopolitan character of this society:

It is against etiquette to mention religion and sects in a community that consists of people of various religions. Years ago, I was in a Protestant country. I got invited by a priest I knew to a Presbyterian meal in his residence in a quite lovely place by the sea. My neighbor at the table was the brother of the priest's wife who was also a priest. I was seeing this man for the first time. Although my name and title had clearly been said while we were being introduced to each other, this priest whom I guessed had his head in the clouds looked at my face at a moment and suddenly asked, "Are you a Muslim?" I kept quiet when he said "I am sad" after my answer of confirmation. But a minute later, I also asked him "Are you a Christian? Because he literally protested with the words "Yes, yes, of course I'm a Christian, can't you see?" I responded with "I am sad" with utmost calmness. His sister who had been following our conversation was extremely sad and accelerated the meal and because she tried to fix her brother's rudeness and improper act that is totally against etiquette and even basic breeding and requested me to consider it as if his mistake did not happen by saying that although he is a good man, he is a little conservative and a little narrow-minded, I had to say "Madam, I am not offended, we got even with your brother."<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> "Edyan-ı muhtelif ashabından mürekkep olan bir cem'iyette din ve mezhebdan bahsetmek usul-i mu'âşerete muhalıdır. Birçok sene evvel bir Protestan memleketinde bulunuyordum. Tanıdığım bir papas tarafından deniz kenarında ve gayet latif bir mekanda vaki' ikametgahında Presbytere taama davet olundum. Sofra komşum, papasın zevcesinin biraderi olup o da papas idi. Bu zatı birinci defa olarak görüyordum. Yekdiğerimize takdim olunurken ismim ve sıfatım tasrih olunmuş ise de dalgın olduğunu tahmin ettiğim bu rahip bir aralık yüzüme bakarak damdan düşercesine "Müslüman mısınız? sualini irad etti. Cevabı tasdikim üzerine "teessür ederim" dediğinden sükut ettim. Fakat bir dakika sonra ben de muma-ileyhe tevcih-i hitap ile "Hristiyan mısınız? dedim. "Evet, evet, tabi Hristiyanım, görmüyor musunuz? Sözleriyle adeta protesto ettiğinden kemal-i itidali dem ile "teesüf ederim" ile mukabele eyledim. Mükalemimizi takip eden hemşiresi fevkalade müteessir olarak taamı tacil ile biraderinin nezaketsizliğini ve *âdâb-ı mu'âşerete* ve hatta terbiye-i ibtdaiyyeye tamamıyla münafi olan hareket-i nabecasını tamire çalışıp mumaileyhin iyi bir adem ise de biraz mutaasıp ve biraz da mahdudu'l-fikir olduğunu ityan ve hatasını vaki' olmamış gibi telakki etmekliğimi rica ettiğinden "Madam münkesir değilim, biraderinizle fit olduk." demeye mecbur oldum." Lütfü Simavi, pp. 27-28.

This passage of Lutfü Simavi is not only important in terms of explanation of conversation etiquette, but also for representing his idea that to be a man of Europe does not mean “he absolutely has European etiquette”, especially those living in İstanbul’s districts such as Beyoğlu. In fact, Lutfü Simavi and Ahmed Midhat also had similar views on this issue and sometimes warned their readers about the misbehaviors of Europeans, although these were uncommon. On the other hand, in Ahmed Midhat’s book, the examples of misbehaving always come from Ottomans or Easterners who do not actually have the knowledge of the European etiquette, whereas Lutfü Simavi’s aforementioned example of talking about religion and many other examples of misbehaving come from Europeans who do not have knowledge of not only their own etiquette but also of simple rules of good-breeding.

As Ahmed Midhat observed, there were big differences among the Ottoman tradition and European etiquette in terms of offerings and dignity (*ikram ve izzet*) in common entertainments and gatherings. In Europe, one can assume that there is not any kind of *ikram* and *izzet* among the people even between siblings. When two brothers go to a café in Europe, each of them pays only the cost of his beverage.<sup>96</sup> This practice is especially valid in England, therefore known as “English fashion” in Europe. Interestingly, Ahmed Midhat appreciates this tradition since it saves people from

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<sup>96</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 543.

uncertainties and unnecessary spending. Likewise, Ahmed Midhat finds some offerings of Ottoman traditions irrelevant, excessive and purposeless.

In terms of women, European etiquette does not allow women to deal with monetary affairs. Women must always be with a cavalier who may be her husband, father, brother, conservator or an old man who is a fellow of dignity; otherwise, she could not attend common entertainments alone or with a foreign man. In these places, all the expenses of the woman belong to her cavalier. It is big rudeness and insult, even the cause of a duel if a man attempts to pay the expenses of a woman when she already has a cavalier.<sup>97</sup> In some circumstances, a woman can ask from a man to be her cavalier and delivers her purse to him in order for him to use it for her expenses.<sup>98</sup> It is clearly emphasized that a woman cannot spend money even from her own pocket. First and foremost, it was not tolerated for women to travel and visit alone whether for work or for amusement purposes. On the other hand, Ahmed Midhat wrote earlier that in international voyages by steamship, it is normal to encounter women who are traveling alone. Here, Ahmed Midhat always tries to keep women-related issues within boundaries defined by virtue and morality.

Theater draws attention as one of the most important places among the public places mentioned in etiquette literature. Theater was a totally new

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<sup>97</sup> *ibid*, p. 547.

<sup>98</sup> *ibid*, p. 555.

phenomenon in the Ottoman realm, but it was welcomed by Ottomans in a short period of time. As Said Naum Duhani explained in *Eski İnsanlar Eski Evler*, the statesmen and sultans showed great interest in theater. All the politicians of İstanbul, people of diplomatic environment and the members of the polite society attended the theatre. Sultans Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz presented themselves in the stage galas plays of chief operas.<sup>99</sup>

The theater was seen as one of the most important aspects of civilized life. Ottoman intellectuals like Ahmed Midhat and Namık Kemal attracted attention to the educational contributions of the theater as a vehicle for the transformation of Ottoman society. They saw the theater as an art not for a specific environment - polite society - but for a general public that needed to be educated and civilized. Since it was a new form, the etiquette of theater was also unknown to many Ottomans who were not in direct contact with Europe or European people.

On the other hand, theater in late Ottoman etiquette literature seems as an art of privileged groups, even in Ahmed Midhat's book, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret-i Yahud Alafranga*. In this literature, theater is not seen as a place for watching a play, but as a place for socializing and entertaining in the polite environment. Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem defines theatres as entertaining

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<sup>99</sup> "Naum Tiyatrosu'na İstanbul'daki bütün siyaset adamları , diplomatic çevrelere mensup kişiler ve kibar takımının üyeleri devam ederdi. Abdülmecid ve Abdülaziz belli başlı operaların temsillerinde hazır bulunurlardı." Said Naum Duhani, *Eski İnsanlar Eski Evler: 19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Beyoğlu'nun Sosyal Topoğrafyası*, Ahmet Parman, trans. (İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1984), p. 62.

places like *mesires*, but attracts attention to the obligation of more detailed and fine courtesy in theaters with the following words:

Although theaters and entertainment places like them are a kind of *mesire*; to a degree, *mesires* mean countryside entertainment, whereas because theatres are a place where everyone will be close to each other and a behavior or action against breeding will immediately catch attention, it is important to be more careful in these places.<sup>100</sup>

In *Usûl ve Âdâb- Mu'âşeret* written for the military class, it is said that people go to operas and big theaters almost as if going to a polite salon.<sup>101</sup> An

Ottoman observer in London describes the dresses of people going to the theater with the following words:

Audiences who go to the theater wear the stylish clothes they wear on special days like Sundays. It is their custom to wear a white neck tie, vest and black pants and they do not accept the ones who act against this and send them back.<sup>102</sup>

According to *Usûl ve Âdâb- Mu'âşeret*, the military class should attend the theater with *cumalık elbise*. On the other hand, the book claims that there is not a big theater in İstanbul; therefore, it is suitable to go with any outfit. It is

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<sup>100</sup> "Tiyatro ve buna mümasil eğlence mahalleri dahi mesireler kabilinden ise de mesireler bir derece kır 'alemi demek olup tiyatrolar ise herkes yekdiğerine pek yakın bulunacağı ve muğayir-i terbiye bir hal ve hareket nazar-ı 'ammeye derhal çarpacağı cihetle buralar daha ziyade şayan-ı i'tina ve dikkatdir." Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, p. 39.

<sup>101</sup> "Avrupa'da operalara ve büyük tiyatrolara adeta bir kibar salonuna gider gibi gidilir." *Usûl ve Âdâb- Mu'âşeret*, p. 44.

<sup>102</sup> "Tiyatroya giden seyirciler Pazar günleri gibi özel günlerde giydikleri hususi şık elbiselerini giyerler. Beyaz boyun bağı, yelek ve siyah pantolon giymek adetlerinden olup hilafına hareket edenleri aralarına kabul etmeyip geri gönderirler." Fikret Turan, *Seyahatname-i Londra: Tanzimat Bürokratinin Modern Sanayi Toplumuna Bakışı* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), p. 53.

even advised not to go with the *cumalık* dress and to prefer a civil dress in İstanbul theaters.<sup>103</sup>

How to greet people in the theater, how to behave during the breaks, how to visit lodges, how to care for women are the big issues to be explained by etiquette authors. Ahmed Midhat first talks about hiring lodges in theaters and he advises Ottoman men to not hire lodges if they are alone or without a woman and watch the play from an ordinary seat since the foremost aim is to watch the play. He says that even European people do not hire lodges if there is no woman with them.<sup>104</sup> Except for men who are from the royal family, for two or three men to sit at the lodge without a woman was considered absurd in Europe.<sup>105</sup>

As clearly pointed out by Ahmed Midhat and Hasan Bahri and many others, the main parameter for European etiquette in different circumstances, occasions and places is the existence of a woman. Here, the theater etiquette is determined in the same manner. According to Ahmed Midhat, a man cannot greet a woman during the play even if they make eye contact. On the other hand, a man should visit this woman at the intermission and have a talk with her about sweet nothings. According to *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, if a man encounters with familiar women at the theater, he must visit all these

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<sup>103</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 44.

<sup>104</sup> Ahmed Midhat, pp. 189-190.

<sup>105</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 45.

women in their lodges without leaving them alone.<sup>106</sup> It is even the responsibility of men to not leave women alone in their lodges.<sup>107</sup>

In the common gathering places or public areas, one of the most important rules that must be obeyed is the use of tobacco. This rule was often underlined by Ottoman etiquette authors for each case. As approved by contemporary sources, the use of tobacco was usually free in Ottoman public places such as trams, trains, steamboats, even though it was not advisable. On the other hand, the use of tobacco in Europe was restricted to the particular places and conditions in both public and private places. In the theater, the use of tobacco was prohibited and special places were allocated for smoking. It was also improper to go to these places with women because particular salons were assigned for strolling with women.<sup>108</sup>

It is interesting to note that Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem touches upon theater etiquette with a small passage. He does not talk about the European practices of theater etiquette such as visiting women in their lodges, having snacks at the breaks with friends, greetings etc. Rather, he talks about general rules of what should not be done such as talking and laughing loudly during the play, showing excessive amazement, responding to the talks and

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<sup>106</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 44.

<sup>107</sup> Hasan Bahri, p. 33.

<sup>108</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, p. 45.



conversations of actors on the stage and hitting feet on the floor.<sup>109</sup> All of these seem quite introductory and represent the rudimentary level of theater etiquette.

Leisure time activities of European life except the theater did not attract the attention of Ottoman etiquette writers in general. However, Ahmed Midhat explains different ways of wasting time in Europe, but sometimes with reminders and reservations. Among these, going to a summerhouse as a guest and hunting are described in a detailed manner for an Ottoman man. These activities were seen as possible conditions Ottoman men in Europe could confront. On the other hand, Ahmed Midhat has some doubts about the sea baths, thermal-springs and water-related activities. In his view, these were important activities for physical health, but had a potential for immoral behaviors. According to Ahmed Midhat, despite the possibilities for immorality, there might be virtuous families with children who came for entertaining within the boundaries of decency and morality.<sup>110</sup> In these kinds of offers which seem immoral, Ahmed Midhat advises his reader to reject the proposals in a polite manner:

Because the man who is talking will quickly reveal his nature in these kinds of engagements anyway, he will leave and stay away himself after a polite and short answer to whatever he is offering. For example, if he is offering to talk about women, it is enough to say "Thank you Sir, but because I came here for my health, I do not have the permission to put my health to test that way." And respond to those

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<sup>109</sup> Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, p. 38.

<sup>110</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 570.

who offer gambling as "I have to keep myself from the pleasure of the game because my wealth is only enough for my livelihood." Mentioning that fondness of prostitution and gambling is not suitable for human virtues and telling them the reason would not have done any good and it would just have been talking for nothing. They will just get lost without you bothering to say those words of wisdom because they will not even listen to those kinds of words.<sup>111</sup>

Ahmed Midhat produces solutions for circumstances where European superficial etiquette rules contradict with Ottoman morality and values by using the language of European etiquette literature. In terms of duels which are seen as an unseemly tradition in the civilized world, he also advises to reject offers for duels by taking the example of English people who are from the Quaker (*kavagir*) sect in which it is forbidden to commit homicide.<sup>112</sup>

Gambling is also seen as another horrible tradition of the world of civilization by Ahmed Midhat. The houses of well-endowed people of Europe were like gaming houses. Despite his criticism and advice for avoidance, he explains the details of etiquette rules for both duel and gambling. Like İbrahim Hilmi who differentiates European etiquette from Ottoman manners, Ahmed Midhat differentiates having the knowledge of

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<sup>111</sup> "Zaten bu gibi tesadüflerde karşısındaki adam cibilleti her ne ise çarçabuk meydana koyacağından teklif eylediği şey ne ise nazikane ve kısa bir cevap ile mukabeleyi müte'akip kendi kendine terk ve teba'ud eyler. Mesela sohbet-ı nisvanı der-miyan ve teklif eyliyor ise "Teşekkür ederim efendim, fakat buraya sıhhatim için geldiğimden sıhhatimi o suretle tecrübeye mezun değilim." demek kafidir. Kumar teklif edenlere mukabil dahi "Servetim ancak ma'îşetime kafi olduğundan oyun lezaizinden nefsimi mahrum bırakmaya mecburum." demek kifayet eder. Fuhşa, kumara inhimakın fezail-i insaniyeye yakışmayacağından bahisle bunlara hikmet söylemekte hiçbir faide olmayıp beyhude yere çene çalınmış olur idiyse de onlar o gibi sözlere kulak dahi vermeyecekleri cihetle fazıl, hikmet fûruşu bu söylemek zahmetine duçar etmeksizin yıkılıp giderler." Ahmed Midhat, pp. 567-568.

<sup>112</sup> ibid, p. 613.

European etiquette from applying the European etiquette. In fact, in late Ottoman etiquette literature, three levels of relation with European etiquette appear: having the knowledge of European etiquette, applying European etiquette in the circumstances where there is direct contact with Europeans, and embracing European manners as lifestyle.

Late Ottoman etiquette authors, especially Ahmed Midhat and Lütfü Simavi, implicitly tried to limit the content and level of relation of the Ottoman man with European etiquette in their books. Rather than descriptive explanations of European etiquette, they tried to synthesize them for an Ottoman reader. Therefore, being aware of the nature of European etiquette with its contributions, benefits, and troubles, they undertook a mission to find out an ideal way for the Ottoman transformation of social life. Ahmed Midhat, for example, was quite eclectic, pragmatic and practical in his approach to European etiquette. In this manner, Paul Dumont's account of Said Bey through his own documents and notes represent the Ottoman man described by the late Ottoman etiquette authors. Said Bey is a medium level educated Ottoman official who represents a typical man of letters in the late nineteenth century Ottoman society whose education, way of life and tastes formed in a quite eclectic environment. Dumont says that he resembles an Ottoman-style dandy in his fashionable clothing, in being a diligent visitor to the hairdresser, in spending much of his time in rides through the town in a carriage, in attending showrooms and café-concerts and in eating

and drinking.<sup>113</sup> According to Dumont, his bow lacks but one string: gambling. In 1902, cards are never mentioned in his notes. However, from the perspective of etiquette literature, he seems as a typical reader and even follower of late Ottoman etiquette literature. Despite the warnings on gambling in etiquette literature, a little later he speaks several times of his losses at cards. According to Dumont, this complicates the perfect profile of a man-about-town.

*Mesires* and picnics as the titles of late Ottoman etiquette books reveal the different point of views of Ottoman etiquette authors. The *mesires* of Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem were gender-segregated and under the direct control of Ottoman authorities. Ahmed Cevad confirms this practice by saying that “in *mesires*, it is rare to confront a woman walking with a man. Especially for the members of the army, it is forbidden for men and women in a family to sit around a table together.”<sup>114</sup> Despite the centrality of gender segregation, Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem reminds his readers about the *mesire* being a public place of entertainment for both ordinary (*avam*) and elite people (*havas*) and the importance of obeying the rules such as not keeping

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<sup>113</sup> Paul Dumont, “The Everyday Life of an İstanbul Townsman at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century,” *The Modern Middle East*, Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury and Mary C. Wilson, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 277.

<sup>114</sup> “Mesirelerde erkek ile gezmeye çıkmış bir kadına tesadüf etmek enderdir. Hele erkekli kadınlı bir ailenin bir masa etrafına iskemle koyup oturmaları zabıtaca memnûdur!” Ahmed Cevad, *Bizde Kadın* (Dersaadet: Kader Matba’ası, 1328/1910), p. 25; Ekrem Işın, *Tanzimat Ailesi ve Modern Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret, Sosyokültürel Değişim Sürecinde Türk Ailesi* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992), C. III, p. 223.

people you confront busy, not talking with unfamiliar people, listening to music when it starts etc.<sup>115</sup>

On the other hand, Ahmed Midhat defines picnics as entertaining where all participants pay his/her own expenses and women and men entertain together, and women, except elders, are under the auspices of men in terms of protection, respect and expenditures.<sup>116</sup> These picnics were the entertainment of a polite environment in Europe. In fact, the term *picnic* is not a synonym with *mesire* in late Ottoman context. Picnic as a term refers to both a space and an action. On the other hand, *mesire* was defined as a space (*ism-i mekan* of seyr), or *mesiregah* where people ride for amusement and excursion (*tenezzüh* and *teferrüc* are defined as acts related to *mesire*).<sup>117</sup>

On the other hand, it is possible to see the signs of transformation in *mesires*, at least the expectations in this way, in the contemporary magazines. Mesudet Bedirhan in her essay on family excursions in *Kadınlar Dünyası* talks about gender-segregation in the East while men and women are sharing life in the West. In her view, since eastern women were ill, children were deprived of attention. Her solution for this matter was to transform the Ottoman *mesire* tradition to the European way of picnics:

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<sup>115</sup> Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, p. 37.

<sup>116</sup> Ahmed Midhat, p. 551.

<sup>117</sup> "Nisvan taifesinden bazıları tenezzüh ve teferrüc bahanesi ile Üsküdar'dan Kısıklı, Bulgurlu, Çamlıca ve Merdivenköyü'ne..." 1165/1752, quoted from Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Tarihimizde Garip Vakalar* (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1958), pp. 63-73.

Because once a week is our religious and national holiday, for example on Fridays, all husbands and wives take their children to the countryside where they can fill their lungs with pure and fresh air in exchange for the air in the city and get rid of a week of noise and temper caused by life and happily eat the food that they have brought along with them and run and play until night. Excursions provide not only health benefits, but also social discipline. The loosely playing of children in the streets is prevented this way. In case the excursions are carried out regularly, because two days of the week will pass with excursion preparation and the other two with fatigue, the child can very well be kept before the eyes of his mother during the other two days left by scaring with the penalty of deprivation from the excursion. Along with satisfying the man's need for company, family excursions will also show him that his wife can accompany him further than the doorstep.<sup>118</sup>

As repeatedly emphasized, late Ottoman etiquette authors consciously or practically did not include Ottoman Muslim women into the etiquette literature. However, this does not mean that Ottoman women were totally outside of the transformation process of the late nineteenth century. As clearly pointed out, Ottoman women have to stand out against Ottoman authorities who try to keep their positions as stagnant and find a proper way to negotiate between their way of life and European manners since there is

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<sup>118</sup> "Haftada bir defa yevm-i dini ve milli tatilimiz olduğundan mesela Cuma günleri her zevc ve zevce ve çocuklarını alarak bir haftalık hay u huyu hayatın tevellüd ettiği asabiyeti izale ederek şehrin hevayı semalarına mukabil ciğerlerine saf ve taze hava isale edebilecek kırlara giderek beraberlerinde götürdükleri yemekleri orada güle oynaya yiyib akşama kadar koşarlar. Tenezzühlerin temin edeceği fayda yalnız sıhhi değil aynı zamanda içtimâî terbiyedir de. Çocukların sokakta başıboş oynaması bu sayede önlenmiş olur. Tenezzühlerin muntazaman icrası halinde haftanın iki günü tenezzüh hazırlığı, iki günü yorgunluğu ile geçeceğinden diğer iki gününde tenezzühten mahrumiyet cezasıyla korkutulacak çocuk pek güzel validesinin gözü önünde muhafaza edilebilir. Aile tenezzühleri erkeğin ihtiyacı refakatini tatmin etmekle beraber zevci meşru'asının kapı eşiğinde ötede kendisine refakat edebileceğini gösterebilecektir." Mesudet Bedirhan, "Aile Tenezzühleri," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, 100 /6, (24 Ağustos 1339- 4 Şevval 1339), pp. 3-5.

no guide book produced for them as opposed to Ottoman men. According to Dumont who described the everyday life of Said Bey by focusing on his diary, the official's wife had a very busy social life similar to that described for non-Muslim European women in etiquette literature. Visits to other women, mostly neighbors, attending festive occasions, participation to outdoor parties, outings to Çamlıca, a famous picnic site of the period, occasional theatre shows at Şehzadebaşı, or window-shopping in the elegant shopping district of Beyoğlu seem like the favored activities for Said Bey's wife, who was most likely not alone in some of her tastes and shared similar habits with women of her status.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Paul Dumont, p. 282.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

This dissertation is about the Ottoman etiquette (*âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*) books published between 1889 and 1918. It analyzes these books as etiquette literature and approaches the issue with the conceptions and questions derived from this literature rather than predetermined questions, agendas and paradigms. Avoiding generalizations, it discusses each book within its own terms and context, as well as its place in late Ottoman etiquette literature and within the Ottoman transformation process.

Late Ottoman etiquette literature appeared as a new genre in the Ottoman literary world in many respects. In the Ottoman Empire, there existed a genre with many examples addressing proper behavior and morals from the classical period until the end of the Empire. This dissertation, however, argues that late Ottoman etiquette literature appeared as a form independent of this morality literature. When it appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, it did not replace the existing morality literature. Therefore, late Ottoman literature on etiquette and proper behavior is neither a continuation nor a rupture from the earlier Ottoman morality literature.

Indeed, late Ottoman etiquette literature seems more similar to the contemporary European etiquette literature in terms of writing style, approach, method and content. On the other hand, it should be noted that



the first etiquette books have intense, and the later ones have only partial contact with the morality literature of the period. The book of Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, *Nezakət ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavâid-i Âdâb* (1889), translated from French and the book of Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (1890), translated from Arabic and Persian can be virtually accepted a synthesis of the two literatures.<sup>1</sup>

Ottoman etiquette authors generally tried to rethink and reshape the European way of understanding etiquette (*âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*), which was considered to be a normative notion that was not morally acceptable for the Ottoman context. Although some authors focused on formal politeness in their books, they often made their selections and synthesized European etiquette literature by relying on their own ideas of morality. Thus, late Ottoman etiquette literature, including a variety of books with different perspectives, determined its own particular course of development between notions of European civility and Ottoman morality.

This dissertation argues that the emergence of late Ottoman etiquette literature as a new genre is related both to the nineteenth century world context and to the particular conditions of the late Ottoman socio-cultural milieu. By taking change and transformation to the center of this study, this dissertation analyzes late Ottoman etiquette literature as the confrontation of

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<sup>1</sup> Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, *Nezakət ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavâ'id-i Âdâb* (İstanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar Matba'ası, 1306 / 1889), Çençenzade Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matba'ası, 1307 / 1890 ).

Ottoman authors with contemporary change and transformation, rather than evaluating all the developments in favor of European lifestyle and etiquette as a part of the Westernization, modernization and civilization processes. Therefore, it focuses on the different attitudes and approaches of the late Ottoman etiquette authors. It can be said that almost each one of the thirteen Ottoman etiquette books examined in this dissertation developed a unique attitude of its own towards change, transformation, reform, westernization and modernization.

The different political allegiances, conflicting ambitions, and different educational, cultural and social backgrounds of the authors determined the content, methods and wisdom of their writings on etiquette. Although the *alla franca* etiquette and the discussions about it are at the center of this literature, each book's definition and understanding of etiquette is different from the other. Each of the etiquette authors, with their different backgrounds and with their diverse approaches towards "how Ottoman etiquette should be," represents the attitude of different social groups and classes of Ottoman society towards change and transformation.

In this vein, this dissertation claims that the Ottoman term, *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* had multiple meanings for Ottoman men of letters, and Ottoman etiquette authors who wrote in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The late Ottoman etiquette literature produced under the title of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* includes a variety of books written with diverse perspectives,

approaches and methodologies. First of all, the selection of vocabulary in each etiquette book, mostly as synonyms and definitions of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, reveals the different agendas and aims of its author. Mostly, but not always, the vocabulary preferred to be used in order to explain the term *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* in an Ottoman etiquette book represented the worldview of its author, his socio-cultural and educational background, his attitude toward Westernization or modernization, and his idea of civilization, transformation, reformation and change.

In this context, this dissertation reveals that some authors who wrote etiquette books under the title of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* in the same period did not refer to the etiquette of European life. Some of them, like Resulzade Hüseyin Hüsnü, Antakyalı Çençenzade Hakkı and Mehmed Emin, even criticized the importation of manners of the Western upper-class environment into Ottoman society. Interestingly, most of these books were written by considering both French etiquette literature and the existing etiquette in Ottoman society. Lütfü Simavi's *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* is a good example of books prepared in this way.<sup>2</sup> The book must have received a lot of interest since it was published three times; in 1914, 1918 and 1923. Every time it was published, the book was promoted and discussed in the periodicals of the period. Although he predominantly wrote about *alla franca* etiquette, Ahmet Midhat's book called *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti Yahud*

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<sup>2</sup> Lütfü Simavi, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i İctihad, 1329 /1911).

*Alafranga* is also a sort of compilation because he has cited the names of his particular references from French etiquette literature.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the late Ottoman etiquette books were written by relying on French etiquette literature. However, these books were not exactly translated from French etiquette books. They were appropriated to the Ottoman context through the negotiations, reckonings and conciliations with European etiquette writings. The only exception of this is Comtesse de Magallon's book, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı* (1910), translated by Ahmed Cevad.<sup>4</sup> It was published without any intervention to the original text; therefore it includes many topics which do not have any applicability in Ottoman society, especially for Ottoman Muslims, such as weekly visits to the church, participating at death ceremonies in accordance with Christian traditions, and engagement procedures.

Books directly translated from French etiquette literature do not seem to have gained popularity in the late Ottoman literary world. This is probably related to the attitude of Ottomans towards change and transformation. Neither the Ottoman ruling elite, nor the etiquette writers have a purpose of being fully western. The determination of the outfit of the Ottoman officer as combination of the *fez* (on the head) and a European suit

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<sup>3</sup> Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1312/1894).

<sup>4</sup> Comtesse de Magallon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti*, Ahmed Cevad, trans. (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Askeri, 1328/1911).

(on the body) is a concrete example of this synthetic approach. Even the Ottoman etiquette authors who put an emphasis on *alla franca* in their books are not in favor of the exact adoption of the European etiquette. As Esenbel suggested, Ottomans adhered to neither a European nor a traditional model of transformation, but functioned in the middle ground between the Ottoman and Christian worlds.<sup>5</sup>

The existence of such a colorful etiquette literature in the period of transformation reveals competing visions of modernization and civilization in the Ottoman world. The polyphonic and multivalent nature of the late Ottoman etiquette literature reveals the dynamic process of the reformulation of European culture for the Ottoman realm. Even though late Ottomans, from state authorities to men of letters, approved European supremacy and the inevitable need for change, they were still searching for a cultural identity they could call their own. It was clear that the Ottomans were actually combining two elements, one nascent and the other western, in a symbiotic way. In this Ottoman form of eclecticism, the content and form of manners had to conform to the inner mental concerns of multiple actors.<sup>6</sup>

Interestingly, despite the attempts of many etiquette authors to define *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* in accordance with Ottoman customs and traditions, they

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<sup>5</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, "The Anguish of Civilized Behavior: The Use of Western Cultural Forms in the Everyday Lives of the Meiji Japanese and the Ottoman Turks During the Nineteenth Century," *Japan Review*, 5, (1995), p. 178.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid..

could not stay indifferent to the *alla franca* lifestyle. In fact, their attitudes towards *alla franca*, namely European lifestyle determined their point of difference and stance within the etiquette literature. Even those who did not write about *alla franca* etiquette expressed their views on *alla franca*, or had to justify not to write about it to their readers. This reveals the central role *alla franca* played in the eclectic understanding of etiquette in the period.

On the other hand, it is possible to say that Ottoman etiquette authors had a high awareness of European civilization and etiquette. They were aware that in this regard there is no unity in Europe. While explaining some etiquette rules in their books, Ahmed Midhat, Hasan Basri, M. Ş., and Lütü Simavi often pointed out that they are applied differently in different countries of Europe. Only *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, published anonymously by Matba'a-i Askeriye, wrote that "Europe acts as a single nation which adopted a common etiquette."<sup>7</sup> Most of the etiquette authors thought that the European civilization and etiquette have superiorities as well as weaknesses and defects. Thus, they did not suggest either a complete imitation of the European civilization, or complete obedience or submission to it.

Although the admiration for the superiority of the West cannot be denied, the emergence of this literature is more parallel to the political, cultural and social developments in the world. The nineteenth century has

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<sup>7</sup> *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Askeriye, 1327/1910), p. 3.

been known as the age of transformation in world history due to the far-reaching changes, revolutions and reforms all around the world, especially in technology, lifestyle and manners. The growing interest on civility and the rapid increase in the number of works on etiquette led to define the nineteenth century as the age of civility. It is seen that the direction of change and transformation was set by France in Europe and in many societies outside Europe. In terms of lifestyle, manners and etiquette, not only non-Europeans, but also many men letters from European nations settled for translations of courtesy and etiquette books from French. Thus, the readiness of Ottoman authors to rely on foreign texts, mostly on French, cannot be read as part of the Westernization process, utilized by many historians to explain all the developments in the Ottoman world after the second half of the eighteenth century. Rather, the Ottoman etiquette literature can be read as an attempt to be part of an existing trend in the world.

As the emergence of the etiquette literature in the Ottoman Empire is related to the nineteenth century world context, it is a literature that has emerged in the Ottoman Empire's own context and conditions. The change and reform process in the nineteenth century took place in some countries without their own political will, and a very few number of countries had the opportunity to manage this process. They were westernized as a part of the

process of being conquered and were ruled by Western countries.<sup>8</sup> During the nineteenth century, the European colonizing powers applied the terms such as savage, barbarous, and semi-civilized nations to justify colonization in the name of a superior modern civilization which was a combination of Christianity and scientific rationality.<sup>9</sup>

The Ottoman Empire was one of the first states that decided to modernize along the lines of acknowledged European standards. In her comparison of Ottoman modernization with Japan, Selçuk Esenbel argues that the Ottoman Empire was a target of colonialist powers and this made the Ottoman modernization process different from Japan. Similarly, Amit Bein argues that the Ottoman Empire was both the target of European colonialist pressures and an imperialist power in its own right, and was still considered an important power with which to contend.<sup>10</sup>

Even though the Ottoman reform and transformation process was motivated to some extent with an aforementioned threat of being colonized, without doubt, this was an inside reaction to westernization propagated by decision makers who were Ottomans. As Selçuk Esenbel argues, modernization for non-Western nations is the result of a process of decision-

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<sup>8</sup> Justin McCarthy, *Historical Endings: Peoples and the End of Empire*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Timothy Fitzgerald, *Discourse on Civility and Barbarity: A Critical History of Religion and Related Categories*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 110.

<sup>10</sup> Amit Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011), p. 12.



making. According to Esenbel, each entity has its own conditions and these particular conditions make their modernization process unique to themselves. Indeed, the Ottoman modernization was a series of complex and uneven decision-making processes conducted by the will of the Ottoman ruling elite.

Ottoman modernization was different from many other non-European countries. As Amit Bein pointed out, the situation in the Ottoman Empire differed in some important ways from many other contemporary societies in the Middle East and beyond. For one thing, the Ottoman Empire was both European and Middle Eastern at the same time. This meant that it was tied to developments in Europe more intimately than most other non-Western societies even though it was still considered by Europeans, as well as many Ottomans, to be alien to European culture, history and traditions.<sup>11</sup>

The inner motivations in the emergence of late Ottoman etiquette literature were mostly determined by needs that emerged due to new conditions and circumstances of the age of transformation. The changes and transformations in the geography close to Ottoman Empire, and reforms within the Ottoman territories revealed a need for an etiquette literature which would form a model for changing rules of conduct both in Europe and the Ottoman territories. It was thought that especially the military and the bureaucratic class who were in touch with Europe did not obey the etiquette

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<sup>11</sup> Amit Bein, p. 12.

rules of the Europeans during their contact with them, and as such they could not represent the Ottoman nation in a positive sense. The importance given to “image” and the extreme sensitivity shown to “representation” in the world as well as in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century supported the motivations in the writing of this kind of a literature. In this regard, it is seen that many etiquette authors searched for convincing answers to the question of “why European etiquette should be learned and by whom” in their etiquette books. For them, learning European etiquette was not something arbitrary, but virtually a necessity. For this reason, they consciously put forward issues such as the dignity of the Ottoman Empire, its progress, the importance of not being embarrassed and to appear civilized.

Despite the expansion of Ottoman elite in late nineteenth century, late Ottoman etiquette books consciously addressed a quite particular environment in comparison to the European etiquette books addressing a larger middle class. An important part of this literature – although there are exceptions – has been written for a particular class which faced the potential to encounter Europeans in particular conditions. This class primarily comprises the Ottoman military cadres, senior bureaucrats, ambassadors, high-rank officials and the Ottoman elite who are likely to come into contact with Europeans. In this respect, it is possible to say that the late Ottoman

etiquette literature is male-centered because the Ottoman man was seen as the subject of change and transformation.

Although woman as a title do exist in the Ottoman etiquette literature, there is almost no presence of “Ottoman woman” in this literature. Women were not regarded as the agents of change; rather they were thought to be protected against change in many cases. This situation was apparent in the etiquette books, especially in chapters written on men’s and women’s clothing. In the chapters about the proper way of dressing and dressing etiquette, Ottoman etiquette authors usually adopted an eclectic approach and mostly applied negotiation and appropriation in the adoption of the European dress. The most important reason behind the eclectic attitude of Ottoman etiquette writers towards men’s clothing was their way of looking at Ottoman men as the direct appliers or respondents of European etiquette. The clothing described in this literature was not the clothing of “others”; rather, it was the clothing that would be worn by Ottoman men in various occasions and circumstances. On the other hand, they did not show the same attitude in their writings on women’s attire. They described the way of dressing in different occasions and activities for other European and non-Muslim women living Istanbul. This attire depicted for women in the Ottoman etiquette literature was impossible to be worn appropriately by a Muslim woman taking into consideration contemporary practices, and more importantly, legislative orders and impositions. As opposed to their attitude

towards men's clothing, practices of appropriation and negotiation were left to Ottoman women without any guidance. Then, it would be possible to see the traces of the European way of dressing on the Ottoman Muslim women's attire through the skillful tailors of the period with some modifications and adaptations.

The Ottoman mode of cultural eclecticism led to the emergence of a unique etiquette literature. Although it is based on French etiquette literature to a large extent, the fact that some syntheses and negotiations which have been made in Ottoman etiquette books for the Muslim male readers removed this literature from a descriptive and didactic form of writing to a more complex and meaningful form. Despite the fact that late Ottoman etiquette literature did not comprise a description of etiquette rules in an encyclopedic manner, it was not about the existing practice of etiquette. The literature generally did not mention the already accepted practices in the polite environments which were addressed in the etiquette books. For example, late Ottoman etiquette books did not write about Ottoman women who were present at tables prepared according to *alla franca* style without gender segregation. On the other hand, contemporary sources clearly state that women of Ottoman elite circles were present in many European style organizations and entertainments such as balls, soirees, theaters and evening gatherings in the salons of privileged families where gender segregation was not applied.

Indeed, the Ottoman etiquette authors were aware of all these practices. However, they preferred to write their ideals on how Ottoman *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* should be in the age of transformation. Therefore, these etiquette books were the projects of late Ottoman etiquette authors for an ideal modernization which was shaped by “progress” and “civilization” (*terakki ve medeniyet*). In this manner, they determined fields of priority for change and transformation. They intensely focused on topics which were thought to serve development and progress and paid attention to topics like house organization, consumption and entertainment as the only areas of encounter with Europeans. For this reason, their etiquette books attempted to give direction to the modernizing and civilizing efforts that were thought to move more towards the wrong direction. Indeed, writers such as Ahmed Midhat and Lütü Simavi often express this situation in their books.

On the other hand, the late Ottoman etiquette literature does not propose the spread of European etiquette from top to down. The Ottoman etiquette literature suggests a change and transformation literally at the top. Therefore, it is observed by comparing contemporary sources and etiquette books that there are important differences between the etiquette already applied in practice and the etiquette proposed to be applied in the etiquette books as well as some common points. Indeed, according to some of the authors, the spread of European etiquette throughout society was a alarming situation since these norms were to be known only by certain segments of

Ottoman society. Thus, at the beginning of *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî*, translated from Comtesse De Magallon's book, İbrahim Hilmi, as the publisher, clearly states his concern by saying, "By publishing this book, I do not mean to tell you to incorporate the etiquette of the west into our mode of breeding." Because of this point of view, the topics chosen for these books are not topics that concern the entire society, but are limited to a certain environment. For example, in chapters about travel, most of the etiquette authors only mention international travels which are realized within certain standards although there is an important need for a literature which focuses on how one should behave in transportation vehicles which were diversified in the second half of the nineteenth century with the steamboats of *Şirket-i Hayriye*, trams, railroads and omnibuses.

Fatma Müge Göçek defines Ottoman westernization and social change as a top-down process. According to her, Western styles of clothing and forms of etiquette were gradually adopted, first by the sultan and his officials, and then slowly by the rest of the society. By the end of the century, Western forms had penetrated the Ottoman society so much that the daughter of a nineteenth-century Ottoman official had "a French woman teach her French, a Hungarian girl teach her dancing while Jewess Mademoiselle Goldenbourg came for her piano lessons, an American

dressmaker made a dress from a gold crepe sent from England for her and a hairstylist arrived from foreign quarters to do the hair of all the ladies.”<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, the daughter of an Ottoman official in Göçek’s example does not represent the majority of the Ottoman society in the late nineteenth century. Rather, her way of life may be read as the expansion of the Ottoman elite from the palace to the Ottoman officials, and can be evaluated as the westernization of the upper class or westernization of the new Ottoman elite. Most of the late Ottoman etiquette books do not have an aim to modernize or westernize the Ottoman society in general and Ottoman women in particular although this was the case in practice, as shown by Müge Göçek and many other scholars on the period. Except *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret* published by Matba’a-i Askeriye, many etiquette books wrote about why a certain circle has to learn the European etiquette and showed no effort for the adoption of the European etiquette by the society in general.

In fact, *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu’âşeret* (1909) published by Matba’a-i Askeriye for the military class was written in accordance with the political and cultural atmosphere of the Second Constitution. Indeed, it is observed that style and language changed to some extent in the etiquette books printed after 1909. In these books, the negation of the previous period (*devr-i sabık*) was openly emphasized. In his introduction to *Rehber-i Mu’âşeret*:

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<sup>12</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 42.

*Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (1910) by Comtesse de Magallon as the publisher, Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi complains about the triviality of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* both among the upper class and the ordinary public in the previous centuries. He says that “people paid little attention to etiquette in the previous ages because a social stratum that disgraces national and political dignity would not flinch from people it gets in touch with.”<sup>13</sup> The negation of the past in the etiquette books after the Second Constitution usually means the negation of the age of Sultan Abdülhamid II for the justification of the values of the Second Constitution. Likewise, the books of *Malumat-ı Medeniye* published as textbooks to be read in the schools of this period obviously created the idea of a “previous period” (*devr-i sabık*) in order to provide loyalty to the Constitution and to the homeland (*vatan*).<sup>14</sup>

In addition, the Ottoman etiquette books written after the Second Constitution generally have a view of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* mainly based on *alla franca* lifestyle. With the exception of İbrahim Hilmi's introduction that resembles the etiquette concept of the preceding literature, the exact translation of Comtesse de Magallon's book without any intervention gives an idea about the direction and character of change after the Second

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<sup>13</sup> İbrahim Hilmi, “İfade-i Naşir”, in *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*, Comtesse De Magallon, p. 4. “Devr-i sabıkda bu âdâb ve mu'âşerete pek de dikkat edilmezdi. Çünkü haysiyet-i milliye ve siyasiyesini terzil eden bir tabaka-i ictima'îye, temasda bulunduğu insanlardan mı çekinecekti?”

<sup>14</sup> Füsun Üstel, *Makbul Vatandaş'ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), p. 38.



Constitution. The Ottoman etiquette literature, which resembled a river with different branches before 1909, lost many of its branches and was virtually turned towards a single direction after the Second Constitution.

As a matter of fact, the etiquette literature written after the Second Constitution serves as a bridge between late Ottoman and early Republican etiquette literature. Indeed, the etiquette literature from the early Republic onwards is quite different from the Ottoman etiquette literature published before the Second Constitution.<sup>15</sup> What first draws attention is that the target audience is determined as all citizens of Turkey, instead of a particular social segment. Early Republican etiquette literature overtly proposes change and transformation in all of the strata of the society and condemns late Ottoman etiquette literature for being class-based.

Safveti Ziya, in his book *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Hasbihalleri* (1927), criticizes the earlier conception of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* which is claimed to be hierarchical on the basis of nobility, ascendance, and wealth.<sup>16</sup> He argues that *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* is more essential in this day than before since it is a fundamental necessity of modern civilized life. By emphasizing the concepts of equality, democracy and citizenship, he promotes the idea that anybody who learns

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<sup>15</sup> Cahid Sahir, *Alem-i Medeniyette Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret: Şapka ve Elbise Giymek Usûlleri* (Ankara: İktisat Matba'ası, , 1341 /1925); Vasıf Necdet, *Mu'âşeret Yolları: Şapka Kıyafet ve Medeni Âdâbdan Bahseder* (Bursa: Kardeş Matba'ası, 1926); Safveti Ziya, *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Hasbihalleri* (Ankara: Türk Ocakları Merkez Heyeti Matba'ası, 1927); *Herkesin Bilmesi Gereken Mu'âşeret Usûlleri* (İstanbul: Resimli Ay Matba'ası, 1927); Abdullah Cevdet, *Mükemmel ve Resimli Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Rehberi* (İstanbul: Yeni Matba'a, 1927).

<sup>16</sup> Safveti Ziya, p. 7.

the etiquette of a civilized society deserves respect and honor without consideration of his or her rank, social background or economic possession, because education and learning are more important than nobility and power. However, it seems that Safveti Ziya also stipulated certain requirements for living in a civilized community and for respecting someone. He seems to have a more embracing, pluralistic, and even dynamic view of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*, but not an unconditional and liberal one. Even with a forced reading of him, it might be said that he is imposing definite rules of conducts defined as the necessity of civility to everyone who wants to be respected in a community.

A similar attitude can be seen in Cahid Sahir's book, *Alem-i Medeniyette Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret: Şapka ve Elbise Giymek Usûlleri* (1925), which is about dressing, specifies wearing a hat as the expression of civility and obliges everyone to wear it in accordance with what civility requires. While many preceding books use a more advisory language by saying "you should" or "it is recommended", he usually uses phrases such as "it is compulsory", or "you are obliged." What matters most at this point is that despite their stance that seems to be equalizing everyone; their approach is compelling at the same rate, since they force people to behave in a definite manner. This paradoxically creates a hierarchy among people who are the appliers of defined rules of conducts, called civilized and those who are not, called uncivilized.

Contrary to the late Ottoman etiquette literature that remained between East and West and between internal morality and displayed civility, early Republican etiquette literature clarified its choices to a large extent. As compared to late Ottoman etiquette authors who tried to find a moderate path between the choices, and work out different kinds of solutions, early Republican etiquette writers were more determined and coherent in their approach. They defined *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* almost from the same perspective, used similar approaches, methodologies and language. For example, Cahid Sahir, who wrote about dressing as an indicator of being civilized, does not give a chance to a nation that is not civilized in a European way to survive. He asserts that “The religion and the faith of a Turk is in his heart. Nothing changes with attire. You will either progress and civilize or be dead and gone”<sup>17</sup>

In this regard, the definition of morals and etiquette and the relationship between them were also elucidated. Abdullah Cevdet, who wrote a comprehensive etiquette book in 1927, argued that etiquette was built on morals. However, his understanding of morality is no longer based on Islam or Eastern traditions. He categorizes *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as consisting of two levels, “the great principles” and “the little principles”<sup>18</sup>. He thinks that the great principles are the real morals and that they are unchangeable in

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<sup>17</sup> Cahid Sahir, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Abdullah Cevdet, p. 13.

time.<sup>19</sup> According to him, those comprise morality, and the little principles are displayed manners, namely *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret*. He thinks that *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* is a dynamic issue; always open to adaptation and evolution in any group, in any age, and indeed, at any moment of time. One of his main justifications for writing an etiquette book while many already existed in his time is that many rules of etiquette have changed after Lütfi Simavi's book, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret*. He defines *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* as being like fashion, saying that what is gracious in our age may be only odd or perhaps even humiliating later.<sup>20</sup> But he thinks that the rules of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* are also the rules of morality since the basis of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* is morality. He says that you should always behave as if you are in a community even if you are alone.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, this kind of an interpretation of *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* is not so well-known in late Ottoman etiquette manuals on *alla franca*. They rather focused on people's behaviors in high communities or special occasions when they were with others, especially with Europeans. This explanation of Abdullah Cevdet interestingly reminds Kınalızade's definition of morality which he defined as "the acts and doings of people whether alone or not."<sup>22</sup>

In theory, Abdullah Cevdet does not separate *âdâb-ı mu'âşeret* totally from morality. He defines the perfect human being as the man who has both

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<sup>19</sup> *ibid*, p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid*, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid*, p. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Ayşe Sıdıka Oktay, *Kınalızade Ali Efendi ve Ahlâk-ı Alâî* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2005), p. 101.

pedagogical training and training of good manners. He also determines two goals to write an etiquette book: good manners and goodness. The first one is visible and the other one is related to the soul and the essence. He thinks that a person should not behave in a good manner because it was asked or ordered, but he or she should behave in a good manner just because it is good.<sup>23</sup> But like Ahmet Midhat, he only mentions displayed manners on the basis of *alla franca* in his comprehensive book. But there is an important point of difference between Abdullah Cevdet and Ahmet Midhat. Abdullah Cevdet understands morality as pedagogical training, not as an Eastern morality based on traditions and customs. Therefore, he does not take Eastern morality as a criterion on the basis of which European manners would be adopted selectively, but rather advocates the full-scale adoption of Western civilization with its roses and thorns.<sup>24</sup> Abdullah Cevdet and his contemporaries thought that morality is only related to the soul and insight; therefore, they consciously separated morality from daily conducts which was deemed as always open to change, transformation and adaptation. Therefore, they felt the necessity to write about the changing rules of etiquette for the sake of living together.

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid*, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> Abdullah Cevdet, "Şime-i Muhabbet", *İctihad*, No. 89, (January 29, 1914), pp. 1979-1984. Quoted from Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Blueprints for a Future Society: the Late Ottoman Materialists on Science, Religion and Art," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, Elizabeth Özdalga, ed. (London, 2005), p. 80.

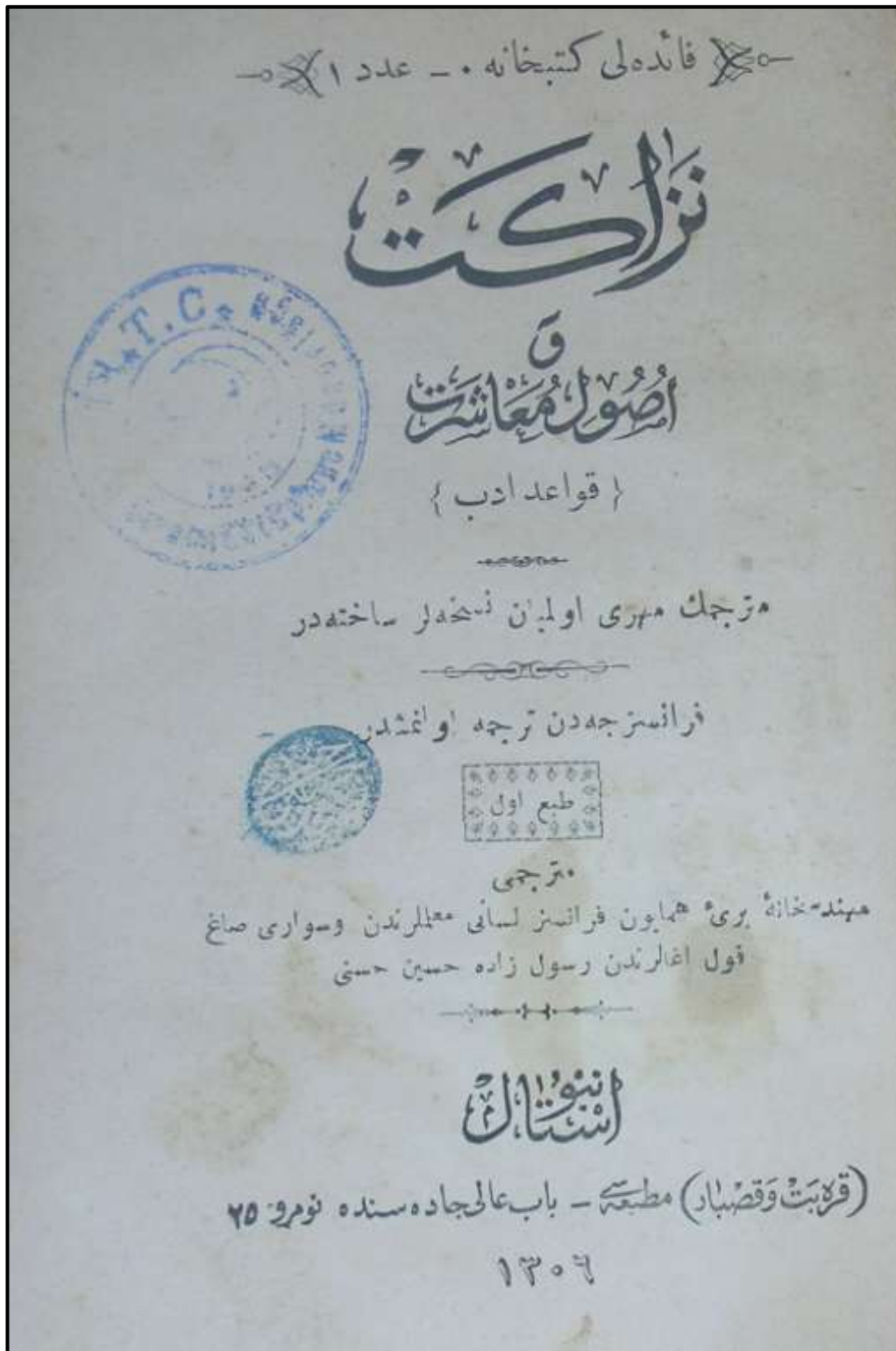
Abdullah Cevdet, Safveti Ziya and Cahid Sahir represent the formal view of Republicans on etiquette and its application in daily life. They are more simplistic in their topics, adopting the encyclopedic format, but more imposing, authoritative and normative in their method of writing in comparison with the late Ottoman books of etiquette, which have a more civil character, are more elusive and are relatively more polyphonic.<sup>25</sup> In this earlier period, being civilized was usually encouraged by explaining its good and bad results and its way of application was generally left to the reader. But the etiquette books of the Republican period seem to have served the authorities in power who aim to modernize a whole country in comprehensive fashions. It is true that the modern concept of civility originated among the Ottoman upper classes, but it became an enforcing tool to modernize entire society at the hands of early Republican authorities and etiquette authors.

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<sup>25</sup> Ekrem Işın, "Abdullah Cevdet'in Cumhuriyet Âdâb-ı Muâşeretî," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 8/48, (December, 1987), p. 14.

## APPENDICES

Appendix A: Book Cover of Resulzâde Hüseyin Hüsni, *Nezâket ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavâ'id-i Âdâb* (I)



Source: Resulzâde Hüseyin Hüsni, *Nezâket ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavâ'id-i Âdâb* (İstanbul: Karâbet ve Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1306 / 1889).

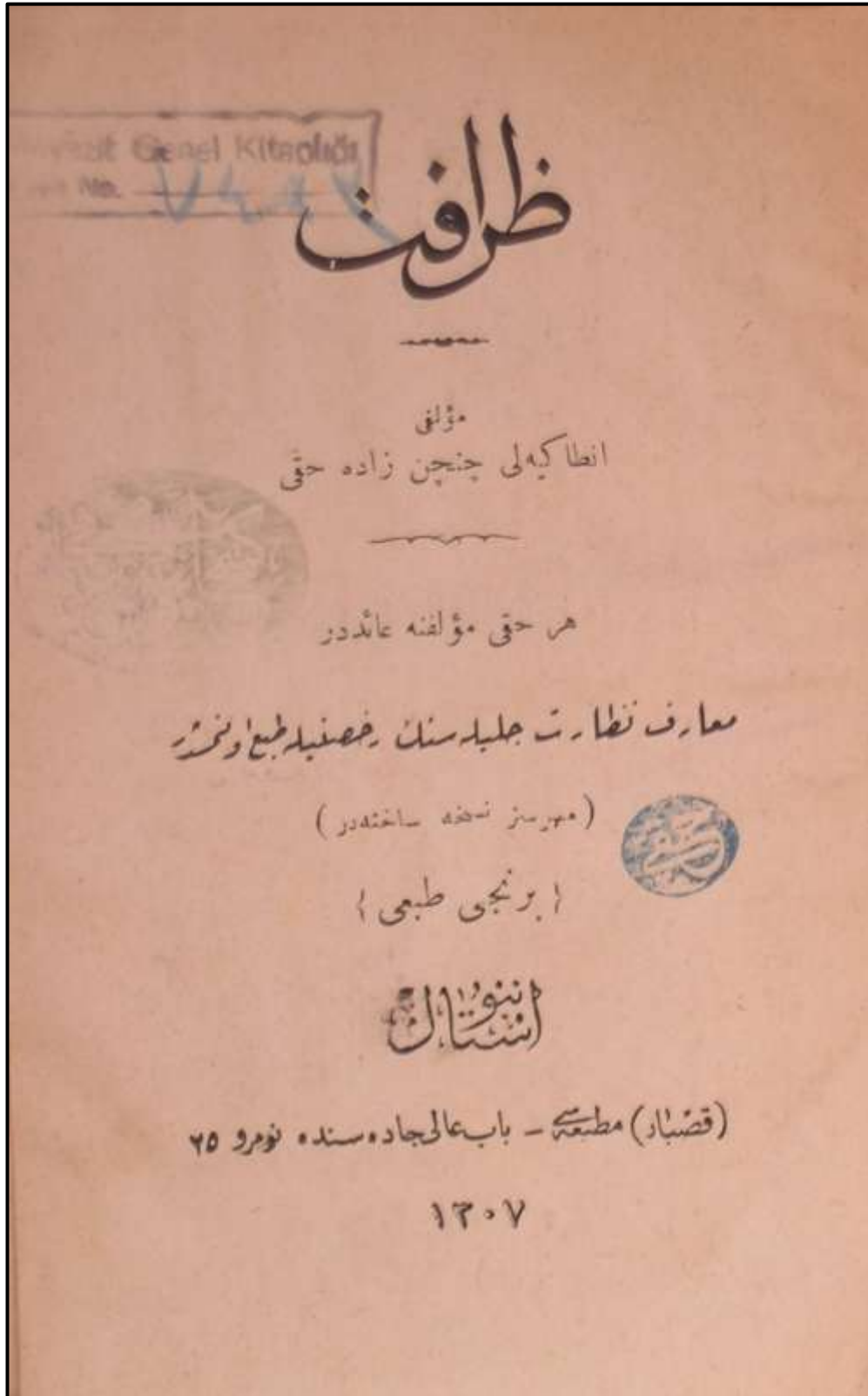


Appendix A: Table of Contents of Resulzâde Hüseyin Hüsnü, *Nezâket ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavâ'id-i Âdâb* (II)

- Mukaddime
- Vücudun Heyet-i 'Umûmiyesi
- Baş
- Usûl-i Tekellüm
- Ef'al ve Harekât-ı Mu'tâde-i Hayâtiye
  - Uyanmak ve uyumak, Etlibu'l 'ilm mine'l mehd ile'l lehd (Beşikten mezara kadar ilmi isteyiniz), Elbise, Ta'amlar, Esna-yı ta'amda tevki' ve ictinâb olunması iktizâ eden diğer bazı harekât, Teneffüs Vakitleri
- Mükâlemeler
  - Nezâket, Kezb, Su'al ve Cevab, Küfr, Zem, Medh, Müzâkere ve Müşâvere, Tebrik, Kibir ve Gurur, Mutâla'â't-ı Muhtelif, Da'vetler: Ta'am ve Merasim-i Ta'am, Ziyaret ve Takdimler.
- Vesâit-i Nezâfet
  - Yüz, Saçlar, Kulaklar, Ağız ve Dişler, Eller, Elbise
- Ef'âl-i Hayâtiye ile Her gün Kâbil-i Tatbîk Olan Bazı Nesâyih-i Makbûle
  - A'mal, Sur'at, Güleryüzlülük, hırs, muhabbet, ebnâ-yı cinsine muhabbet, muhabbet-i zâtiye, haset, boşboğaz, hayırhahlık, sa'âdet ve bahtıyarı, kuvve-i mümeyyize, iyilik, tabi'at, şefkat, nezâket, kalb, hiddet, tavır ve hareket, vicdan, nesâyih, mükâleme, cesâret, müsâvi, arzu, vazife, müzâkere, tasarruf, terbiye, menfa'atperestlik, isti'mal-i zaman, düşman, can sıkıntısı, hased, ümit, akıl, sa'y, hata, adâlet, âdet, mura'ilik, cehâlet, müsâmaha, san'at, nankörlük, tahkir, 'itidalsizlik, temyiz, istikâmet, kırâet, fenâ âdem, zem, kezb, moda, âdâb, ta'arruz, işsizlik, nizâm, sabır, sebât, nezâket, 'âkıbet indişlik, 'iffet, va'd, nezâfet, gurur, 'afv, vâlideyn, tedbîr, iş, dîn-i mübîn.

Source: Resulzâde Hüseyin Hüsnü, *Nezâket ve Usûl-i Mu'âşeret: Kavâ'id-i Âdâb* (İstanbul: Karâbet ve Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1306 / 1889).

Appendix B: Book Cover of Çençenzâde Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (I)



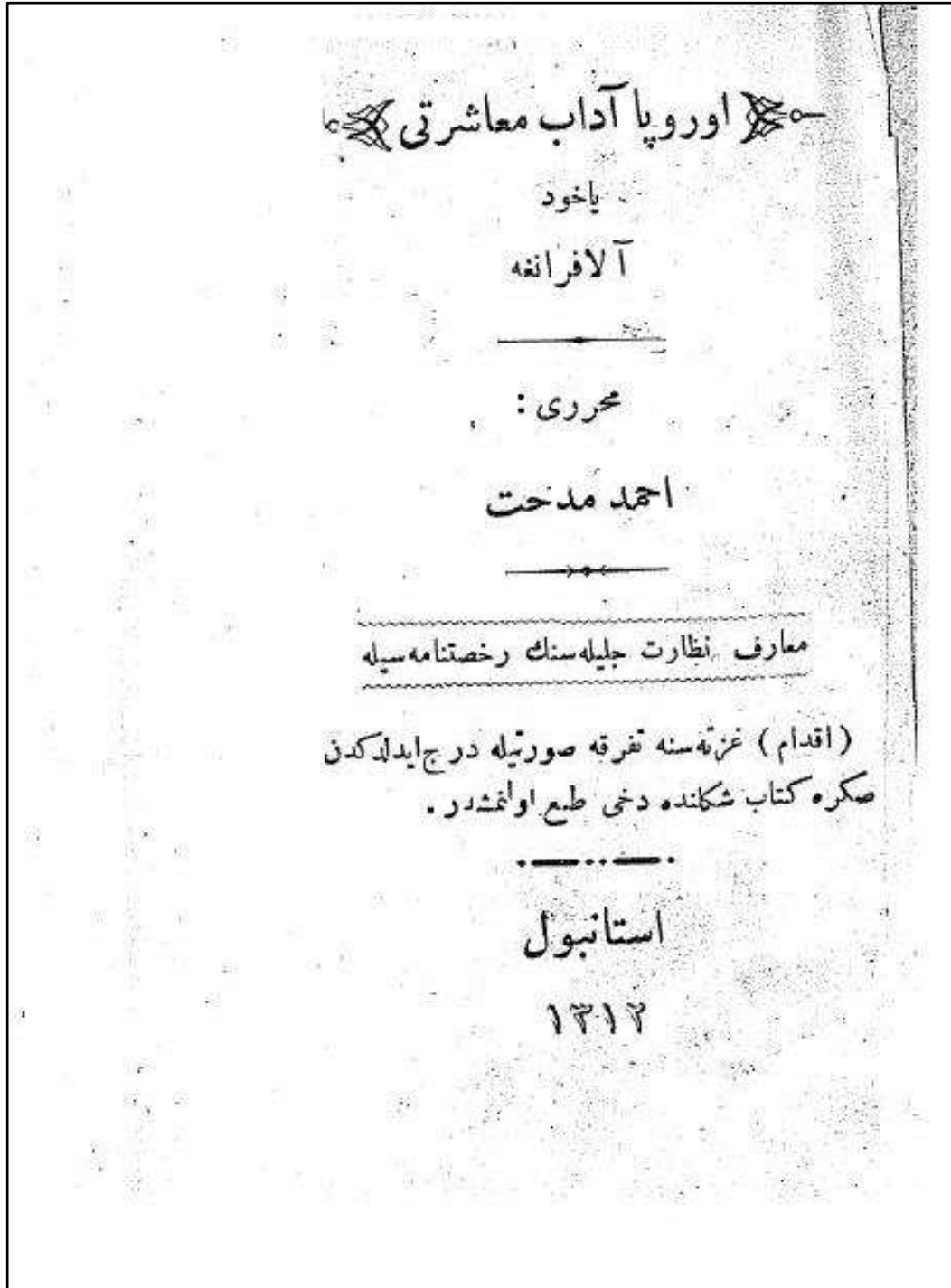
Source: Çençenzâde Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (İstanbul: Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1307 / 1890).

Appendix B: Table of Contents of Çençenzâde Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (II)

- Mukaddime
- Zarâfet: Bismillâhirrahmânirrahîm
- Lisân
- Şerâit-i Tekellüm
- İdâre-i Kelâm
- Göz
- Kulak
- El
- Ayak
- Akıl
- Gönül
- Usûl-u Kesb-i Ma'âş-ı Mu'âşeret
- İhtirâm-ı Vâlideyn
- Ekl-i Ta'âm
- Âdâb-ı Ekl
- Âdâb -ı şerb-i ma'
- Misafir Nevâzlık
- İstirhâm
- Mülâkât
- Hedâyâ
- Hidâm
- İhtiyâr-ı 'azîmet ve gurbet
- Mu'âmele-i Tarîk
- Teftîş-i ahvâl
- Zem ve medh
- Mübâşeret-i ef'âl
- Uyku
- Rüyâ
- Evkât
- Du'â
- Şerâit-i Du'â
- Sûret-i Du'â
- Akvâl-i Hakemiye
- Şit 'Aleyhisselâmın Nesâyihî
- Oğluna Nasîhati
- Bir Şa'irin Kelâmı
- Bir Hekîm-i Hâzık Nasihati
- Bu Dahi
- Temmet

Source: Çençenzâde Hakkı Antakyalı, *Zarâfet* (İstanbul: Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1307 / 1890).

Appendix C: Book Cover of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî Yahud Alafranga* (I).



Source: Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1312 / 1894).

Appendix C: Table of Contents of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî Yahud Alafranga* (II).

| فہرست |                            |
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| ۱۴۶   | عادی سفرہ لہ               |
| ۱۴۷   | جولانلہ                    |
| ۱۶۲   | عربہ لہ                    |
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| ۱۹۴   | توالت یعنی سوسلہ           |

Source: Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1312 / 1894).

Appendix C: Table of Contents of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî Yahud Alafranga* (II).

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Source: Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1312 / 1894).

Appendix C: Table of Contents of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî Yahud Alafranga* (II).

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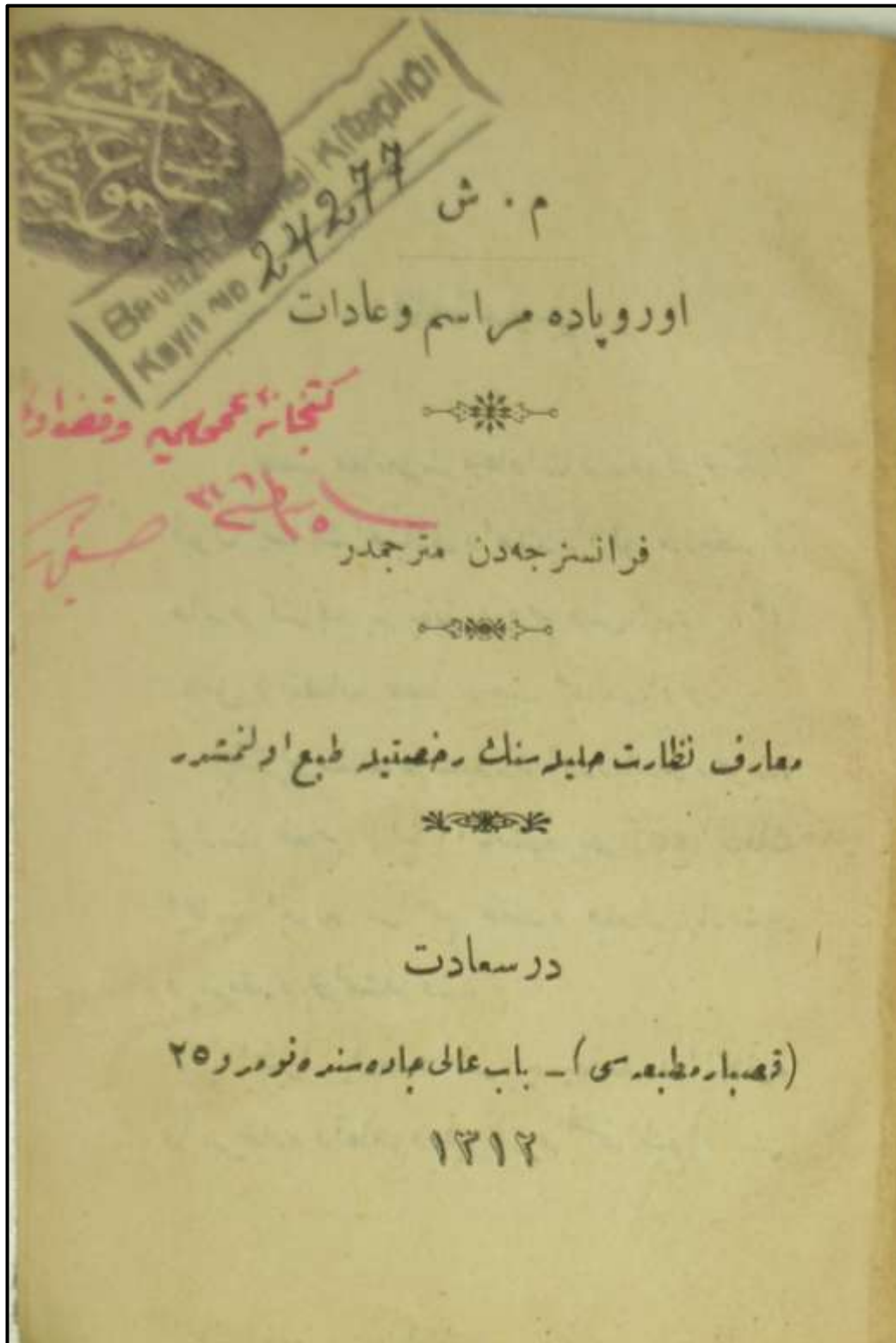
Source: Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1312 / 1894).

Appendix C: Table of Contents of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret-i Yahud Alafranga* (III).

- Mukaddime
- Seyâhat
- Şimendifer Seyâhati
- Vapur Seyâhati
- Vusûl
- Ahvâl-i 'Umûmiyeden Bir Nebze
- Otelde İkâmet
- 'Umûmi Sofralar
- 'Âdî Lokanta Sofraları
- Cevelânlar
- 'Arabalar
- Pourboire yani Bahşışlar
- Kahve, Gazino, Tiyatro Vesâire
- Tuvâlet Ya'ni Süsler
- Prezante
- Selamlar
- El Vermek
- Kol Vermek
- Reveranslar
- Diz Çökmek
- Hâne Tanzîmi
- Viziteler
- Ziyâfetler
- Çaya Dâ'vet
- Suâre yani Müsâmereler
- Balolar
- Kartviziteler
- Tütün
- Merâsim-i Medeniye
- Mu'âşeret-i Muhtelif
- Sayfiyeye Misafir Gitmek
- Sayd u Şikâr
- Piknik yani Müşterek Eğlenceler
- Sular, Deniz Hamamları ve Sâir Teferrücler
- Fotoğrafyalar
- Düellolar
- Kumar
- Müteferrika

Source: Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret-i Yahud Alafranga* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1312 / 1894).



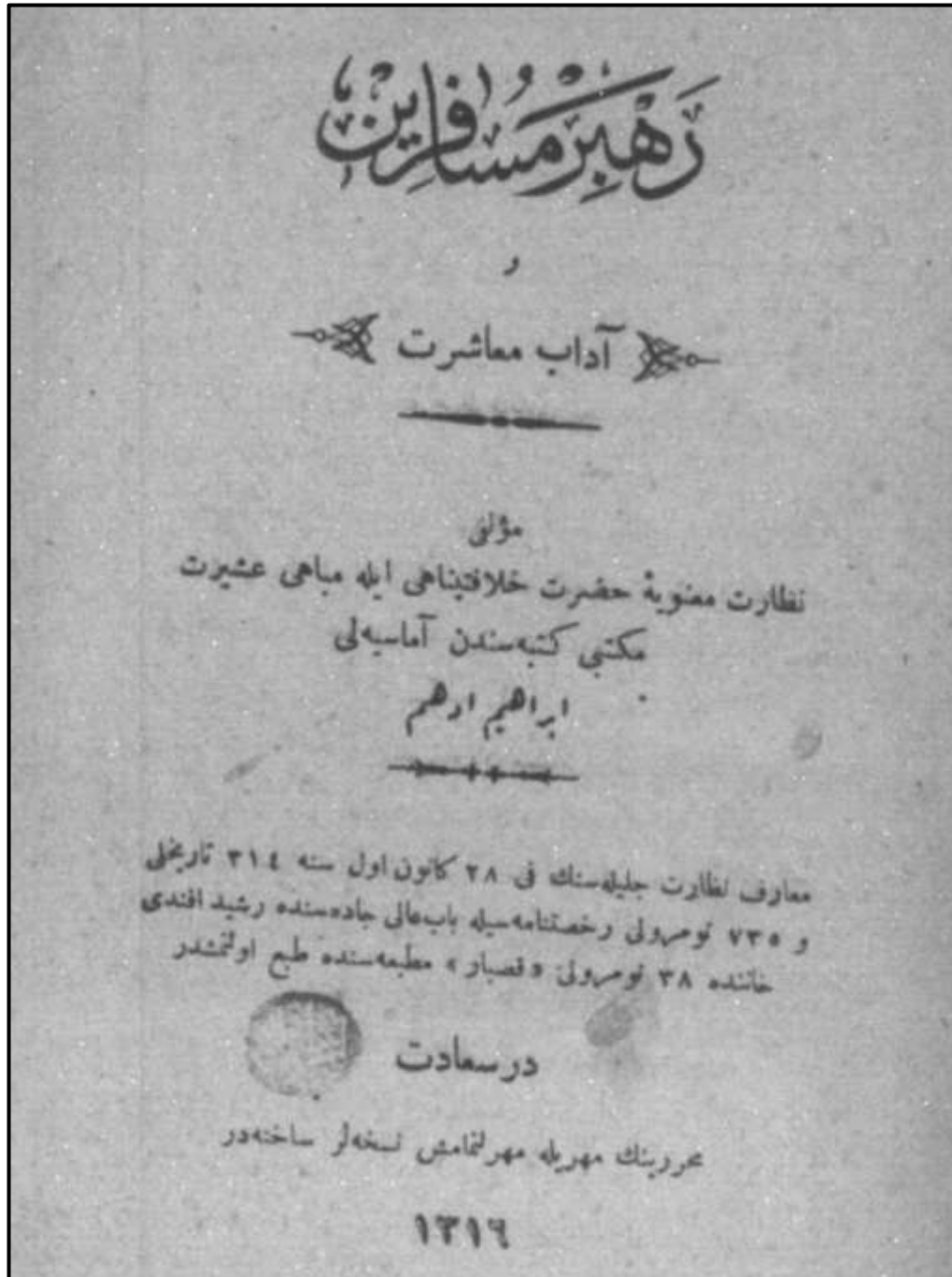


Appendix D: Table of Contents of *Avrupa'da Merâsim ve 'Âdât*, trans. M. Ş.  
(II).

- İfade-i Mütercim
- 'Umumi Sofralarda Âdâb
- Salonda Âdâb
- Sokakda Âdâb
- Muhâberâtda Âdâb
- Ahvâl-i 'Umumiyede Âdâb
- Kadınlarca Riayet Lazım Gelen Âdâb
- Telbisde Âdâb

Source: *Avrupa'da Merâsim ve 'Âdât*, trans. M. Ş. (İstanbul: Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1312 / 1894).

Appendix E: Book Cover of Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (I)



Source: Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1316 / 1898).

Appendix E: Table of Contents of Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (II).

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|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
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| ۲                                       | مقدمه                       |
| ۵                                       | وسائط نقلیه دن خلیج واپورلی |
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| ۷                                       | شمندوفرلر                   |
| ۱۰                                      | تراموای                     |
| ۱۲                                      | تونل                        |
| ۱۳                                      | قایق صندال آرابه و آتلی     |
| ۱۴                                      | اماکن امیریہ                |
| ۱۵                                      | غریبا خسته خانہ لری         |
| ۱۶                                      | مکاتب عالیہ                 |
| ۱۷                                      | مکاتب عسکریہ و بحریہ شاهانہ |
| ۱۸                                      | کتبخانہ لری                 |
| ۲۰                                      | بعض مسیره لری               |
| ۲۱                                      | اعتذار و خاطره              |
| ۲۲                                      | مقصدہ شروع                  |
| ۲۳                                      | مستدعیات                    |

Source: Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1316 / 1898).

Appendix E: Table of Contents of İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (II).

|    |                                      |
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| ۲۹ | مکاتبه دخول                          |
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| ۳۸ | تیاترولره دائر                       |
| ۳۹ | غازینو و قرائتخانه لره دائر          |
| ۴۱ | قهوه خانه لره دائر                   |
| ۴۲ | لوقانطه لره دائر                     |
| ۴۴ | اخذواعطا                             |
| ۴۷ | مسافرت                               |
| ۴۸ | متنوعه                               |
| ۵۲ | خاتمه                                |

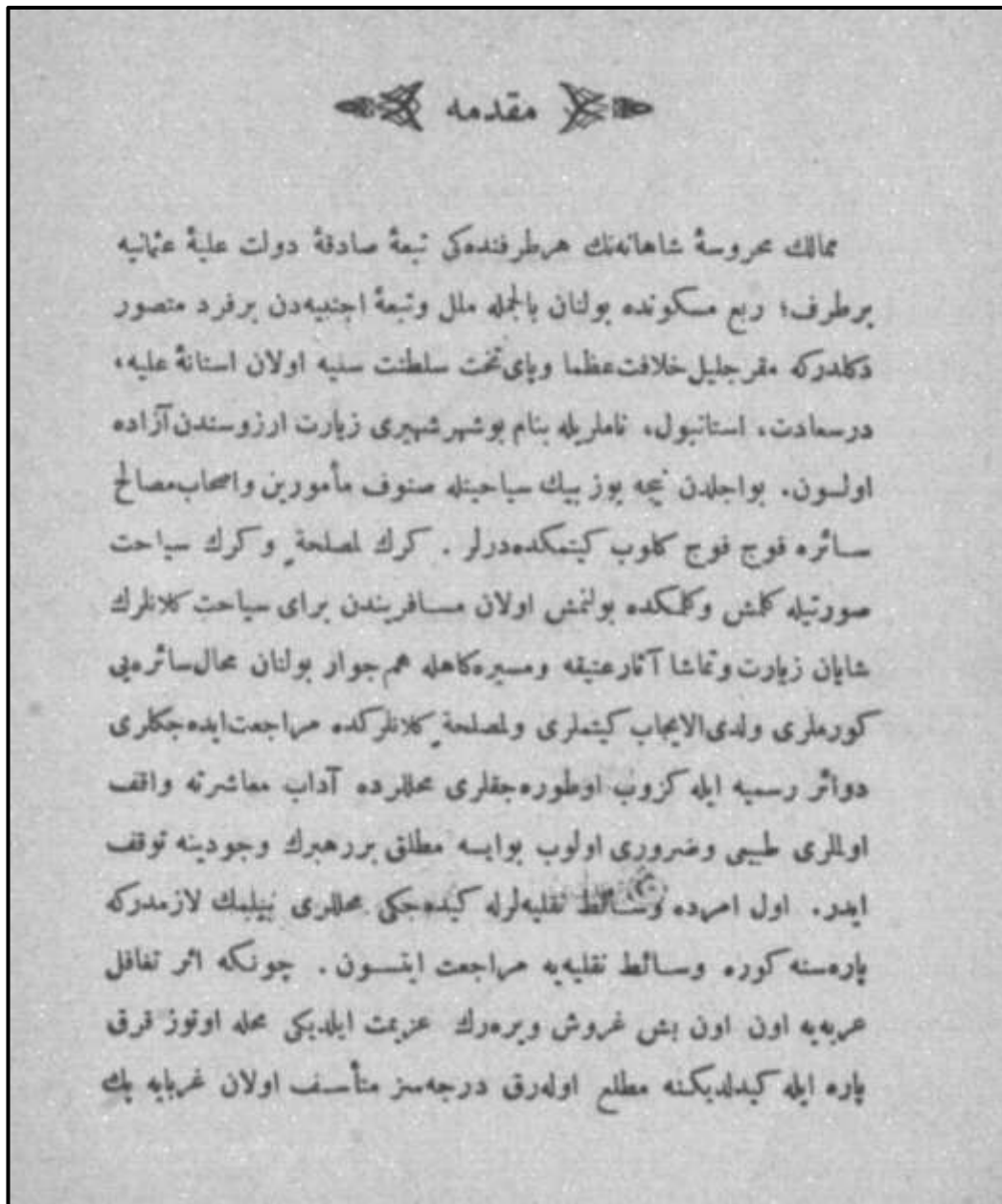
—+—+—+—+—

Source: Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1316 / 1898).

Appendix E: Table of Contents of Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (III).

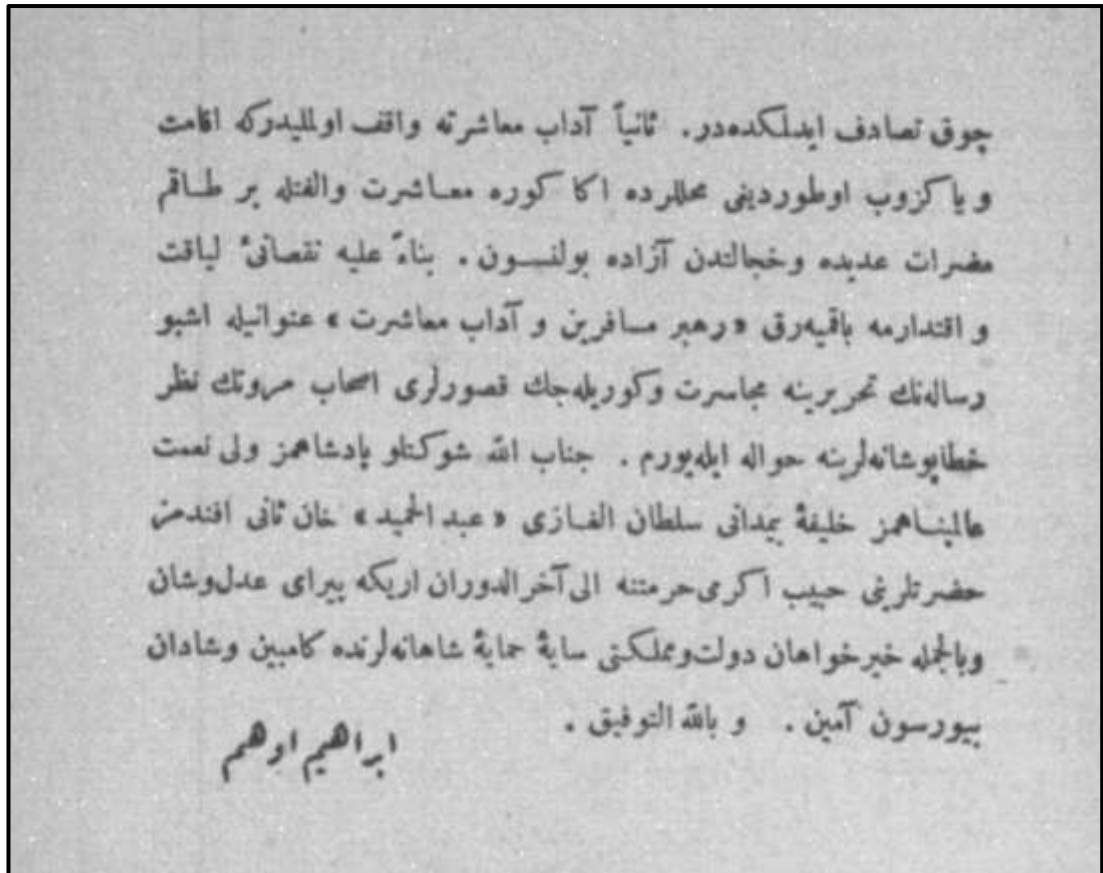
- Mukaddime
- Haliç Vapurları
- Boğaziçi Vapurları
- Şimendifer
- Tramvay
- Tünel
- Kayık Sandal
- Araba ve Atlar
- Emâkin-i Emîriye
- Gurebâ Hastanelerinden
- Mekâtib-i 'Âliyye
- Mekatib-i 'Askeriyye-i Şahâne
- Mekteb-i Bahriye-i Şahâne
- Kütüphaneler
- Bazı Mesireler
- İ'tizâr
- Hâtıra
- Maksada Şuru'
- Müsted'iyat
- Ta'kib-i Mevâd
- Sınıf-ı Memurîne Elzem Olan Mevâd
- Sadakât
- Mekâtibe Duhul
- Kütüphanelere Mürâca'at
- Hastahanelere Mürâca'at
- Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret ve Hüsn-i Ülfet
- Müstekreh Olan Ezvâk-ı Nefsâniyeden Mücânebet
- Mesirelere Dair Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret
- Tiyatrolara Dair
- Gazino ve Kırâathanelere Dair
- Kahvehanelere Dair
- Lokantalara Dair
- Ahz ve İ'ta
- Müsâfiret
- Mütenevvi'a
- Hâtıme

Source: Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1316 / 1898).



Source: Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1316 / 1898).

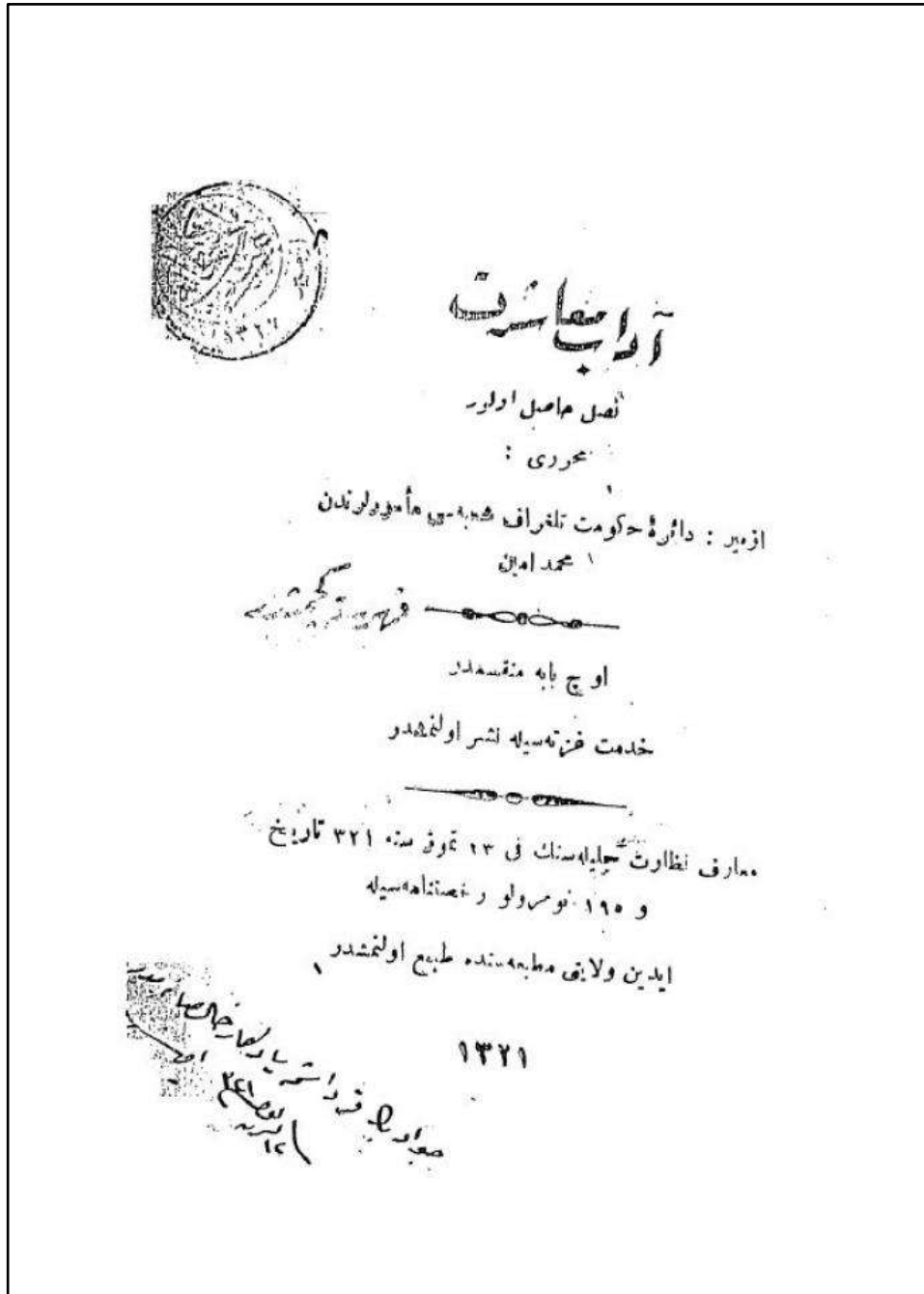
Appendix E: Introduction of Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (IV).



Source: Amasyalı İbrahim Edhem, *Rehber-i Müsafirîn ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Kasbâr Matba'ası, 1316 / 1898).

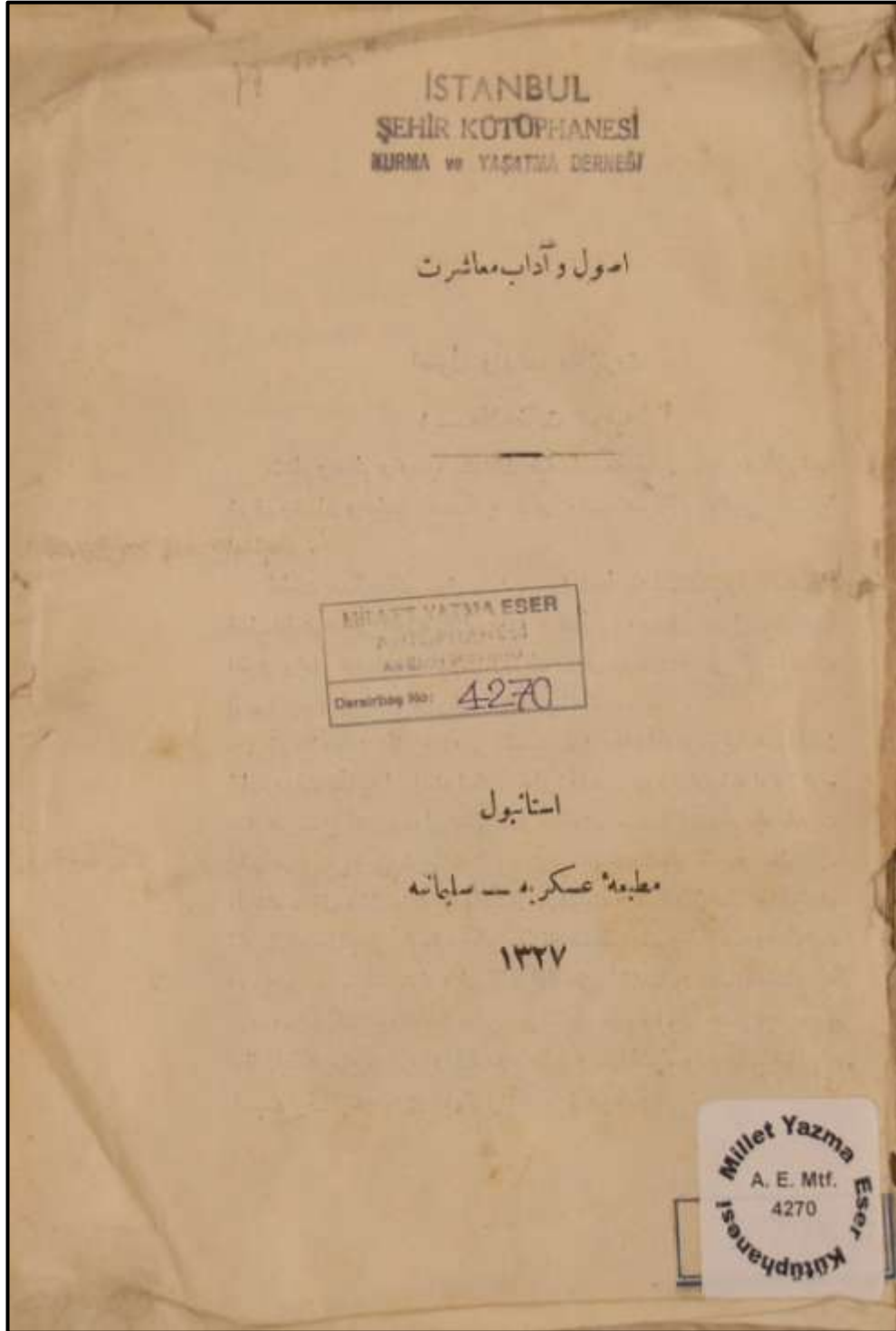


Appendix F: Book Cover of Mehmed Emin, *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hâsıl Olur* (I).



Source: Mehmed Emin, *Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret Nasıl Hâsıl Olur* (Aydın: Vilâyet Matba'ası, 1321 / 1904).

Appendix G: Book Cover of *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (I).

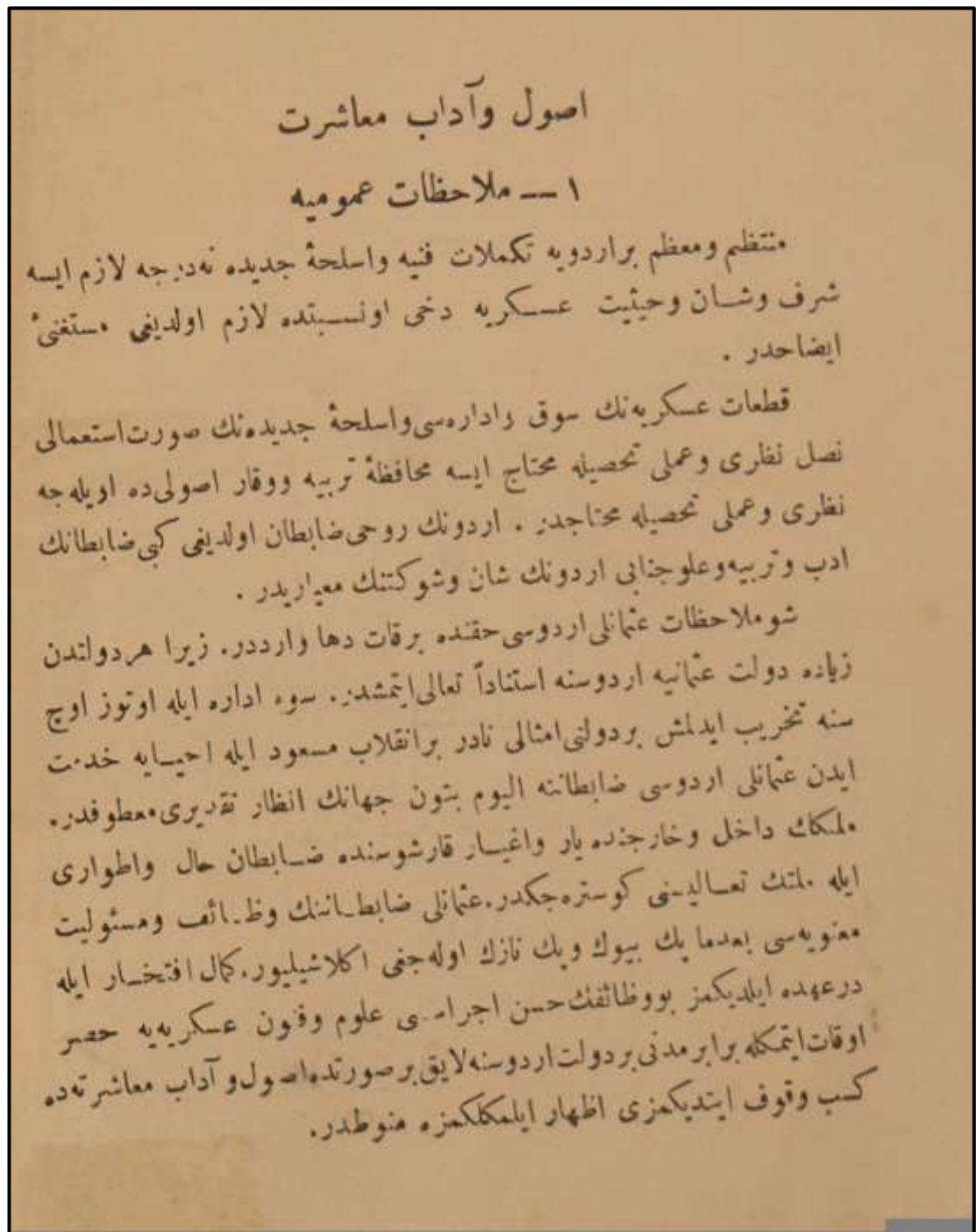


Source: *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i 'Askeriye, 1327 / 1910).

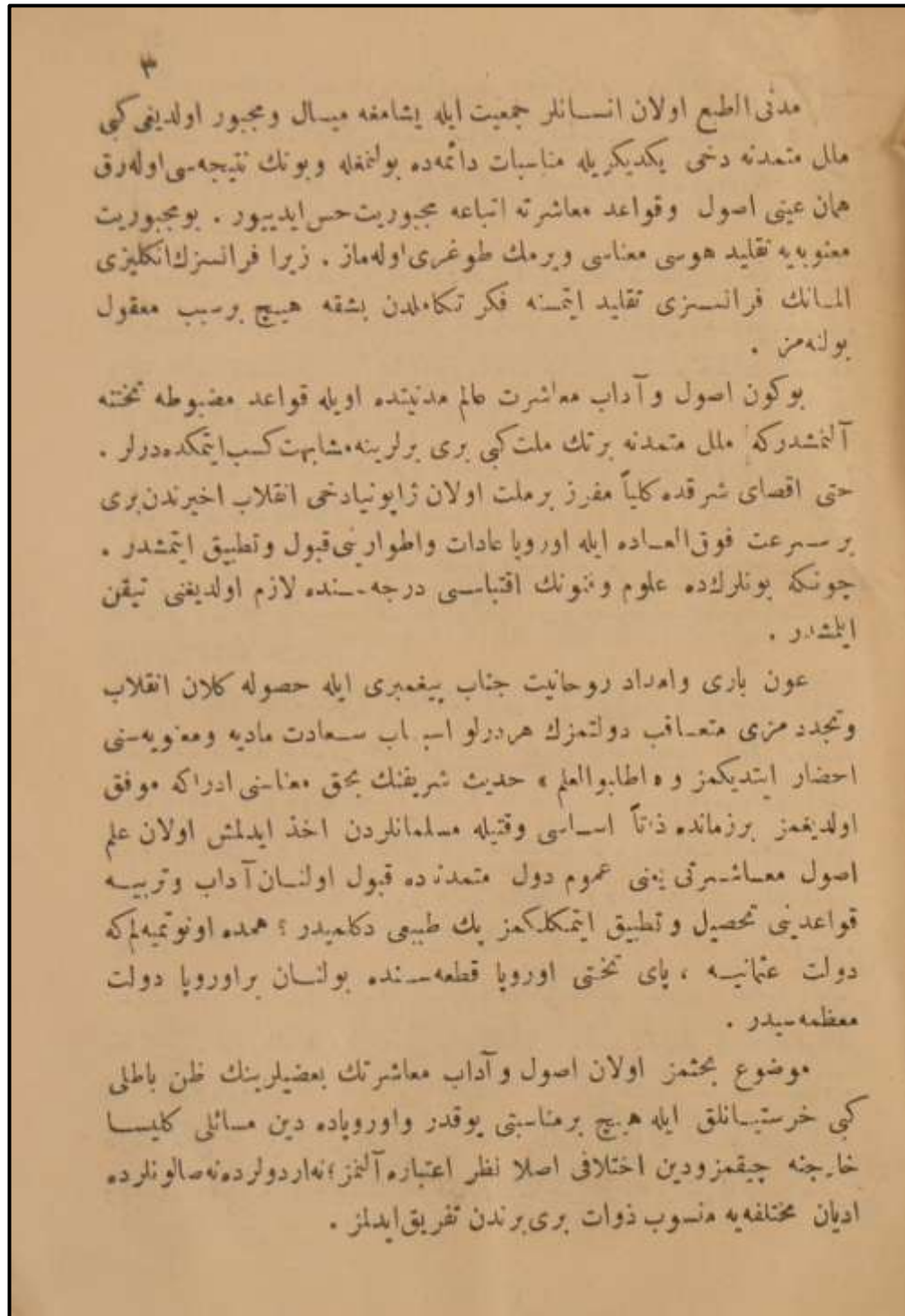
Appendix G: Table of Contents of *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (II).

- Mülâhazât-ı 'Umûmiye
- Nezâfet ve Tahâret
- Resm-i Selam - Resm-i Takdim
- Ziyaretler – Viziteler
- Ziyafetler
- Çay ziyafeti – Suare – Balo
- Mecburi Viziteler
- Mahfel-i 'Askeri – Tiyatro –Lokanta – Gazino
- Misafirlik
- Latife – Düello

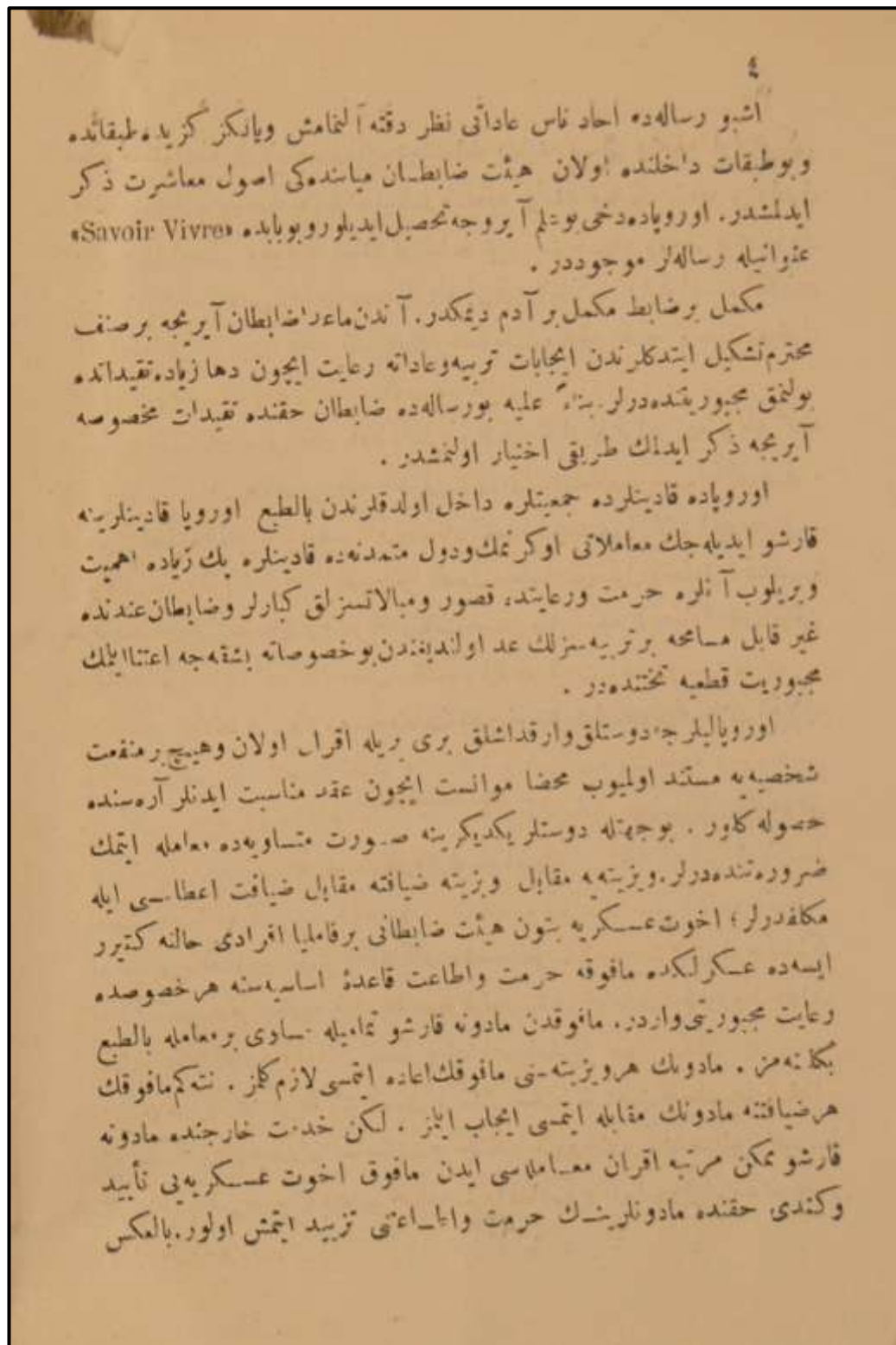
Source: *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i 'Askeriye, 1327 / 1910).



Source: *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i 'Askeriye, 1327 / 1910).

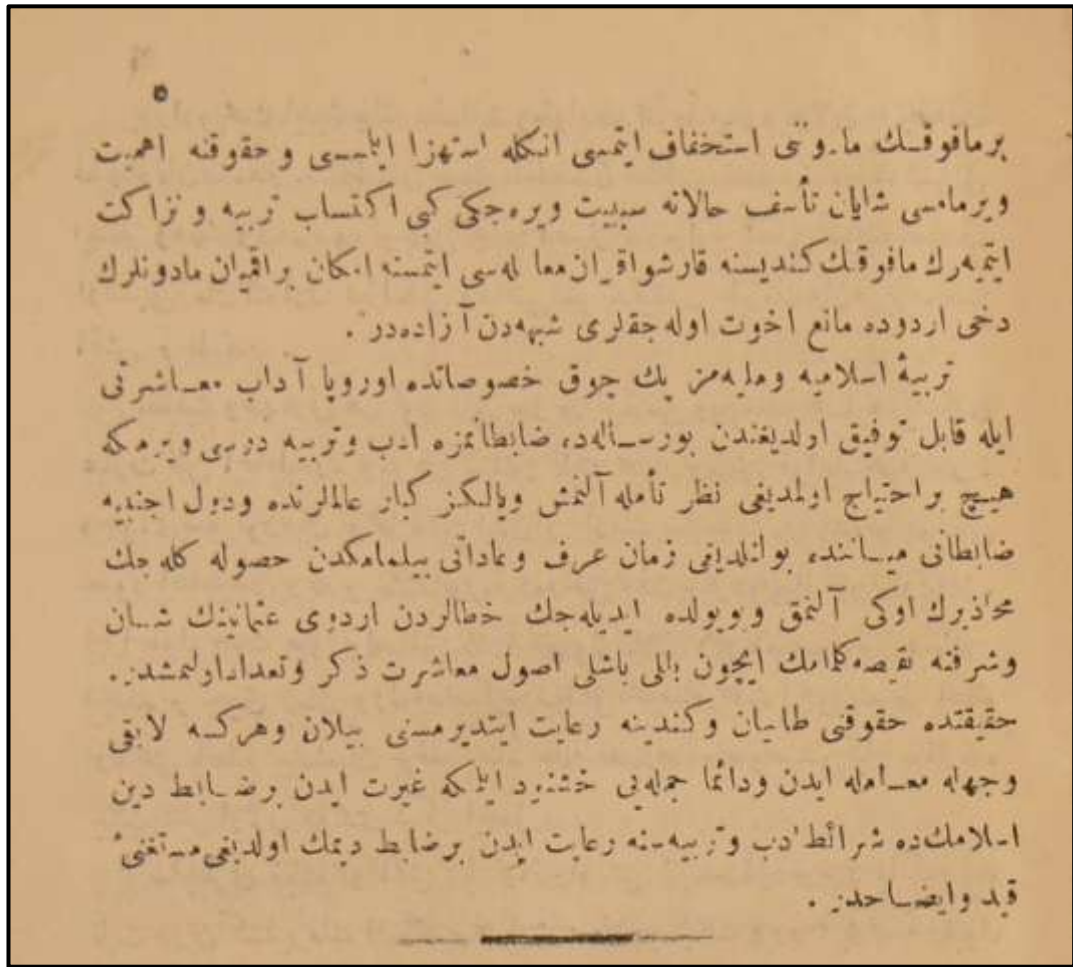


Source: *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i 'Askeriye, 1327 / 1910).



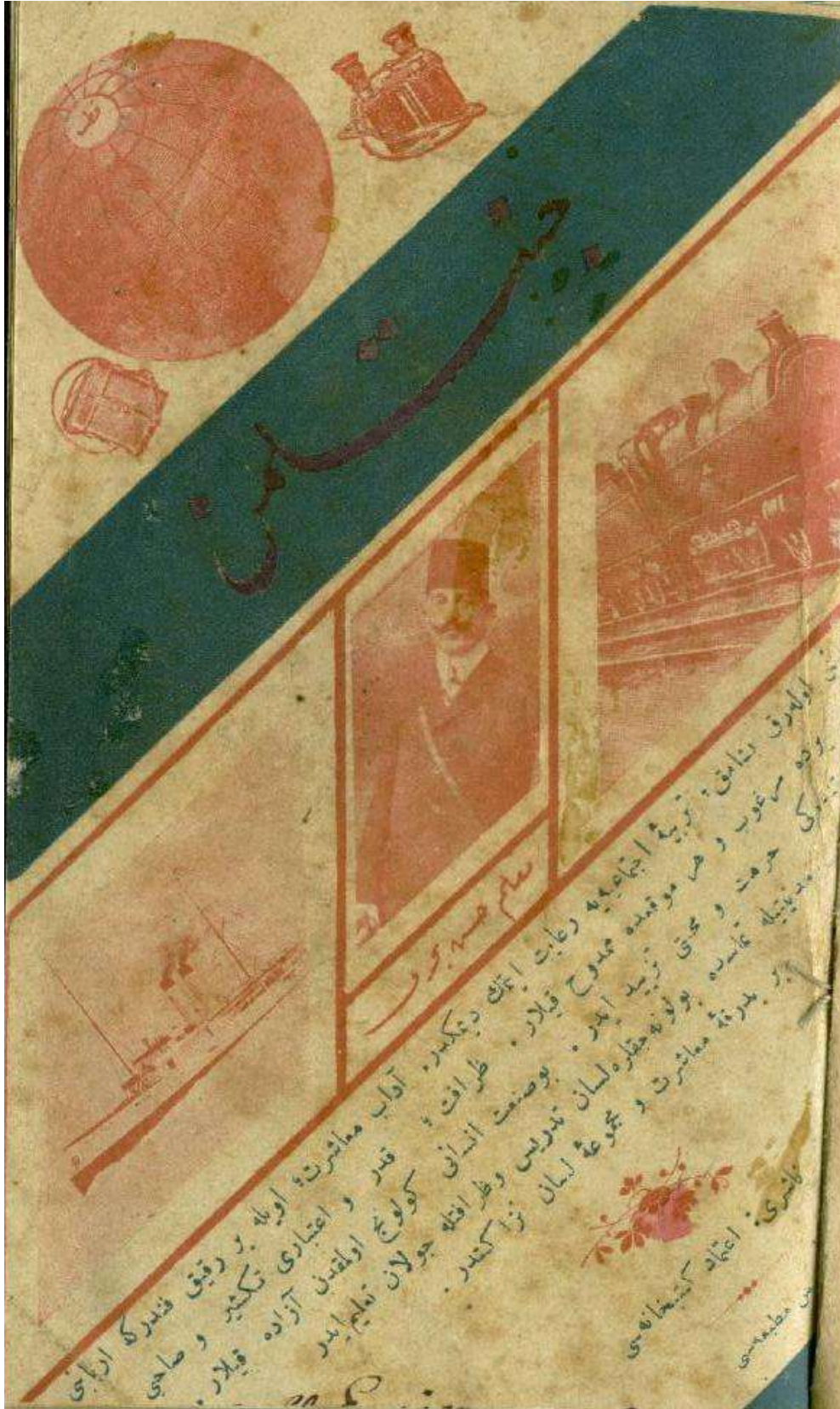
Source: *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i 'Askeriye, 1327 / 1910).





Source: *Usûl ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i 'Askeriye, 1327 / 1910).

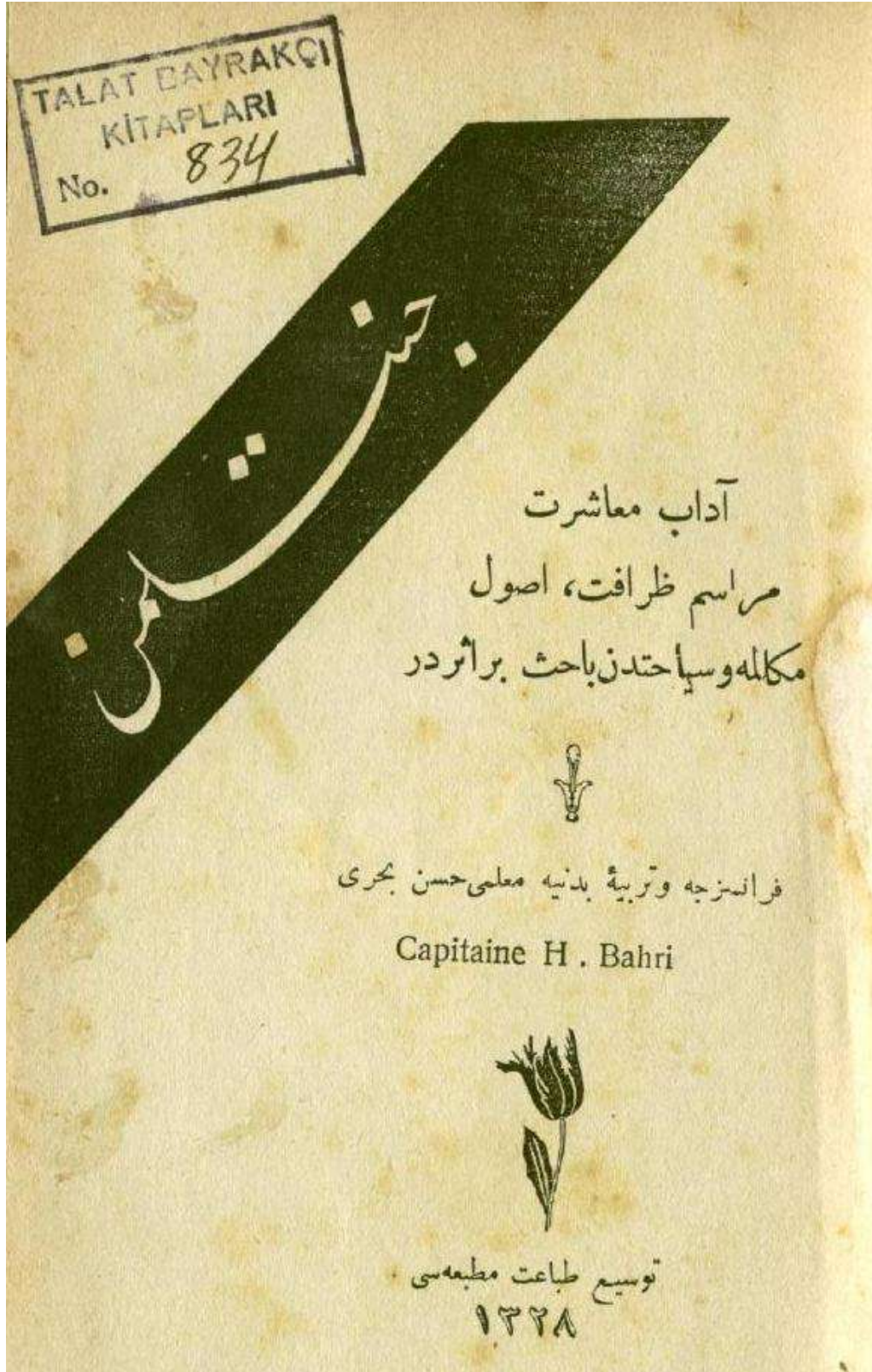
Appendix H: Book Cover of Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (I).



Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî-i Tıbbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).



Appendix H: Second Page of Book Cover of Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (II).



Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tîbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).

Appendix H: Table of Contents of Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (III).

| ترجہ قسمک                       |                                |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| فہرستی                          |                                |
| صفحہ                            | صفحہ                           |
| سیگارہ ۱۸                       | تربیہ و ظرافت ۵                |
| سیاحت و جولان ۱۹                | درایت و فطانت ۷                |
| نژاد کتک درجہ سی و ضیافت ۲۰     | لباس و طرز تلبس ۸              |
| موافق صورتہ طعام ایٹک ۲۳        | عامیہ سلام ۶                   |
| نوست - ادارہ اقتداح و قیومہ ۳۱  | تقدیر و مصافحہ ۱۰              |
| اویون - قارہ بالو ورقصہ دعوت ۳۲ | زیارتلر ۱۱                     |
| تیا ترو ۳۳                      | صورت مکالمہ ۱۲                 |
| ہدیہ لرو دعوت اوزرینہ سیاحت ۳۴  | صنعت تحریر ۱۴                  |
| سیاحتہ اتخاذ و اتباعی مشروط ۳۵  | قارت دوو زیتلر ۱۵              |
| قواعد و لوازم سفریہ و انشای ۴۳  | تترہدہ و آراہہ ایلمہ کزینتی ۱۶ |
|                                 | یولہ ۱۷                        |

Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tîbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).

Appendix H: Table of Contents of Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (IV).

- Mukaddime
- Terbiye ve Zarâfet
- Dirâyet ve Fetânet
- Libâs ve Tarz-ı Telbis
- Te'âti-i Selam
- Takdimler ve Musâfahalar
- Ziyaretler
- Sûret-i Mükâmele
- San'at-ı Tahrîr
- Kartvizitler
- Tenezzühde
- Araba Gezintisi
- Yolda
- Sigara
- Seyâhat ve Cevlân
- Nezâketin Derecesi
- Ziyâfet
- Muvâfık Surette Ta'am Etmek
- Tevessüt - İdâre-i akdâh
- Kahve
- Oyun – Kumar
- Balo
- Raksa Da'vet
- Tiyatro
- Hediyeler
- Da'vet Üzerine Seyâhat
- Seyâhatte İttihâz ve İttiba'ı Meşrût Kava'id ve Lüzûm-u Seferiye
- Terbiye-i Bedeniye: Spor
- Spor

Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tıbbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).

Appendix H.: It is discourtesy to extend the left hand for handshake (V).



Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tîbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).



Appendix H: Impolite Behaviors at Table (VI).



Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tıbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).

Appendix H: Handshake (VII).



Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tîbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).

Appendix H: Greeting in Visit (VIII).



Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tîbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).

Appendix H: Appropriate Sitting in a Polite Milieu (IX).



Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tıbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).

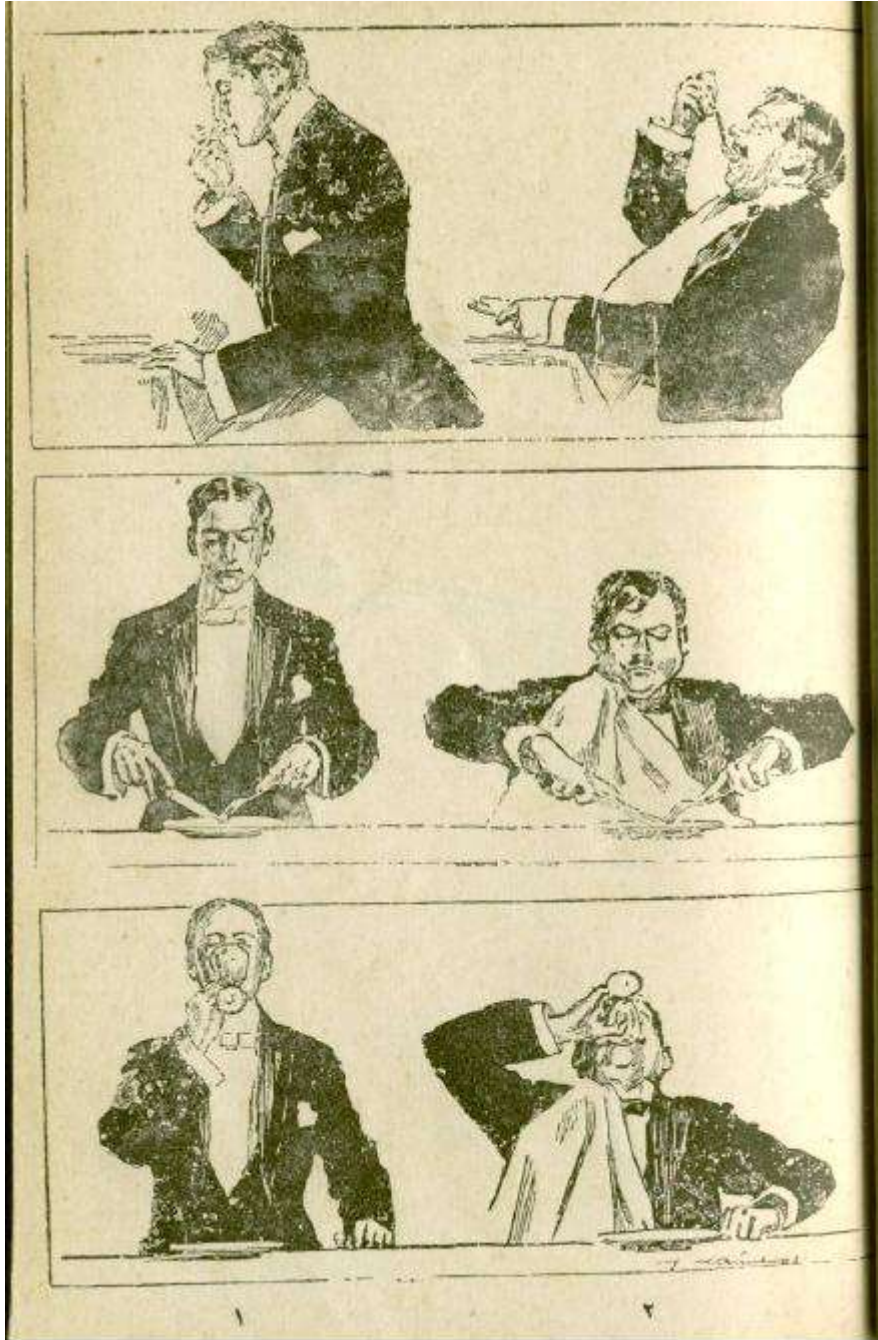


Appendix H: A Gentleman at Dinner Table (X).



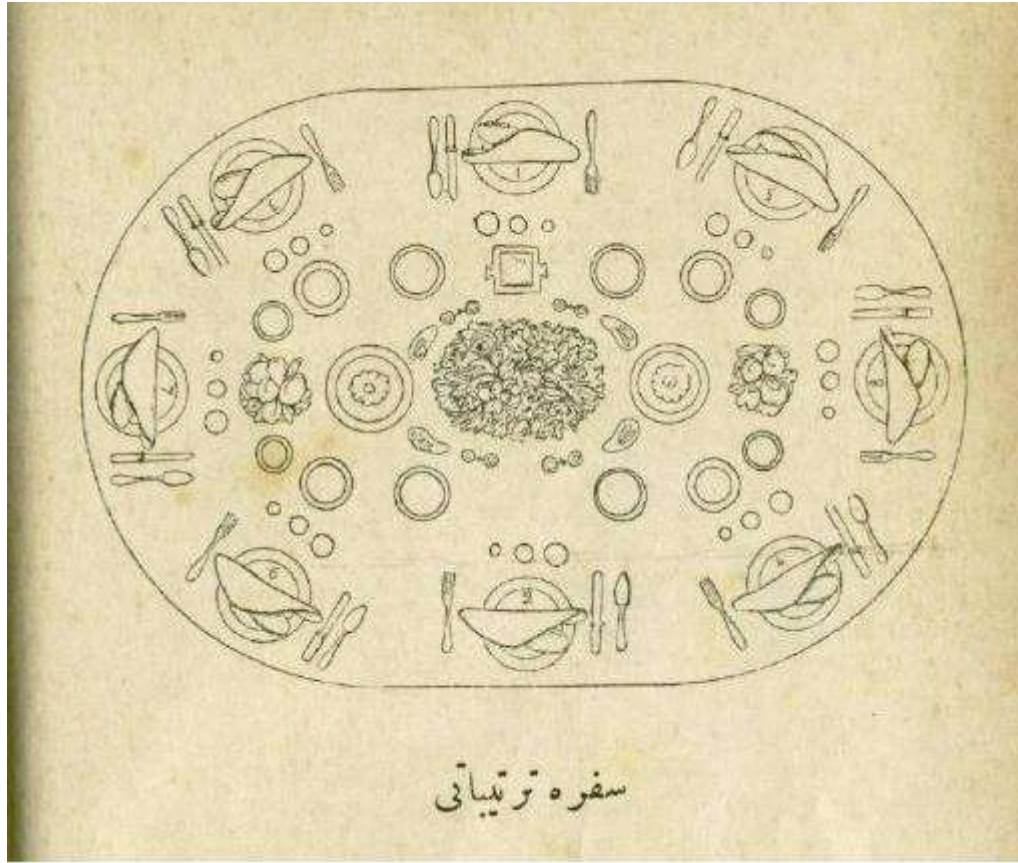
Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tîbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).

Appendix H: Proper and Improper Behaviors at Table (XI).



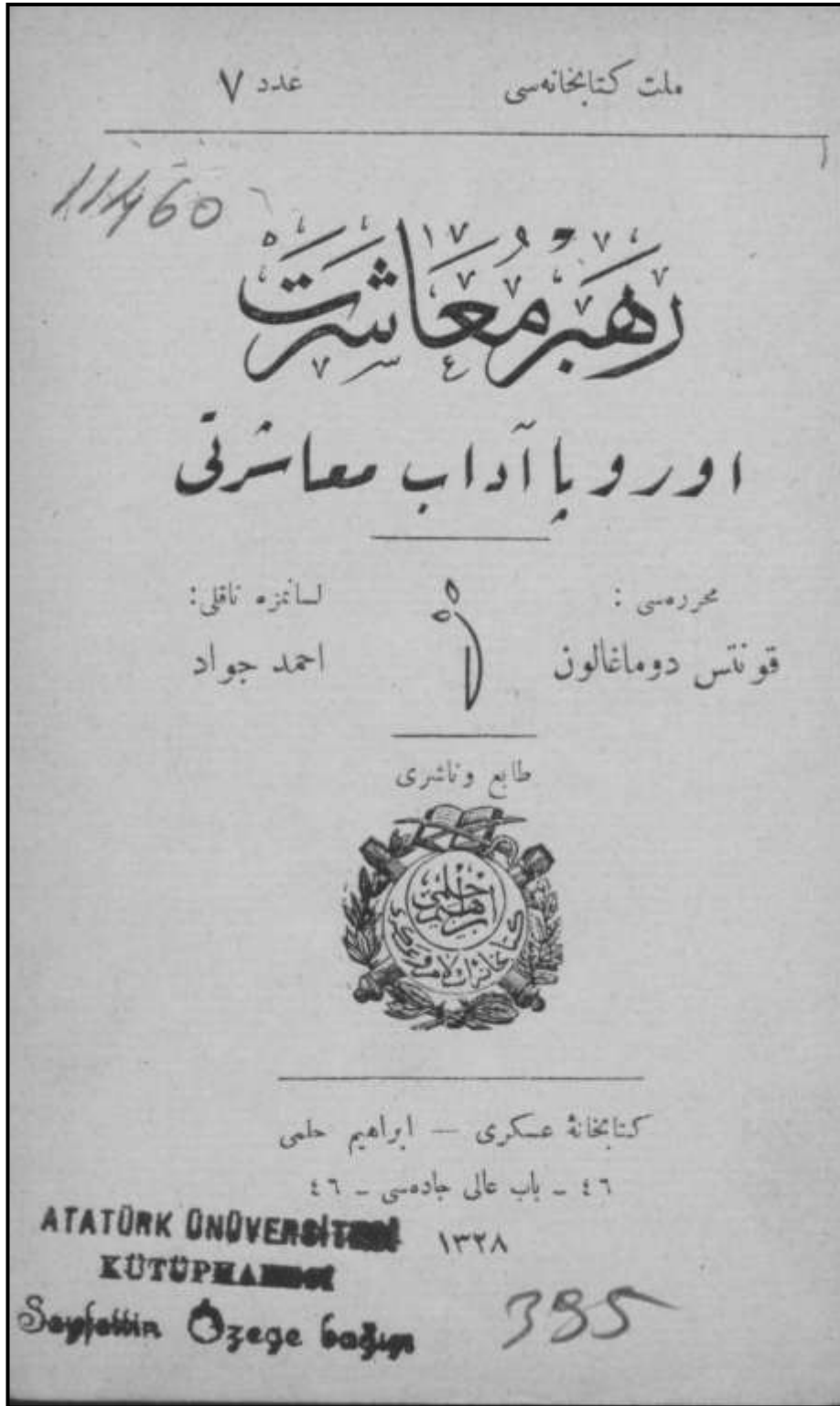
Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tîbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).

Appendix H: Table Organization (XII).



Source: Hasan Bahri, *Centilmen: Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Tevsî'-i Tıbâ'at Matba'ası, 1328 / 1911).

Appendix I: Book Cover of Comtesse De Magallon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî*, trans. Ahmed Cevad (I).



Source: Comtesse De Magallon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî*, trans. Ahmed Cevad (İstanbul: İbrahim Hilmi Neşriyatı, 1328 / 1911).

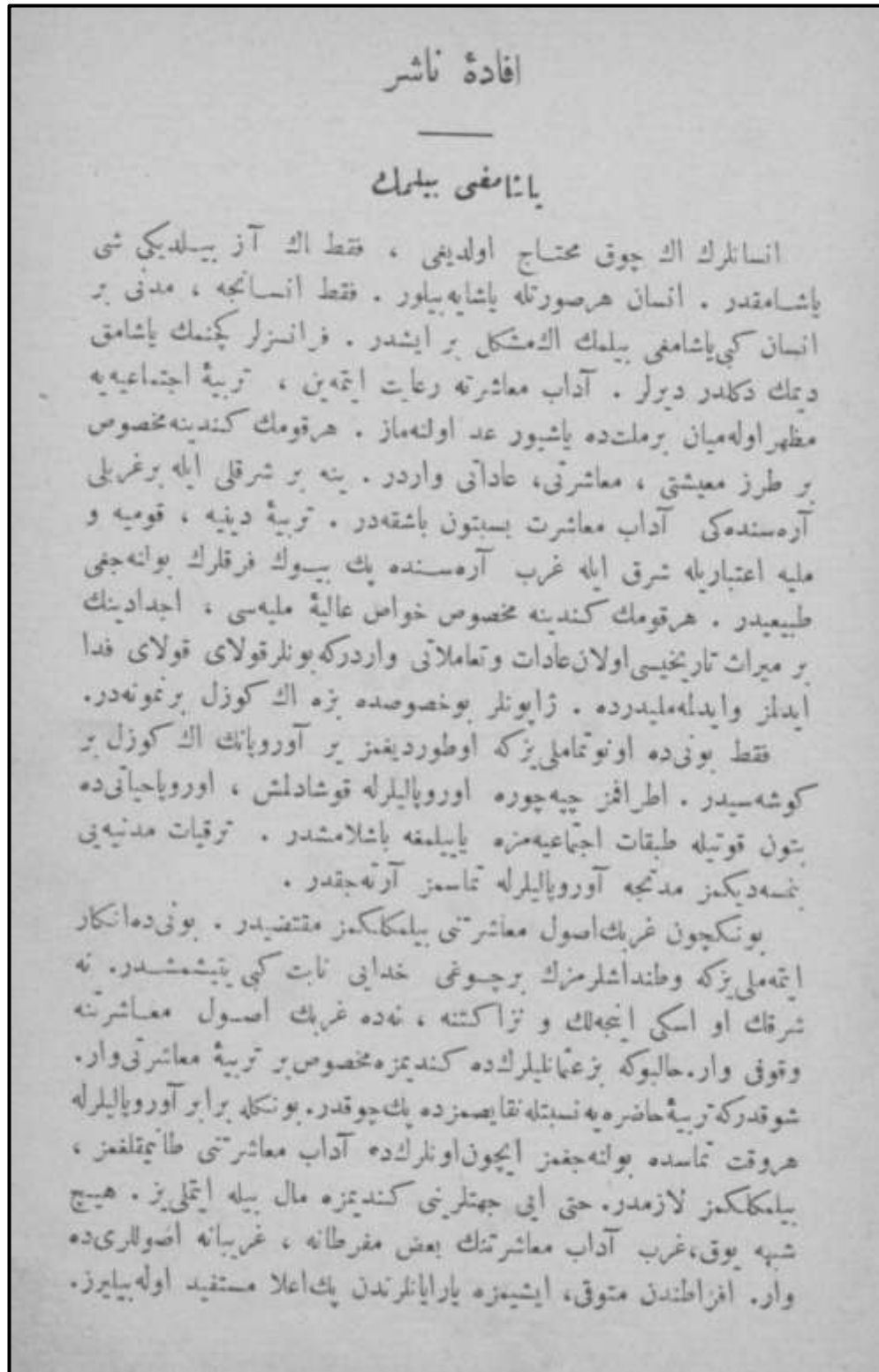
Appendix I: Table of Contents of Comtesse De Magallon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeretî*, trans. Ahmed Cevad (II).

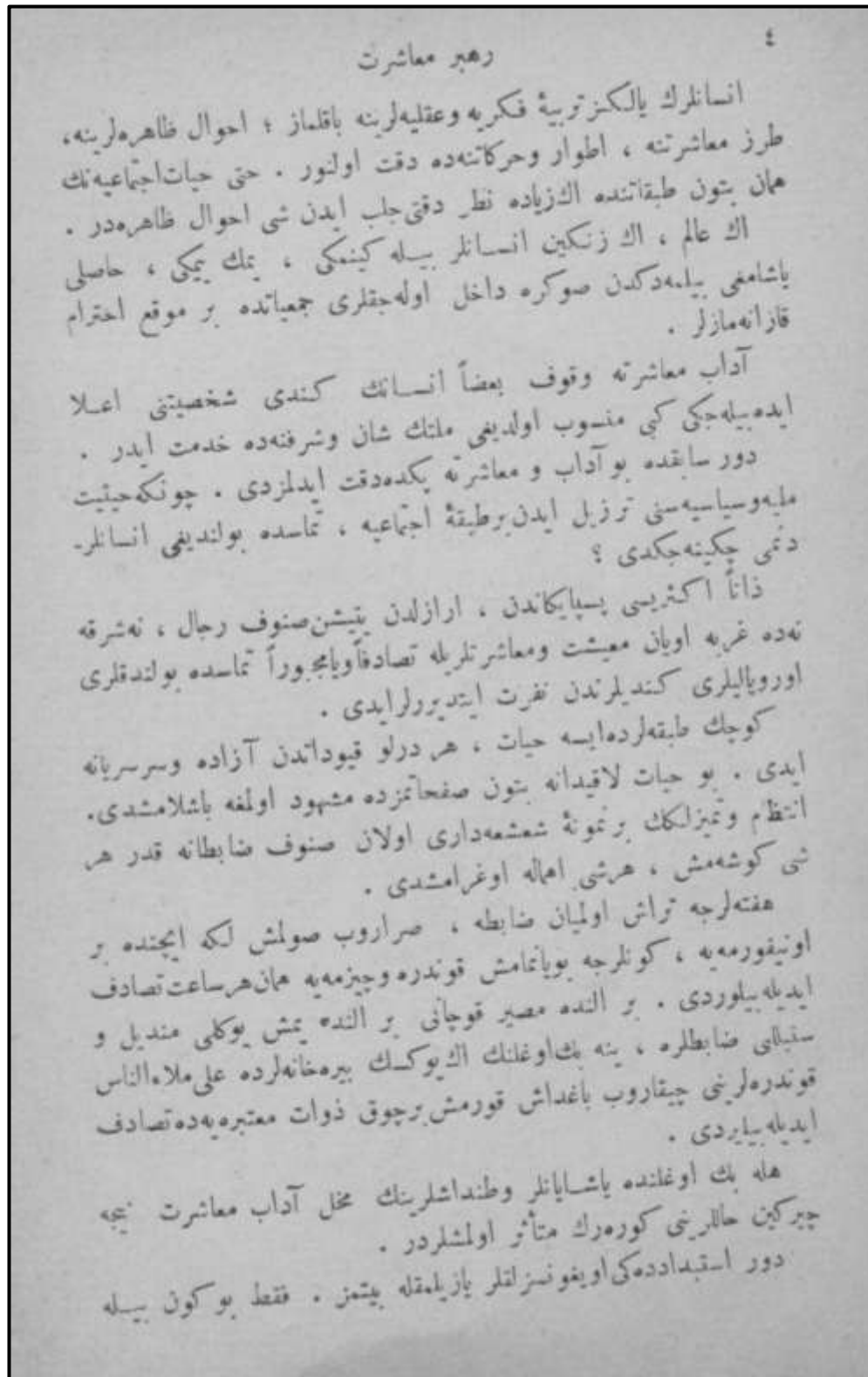
1. Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret
  - Tuvalet: Kadın Tuvaleti, Suâre Tuvaleti, Erkek Tuvaleti
  - Etvâr – Vaziyet-i Selam: Selam, Takdimler (Presentations)
  - Mu'âmelat-ı 'Umûmiye
2. Mükâmele
3. Ziyaretler
  - Mecburi Ziyaretler
  - İzdivaç Ziyaretleri
  - Ziyaret, Teşekkür, Tebrik Ziyaretleri
  - Bazı Mutâla'ât
  - Salonda – Yevm-i Kabul
  - Ne İkram Edilir
  - Asâr-ı Nezaket – Ufak Hadiseler
  - Resmi Ziyaretler
  - Mülâkatlar
  - Sayfiye Misafirleri
4. Ziyafet
  - Da'vet Tezkireleri
  - Ziyafet Tuvaletleri
  - Salonda
  - Ta'am Salonunda
  - Sofra Takımları
  - Et'ime Tevzi'âtı
  - Me'kûlât ve Meşrûbât
  - Nasıl Yemek Yemeli
  - Sofradan Kalkarken
5. Suâreler - Balolar
  - Suâre
  - Balo
  - Balo Tertibi
  - Kotilyon
  - Raksa Da'vet
6. Hıdmetkarlar
7. Etfâl
  - Terbiye-i Etfâl
8. Bayramlar
  - Birinci Komünyon
9. İzdivac
  - Taleb
  - Mukâvele- Sepet ve Hediye

- Yevm-i İzdivacda
- 10. Vefâyât
- 11. Muhâbere
  - Mektup Yazmak
  - Mektup Kâğıtları
  - Mukaddime ve Hâtimler
  - İmza ve Adres
  - Cevap Almak İçin Pul İrsali
  - Tavsiye Mektupları
  - Kartvizitler
- 12. Hediyeler ve Bahşışler
  - Bahşışler

Source: Comtesse De Magallon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti*, trans. Ahmed Cevad (İstanbul: İbrahim Hilmi Neşriyatı, 1328 / 1911).



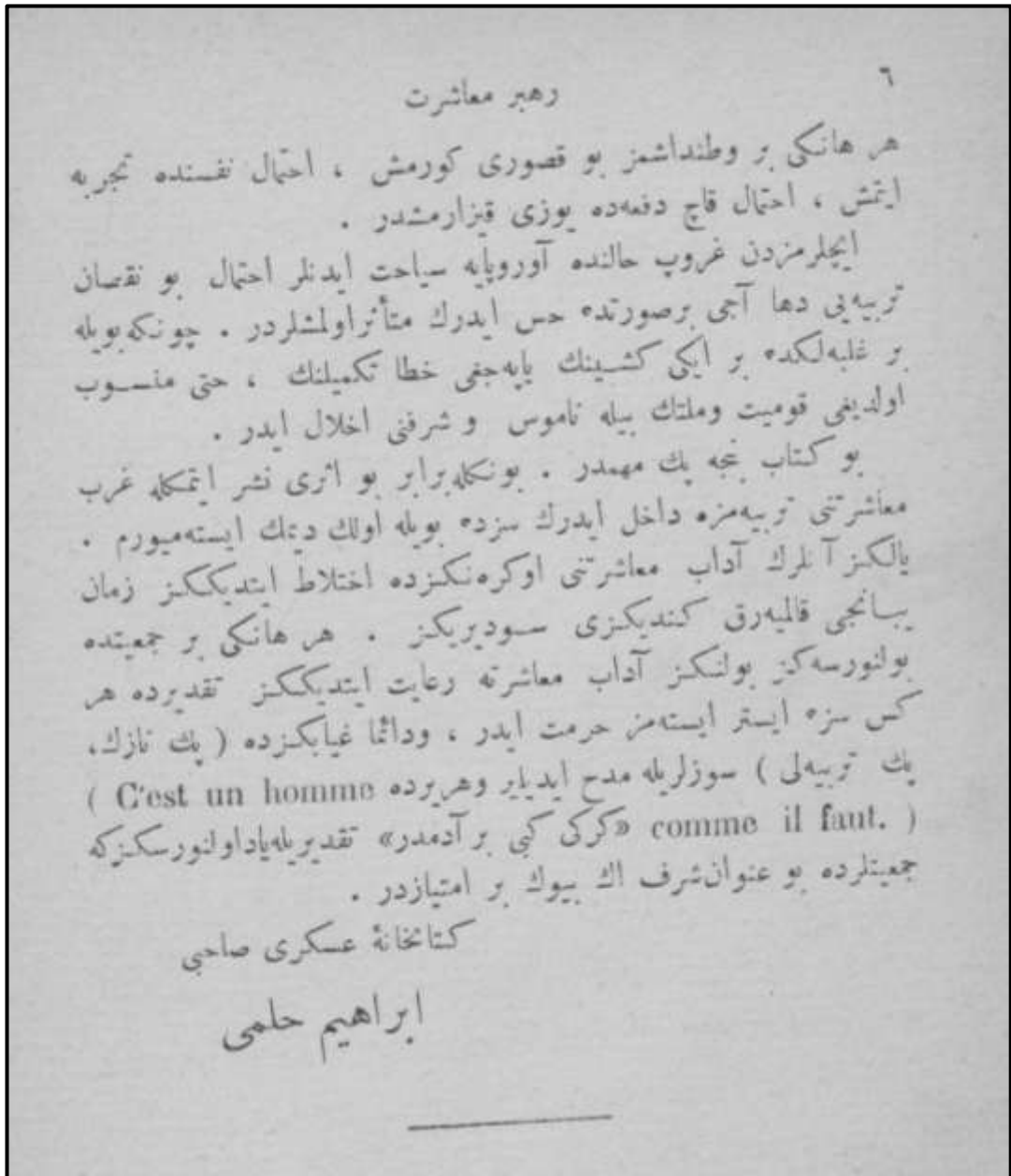


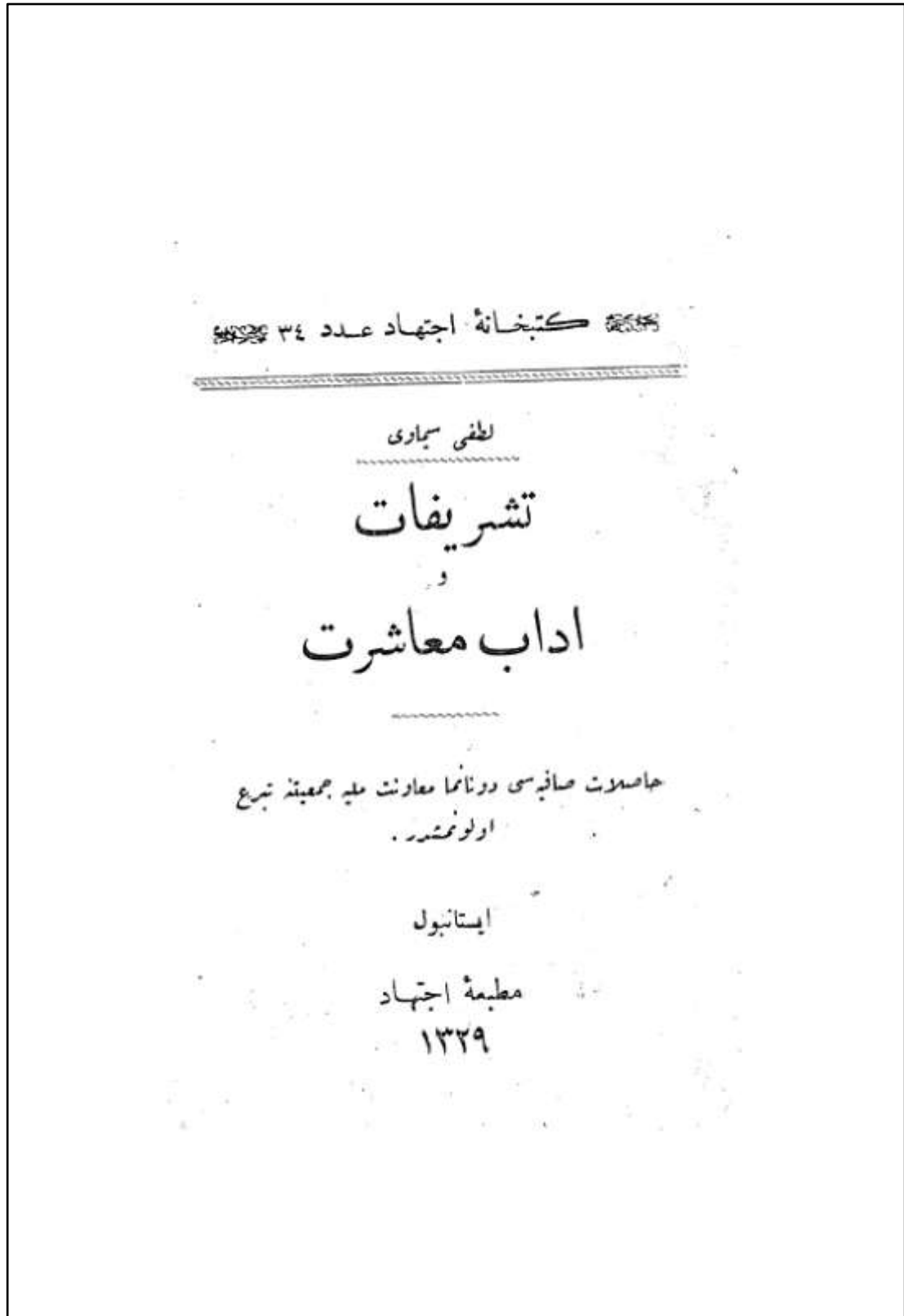






Source: Comtesse De Magallon, *Rehber-i Mu'âşeret: Avrupa Âdâb-ı Mu'âşereti*, trans. Ahmed Cevad (İstanbul: İbrahim Hilmi Neşriyatı, 1328 / 1911).



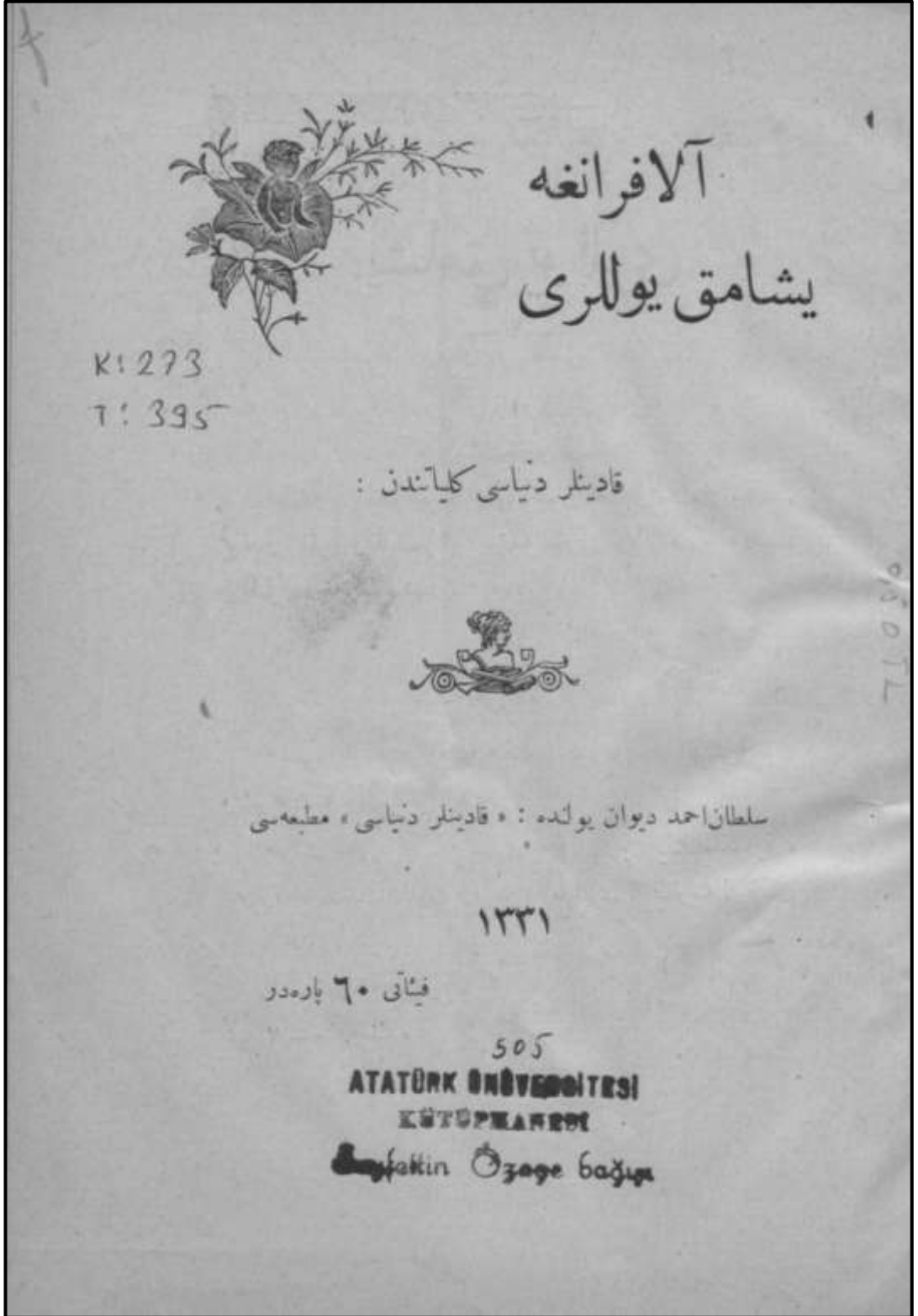


Appendix J: Table of Contents of Lütfü Simavi, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (II).

- Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret: Merâsim-i Teşrîfâtiyenin Sûret-i Te'allumu Huzûr-ı Halifede ve Hükümdarane Karşı Muhâfazası Lazım Gelen Tavır ve Hareket
- Musâfaha: Büyüklerle Olan Mu'âmele
- Teşrîfâta Rî'ayet Lüzûmu
- Takdim Meselesi
- Mevki'-i İhtirâm
- Resm-i Selam
- Sûret-i Telbis
- Eldiven
- Da'vetler, Ziyafetler, Nasıl Tenâvül Etmeli?
- Müsâmerelerde Daima Müteyakkız Bulunmalı
- Tevki' Olunması Lazım Gelen Ahvâl ve Harekât
- İlk Ziyarete Gitmek Vazife midir?
- Terbiye ve Nezâket Her Yerde Farzdır
- Sosyetelerde Din ve Mezhepten Bahsetmek Caiz Değildir
- Eski Terbiyemiz: Beybaba, Paşababa? Hanım Kızlarımızın Tahsil-i Terbiyesi
- Misafirperverlik
- İftar Usûlü
- Estağfirullah Du'âsı
- Kadınlar Cemiyetinde İşden Bahsolunmaz
- Hikayeler Tekerrürü
- Çocuklar
- Efendiler ile Hizmetçilerin Münâsebeti
- Ebnâ-yi Cinsimize Hürmet
- Muhtelif Ziyaretler
- Bir Hanım Misafirlerini Nasıl Kabul Etmelidir?
- Hangi Ahvalde Kart Gönderilir?
- Muhabere - Tavsiye Mektupları
- Hedâyâ
- Müsâmerelerden ve Konferanslardan Nasıl Çıkmalı?
- Sokakda
- Seyâhatte
- Tramvay ve Otobüslerde
- Mülâhazât-i 'Umûmiye
- Esnaflarımız

Source: Lütfü Simavi, *Teşrîfât ve Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i İctihad, 1329 / 1914).

Appendix K: Book Cover of *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları, Kadınlar Dünyası Külliyyatından* (I).



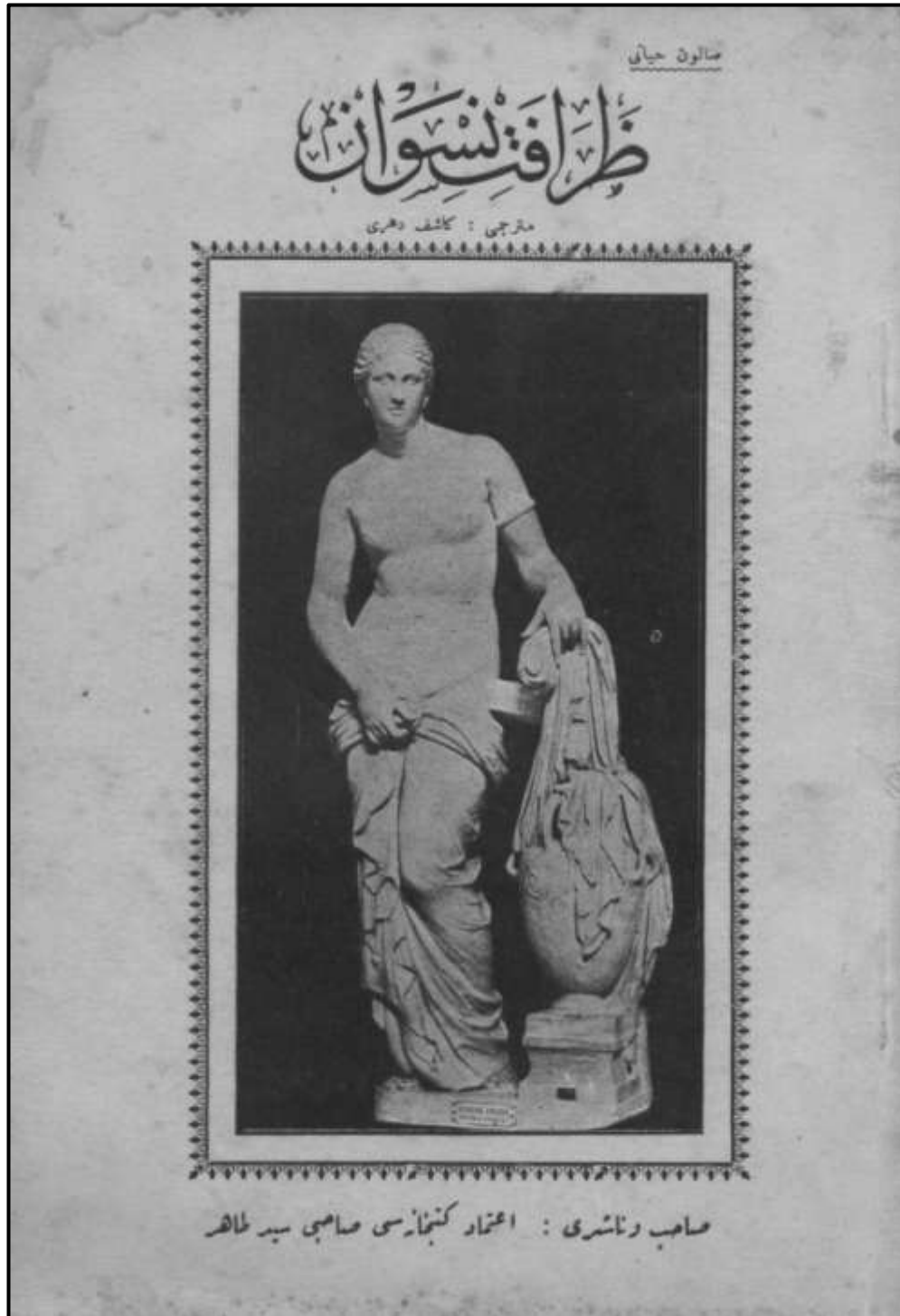
Source: *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları, Kadınlar Dünyası Külliyyatından* (İstanbul: Kadınlar Dünyası Matba'ası, 1331 / 1912-13).

Appendix K: Table of Contents of *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları, Kadınlar Dünyası Külliyyatından* (II).

- Ziyaretler
- Resmi Ziyaretler
- Kabul Edilecek Ziyaretler
- Kartvizit – Ziyaret Kartları
- Yemekler
- Ta’âm Listesi
- Alafranga Bir Akşam Ta’âmının Sûret-i Tertîbi ve Tevzi’-i
- Salata
- Sofra Nasıl Kurulur
- Nasıl Ta’âm Etmelidir
- Havlu – Peşgir
- Kahve – Çay
- Vücudun Vaziyeti
- İdâre-i Kadeh
- Velâdet
- İzdivac
- Nişanlanma
- Cevaplar
- Sepet
- Mu’âmelât-ı Medeniye
- Velime Ziyaretleri
- Bazı Ahvâl-ı Müşkile
- Sokakta Selamlamak
- Mekâtib
- Hâtime

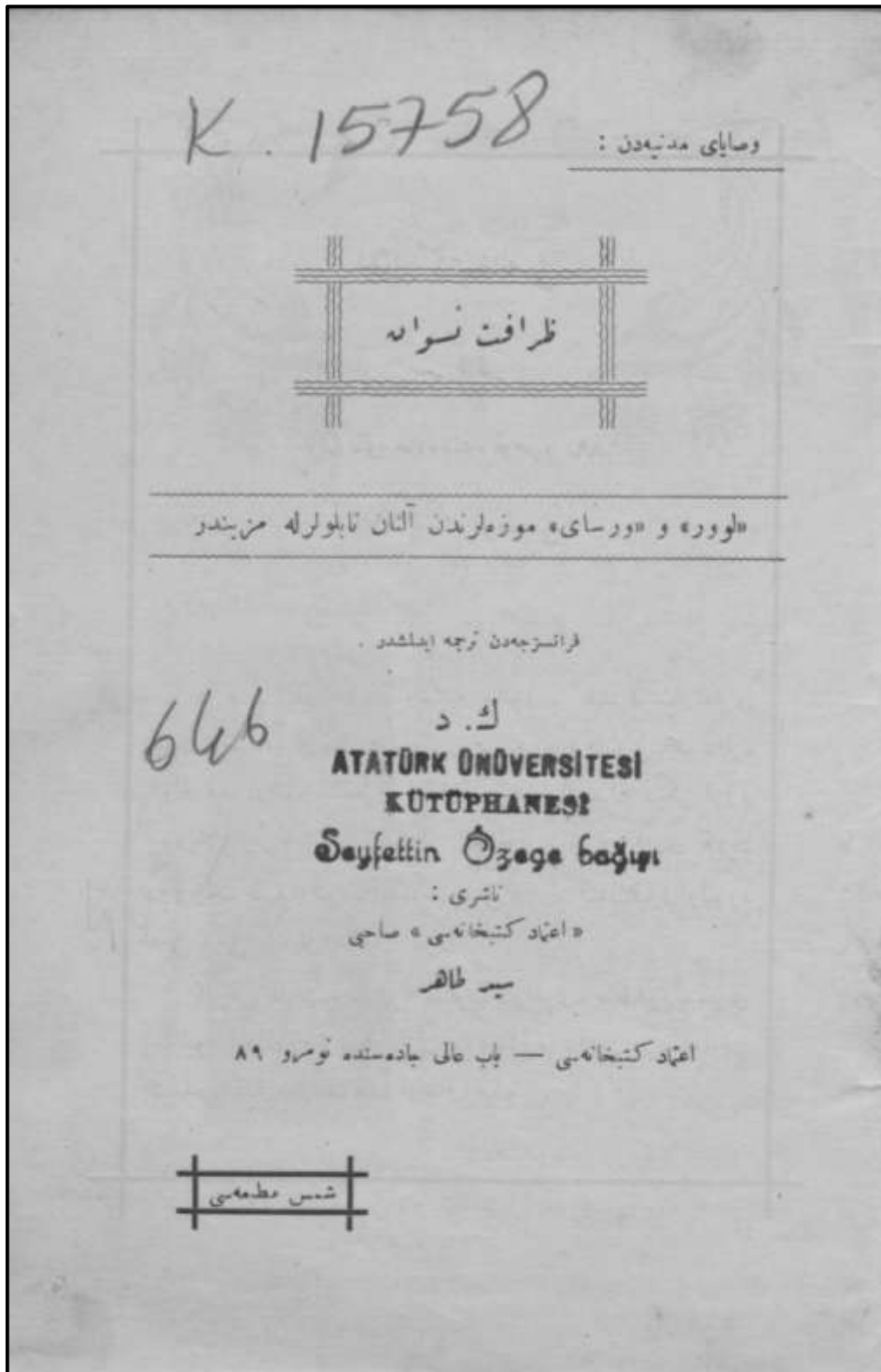
Source: *Alafranga Yaşamak Yolları, Kadınlar Dünyası Külliyyatından* (İstanbul: Kadınlar Dünyası Matba’ası, 1331 / 1912-13).

Appendix L: Book Cover of *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (I).



Source: *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (İstanbul: İ'timâd Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir, undated, probably between 1912 and 1916).

Appendix L: Second Page of the Book Cover of *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (II).



Source: *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (İstanbul: İ'timâd Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir, undated, probably between 1912 and 1916).



Appendix L: Table of Contents of *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (III).

- Zarâfet-i Nisvân
- Kadınların Mukaddime-i İkbâli
- Kadınlarda Muhabbet
- Kadınlardaki Hassa-i İğfâl
- Erkeklerdeki Hassa-i İğfal
- Vesâyâ-yı Garâm
- Nisvân: Mazide, Halde
- Nisvân Hakkındaki Eski Nazariyeler
- Nisvân-ı Hâzıraya Dair Bazı Nazariyât
- İzdivac Nazariyeleri
- 'Aşk Nazariyeleri
- Efsâne-i 'Aşk
- İhtiyâc-ı Nisvân
- Zarâfet-i Nisvân
- Kadında Tuvalet
- Kadında Hüsün
- Kadın!
- 'Âile Hayatı
- Kıskançlık
- Memâlik-i Sâirede Şekl-i İzdivac
- İzdivacda Lâzımu'r-Ri'âye Esnân
- Tali'-i İzdivac
- Reng-i Telbis
- Saçların Elvân-ı Tab'iyesine Nazaran Emzice
- Emzicenin Muhabbete Tesîri
- Mevâsim-i Erba'a
- Tabi'at-ı Nisvân
- Kadınlarda 'İtriyât
- Kadınlarda Hüsn ü Zarâfet
- Âdâb-ı Mu'âşeret
- Zarâfet ve Nezâfet Etrafında Bazı Vesâyâ-yı Fenniye
  - Ellerin Hüsn-i Muhâfazası
  - Vechin Muhafaza-i Tarâvet ve Letafeti
  - Solgunluk ve Sarılığın İzâlesi
  - Saçların Sûret-i Muhâfazası
  - Saç Boyaları

Source: *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (İstanbul: İ'timâd Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir, undated, probably between 1912 and 1916).

Appendix L: Photo from *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (IV).



Source: *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (İstanbul: İ'timâd Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir, undated, probably between 1912 and 1916), p. 52.

Appendix L: Photo from *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (V).



Source: *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (İstanbul: İ'timâd Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir, undated, probably between 1912 and 1916), p. 60.

Appendix L: Photo from *Vesâyât-ı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (VI).



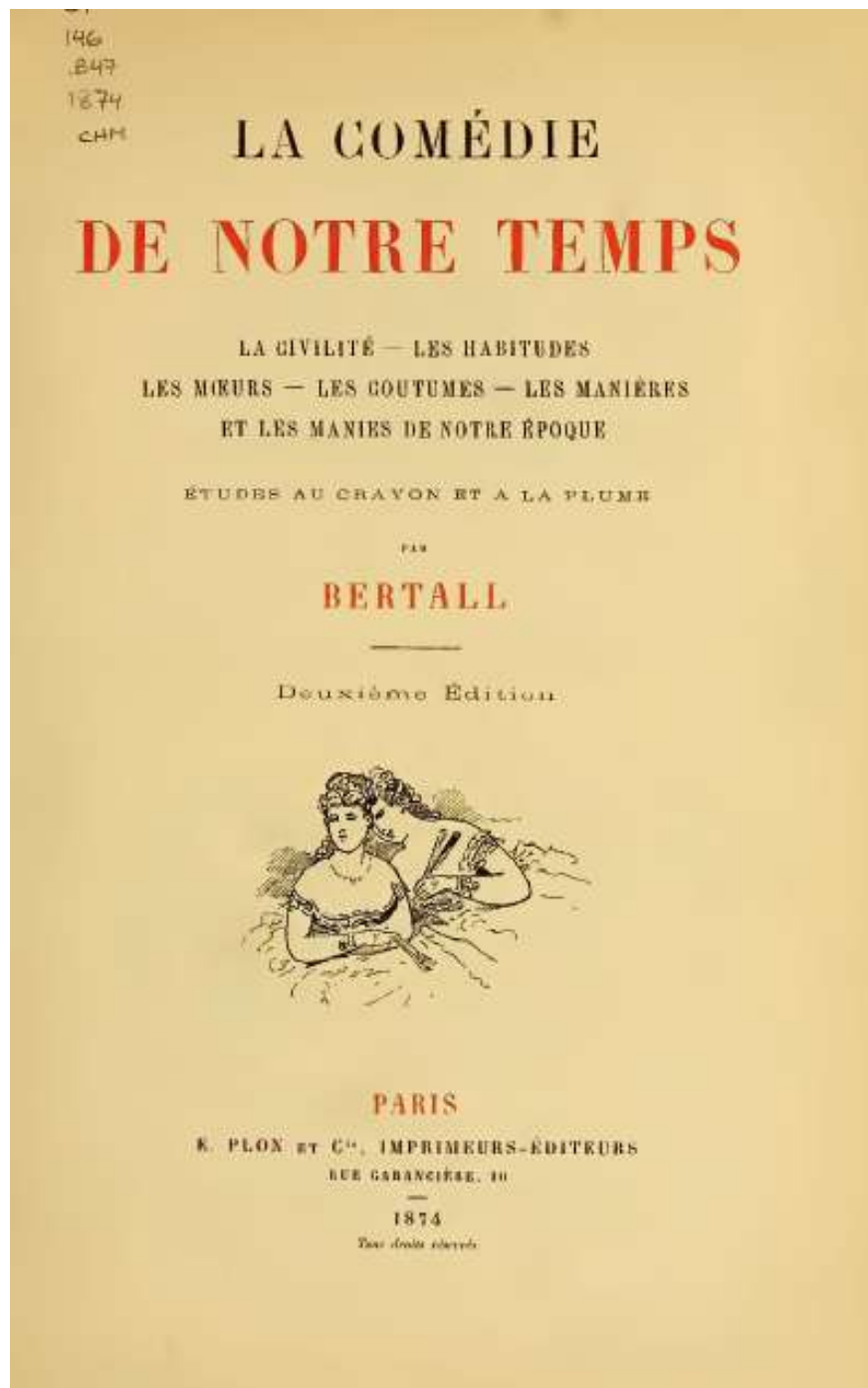
Source: *Vesâyât-ı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (İstanbul: İ'timâd Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir, undated, probably between 1912 and 1916), p. 61.

Appendix L: Paris Fashion, *Vesâyât-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (VII).



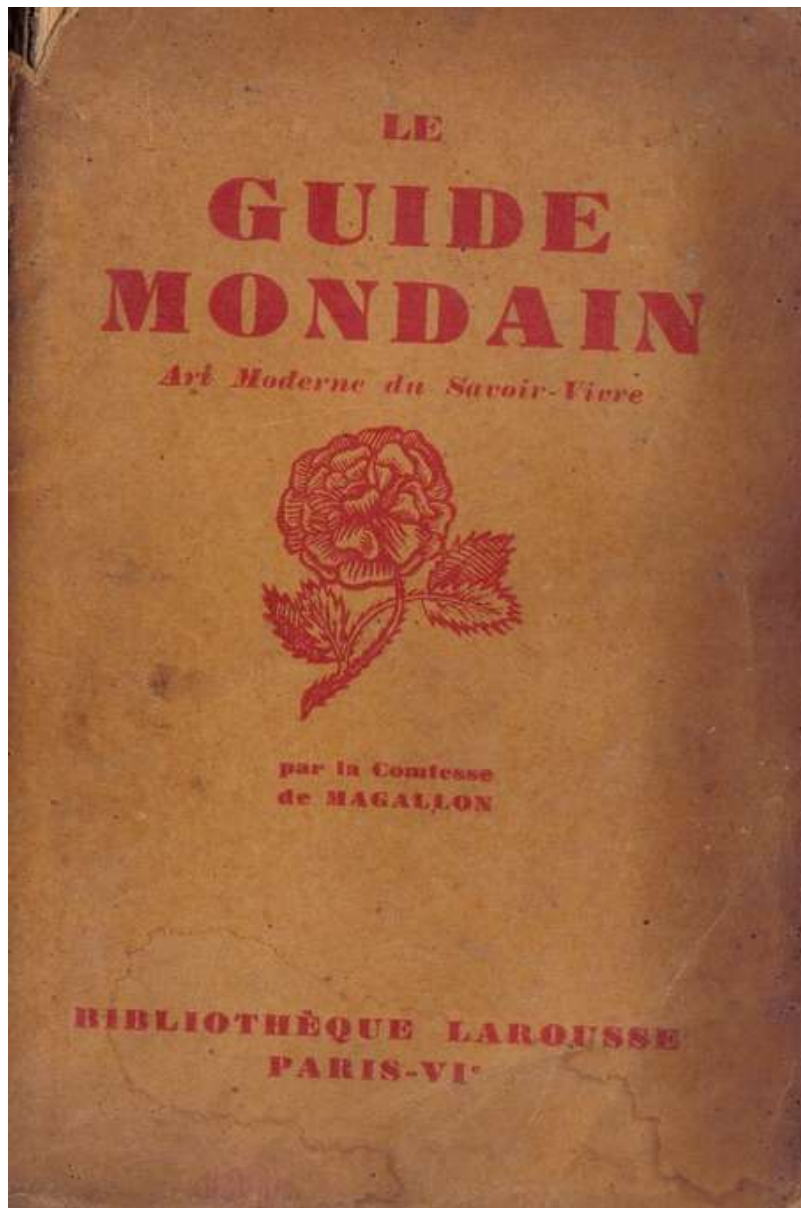
Source: *Vesâyât-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kâşif Dehri (İstanbul: İ'timâd Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir, undated, probably between 1912 and 1916), p. 91.

Appendix M: Book Cover of Bertall, *La Comédie de notre temps* (I)



Source: Bertall, *La Comédie de notre temps* (Paris: Imprimeurs-Editeurs, 1874).

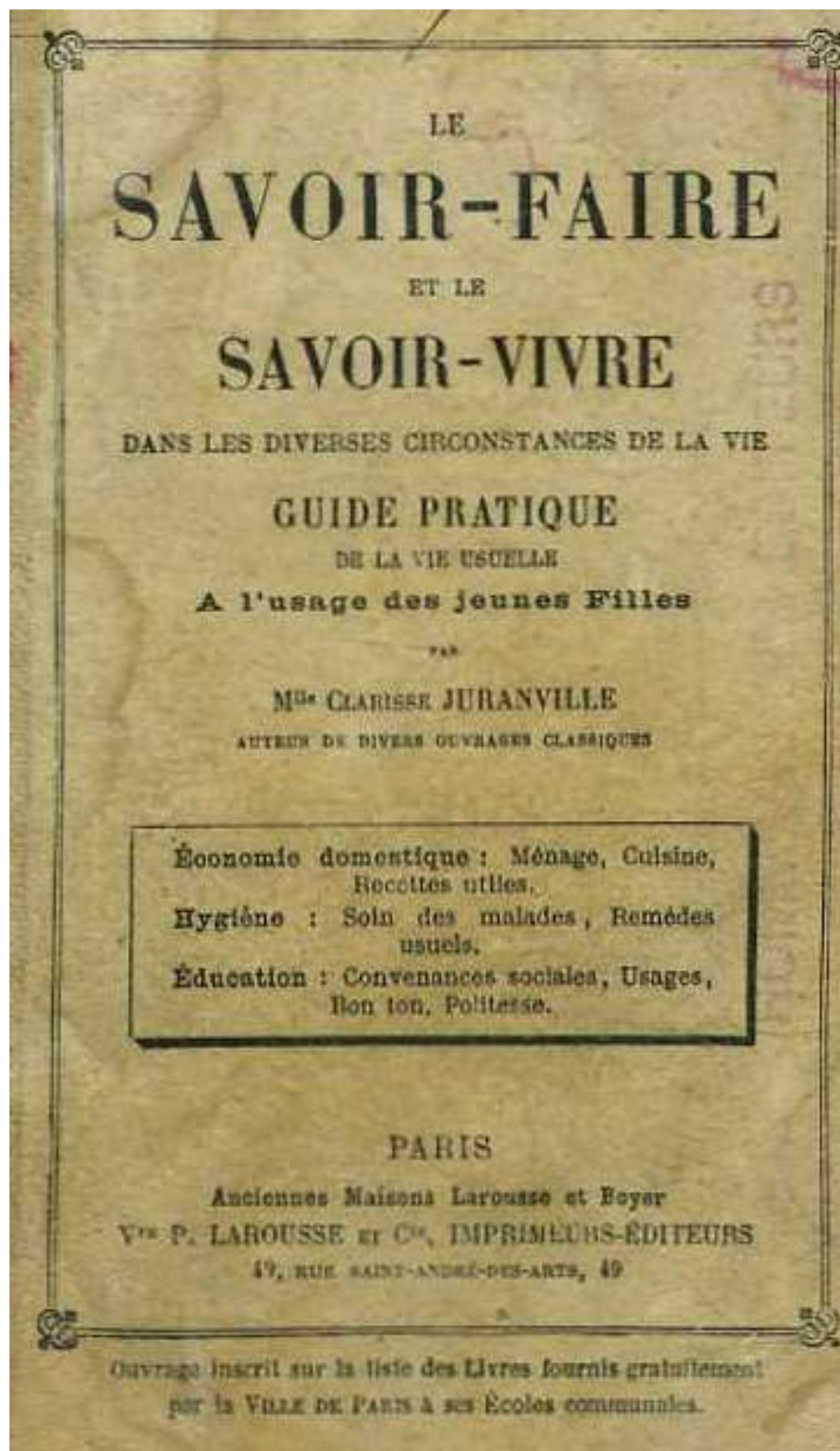
Appendix M: Book Cover of Comtesse De Magallon, *Le Guide mondain: Art moderne du savoir-vivre*, (II)



Source: Comtesse De Magallon, *Le Guide mondain: Art moderne du savoir-vivre*, (Paris – VI: Bibliotheque Larousse, 1910).



Appendix M: Book Cover of Louise d'Alq. *Le Savoir – faire et le savoir vivre dans les diverses circonstances de la vie* (III)



Source: Louise d'Alq. *Le Savoir – faire et le savoir vivre dans les diverses circonstances de la vie* (Paris: Bureaux des Causeries Familiales, 1881).



Appendix N: Advertisement of Hayden English Store (I).



Source: *Serveti Fünun*, 19 Temmuz 1906. *İlan-ı Ticaret: Resimli İlanlar Perspektifinde Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İstanbul Ticari Hayatı* (İstanbul: İTO Yayınları, 2010), p. 74.

Dikkat Ediniz

Hayden

Beyoğlu'nda Dörtüol Ağzında, Numara 479

Emti'asının zerâfet ve metânети ile meşhur olan Hayden İngiliz Mağazası yaz mevsimi münasebetiyle erkek, kadın ve çocuklara mahsus yeni moda müte'addit ve mütenevvi' kumaşlar ile son sistem dantelâlı esturlar, tül perdeler, İngiliz yer muşam'ası, Çin hasırları, hamam takımları, havlu, yol çantaları, karyola örtüsü, çarşaflık, hase çamaşır takımları için her türlü patiska ve nanzuk bezi celb etmiş olduğu cihetle müşterin ve ahali-i kiramın mağaza-i mezkûreyi bir kere ziyaret etmeleri tavsiye olunur.

## Appendix N: Advertisement of Tiring Store at Karaköy Street (II)



Source: Serveti Fünun, 25 Ocak 1897. *İlan-ı Ticaret: Resimli İlanlar Perspektifinde Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İstanbul Ticari Hayatı* (İstanbul: İTO Yayınları, 2010), p. 185.

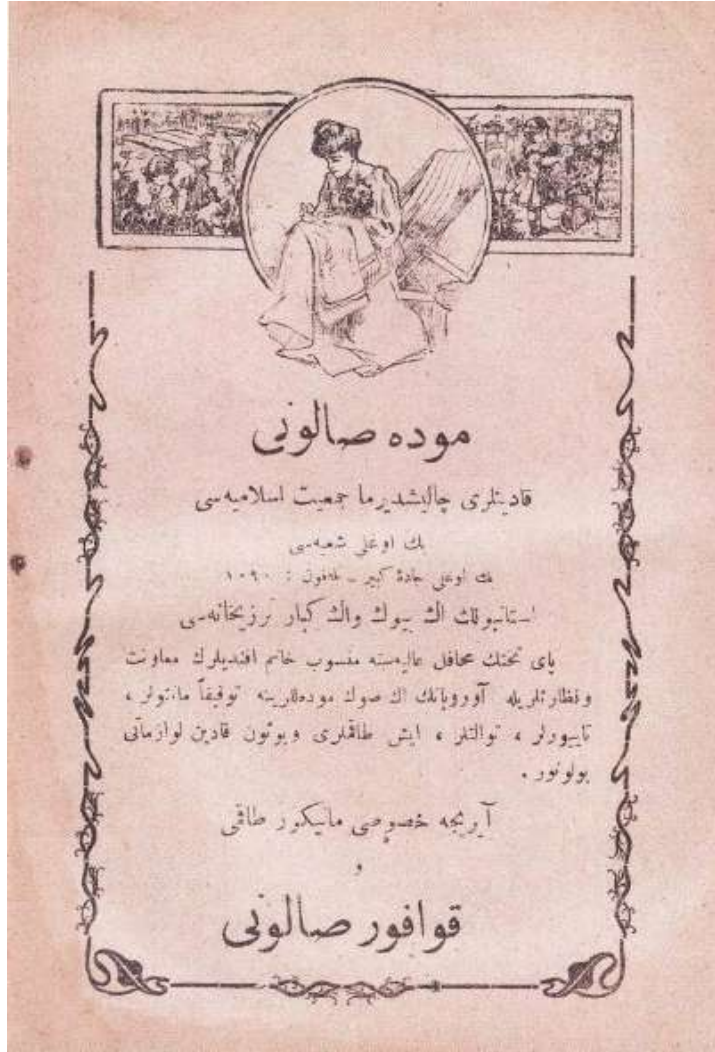
Galata'da Karaköy Caddesi'nde

### TİRİNG MAGAZASI

Kadınlara mahsus hazır elbise için yeni bir şube tesis edilmiştir.

İşbu mağazada kadife havlu kumaş ve moda kumaşlardan ma'mul ferace ve ceketler ve küçük kızlar için elbise ve küçük çocuklar için mantolar Paris modaları ve en son moda elbise ehveniyet-i fevkal'ade ile fūruht olunmaktadır. Hanımlar kısmında kadın fūruht memurları olduğu gibi tarzisi dahi kadın olmak üzere ayrıca bir salon dahi tertip edilmiştir. (Fiyatı maktu' ve fevka'l-gaye ehvendir.)

### Appendix N: Advertisement of the Fashion Salon (III)



Source: Yeni Aile Rehberi, 1919. *İlan-ı Ticaret: Resimli İlanlar Perspektifinde Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İstanbul Ticari Hayatı* (İstanbul: İTO Yayınları, 2010), p. 184.

Moda Salonu  
Kadınları Çalıştırma Cem'iyet-i İslamiyesi  
Beyoğlu Şubesi  
Beyoğlu Cadde-i Kebir- Telefon: 1090  
İstanbul'un en büyük ve en kibar terzihanesi  
Payitahtın mehâfil-i 'alisine mensub hanımefendilerin mu'avenet ve  
nezaretleriyle Avrupa'nın en son modellerine tevfikân mantolar, tayyörler,  
tuvaletler, iş takımları ve bütün kadın levazımatı bulunur.  
Ayrıca Hususi Manikür Takımı ve Kuaför Salonu

Appendix N: Advertisement for Finished and Ordered Corsets (IV)



Source: *Kalem*, 26 Ekim 1910. *İlan-ı Ticaret: Resimli İlanlar Perspektifinde Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İstanbul Ticari Hayatı* (İstanbul: İTO Yayınları, 2010), p. 51.

Aletuâl

Beyoğlu Cadde-i Kebirde

477 numara

Hazır ve ısmarlama

Korseler.

Hovakimyan Biraderler



Appendix N: Advertisements of Tiring and Mayer in newspaper between 1908- 1917 (V)



Source: Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Almanlar Dersaadet'te: 1870-1918 Devresi İstanbul'unda Almanlarla Osmanlıların Kültürel ve Toplumsal Buluşma Deneyimi", *Boğaziçi'ndeki Almanya = Deutsche praesenz am Bosphorus*, Kummer, Matthias von (ed.) (İstanbul: Generalkonsulat der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2009), p. 50.

Appendix N: Tiring Galata, Biggest Dress Store of the East (VI)



Source: *Vesâyâ-yı Medeniyeden Zarâfet-i Nisvân*, trans. Kaşif Dehri (İstanbul: İ'timad Kütüphanesi Sahibi Seyyid Tahir, undated, probably between 1912 and 1916).

Appendix O: İstanbulin (Setire-Pantolon) and Redingot.



Source: Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Sümerbank Yayınları, 1969), pp. 197-205.

Appendix P: A Caricature Depicting two Women Confronted in a Street.



Source: *Hayal*, 157, 7 Haziran 1291 / 19 Haziran 1875.

- Kız bu nasıl kıyafet? Utanmaz mısın?
- Bu asr-ı terakkide sen utan kıyafetinden.



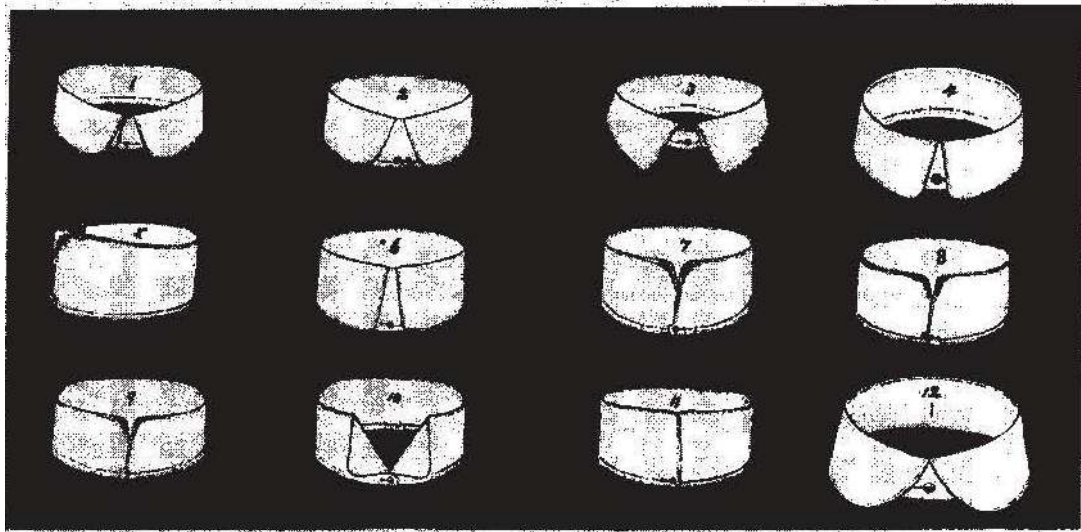
## Appendix R: New Fashion



Source: *Hayal*, 167, 28 Haziran 1291 / 10 Temmuz 1875.

- Haniya oğlum senin sırmalı setren nerde?
- Anam sattı da şemsiye ile ferace aldı...

Appendix S : "A Dozen Collars" Illustration



Source: *Fashion*, July 1899, 18.

## Appendix T : Frock Coat



Source: *Men's Fashion Illustration from the Turn of the Century*. Reprint by Dover Publications, 1990. Originally published New York : Jno Mitchell Co. 1910.

Appendix U: Photos

Lady of Rank--Constantinople Court Costume (1909-1910) (I)



Source: Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute, WRC-Pa125-10.



Appendix U: Woman Wearing Street Costume, Standing Indoors (1909-1910)  
(II)



Source: Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute, WRC-Pa134-1.

Appendix U: Portrait of a Woman Wearing a Transparent Veil Over Part of Her Face. (1909-1910) (III)



Sources: Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute, WRC-Pa134-2

Appendix U: Women Picnicking at Kağıthane, Golden Horn, İstanbul, (1865-1875) (IV)



Source: by Vasiliki Kargopoulo, Harvard Fine Arts Library, Visual Collections.



Appendix U: Group of Turkish women wearing Veils, Walking Down a Street with a Younger girl, Who is not Completely Veiled (1909-1910) (V)



Source: Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute, WRC-Pa125-1.



Appendix U: Photograph by Abdullah Frères, (1891-1892) (VI)



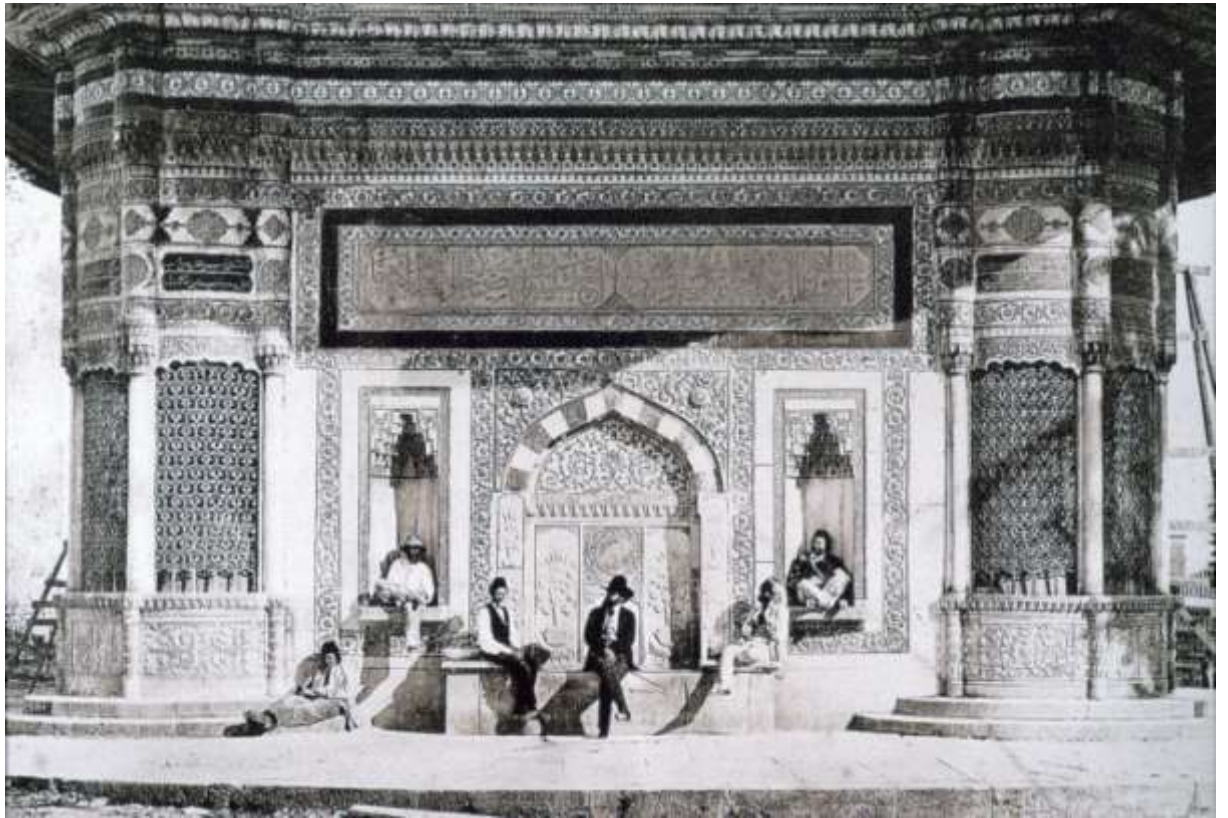
Source: Harvard Fine Arts Library, Visual Collections - Slides and Digital Images, 2005.11846.

Appendix U: Abdülhamid II, Sultan (r. 1876-1909) (VII)



Source: By Abdullah Frères (1858-1899), Harvard Fine Arts Library, Visual Collections - Slides and Digital Images, 2005.11772.

Appendix U: Photograph by Sébah, Pascal, 1870 (VIII)



Source: By Sébah, Pascal (1825-1886), Harvard Fine Arts Library, Visual Collections - Slides and Digital Images, 1995.08821.

Appendix U: Galata Bridge in İstanbul, Turkey. (1902-1914) (IX)



Source: Harvard Fine Arts Library, Special Collections, MedPoA.095, AKP070.



Appendix U: İstanbul, Beyoğlu, the Grand Rue de Pera, 1912 (X)



Source: Reproduced courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, ppmsca 05035. Quoted from Carel Bertram, *Imagining the Turkish House: Collective Visions of Home* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), p. 156.

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