

KATUN  
(On Turkish Women)  
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I— From pre-history, to history

History and archaeology trace the origins of the Turkish Eve, from pre- to early historical times, in the north of inner-Asia, on a scene of snowy peaks, with forests of pines and birches, opening southwards into wide steppes. In the first centuries of the millenary before Christ, a change of existence had occurred in Inner Asia. The earlier small agricultural communities, possibly matriarchal units,<sup>1</sup> had altered their way of life. Presumably as sequel of a wave of invasion, the communities had moved to pastoral seminomadism,<sup>2</sup> in seasonal transhumance from fortified winter quarters, to estival pastures, where the flocks could graze. The seasonal alterance of the mode of life, which continued into the historical period, beginning in ca the Vth century, caused a duplication of the feminine personality. In winter, within the tribal circumvallation, woman presided, both as cook and as priestess fire, at the family hearth and altar. She spun, dyed wools and felts, wove and embroidered. The mother-goddess of Turkish mythology, Umay,<sup>3</sup> had been inspired from this feminine image. A petroglyph<sup>4</sup> of the Sixth century, showing a crowned figure, in ritual frontally squatting posture (baghdaş,<sup>5</sup> in Turkish) is thought to represent her (pl. I/a).\*\*

With the advent of spring and the move of the flocks towards the pastures, the condition of women changed. The women also must, need be on horseback, shepherd the herds, encounter or flee before an enemy

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\*\* For pictures see the end of the Turkish text of this article (preceeding).

<sup>1</sup> A.P.Okladnikov, *Ancient Populations of Siberia and its Cultures* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 29.

<sup>2</sup> Bkz. A.D. Graç, *Drevnie Koçevniki v Zentre Azii* (Moskova, 1980).

<sup>3</sup> Bkz. L.P. Potapov, "Umay", *Turkologičeskiy Sbornik* 1972 (M., 1973). Evçi: G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), s.v.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. (pl.) I/a: A.A.Gavrilova, *Mogil'nik Kudirge* (M., 1965), lev. pl. VI.

<sup>5</sup> E.Esin, "Oldrugh-turugh, the hierarchy of sedent postures in Turkish iconography", *Kunst des Orients* (Berlin, 1971/2).

attack and, if the castle were robbed, hunt for subsistence. In this existence, where defeat sometimes ended in massacre, manly qualities were needed. The Turkish *kam- $\dot{k}$ atun*<sup>6</sup> (feminine shaman) therefore, requested from the god of war, the birth of a heroic son who could deliver the tribe from death or captivity.<sup>7</sup> She performed ritual gestures in whirling movements, projecting her tresses to form a diadem-like aureole,<sup>8</sup> as represented in ancient bronze masks<sup>9</sup> (pl. I/b). In incantations, to the sound of her drum, she invoked the spirits of the ground to favour her community, with the charisma of earth and water.<sup>10</sup> A reconstitution of an ancient *kam- $\dot{k}$ atun* was made, with finds from a pre-historical north-Asian tomb, in which the priestess had been inhumed, in her officiating garb, decorated with dangling effigies of spirits (pl. I/c).<sup>11</sup> Diadems and jewelry, sometimes in gold, studded with coloured gems, were found in other tombs of women-shamans, or tribal leaders.<sup>12</sup> But the majority of women wore the same practical, although elaborately ornamented clothes as men: tunics, jackets, breeches and boots. On works of art, since ancient ages,<sup>13</sup> northern Asian and Turkish married women's clothes can be distinguished from those of men, by a high head-dress.<sup>14</sup> Men, generally wore simple hats (*börk*), with or without reversible brims, or head-hands (*çalma*) in ceremonies.<sup>15</sup> It may be observed, both in the funerary statues (*sin*) beside tombs (pl. IV/b) and in paintings (pl.V/b) that women of high rank wore long robes,<sup>16</sup> particularly in ceremonies.

<sup>6</sup> Clauson, s.v.

<sup>7</sup> E.G. Pulleyblank, *The Background of the Rebellion of An-lu-shan* (Oxford, 1966) 7-8, 16-18.

<sup>8</sup> E. Esin, *Türk Kosmolojisi, Eski Devir* (İstanbul, 1979), 83-84 (N.Ya. Biçürin, *Sobranie svedniy o narodax obitavşiv Sredney Azii* (M. 1950-53), I, 216).

<sup>9</sup> Lev. (Pl.) I/b: Okladnikov, *Ancient populations...*, lev. (pl.) 20.

<sup>10</sup> Bkz. yuk. not 8 (See note 8 *supra*).

<sup>11</sup> Lev. (Pl.) I/c: A.P. Okladnikov, "Neolit i bronzoviy vek Pribaykal" ya", *Materiali i issledovaniya po arxeologii SSSR* Kısaltma: *MIA*, XLIII (Leningrad, 1955), 5, 348-55, ris. 175.

<sup>12</sup> A.N. Bernştam, "Zolotoya diadema iz Şamanskogo pogrebeniyana r. Kargalinke Kratikie soobşçeniya Instituta istorii material" noy kulturi, (Kısaltma: *KSIIMK*), v(*M.*, 1940).

<sup>13</sup> J.S. Rudenko, *Die Kultur des Hsiung-nu und die Hügelgräber von Noin-ula* (Bonn, 1964), res. (fig.) 64, lev. (pl.) XVIII/2. Id., *The Pazyryk Burials of Iron-age Horsemen* (London, 1970), 83-96, 289-90, res. (fig.) 66/a, 154.

<sup>14</sup> Bkz. not 38 (see note 38 *infra*).

<sup>15</sup> E. Esin, "Bedük börk", *Communications to the IXth Meeting of the Perm. Int. Altaistic Conference* (Napoli, 1970). Baş-bağı (head-bands): C. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire* (Canberra, 1968), 44 *Çalma*: Clauson, s.v.

<sup>16</sup> Lev. (Pl.) III/b: P.N.Kojemyako-D.F.Vinnika, *Arxeologičeskie Pamyatniki Pri-Issikköl' ya* (Frunze, 1975), fig. 42. Lev. IV/b: Bkz. not 58 (See note 58 *inf.*). *Sin*: Clauson, s.v.

The epigraphic inscriptions in Turkish, in an alphabet peculiar to the language, as well as literature and history, describe the life of early historical Turkish women, in direct continuation of the ancient age. The centuries of struggle for survival had so moulded women, that the legendary ancestress of the Turkish race assumed the mythologic aspect of a lupine spirit, or of the consort of a heavenly wolf.<sup>17</sup> She was pictorially represented as a nude young woman, however with a lupine avatar (pl.II/a) and in sculpture (pl.II/b) in the features of a girl wearing a martial helmet. Like their men, Turkish women when they died, were buried with their riding horse.<sup>18</sup> In a grave of the Ninth century, a woman had been inhumed on horseback. It is reported, on some Turkish groups, that a bride was won, only after defeating her in a wrestling contest (the man did not always win).<sup>19</sup> Such a scene seems shown on a silver tray (pl.IV/c), dated in the Seventh to Eighth centuries and related to a Turkish epic<sup>20</sup> (Dede Korkut). Although their manners were free, Turkish women were said to be extremely chaste.<sup>21</sup> Adultery was punished by the death of the male culprit.

## II—The K k-T rk and Uyghur spheres.

In the Sixth century, the dynastic tribe who called themselves the K k-T rk (the Celestial or Azure Turks) had founded a vast empire, extending from the borders of China, in the east, to the Black-sea in the west and India and Persia, in the south<sup>22</sup> (550-745). Their direct succession, as head of the Turkish world, was taken up by the Uyghur dynasties (745-1377).<sup>23</sup> However, while Uyghur power remained confined to the east, in Western Turkistan, reigned a dynasty, who probably as descendants of the K k-T rk monarchs, called themselves Kh k nids (the Imperials. The Kara-khanids of modern historians).<sup>24</sup> In Central Asia, beside the

<sup>17</sup> Lev. (Pl.) II/b: Esin, *İslamiyetten  nceki...*, indeks, "B ri" ve lev.XXXVII/b, LVII/b, LVIII/b. See Esin, *History*, index "B ri" and pls. XXXVII (b), LVII/b, LVIII/b).

<sup>18</sup> L.R. Kızlasov, *İstoriya Tuvi v Srednie veka* (M., 1969), 19. At  st nde kadın (woman on horseback): A.P. Smirnov, "Selezmy vek Bařkiri", *MIA*, LVIII (M., 1957), 45.

<sup>19</sup> Maħm d K řghari, *Ad-Div n u-luĝh t 'it-Turk* (Ankara, 1941-43), I, 474.

<sup>20</sup> Lev. (Pl.) IV/c: V.P.Darkeviř, "Kovř iz Xazarii i turskiy geroiřeskiy epos", *KSIIMK*, CXL (1974).

<sup>21</sup> Z.V. Togan, *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht* (Leipzig, 1939), 21.

<sup>22</sup> Bkz. Esin, *İslamiyetten  nceki...*, b l m III ve IV (See Esin, *History, Chapters III and IV*).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, b l m IV (chapter IV).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, b l m V ve VI (chapters V and VI).

Turks, there had earlier been other ethnic groups, who were to be gradually and partly absorbed by the Turks.<sup>25</sup> The non-Turks had been the Central Asian Iranians and the so-called Tokharians, an ethnic group who spoke a language not unlike present European dialects. Several religions prevailed in Central Asia. In addition to their ancient faith, the worship of heaven, of earth, of elemental and astral deities and of ancestors, some Turks had adhered since at least the Sixth century, to international religions. Buddhism of Indo-Nepalese origin, but already adapted to Central Asia, was much propagated among eastern Turks and inspired major works of literature and art. The faith of Mani, Manicheism to which a monarch of the Uyghur dynasty was converted, in the Eighth century, brought a current of Partho-Babylonian cosmology and art, which produced Turkish manifestations of some importance. Zurvanism and Mazdeism, the religion of Central Asian Iranians, found also followers among Turks and left cultural reflections. Nestorian and Latin Christianity may be added to this list, with some literature and art.

Concerning the life of women, since the Sixth century, eastern dynastic intermarriages and the influence of Buddhism, had opened the way, particularly in the upper classes, to what may be termed as a change in norms of feminine typology and behaviour. The new fashion had started in the east, but gradually spread to the west. The concept of the energetic northern Eurasian woman, shown in europid features, in the effigies of the mythologic ancestress (pl. II/b),<sup>26</sup> gave way to the ideal of the Far-eastern and Indian beauty and grace.<sup>27</sup> In China's and India's ruling circles, women rarely participated to public life, an occurrence however usual amongst Turks. The Chinese and Indian palace women were educated to display charm and grace. The impact of the Sino-Indian Buddhist ideal of beauty was to last over a millenary, down to the Selçukids<sup>28</sup> and Ottomans.<sup>29</sup> In the Eighteenth century, worldly temptations still appeared in Ottoman literary allegories, in the features of a Buddhist "idol". The

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, bölüm IV (chapter IV).

<sup>26</sup> Bkz. yuk. not 17 (See note 17 *supra*).

<sup>27</sup> E.Esin, "Turk-i mäh-chihra", *Akten des VII. Int. Kongress für iranische Kunst* (Berlin, 1979).

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Bibi, *Al-Avāmiru'l- 'Al-ā'yya fi l-umūr 'il- 'Alā'yya*, Lugal-Erzi tıpkı-basımı (facsimile ed.), v. (fol.), 219, 251, 360.

<sup>29</sup> Bkz. not 26 (See note 26 *sup.*).

Turkish literature of the Ninth to Eleventh centuries<sup>30</sup> had given form to an archetype, when they described beauty, in traits reflecting some of the reminiscences of Chinese demure demeanour, as well as of the langorous Indian Buddhist chorography. The delicate (*oghlaghu*) type of beauty had a slim waist, a swaying gait like a branch of the juniper-bush (*artuç*), with tapering, graceful fingers (*körkle eliglig*) to perform the *mudras*, the esoteric hand gestures, with mystic significance (*tamgha*, in Turkish). The face must be round and white, like a full-moon, the eyes in a Far-Eastern oblique cut, the nose however aquiline, a feature attributed, by the Chinese, to Turks and other peoples with europic aspect.<sup>31</sup> Such an idealized appearance was equally given in Uyghur Buddhist murals, to the iconography of deities and of donors of royal rank (pls. V/a,b).<sup>32</sup> The Far-Eastern features of the latter may have equally been the result of intermarriages. The sometimes portly appearance of some high-born matrons was a manifestation of the perennial realism of the Turkish artist, who did not fail to outline vigorously the individual features, in other portraits of less exalted women (pl. V/c).<sup>33</sup> The Manichean priestesses<sup>34</sup> are recognizable through their white garb (pl. VI/a). A mural showed a Christian Uyghur girl (pl. VI/b).<sup>35</sup>

The Turkish vocabulary had, since at least about the Ninth century, acquired many words designating the clothes and toilet accessories of women:<sup>36</sup> varieties of jewelry with tinkling bells; diadems; torques; rings; bracelets; silks; brocades; veils, embroidered with gold thread; corsets; diverse vestments, sometimes ordained in shape and colour, through region-

<sup>30</sup> Bkz. Clauson, adı geçen kelimelerdeki kaynaklar (See Clauson, cited words) ve (and) F.W.K.Müller, "Uigurica II", *Ergebnisse der Deutschen Turfan Forschung (Leipzig, 1972)*, II, 241.

<sup>31</sup> Bkz. yuk. not 26 (See note 26 *sup.*).

<sup>32</sup> Lev. (Pls.) V/a, b: bkz. (See) A. von Le Coq, *Chotscho* (Berlin, 1913), lev. (pls.) 30, 32. Lev. (Pls.) V/c,d: Esin, *İslâmiyetten önceki...*, lev. LXXIX/b (Esin, History, pl.LXXIX/b).

<sup>33</sup> Lev. (Pl.) V/c: A. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstaetten in chinesisich Turkestan* (Berlin, 1912), res. (fig.) 480.

<sup>34</sup> Lev. (Pl.) VI/a: Esin, *İslâmiyetten önceki...*, lev. LXXXV/d (Esin, History... pl. LXXXV/d). "Ürün ton": Clauson, s.v.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, lev. (pl.) LXXXV/a).

<sup>36</sup> Bkz. (See) not 56 (note 56 *inf.*) ve (and) Clauson, "Baghırdak", "Bakan", "Beng", "Barçın", "Bilezük", "Büküm etük", "Bürünçük", "Bürtü", "Çikin", "Çıt", "Didim", "Enlig", "Etig", "Kudurghak", "Küpe", "Opo", "Tolghaç", "Tuvak", "Yüzük".

al, social and cosmologic rules,<sup>37</sup> pointed slippers, pastes to whiten the face and red crayons to dot the cheek with a mole. Uyghur women generally wore a veil, which was attached to the hair, the head-dress being added, after marriage.<sup>38</sup> Colour symbolism which prevailed in the earlier period, had apparently later relaxed. Kaşghari, the Turkish encyclopedist of the Eleventh century, remarks that women who relied on their charms preferred red, while those who wished to shine through wit and blandishment were partial to violet hues.<sup>39</sup>

The head-wives of *khakans* (Turkish monarchs), the *khatuns*, could rule as regent (*terken*),<sup>40</sup> in the absence of their husbands, or sons. The *khatun* of the Uyghur Turks was enthroned in ceremony,<sup>41</sup> clad with the orangered clothes of monarchs, wearing a golden head-dress, in a rite which was thought to bestow charisma. The *khatun's* effigy together with that of the ruler, is seen on some coins. On one such coin, the Khatun is recognizable through her elevated head-dress (pl. II/a).<sup>42</sup> The personage with moustaches and long hair would be the monarch. Some *khatuns*, had courts of their own, including a corps of feminine archers on horseback.<sup>43</sup> A painting of the K k-T rk period appears to represent a retinue of young horsewomen, accompanying a royal bride (pl.III/a).<sup>44</sup> The Turkish princess who, sometime between the years 550-582, married a Chinese monarch, was instrumental in introducing to China, Central Asian (including Turkish) music and dancers.<sup>45</sup> Among the latter, a Turkish feminine singer was particularly mentioned, in chronicles. Turkish and Central Asian dances, as illustrated in an Uyghur mural (pl. V/d), consisted in rapid gyrations, with one foot precariously poised on a ball. On the painting (pl. V/d), the dancer dangles also the handkerchief (* let *), as

<sup>37</sup> Bkz. Esin, *İsl miyetten  nceki...* 64 (See Esin, *History*, 68).

<sup>38</sup> J.R. Hamilton, *Les Ouzghours   l' poque des Cinq dynasties* (Paris, 1955),

<sup>39</sup> Clauson, "Yipp n".

<sup>40</sup> O. Turan, "Terken unv n ", *T rk Hukuk t rihi dergisi* (A., 1944).

<sup>41</sup> Mackerras, 23-25, 121. Togan, 22.

<sup>42</sup> Lev. (Pl.) III/a: E. Esin, *İsl miyetten  nceki (A History....)*, lev. (pl.) LX/a (G.A.Puga enkova, *Yal ayan*, Taşkent, 1966).

<sup>43</sup> E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs Occidentaux* (Petrograd, 1903), 90.

<sup>44</sup> Lev. (Pl.) IV/a: Esin, *İsl miyetten  nceki...* (A. History....), lev. (pl.) LXXI/a (L. I. Al'baum, *Jivopis' Afrasiaba*, Taşkent, 1975, res. 103).

<sup>45</sup> Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte Der Ost-T rken* (Wiesbaden, 1958), 267, 345, 465-67, 714. Levha (Pl.) V/d: Gr nwedel, res. (fig.) 521. G k  yinlerinde devr n (gyrations in heaven-worship): E.Esin, "Sem  n", *T rk Edebiyatı*, 36 (Ist., 1974). * let *: Clauson, s.v.

in later Turkish choreography. (The ecstatic whirls, performed during the ritual worship of heaven, were to survive in Turkish Islam, in the gyrations of dervishes.)

The social activities of women were manifold. The members of reigning dynasties occasionally undertook diplomatic missions. To negotiate the marriage of her brother, a *khakan* of the Uyghur dynasty in 779-89, with the daughter of a Chinese emperor, Kutluğ Bilge had been sent as envoy.<sup>46</sup> She was banqueted by the monarch, while the conversation could only be held through an interpreter. Every gesture was ordained by a protocole, decided upon beforehand, in which none of the parties consented to renounce any homage, considered due to their rank. Each time that the Chinese ruler stood to offer her a courtesy, or gift, Kutluğ Bilge also got up from her seat and bowed.

The social activities of women were particularly notable in the Uyghur area, as judged by the list of donors for charitable foundations, generally Buddhist monasteries, in which were included schools and hospitals.<sup>47</sup> The donors were represented in painting (pls. V/a, b, c).<sup>48</sup>

Another category of paintings depicted the formal banquets, in which cup-rites accompanied the oaths of allegiance and fiefs were distributed.<sup>49</sup> Women also could take part in the festivities, although perhaps not in the same significance. The cup, in its symbolism connected with a wedding alliance, seems represented on a mural of the Seventh to Eighth centuries (pl. III/b).<sup>50</sup> Several young girls who figure, in this painting, are tentatively identified<sup>51</sup> as Turkish, through their sleeveless cape, (the *terinçek*), seen on feminine effigies of the T'opa-Wei dynasty<sup>52</sup> of Turkish origin<sup>53</sup> and worn by Turkish women<sup>54</sup> (pls. I/a, II/b).

<sup>46</sup> Mackerras, 74-78.

<sup>47</sup> E. Esin, "Muyanlık", *Türk Tarih Kurumu Malazgird Armağanı* (A., 1973). *Id.*, "Buyan", *IVe Congrès d'art turc* (Université de Provence, 1976).

<sup>48</sup> Bkz. not 32 (See note 32 sup.).

<sup>49</sup> E. Esin, "And, the Central Asian and Turkish cup rites", *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens in memoriam K. Erdmann* (I., 1969).

<sup>50</sup> Lev. (Pl.) III/b: L. I. Al'baum, *Balalık-tepe* (Taškent, 1960).

<sup>51</sup> Kojemyako-Vinnika, 113-18. *Terinçek*: Clauson, s.v.

<sup>52</sup> L. P. Sıçev, *Kitayskiy kostum* (M., 1975), lev. (pl XIX/3-4).

<sup>53</sup> Tabgaç'ların aslı (Origin of the T'opa-Wei): W. Eberhard, *Das Toba Reich Nordchinas* (Leiden, 1949), 362.

<sup>54</sup> Bkz. not 4, 5, 51 (See notes 1, 5, 51 sup.).

At the western and southern ends of the empire, there occurred also dynastic inter-marriages, with Sasanian Persia and Byzantium. A daughter of a *khakan*, born from a Chinese consort, who in the VIth century became the wife of Khusrav I Anūshirvān and gave birth to Hurmizd IV (579-90), had a pronounced Fareastern appearance.<sup>55</sup> She seemingly started, in Iranian literature and art the theme of the exotic Turco-Chinese princess.

Two feminine members of the Khazar branch of the Kōk-Türk dynasty, reigning from the northern Caucasus to the north of the Black-sea, had twice wed Byzantine emperors.<sup>56</sup> The first married, in 695, Justinian II and after baptism, took the name of Theodora. Her Turkish name is unknown. Her statue was raised in Istanbul, in gratitude for her constancy to Justinian, when in exile in Crimea. The name of the second lady, Çiçek (Flower) who was married to Constantine the Vth, in 732, was remembered through her peculiars garment, which became fashionable under the Greek form of her name (*tsitsakion*).

The Arabs who since the Sixth century met the Turks first in the Caucasus and later in the Central Asia, were surprised to find there a province ruled by a woman. Kabaç,<sup>57</sup> the Khatun of Bukhārā between 695-710, acted as regent for her infant son. Her effigy is seen on coins, with her husband, who had been vanquished and went to exile. Kabaç Khatun succeeded in winning the support the Arab commander Kutayba, who fought her enemies and assured the succession of her young son.

The mother of a ruler of the VIIIth century, sent to the Arab camp to negotiate peace terms, entered the early Islamic chronicles, through her sharp remarks and her counsels, on the art of government.<sup>58</sup>

### III—The Islamic period.

Among the first Turkish women to adhere to Islam, may be cited the daughter of the Khazar monarch, who in the Caucasus, in 762, married

<sup>55</sup> Bkz. (See) Esin, "Turk-i mäh-chihra".

<sup>56</sup> D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1967), 28-30, 171-73, 177.

<sup>57</sup> Lev. (Pl.) III/c: Esin, *İslâmiyetten önceki...* 152, 236, lev. LXV/b (See Esin, *Histo-ry...*, index, "Kabaç" and pl. LXV/b).

<sup>58</sup> Tabarî, *Tarihü'r-rusul wa'l-umam*, Leiden, 1879-81), II, 1695-96.

the Arab commander Yazīd b. Usayd<sup>3</sup>us-Sulamī.<sup>59</sup> In her bridal procession, came tents of brocade, the gates of were ornamented with gold plaques, and golden thrones. Before entering the Muslim city, she requested to learn to read the *Ḳur'ān*, in order to adopt her husband's religion. When this was achieved, she sent her dagger to him, as sign of permission to enter unmolested, into her chamber.

Islam did not restrict the rights of this, or of other Turkish women. The veil, was in that early period, yet what it had been in origin, a convention, symbolic of feminine modesty.<sup>60</sup> It had indeed been adopted, in the days of the Prophet, as a sign to distinguish Muslim women and protect them from the importunities of those, used to the customs of pre-Islamic Meccan society, in which women —particularly slaves— had not had the power to defend themselves. The Muslim woman, identified by her veil, could count on more respect. The Caliph 'Omar had described pre-Islamic condition of Meccan women, in words applicable also to other parts of the ancient and early mediaeval world: "With the advent of Islam and when God mentioned them, we understood that women had rights, which they could claim from us."<sup>61</sup> In fact, the *Kur'ānic* verses and their interpretation, by the Prophet, established the spiritual equality of women with men—and defined their legal status, assuring, in practice, their freedom.<sup>62</sup> Although men, as head of the family, responsible for the subsistence of the womenfolk, were given "one degree" of precedence, women could freely chose their life-partners, stipulate (if wished) monogamy in the marriage contract, inherit, administer independently their property and earnings. Encouraged by the Prophet to seek instruction, already the first and second generations of Muslim women distinguished themselves in various professions, particularly scholarly ones, such as the study of the Prophetic Tradition (*Ḥadīth*), exegesis (*Tafsīr*) and jurisprudence.<sup>63</sup> Umm Varaqa, who had memorized the *Ḳur'ān*, was allowed, by the Prophet, to turn her house into a mosque and to lead the congregational prayers.<sup>64</sup> A

<sup>59</sup> Aḥmad b. A'ṯhamu'l-Kūfi, *Kitābu'l-futūḥ* (Haydar-ābād, H. 1395), VIII, 241 v.-242.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, *A'ṯ-Ṭabaqātu'l-Kubrā* (Beyrut, H. 1377), VIII, 76-7.

<sup>61</sup> Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Kahire, H. 1355), VII (Libās, *bāb* 31).

<sup>62</sup> M. Hamidullah, *Le Prophète de l'Islam* (Paris, 1979), 163-67, 608. E.Esin, "The Hijra and its cultural consequences", *Cultures*, VII/4 (Unesco, 1980), 59-60.

<sup>63</sup> M. Hamidullah, *Ṣaḥīfa Ibn Munabbih* (Paris, 1979), indeks "Femmes".

<sup>64</sup> Hamidullah, *Le Prophète*, 1019.

few women-warriors<sup>65</sup> many poetesses<sup>66</sup> and some politicians<sup>67</sup> are counted in early Islamic annals. In fact, women were among the ardently active supporters of all three factions (ʿAlid, ʿOmayyād, Kharidjite) into which Islam was divided, after the Prophet. The Turkish women, converted to Islam, had thus only to accept the formal veil, to adapt themselves to the Islamic community of the early age.

Islam,<sup>68</sup> encountered first, on the south-western frontiers of the Turkish world, was destined to penetrate gradually until the eastern end, in a slow process, which lasted from the Eighth to the Fifteenth century, constituting since that time, the dominant faith of the Turks. However, the conversion of the Turks to Islam did not affect the privileges of queen-regents. Dāvūd b. ʿAbbās, of the Turkish dynasty called Bānīdjūr in Arabic sources (perhaps derived from Bay Çor), which had been nominated by the ʿAbbasid caliphs to their native Tokhāristān (southern Central Asia), had been, in the years of his reign (847-71), deeply absorbed in the construction of a prestigious palace.<sup>69</sup> He left to his wife the administration of the province. This "Khatun" (queen) was particularly benevolent. In order to pay the taxes of Tokhāristān, without oppressing the people, she had sent to Baghdād her costly gown, ornamented with gems. She also had built several pious monuments in Balkh, continuing thus the tradition of charitable feminine donors, which was to be equally maintained among Muslim Turks, particularly Selçukids and Ottomans.

In the beginning of the Tenth century, one of the two principal Turkish dynasties, the Khāqānid (also called Kara-khanid)<sup>70</sup> adhered to Islam and united the whole of western Turkistan, under their rule, founding thereby the first major Turkish Islamic civilization. Their daughters, as scions of "Turkish Khakans", were naturally accepted as legitimate "terken" (queen-regent). A poem, cited by Kāşgharī,<sup>71</sup> is a petition, in versified form, by a dignitary who requested a new appointment from a *terken*. Among the Khāqānid princesses, some married members of the newly es-

<sup>65</sup> Waqidī, *Kitāpu'l-maghāzī* (London, 1966), 268-72, 685-87.

<sup>66</sup> Bkz. M. Zihni, *Maşahiru'n-Nisā* (İstanbul, H. 1296), II, 28-29.

<sup>67</sup> Tabarī, II, 3610-28. Zihni, I/83; II, 247-51, 409.

<sup>69</sup> Abū Bakr ʿAbdullah Balkhī, *Fazā il-i Balkh* (Tahran, H. 1350), 20-21, 39-40. Bani-cur/Bay Çor: W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion* (London, 1928), index, "Banidjur".

<sup>70</sup> Bkz. not 24 (See note 24 *sup.*).

<sup>71</sup> Kāşgharī, I, 376.

tablished Turkish dynasties, outside Turkistan. These were, principally, in the period of the Khâqânids (840-1220), the Ghaznavids (962-1186) residing in present Afghanistan and the Selçukids (1037-1194) whose vast empire, included southern parts of Central Asia and of the Arabian Peninsula, the whole of Adharbaycân and Persia and who became, in 1071, the founders of a Turkish state in present Anatolian Turkey (The Sultans of Delhi and the Mamlûks of Egypt, and Syria were to start their reign, in 1205 and 1259 and the Ottomans, in 1299). Terken Khatun, the Khâqânid princess, who was consort of the Selçukid Melik-Şah (1072-92) did not hesitate to conduct an army against a step-son who tried to dispossess her.<sup>72</sup> In Turkistan, the tradition of the *terken* was so lively, that the mother of the Turkish Khvarizmşah 'Alâu'd-Dîn Muḥammed b. Tökiş (1199-1220) became the rival, in hegemony, of her own son.<sup>73</sup> The "terkens" had their own courts, chanceries and armies.

In the Near-East, however, where according to Nizâmu'l-Mulk,<sup>74</sup> the Iranian minister of Melik-şâh, the Sasanian tradition was the opposite of the Turkish, in not allowing women to meddle into state affairs, the "*terken*"s encountered some resistance. They however succeeded in preserving their privileges, down to the Seventeenth century. One may cite notably, in chronologic order, Altun-cân Khatun, wife of Tughrl Beg (1037-63), the founder of the Selçukid dynasty, who in the absence of the monarch, had repelled an aggression, with her own army.<sup>75</sup> One may further recall<sup>76</sup> Merd Khatun, wife of the Turkish Atabeg of Damascus, Böri b. Tughtigin (1128-31); Râziya, daughter of İltutmuş, a Turkish Sultan of Delhi, who was, for a few years, queen in her own right (1232-35); Shajaru'd-Durr, wife of the Ayyubid Şâlih Najmu'd-Dîn, who, in 1250, was raised by her congeners to the dignity of queen-regent and thereby started the lineage of Turkish Mamlûks. Several other Turkish *terkens*, or even, queens, are mentioned by historians of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries. 'Alemşâh Begum, of the Turkish Akköyunlu dynasty, mother of Şâh İsmâ'il of Persia, must also be noted for her momentous politically tinted sectarian activity. She is said to have campaigned in favour of the Kızıl-baş (Red-head) 'Alavî sect, among the Turks of Adharbaycân, wear-

<sup>72</sup> O. Turan, *Selçuklular Târîhi ve Türk - İslam Medeniyeti* (Ankara, 1965), 106-107, 156-64, 192, 376.

<sup>73</sup> Barthold, *Turkestan*, indeks (index), "Turkân Khatun".

<sup>74</sup> O. Turan, *Türk Cihân Hâkimiyeti Mefkûresi Târîhi* (Istanbul, 1969), 126-27.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>76</sup> Zîhnî, s.v.

ing the emblematic red hat, which in her case had the shape of a crown (the brim, notched into twelve florets).

The Ottoman sultans had occasionally, in the Fourteenth to Fifteenth centuries, wed the daughters of neighbouring dynasties, both Turkish and foreign. There ladies are however not reported to have exercised any particular influence. The Ottomans' concubines were not raised to the rank of consort (with in H. 1057/1647), but the favourite ones achieved the title of *khaşşeki*<sup>77</sup> (member of the inner court). If her son ascended the Ottoman throne at a youthful age, the *khaşşeki*, who became (*vâlde-sultân* (queen-mother), shared power with the grand-vizier and the young sultan's tutor. Among such *vâlde-sultâns*, the chronicles mention particularly Nûr-Bānu<sup>78</sup> (died 1583); Şafiyeye<sup>79</sup> (mother of Meḥmed III, 1594-1603); Mahpeyker Kösem<sup>80</sup> (died 1650); Tarkhan (or Turkhan) Khadice (died 1682).<sup>81</sup> With the exception of the much admired Tarkhan Khadice, the rule of women was accused, by Ottoman historians, to allow palace intrigues and corruptions, which led sometimes to revolutions.<sup>82</sup> The same charge was brought against some of the feminine counsellors (*muşāhibe*), recommended to the sultans by their mothers.<sup>83</sup> Cān-fedā, a female counsellor, who was even promoted to the rank of the four principal ministers of state of Murād III (1574-95), had been a model in just, if severe administration. Rāziye, a counsellor of Meḥmed III (1595-1605), remained a shadowy figure. Not so Şeker-pāre and Mülki (or Melekī), respectively in the services of İbrāhīm I and Meḥmed IV. Both were accused of bribery, the first being sent to exile in Egypt, in 1648; the other hanged to a tree, by an indignant mob, together with her husband and other suspected dignitaries, in 1655.

In the tradition of Turkish women, including the Selçuḳids such as Gevher Nesibe, founder of one of the earliest Anatolian hospitals (1206),<sup>84</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Na'ima, *Tārīkh* (Istanbul, H. 1282), IV. 250.

<sup>78</sup> Peçevî, *Tārīkh* (Istanbul, H. 1283), II, 3; Selānikî, *Tārīkh* (Ist., 1281) 173; Zihni, s.v.

<sup>79</sup> Peçevî, II, 3. Zihni, s.v.

<sup>80</sup> Na'ima, VI, 107. Zihni, s.v.

<sup>81</sup> Na'ima, IV, 334, 337, 456. Rāşid, *Tārīkh* (Istanbul, H. 1282), I/392.

<sup>82</sup> Na'ima, IV, 227.

<sup>83</sup> Cān-fedā, Rāziya: Zihni, s.v. Şeker-pāre; Mülki/Melekī: Na'ima, IV, 283; VI, 107, 157; Zihni, s.v.

<sup>84</sup> A. İnan, "Kayseri'de Gevher Nesibe şifâiyesi", *Türk Tarih Kurumu Malazgird Armağanı* (Ankara, 1972).

the Ottoman feminine donors also excelled in charities and in the construction of pious monuments.<sup>85</sup>

Women had equally reached distinction in theology, mysticism, and the literary, artistic and educational fields, particularly from the Thirteenth century onwards, both in the eastern non-Muslim (Uyghur and Öngüt)<sup>86</sup> and in the Muslim Turkish surroundings. Dwelling on the latter region, one may begin by citing Turkhan (or Turkan, or Terken) Khatun, a queen of Kirman, on her own right in 1258-82 and the calligrapher of Coran manuscripts, said to be of incomparable beauty, in the style of Yâkût.<sup>87</sup> She belonged genetically a family of K̄ara-Khitay (Mongol or Tungus) origin but educated in Turkish spheres, through their service at the court of the Khvarizmşāhs.

Turkey also witnessed the collective and individual progress of Turkish women, since the Selçukid period. Some religious professional associations which survived until the early Ottoman era, were the Ghāzī (warriors), the Akhī (the craftsmen), the Abdāl (the mystics) and the Bacı, (the Sisters), a feminine organization, apparently regulating the education of women.<sup>88</sup> One of these, Fāṭima Bacı<sup>89</sup> a disciple of the saint Hācı Bektaş Veli, was among the founders of the Bektaşī mystic order, in which women were also active, but to which however the Janissary corps of the Ottoman army equally belonged. Another prominent lady was Bibi Munaccima, an astronomer of Central Asian origin, in the service of the Anatolian Selçukid monarch 'Alā'uddin I (1215-36), whose historian son was known as Ibn Bibi<sup>90</sup> (Son of Bibi), instead of a patronym. The Anatolian Selçukid poetess Erghuvān<sup>91</sup> Khatun is remembered, through a manuscript opuscle, recording an exchange of versified reproaches, between the lady and her apparently poetically less gifted husband. The general aspect of the Anatolian Selçukid women may be seen on the figurative tiles of the K̄ubād-ābād palace (pls. VII/a, b, c).<sup>92</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Bkz. not 48, 69, 78 ilâ 83 (See notes 48, 69, 78 to 83 *sup.*).

<sup>86</sup> Ch'en Yüan, *Western and Central Asians in China* (Los Angeles, 1966), 278-84.

<sup>87</sup> Zihni, "Pādişāh Khatun", J.H. Kraemers, "Kirmān", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden, 1927).

<sup>88</sup> 'Aşık Paşa-zāde, *Tārīkh* (Istanbul, H. 1332). 205.

<sup>89</sup> A. Gölpınarlı, *Vilāyet-nāme* (Ist., 1958). indeks (index), s.v.

<sup>90</sup> A. Erzi, "Ibn Bibi", *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ist., 1968).

<sup>91</sup> O.Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları* (Ankara, 1958), 168-171.

<sup>92</sup> M. Önder, "Le mode de se vetir chez les dames Seldjouquides" *Fifth Intern. congress of Turkish art (Budapest, 1978)*, res. (figs.) 4-6.

In the same century, in the Mamlük sphere, Tadhkār-pāy<sup>93</sup> (died 1314), a daughter of Baypars reputed through a decisive victory over the invincible Mongols, had achieved a name in theology and mysticism. She founded, in Egypt, in 1250, the Ribāṭu'l-Baghdādiyya, an institute and hospice for women. The authority on the Ḥadīth (Prophetic traditions) of the Fourteenth century, the Palestinian Ibnu'l-Ḥajaru'l-Aṣḳalānī mentioned, among his most learned contemporaries, Şşd(?) (died 1386), the daughter of a scholarly and mystic Turkish (Türkmen) family.<sup>94</sup> Ay-Melek<sup>95</sup> (died 1412) whose name Ay (Moon) shows a Turkish origin, a reciter of Coranic liturgy and student of the Ḥadīth, had also lived in the Syrian area of the Arabic Peninsula, at the end of the same century.

Returning to Turkey, still in the Fourteenth century, one meets three sisters. 'Ā'yşe, Fāṭima and Selmā, who in the reign of Bāyezid I (1389-1402), were said to teach theology to students, while modestly hidden from view, behind a curtain.<sup>96</sup>

The Fifteenth century witnessed, in Turkey, the eclosion of feminine poetical talents. The anthologist 'Aşık Çelebi cites as the two most renowned, both through talent and beauty, Mihri and Zeyneb,<sup>97</sup> who were close friends, yet diverse in inspiration. Mihri refused the yoke of wedlock, but betrayed in lyrical poetry, a passion for a certain İskender. Zeyneb sought the metaphysical spheres. Renouncing to effeminate finery, she wished to outdo holy men, in the severity of penances.

The Sixteenth century poetess Tuṭu<sup>98</sup> a member of Süleymān I's (1520-66) court, had been given, as bride, to the official court poet Bākī (1526-99). He publicly taunted her, in a satirical piece, in not resembling to a colourful "tuṭu" (parrot), but of looking like a crow. She replied in the same spirit and with equal verve, in mockery of Bākī's appearance. The charm and witty conversation of Ḥubbī,<sup>99</sup> another poetess of the same century, attracted two successive sultans, Selim II (1566-74) and Murad

<sup>93</sup> Zihni, s. v.

<sup>94</sup> Zihni, s. v.

<sup>95</sup> Zihni, II, 392-93.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 24.

<sup>97</sup> 'Aşık Çelebi, *Tedhkeretu 'ş-şu'arā* (ed.) G.M. Meredith-Owens bask. (London, 1971), v. (fol.) 126 v. 128v., 186v. Zihni, s.v.

<sup>98</sup> Zihni, s.v.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 155; II, 16.

III (1574-95). This last prince had composed a poem, expressing regard for Ḥubbî whose terse versified answer advised the monarch to turn his attention to his responsibilities towards God, in assuring the welfare of his subjects. Some ladies of the Sixteenth century have been portrayed in a collection for the Sultan Aḥmed I (1603-1617) (pl. VIII).<sup>100</sup> They are seen to wear the classical Turkish feminine clothes, which had hardly changed since ancient ages, together with the conical head-dress, shown by Bellini, on Turkish women of the Fifteenth century<sup>101</sup>(pl. VIII). Their functions, or interests appear, in the objects they display. The book in the hand of one figure (pl. VIII/a), seated, with her companions, under blossoming trees and cypresses, may indicate a literary preoccupation, as in the case of the cited contemporary poetesses.

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries produced again many remarkable Ottoman Turkish women, amongst whom stood out a musician, several poetesses and theologians. Emetullah<sup>102</sup> (died 1703), who bore the pseudonym Sıdkî, composed the words and music of hymns (*ilahî*), generally sung in religious ceremonies, by Turkish congregations. Ânî Fâṭıma<sup>103</sup> (died 1711) although belonging through birth to the *‘İlmîyye* (clerical-theological) group, a hereditary privilege which she transmitted to her son, paradoxically appears to have been a hedonic poetess, judging from the few, but strikingly dramatic verses, known from her pen. Zübeyde,<sup>104</sup> on the other hand, devoted her life to Islamic theology and jurisprudence (*fıkḥ*), but also found time to leave a *divân* (collection of poems) to posterity. She is best known as the mother of the renowned Fiṭnat,<sup>105</sup> authoress of a repeatedly printed *divân*, who achieved fame in the literary circle of the grand-vizier Râghıb Paşa (died 1762) and was court poetess of Maḥmūd I (1734-54) and ‘Abdu’l-Ḥamîd I (1774-89), for whom she wrote odes celebrating spring festivities and the inaugurations of monuments.

The matrons of Istanbul, considered by Turks, as the mothers of the future generations, had been, in 1725, severely reprimanded for driving

<sup>100</sup> Topkapı Kütübhanesi, yazma H. 408, v. 9, 14. Topkapı Library, ms H. 408, folios 9,14).

<sup>101</sup> J. von Karabacek, *Abendlaendische Künstler zu Konstantinopel* (Wien, 1918).

<sup>102</sup> Zihni, s. v. I. 45. 350.

<sup>103</sup> Zihni, s.v.

<sup>104</sup> Zihni, I, 264.

<sup>105</sup> Zihni, II, 140.

their husbands to the doom of family life, by an edict of Aḥmed III. He blamed them for an excess of adornment, displayed in public places, in a propensity attributed to the example of non-Muslim ladies and of dancers and acrobats.<sup>106</sup> They appear indeed, in very ornate and coquettish garbs and postures, in the paintings of Levnî (died 1732)<sup>107</sup> (pls. IX,X). The lovely and proud beauties, as unyielding as inanimate "idols" (*şanem*); the seductive dancers whose castagnettes made the heart throb, celebrated by their contemporary poet Nedîm,<sup>108</sup> seem portrayed in Levnî's gallery (pl. IX, pl. X/b). An orchestra of musician girls (pl. X/a) evokes Dilḥayât, a feminine member of Selim III's court (1789-1807), whose subtle music was to survive to our day, in concerts.<sup>109</sup>

Notwithstanding the 1730 revolution, caused by Ahmed III's own tendency to profligacy and enjoyment, the trend to Epicurean tastes continued to the end of the Eighteenth century. The earlier of the two poetesses named Leylâ<sup>110</sup> daughter of Hâmid, although she lived down to the mid-Nineteenth century (died 1847), still belonged in her youth, to the flippant mood of Eighteenth century Istanbul. Her verses describe the life of a group, mainly in the Empire's capital, who had achieved a tolerant elegance of manners. Indifferent to the criticisms of a generally severe society, they combined, in "exquisite rose gardens", the pleasures of literary conversation and of music, to those of the cup and of diverse amours. Leylâ repented however in advanced age, as expressed in celebrated lines:<sup>111</sup>

"Under the burden of sin, I have no strength to advance to (thy) presence, alas"

"My body curved, like a bow (through guilt), in youth, O Apostle of God!"

The images of Ottoman women, from various areas, were reflected at the end of the Eighteenth century, in a manuscript called *Zanân-nâme*,<sup>112</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Küçük Çelebi-zâde Âşım, *Târih* (Ist., H. 1282), 375-76.

<sup>107</sup> S. Ünver, *Levnî* (Istanbul, 1951), res. (ills.) 5, 6, 8.

<sup>108</sup> Nedim, *Divân* (Ist., 1951); 185.

<sup>109</sup> Y. Öztuna, *Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi* (Ist., 1969-76), s.v.

<sup>110</sup> Zihni, II, 195.

<sup>111</sup> Şemseddin Sâmî, *Şâmûsu'l-'alâm* (Istanbul, H. 1316), s.v.

<sup>112</sup> Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütübhanesi, yazma T.Y. 5502, v. 104/b-113/b (ms T.Y. 5502 of the University of Istanbul, folios 104 v. to 113 v.).

composed by Fazıl Hüseyn (died 1825), with paintings marked by the prevailing European technical influences,<sup>113</sup> attributed tentatively to a certain Halim-zâde Feṭhî, (mentioned by the historian Şâni-zâde Aṭâullah). The author, addressing readers who sought “civility” in women, considered the brightly-clad “Anatolian brides, as rough as “uncut diamonds”. But the women of “that clime of refinement and of multiple arts and sciences”, the capital Istanbul, represented “the essence of universal feminine exquisiteness, of polished taste and of elegance”. In this city, lovely and innocent women preferred to remain, hidden at home, like “a ruby, set in silver”. There were also some fickle creatures who in seemingly timid steps, accompanied by a chaperon, proceeded to the bazar, to seek adventure. Such a person, dressed in a subtly-shaded “mauve mantle”, wearing “a brooch, in the shape of a trembling blossom (in Turkish filigree-work)” is depicted both in the text and in illustration (pl.XI/a). The poet even imitated the mannerly accents of this coquette. In old age, such women still tried to attract attention, masking their “hideous appearance” with perfume and make-up. The illustrations equally show an indignant neighbourhood, gathered to witness against a clandestine affair.

Although surrounded by a shocked and critical majority, the Epicureans continued their ways, equally in Nineteenth century Istanbul. One such was İhsân, who apparently preferred the company of a renowned hetaera, said to have “set the world aflame”, whose portrait he painted in European oil-technique (pl.XI/b), to the literati at the receptions of his wife, the poetess Nigâr (1862-1918), whom he divorced.

Two representatives of the art of poetry, on the other hand, expressed eloquently, a feminine echo of the pensive, even melancholy mood, which on the whole, was to be the mood of Nineteenth century Turkey. These were Sirrî (born in 1809) and a second Leylâ (daughter of İsmâîl), whose verses were recorded in around 1878.<sup>114</sup>

Among the followers of the mystic path, the chronicler<sup>115</sup> counts Şeref (born in 1807) and a second Fiṭnat (daughter of Aḥmed, born in 1842). Fiṭnat was simultaneously gifted in calligraphy, an art which a woman had brought to excellence, a half-century before (Esmâ İbret).<sup>116</sup> The devo-

<sup>113</sup> Tayyar-zâde Aḥmed ʿAṭâ, *Netâ'ic u'l-vuku'ât* (Ist., 1291), III, 77, 109-112.

<sup>114</sup> Zihni, II, 196.

<sup>115</sup> Zihni, I, 303-305, 332; II, 143.

<sup>116</sup> Zihni, II, 394.

tional studies had gone on, uninterrupted, throughout centuries. With the multiplication of institutes for the training of women, also as teachers, some of the latter,<sup>117</sup> like Ruveyde, noted in the year of the reign of Murād V (1876) and Fatima-Zehrā (born 1861), had memorized the *Kur'ān* and recited it liturgically.

The era of leisure of Ottoman civilization had reached its hour of dusk, in the Nineteenth century, with the outbreak of wars and of invasions, on several frontiers. The ancient epic heritage of Turkish women, which had lain dormant, since the rise to a world power of the Ottoman Empire, became then again needed. For centuries, since a memorable feminine cavalry corps, formed by the Dhu'l-Ḳadr principality (1378-1480),<sup>118</sup> the mention of women, active in armies, had occurred seldom in histories. But, in the hour of calamity, courage and fortitude advanced again to the fore. The tradition had apparently been silently kept up by the village women, who undertook all the toils of men, when these went away on military service. A book-painting of the late Eighteenth century, has the rare merit of depicting the appearance of this layer of society, generally neglected in manuscript paintings (pl. XII).<sup>119</sup>

The succession of wars gradually necessitated the constant collaboration of women. It was the period in which the poetess Zafer<sup>120</sup> proclaimed her readiness to join the 1878 war, perhaps in emulation of the Bosnian heroine Şerîfe<sup>121</sup> who, in 1876, had repulsed, with weapons, an attack by enemy soldiers and was decorated. ... During the war of 1878, on the western front, at Plevna,<sup>122</sup> when the Turkish army, besieged since seven months, tried to force its way out through the siege, the women of the town with their children, insisted on not being abandoned and were decimated by the adversary's canons. On the eastern front, at Erzurum,<sup>123</sup> a surprise attack had occurred and when the citizens were called from minarets to a civil defence, women equally joined in. The young mother Nine, had then left her child to God's care, to rush to the call. As the 1914-18 war approached its end, the administration, the municipality,

<sup>117</sup> Zihni, II, 414.

<sup>118</sup> O. Turan, *Türk Cihân-Hâkimiyeti Mefkûresi Târîhi* (Ist., 1969), I, 126-27.

<sup>119</sup> Not 112'de bahsi geçen yazma (the ms mentioned in note 112 *sup.*).

<sup>120</sup> Zihni, II, 328-29.

<sup>121</sup> Zihni, s.v.

<sup>122</sup> İbrâhîm Edhem, *Şebât ve gayret, Kıyâmet'den bir alâmet* (Istanbul, H. 1297), 46-50.

<sup>123</sup> İ.H. Konyalı, *Erzurum Târîhi* (Ist., 1960), 359.

even hospitals were half-emptied of their staff, who had been enlisted in the armies. Feminine organizations and individual women were then employed by several institutions. In the 1920-23 war, the women shared the struggle for the defence of the country's survival. The villagers transported ammunitions, the educated classes participated in many categories of manual or intellectual activities. At the end of the war Atatürk remarked that Turkish women had truly won the right to full responsibility in public life, which a law of the Republic then granted to them.