SUTAD, Nisan 2019; (45): 101-110 e-ISSN: 2458-9071

# WOMEN PHENOMENON IN TERMS OF SOCIAL HISTORY DETERMINATION OF IDENTITY OF WOMEN IN ANKARA IN THE 17TH CENTURY

## SOSYAL TARİH AÇISINDAN KADIN OLGUSU XVII. YÜZYILDA ANKARA KADINININ KİMLİK TESPİTİ

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#### Abstract

The history gained a place in the social sciences in the beginning of the 20th century and opened doors to major transformations in terms of revealing the historicity of mankind. In this period, the history was trying to be recognised as a science and its predominantly narrative writing technique started to change and an understanding of social history was developed, which includes individuals in the field of history. Even micro-fields such as gender historiography and women's historiography were added to the history arena. This transformation was called social history and it opened doors to clearer view of social reality. The women is an important factor of the history, and her status is one of the significant elements of the social history. When we look at from this point of view, the historicity of the women of Ankara had significant importance and comprise one of the main data to understand the period (17th century). Our study aims to determine the identity of women of Ankara in the 17th century with the view of historical sociology and reveal her status in the society and her presence in public places. In our study, we have examined Ankara Islamic Judicial records (Şer'iyye Sicilleri) of the period together with the copyrighted studies and academic theses related to the period, and our interpretation was presented accordingly.

#### Keywords

Ankara, Identity, History, Women, Social History.

#### Öz

Tarihin sosyal bilimler arasında XX. yy.ın başlarında kendine yer edinmesi, insanın tarihselliğinin bundan böyle ortaya konulması açısından büyük dönüşümlere kapı aralamıştır. Bu dönemde bilim olma uğraşı veren tarihin ağırlıklı olarak olay anlatımına dayalı yazım tekniği değişmeye başlamış ve sıradan bireylerin de tarihin alanına dâhil edildiği sosyal tarih anlayışı gelişmiştir. Hatta cinsiyet tarihçiliği, kadının tarihi gibi mikro sahalar da bu sayede tarihin kulvarına eklenmiş oldu.Sosyal tarih dediğimiz bu dönüşüm, toplumsal gerçekliğin daha net kavranmasının önünü açmış; tarihin önemli bir olgusu olarak beliren kadının toplum içerisindeki varlığı, onu sosyal tarihin önemli unsurlarından birisi yapmıştır.

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Bu yönüyle baktığımızda Ankara kadınının da tarihselliği anlam kazanmış ve dönemsel olarak (XVII. yy.) fikir sahibi olmamızda temel verilerden biri olmuştur. Bu çalışmamız, XVII. yy. Ankara kadınının tarihsel sosyoloji bakışıyla önce kimlik tespitini yapmaya sonra da devrin gerek toplumsal gerekse kamusal alanında varlığını ortaya koymaya yöneliktir. Çalışmamızda dönemin Ankara Şer'iyye Sicilleri ve yine bu dönemle ilgili hazırlanmış telif eserler ve akademik tezlerden faydalanılmış ve yorumumuz bu sayede ortaya konulmuştur.

> Anahtar Kelimeler Ankara, Kimlik, Tarih, Kadın, Sosyal Tarih.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the 19th century, professional historiography had narrative and event-oriented character but it was transformed into social science-oriented historical research and writing in the 20th century. This transformation started with Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre (Malhut quoted from Evans 2011: 205). In this regard, this transformation was called social history and opened ways for clearer view of social reality and included phenomena such as individuals, women and mindset that were not previously included in the history. The role of the woman in the society is crucial factor for the history and one of the important elements of social history. In this respect, the history of women in Ankara becomes significant. The historical records of the period of 17<sup>th</sup> century (Islamic judicial records etc.) constituted our main data.

## 1- IDENTITY IN SOCIAL LIFE AND WOMAN

Social life is a historical arena in which the individuals experience multifaceted relationships. It is a dynamic field, where multifaceted relationships led the self-realization of man as he participates in the construction process of his own historiography.

Ramazan Acun remarked about identity in social life and determination of identity (Burke, Stryker and Burke, Acun quoted from Stets and Burke 2015: 19). and stated that the scientific answer to the question of what the identity is explained by the "identity theory", which is mainly developed by sociologists and social psychologists, and made these determinations : Individual identity is the whole of organized social relations at a certain stage of the flow of life. In terms of facilitating understanding, these relations can be seen as a network and therefore they are called social networks. The identity of the person at a certain time is determined by his/her position in these social networks. Positions in the network do not have a priori character but are built with interactions between people as a result of the socialization. People can have multiple identities, depending on the roles they have. These are called role-based identities (Acun 2015: 19). There are factors that affect the emerge of this mechanism in the past, present and future. In our view, these factors are the dynamic conditions that determine the categories of formation of individual identities in social life.

In relation to social identity, Abdullah Metin (2011: 82), states that the identity, in the most general definition, is the sum of the answers given by the individual to the question of "Who am I?". According to Berger and Luckmann, identity is a phenomenon that arises from the dialectic between the individual and the society, which is appropriate to the conceptual framework of our study. We generally regard identity and in particular women's identity as a social phenomenon in this study. The formation of women's identity as a historical phenomenon is related to the her social life. The woman involves in everyday life and participates in dynamics of social and cultural life and acquires her reasons for being by the roles of her present identity. If something is historical, it is also social. In this context, it would be a correct to consider social life as a historical life. The social life can only exists because of the interrelationship and interaction between the individuals. Hakan Yılmaz (2017: 44-45), points out that this interaction also indicates the human factor in historical events and developments, and it has a principal effect in the social life for structuring identities and social roles.

The identities are produced, externalized, objectified and internalized in daily life with a

principal effect. Identities are inherited rather than being generated. One of the examples of these identities is the identity of women. The identity that a mother externalizes is internalized by her daughter. In short, the traditional female identity is reified and transferred from generation to generation without questioning within the cycle of everyday life (Metin 2011: 76). The women's identity in historical and social life is true reality for the woman who embraces and carries it; it takes place in the symbolic universe and coexists with the other identities (especially male identities) that complement it and enhance its reality (Metin 2011: 83-84). In this context, Henri Lefebvre (2007: 47). Evaluates the historical identity of women and states that the women are the 'object' of the society on the one hand and basic 'subject' on the other hand. The women's identity are seen as the elements of basic code of family, which is the main structure of the society. This assumption suggest that women transfer their roles to other generations and cause social continuation. In our conceptual framework, we try to determine the position of women's identity in social life and will address the identity of women in Turkish-Islamic society and her existence in the social life.

# 2-. DETERMINATION OF IDENTITY OF WOMAN IN ANKARA IN THE $17^{\rm TH}$ Century

#### 2.1. Turkish Women in Pre-Islamic Period

The image of women in Turkish history was a superior one. As a social individual in pre-Islamic Turkish states, women had a very important role in society. However, this role differed according to the time periods and geography in the Turkish states.

The Gokturk inscriptions, which are the ancient monuments of Turkish history, present us the historical identity of the Turkish woman. According to this, 'hatun' had a special position as well as the 'khan' in the community of Central Asian Turks. Orkhun Inscriptions were written in the name of Bilge Kagan and Kültigin, who were the rulers of Kutluk State, and it indicates that hatun's position was different from the public: "Turkish God at the above organised the Turk's blessed country. The God pulled out of my father, İlteriş Khan and my mother, İlbilge Hatun from the people and raised them to ensure the survival of Turkish nation (Ergin 1989: 21, 35). These expressions of the Muharrem Ergin help us to understand the social identity of the Turkish woman in the history. In addition to the inscriptions, the women had a superior place in epics of ancient Turks. In these epics, the women carry a sacred identity and is considered to be a divine entity, such as the 'Ak Ana' in the Epic of Creation, mother and wives of Oguz Khan and Ay Khan in the Epic of Oguz Khan. Furthermore, the Mother Wolf is one of the superior female motifs, who was an important factor for Gokturks to become a nation again (Dulum 2006: 4). As it is understood from these examples, the women had precious place in pre-Islamic Turkish social life. The women was important in terms of being a mother, being sacred, providing social transmission. In this context, Jean Paul Roux's determination about the identity and role of women in social life in Turkish history shows us the social status of the woman and the level of female and male relationship within this structure. In this framework, his expressions such as "Women are not covered, not in harem, not separated from men. It can be said that they have extreme freedom... Young girls compete with men, they never hesitate to fight and wrestle with them." (Roux 2001: 272). Indicates the women's identity in the social life.

### 2.2. Islamic Period and the Women in the Ottoman Period

When the Islam spreads among the Turks in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, women and men were still living side by side. Ibn Fazlan, an Islamic traveller who visited places where Turks lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, finds it especially surprising that women and men were in the same environment, mentions that women did not escaped from men (Sesen 1975: 31). The Turks settled in Anatolia after the migration preserved their old Turkish traditions and customs despite accepting Islam (Dulum 2006: 10). The Ottoman state was a country based on Islamic law and therefore, the status of the woman was determined according to Islamic law. However, since most of the people were Turkic and Central Asian descent, the effects of pre-Islamic Turkish culture were also apparent (Tekin 2010: 85). Regression period of the Ottoman State affected the situation of the Turkish woman in a negative way, the house became a prison for the women and her traditional rights of inheritance and witnessing at the courts were taken away (Avci quoted from Doğramacı 2016: 230). This situation were magnified in following years and women were regarded as an intimate object in the next decades, and it even affected Christian and Jewish women living in the Ottoman State (Dulum, quoted from Faroqhi 2006: 15). Although, in the Ottoman Empire, women (urban) were not welcomed to involve in social activities and even banned sometimes, they were not restricted in participating in economic life. In the Ottoman Empire, the women could own property and possessions, participate in economic life and commercial activities. The number of women possessing property in the Ottoman State were not small, but the woman who ran the commercial activities were only few (Dulum 2006: 16). The situation of the woman living in the countryside in the Ottoman State was a little different. Women, like men, worked in the field, managed the house, looked after their children and weaved carpet and textiles. Despite all of these duties, women did not have equal rights with men (Tekin 2010: 86). In this section, we give general information about Ottoman woman, but we also examine the women in Ankara in the Ottoman Empire during 17th century. In this respect, the historicity of Ankara woman will be evaluated and women phenomenon will be periodically determined (17th century). When we look at the identity of the Ankara woman in terms of historical sociology, in general, the image, social status and role of the Ottoman woman was also seen here. In terms of social history, it is useful to know the socio-political and administrative structure of Ankara in this period before looking at the identity and status of the woman in Ankara in 17th century. Ankara is a very old city which is situated on the northwestern part of Central Anatolia, on the roads crossing the Anatolia horizontally in the eastwest direction and diagonally in the northwest-southeast direction (Tas 2004: 123). It was an important fortified settlement on a high hill in almost every period of the history.

Ankara was a Sanjak of Anatolian province had a certain road order with its own internal connections. Actually, Sanjak of Ankara was built on a very large rural area. The number of towns and cities involve in production of non-agricultural products were extremely small in the Sanjak and Ankara was the only major centre of this large agricultural area (Taş 2004: 38-40).Because of being a transit region, Ankara was not far from the trade routes and was a rich settlement in terms of agricultural, animal and mineral resources. It is undeniable fact that the socio-economic dynamics of the area affects the social life of a settlement. In this context, the characteristics we have mentioned above have caused various effects on the region of Ankara. Social history studies in Turkey started with Koprulu at the beginning of the century but could not become an effective field of study until the 1970s. From this period, socio-economic studies, mindset studies and micro studies on women have gained momentum in order to

reveal the codes of social life. Our study will provide determinations for the social history of a certain period. In the framework of the introductory information given above, the determination of the women's identity in Ankara in the 17th century requires a multidimensional perspective and interdisciplinary approach.

According to regional dynamics, the Ottoman woman, contrary to what is believed, is not an individual who only deals with domestic affairs and children and isolated from the society. This is revealed by the recent studies on women. From this point of view, besides being a mother, a housewife, and a wife Ankara women has a common activity: many played a role in the production of woollen cloth and even participated in their trade. It is known that all of the people from Ankara weaved woollen cloth in their houses. These woollen cloths were sometimes bought by merchants and sometimes sold by the women at the bazaars. Although the Ottoman women are described as being trapped in their houses surrounded by high walls, Women of Ankara are a good example of them being not actually so closed to the outside world (Taş 2004: 213-218). This situation continued for a long time and was an highly effective element in women's finding her identity in socio-economic life, and had a principal influence over women's social status.

According to this, if we look at the identity and roles of women in Ankara in the 17th century: There were also women who cross the general line, who were well off and had entrepreneurship identity in the city. For example, the Kaledibi Bath, which is a part of Ak Madrasa Foundation, was repaired by Fatma, after having been in ruined for about 20 years. Fatma was known as Cemaloglu Hatunu and spent 36.000 Akca (small silver coin) and the management of the bath was transferred to her. Fatma was registered as the manager of the bath as from 1621-1622 (1031), rent out the property to a person named Jafer for 3 years for daily 10 Akça (Taş 2004: 218-219). These determinations based on the records of Islamic judicial records of Ankara and show the entrepreneur identity of women in the dynamics of Turkish history.

It was also possible to encounter the women who were involved in other small-scale commercial activities, as well as the bath operation. For example, according to two separate records dated 10 November 1655 (11 Muharrem 1066) and 1 April 1656 (8 Shaban 1066), a woman named Bese was living in the Kattanin district appeared to be an intermediary in the purchase and sale of some weaving goods. In detail, three people named Molla Mahmud Halife, Mustafa Çelebi and Hacı Ahmed bin Mehmed gave various amounts of shirts, cloths, woven fabrics to Bese to sell and Bese sold them all to Karamanli Ali Çelebi bin Şaban (Taş 2004: 219). The most important thing we understand from these findings is that women took part in economic development, even it was in small scale, and there were no prohibitions or negative factors to prevent it. These determinations have considerable historical significance in terms of the development of women's economic-political identity. Contrary to the image of a woman who has remained behind the scenes, the women in Ankara play a functional role in business life, run a bath, work the fields, play an important role in the production or trade of woollen cloth, sell woollen sloth in the bazaar or on the stalls in the ground floor of their houses. In short, the women were seen in the public arena (Tas 2004: 219). It was also quite possible to find Ottoman women while shopping or selling their own woollen cloths in the bazaars and markets of Ankara, although they were assumed to be isolated from the public area until recently (Taş 2004: 234).

One of the most important elements that give us clues about the identity of the women in

Ankara in 17th century is the family structure. Although, family structures in Ankara resembles the structure of Ottoman family, single-wife marriage were more common and there were not many polygamy marriages. This is a crucial factor for women's status and value. The Table below displays the marriage types according to the number of wives based on the Islamic Judicial records (Şer'iyye Sicilleri), which are very important in terms of the identity of the women in Ankara and their role in the family institution.

Number of	AŞS 19	AŞS 41	AŞS 64	Total
wives				
Single-wife	6	1	38	45
marriage				
Marriage with	1	-	4	5
two women				
Marriage with	1	-	-	1
three women				
	51			

Table 1- Marriages in Ankara in the 17th century (Taş 2004: 266).

The number of children is one of the main factor for the determination of women's social identity, as the main transfer codes of family structures :

Number of	AŞS 19	AŞS 41	AŞS 64	Total	
Children					
1	7	1	15	23	
2	14	-	19	33	
3	2	2	14	18	
4	3	-	9	12	
5	-	2	4	6	
6	-	-	3	3	
7	-	-	1	1	
9	-	-	1	1	
Total	26	5	66	97	

 Table 2- Number of Chidren of the Families (Taş 2004: 270).

Again, depending on the above table, it can be said that the woman had significant social status, considering the fact that the low number of children is related to the economic and social welfare and awareness. Moreover, when attention is paid to the Islamic Judicial Records, it is understood that families with few children were generally Muslim families, and families with many children were part of foreign communities.

Table 3 shows the number and ratio of children of the families. It is seen that there is an inverse ratio between the number of children and the percentage of ratio. Accordingly, as the number of children increases, the percentage decreases, while as the number decreases, the percentage increases.

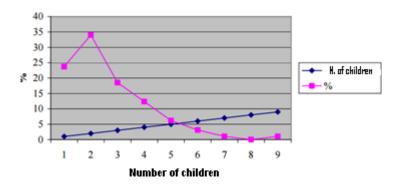


Table 3- Number and Ratio of Children in Ankara Families in 17th Century (Taş 2004: 271).

Hülya Taş (2004: 275) remarks about the formation of a marriage institution based on the Islamic Judicial Records and states that 'we understand that theoretically it was important to receive the consent of the woman or girl for the marriage, which undoubtedly plays a significant role in the identity of the woman.

Although traditional Ottoman society do not approve divorce, there were few examples. The history reveal the fact that the divorce had strict rules and wears out the woman but Islamic Judicial Records show that the divorce had occurred time to time. The couples in the Ottoman society were mainly were getting divorce because of irreconcilable differences. However, there were also rare occasions when divorce caused by the special situation between husband and wife or the presence of a disease (Taş 2004: 276).

In this regard, Hülya Taş (2004: 277). stated that a large part of the women living in the eastern societies, especially in the rural areas, do not have economic independence and therefore they continue to pursue their marriages despite all negative situations. Probably, this was the case in the 17th century. As you can see, although the society does not approve divorce, if one of the parties want to end the marriage, a solution was found one way or another. Traditionally, women could only marry again after

When we look at the numbers and ratio of the weddings and divorce cases in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the issue seems more concrete as shown in Table 4 below.

	AŞS 19		AŞS 41		AŞS 64	
Type of	(1620-1622)		(1655-1656)		(1683-1684)	
Cases	Number of	%	Number of	%	Number of	% in Total
	cases	in Total	Cases	in Total	Cases	
Marriage	15	1,09	5	1,33	2	0,63
Divorce	26	1,89	2	0,53	8	2,53
Total Case	1371		374		315	
Number						

 Table-4 The Number and Ratio of Marriage and Divorce

As seen in Table 4, marriage and divorce cases were related to the disputes between the parties. If we summarise our subject in light of our present findings and considering the determinations of the several authors of social history, it can be said that women in Ankara had unique identity with combined characteristic of ancient Turkish woman and Ottoman-Islamic

women. This identity manifests its existence in everyday life with the diversity of multiple social networks and takes its place in the history of women as a role model with certain effect when necessary,

## CONCLUSIONS

In this study, we examine the women of Ankara in 17th century in in terms of social history and it is understood that the identity and role models of women in Ankara had unique characteristics and had traces of civilization of her period. In our study, the economic, social and family situations were taken into consideration, Islamic Judicial records (Şer'iyye Sicilleri), which is one of the important historical sources, were searched for our academic studies. In this context, the women in Ankara in the 17th century appears to be a women who is informed and aware, who can participate in commercial activities, who can socialize in bazaar markets, who can sue to gain her rights when necessary, who can marry and divorce, who can make family planning.

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