

THE VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN SERVET-İ FÜNÛN

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the representation of women in Servet-i Fünûn, an influential journal of the late Ottoman period. To understand the nature of the female portrayal, a visual discourse analysis was carried out with 1257 unique images of women from the issues between 1895-1920. Mode categories identifying the women, outlining the locations they are in, describing their activities and physical appearance were created to effectively account for the social meaning of the imagery (Lister & Wells, 2011). The data set was classified and coded on NVivo 12 and interpreted thereafter. It is found that the journal shows many women of differing identities and visual characteristics, and the representation is not exclusively that of the Ottoman individuals and life. It presents a modern world where women are progressively literate, visible out of home and in public sphere, in European style garments, and participating in a variety of professional activities. However, their responsibilities of motherhood and homemaking are not overlooked, either. It is concluded therefore, the journal mediates and supports a transformation in lifestyle, thought and action regarding women to its Ottoman audience, while continuing to relate to the traditions that governed the society.

Keywords: Servet-i Fünun, kadın çalışmaları, görsellik çözümlemesi, kadın temsili, Osmanlı kadınları.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma geç Osmanlı döneminin etkili yayınlarından biri olan Servet-i Fünûn dergisinde kadın temsiliğini araştırmaktadır. Dergideki kadın tasvirinin doğasını anlamak amacıyla, 1895-1920 yılları arasındaki sayılardaki 1257 özgün imaj ile bir görsel söylem analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görsellerin sosyal anlamlarını etkili bir şekilde izah etmek için kadınların kimliğini, buldukları mekanları, aktivite ve fiziksel görünüşlerini açıklayan mod kategorileri oluşturulmuştur (Lister & Wells, 2011). Veriler NVivo 12 kullanılarak sınıflandırılmış ve sonrasında yorumlanmıştır. Dergide, çeşitli kimlik ve görsel biçimlerde pek çok kadın figür olduğu ve salt Osmanlı birey ve hayatının temsil edilmediği anlaşılmıştır. Dergi; okuma yazma bilen, ev dışında ve kamu alanında görünür, Avrupalı kıyafetler içinde ve iş hayatında giderek daha fazla aktif olan kadınlar içeren bir modern dünya sunmaktadır. Ancak, kadının annelik ve ev işi sorumluluğu da göz ardı edilmemektedir. Bu sebeple; derginin, yaşayış tarzında ve kadına dair düşüncesi ve eylemde Osmanlı okuyucusu için bir değişime arabuluculuk yapmakla birlikte, toplumu yöneten geleneklere bağlılığını sürdürdüğü çıkarımına varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Servet-i Fünun, women's studies, visuality analysis, representation of women, Ottoman women.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Ottoman Empire left behind an archive that allowed extensive work on multiple sociopolitical areas, but it lacked a visibility of women. According to Çakır (2010), due to the missing feminist research perspective, Ottoman history has long been rendered male-dominated and male-oriented. However, women themselves were not missing at all. Especially from the reformation period onwards, which started around the time of the *Tanzimat Fermanı* (Edict of Reorganization, 1839) reaching a peak after the Second Constitution (1908), we access a good deal of documentation unveiling a progressively active public and professional life for women. They started to receive education, be formally trained for specific professions, were engaged in social charities, and even ran publishing businesses. To examine the changing roles and perception of women in the society, the use of images in print media offers rich data to extract information from. The current research entails the analysis of a major popular journal in terms of its representation of women to the public. To this end, it reports the findings of a multimodal visual discourse analysis on the imagery of the impactful and long-lived *Servet-i Fünûn* (The Wealth of Sciences) before drawing some social implications.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. *Servet-i Fünûn*

Despite some backlash from certain social circles, and the challenges of adaptation, the Ottoman society went through a substantial reorganization in the 19th century, to maintain the military prowess, draw level with the advancing European technology, effectively react to the weakening economy, and answer

to the rising nationalism among the multiethnic groups. The efforts culminated in a constitutional reform when in 1876, *Kanûn-ı Esâsî* (First Constitution) was declared (Tanör, 1985). Through this, the regime became a constitutional monarchy, and a parliament was established. However, soon after, it was abolished following the defeat in Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), and a period of control held sway. *Servet-i Fünûn* was launched in this period of a unique sociocultural and political atmosphere. From the first newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekayi* (Calendar of Events) in 1831 to 1891 when the first issue of *Servet-i Fünûn* was published, the Ottoman press fostered a generation of intellectuals and bureaucrats during the Reformation Age. They shaped and discussed their revolutionary ideologies through the media (Mardin, 1985) despite the censorship risk between the Constitutional Periods. *Servet-i Fünûn*, in this context, stood out with its assumption of the role of provision of modernization updates from the country, specifically by images (Uğuş, 2020). It also offered a fertile ground to the authors and poets to thrive. Tevfik Fikret's tenure as the editor-in-chief, particularly, was noteworthy (Andi, 2006), so much so that the journal's name is now associated with a whole period of Ottoman/Turkish literature.

Servet-i Fünûn's creator Ahmed İhsan, in his memoir (Tokgöz, 2020), shares insight into the aim of his journal and the background of how he started his project. In 1890, with a partner, he bought out the *Âlem Matbaası* (Âlem [The Globe] Press) which was renamed as "*Âlem Matbaası- Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı*" (Ahmed İhsan and Co.) soon after (Tokgöz, 2020). *Servet-i Fünûn* started its life, first as a supplement to the scientific newspaper *Servet* (The Treasure) and the first issue was published on 21 March 1891.

Although it was a weekly for most of its life, a period of daily publication followed the Second Constitution for a short time.

Desiring to publish a journal equaling European examples, Ahmed İhsan took active part in designing the content and directing the visuality of “the apple of his eye” (Tokgöz, 2020, p. 224). He reports that Abdul Hamid II himself, keen on photography and believing in its power to communicate modernity, submitted photographs at times and was overall supportive to the endeavor. However, we understand that this comes to an end when in 1901 the journal was suspended upon publishing of translated French text, which was deemed traitorous. Ahmed İhsan, because his own stance admittedly had never been overtly political, considered this 40-day long cessation a slight and an obstacle to his business. However, it created the desired change in content, which was turned back to the initial scientific and technological version of it, supported by decorative pictures (İslam Ansiklopedisi, n.d.). Upon the declaration of the Second Constitution in 1908, relieved from the restraints of censorships, there was an expansion on the number, content, and audience of the journals to a large extent and *Servet-i Fünûn* was circulated in thousands (Odabaşı, 2021). This shows the impact range of the journal accessing a large population, encouraging even the illiterate to buy to view its set of imagery.

Servet-i Fünûn lived through the early Republican era despite intermissions during the war period. It is now hailed as a social reference reflecting the changes in the Ottoman perception of the world (Nuhoğlu, 2014). Renamed as *Uyanış* (The Awakening) in 1928 in the wake of the script reform, it was published until 1944, leaving behind an exceptional social, literary, and visual archive.

2.2. Use of imagery in the Ottoman Press and *Servet-i Fünûn*

Printed images arrived in Ottoman Istanbul

together with the introduction of letterpress printing. Nonetheless, like the books, images were in limited circulation and were not widely public at this stage. A critical turn came with Sultan Mahmud II. He ended the restriction that allowed only the Muslim artist to paint miniatures, which drew a crowd of European painters to Istanbul. He also had his portrait displayed in all state institutions increasing public's exposure to figurative images. The news article that appeared on the state newspaper *Takvim-i Vekâyi* (Calendar of Events) in October 1839 (Çizgen, 1992), shortly after the public announcement of Daguerre's invention, signifies that the policies of Sultan Mahmud II encouraging the use of images was continued by his successors. The first private newspaper, *Cerîde-i Havâdis* (Journal of News, 1840) not only printed simple engravings, but also featured advertisements of newly opening photography studios in Istanbul, including one that provided portrait shooting for Ottoman women at the intimacy of the home (Koloğlu, 1992). After this point onwards, we see that the press in Istanbul increasingly recognized the potential of images to win more readers.

Mir'at (Mirror, 1863) and *Âyine-i Vatan* (Mirror of the Motherland, 1867) were the first weeklies with images. Yet, due to the costs of renting used printing plates from Europe, they closed in a short time. The latter was relaunched under the name *Istanbul* (1867) and proved to be more successful after introducing a variety of etchings of landscapes, landmarks, and portraits of notable people. Its founder, Mehmet Ârif, invested in another publication titled *Musavver Medeniyet* (Illustrated Civilization, 1874) where this time he also commissioned his own selection of images to be engraved. The journal's repertoire included photographic images like any modern magazine, which is why historians commonly refer to *Musavver Medeniyet* as the first Turkish illustrated journal (Koloğlu, 1992).

By the 1880s, the number of illustrated

magazines had increased significantly in Istanbul. However, as the engraving plates were still exported from Europe, the process took time and was costly. In this way, it was difficult for publishers to be in complete control of their editorial direction of images. Ahmed İhsan, would not tolerate this as he was keen on creating a distinct identity and sought full authorship of his publication. After the success of the Jules Verne novel that he translated and published with engravings purchased from Verne's publisher in Paris, he set up to establish his own printing press and journal (Tokgöz, 2012). In the first issues of *Servet-i Fünûn*, he tried the common strategy and rented used engraving plates from a foreign press in Istanbul. Nevertheless, like the *L'illustration* (The Illustration) of Paris, he wanted his work to be a prestigious publication identified with Istanbul. In the same year, he traveled to Europe and signed a contract with an engraving factory in Vienna and immediately initiated the process by sending them some landscape photographs of the city (Tokgöz, 2012). In the 1890s, in Istanbul, the available technology provided only line engraving. To print the tonal variations necessary for photographic images, more precise engraving techniques and quality paper were necessary. Ahmed İhsan was determined to overcome these problems. A crucial turn was when a photographer named Teodor Vafiyadi managed to work out the chemical process required for photoengraving in early 1894 (Koloğlu, 1992). This provided the creative flexibility Ahmed İhsan was striving for. Beginning with mid-1895, *Servet-i Fünûn* started using larger size photos with credits to local photographers, on its cover. From special holidays to recent events,

from local sites to architecture, the curation of these images has become instrumental in channeling a visual personality for the journal. What is of special note here is the cover from 14 June 1895. The caption on the left-bottom of the image reads "from our private photographs", which indicates that the photo is from the journal's private collection.



Figure 1: "Alemdağ Ormanı'na giden bir yol (Hususi fotoğraflarımızdan)" (A road to the Alemdağ Forest [From our private photographs]) (June 14, 1895; Number 222)

The fact that *Servet-i Fünûn* could serve its own original material to readers permits us to consider that at this stage it attained a better control of its visual content and discourse. Nevertheless, we should indicate that the image-text relationship in *Servet-i Fünûn* was different than what we would expect from a present-day publication. Images, rather than accompanying the text and illustrating its content, were used on several occasions for their own sake only. Due to the difficulties of obtaining images that are directly related with a particular content, Ahmet İhsan used images much freely; sometimes in a way that is indirectly related to the written content, sometimes for decorative purposes without any connection to the text. According to Koloğlu's (1992) findings, *Servet-i Fünûn* had used 276 photos in its first year, 1/5 of which were local images. Six years later, in 1897; the total number of images increased by 25%. The proportion between foreign and local images has significantly shifted as well, the latter increasing to 3/4 of total images used in the journal. By 1908, Ahmed İhsan had a photographer, a full-time zincography operator and the necessary equipment installed to produce printing plates directly in his press, which promoted *Servet-i Fünûn* to a self-sufficient status in the use of visual content (Kabacalı, 2000; Tokgöz, 2020).

Under the pressures of censorship exercised on the press, and dependent on the financial support of the palace, it won't be realistic to propose that Ahmed İhsan had full autonomy on his publication. Nonetheless, considering the way he was engaged in improving the visual quality and appeal of his publication, we can maintain that he had a clear vision about the illustrated journal he wanted to create. He was conscious in his use of images and selected the visual content with meticulous care under the given circumstances.

2. 3. The roles and position of women during the Reformation Age and the Ottoman Women's Movement

The circumstances in the Reformation Age gradually enabled women to become more involved in the social life, and to gain visibility. Particularly, through a more formalized education (Ciydem et al, 2017), they earned newer positions: Trained midwives as of 1842 (Özger, 2012) and students in middle schools from 1858 onwards (Başkan & Çay, 2019). The General Education Act of 1869 introduced systematized, compulsory education and paved the way for women to have access to high school education in the cities (Gelişli, 2004). In this way, they acquired the chance to become teachers and a part of the professional life.

In the more liberal environment of the Second Constitutional Era, according to Toprak (2014), the issue of women became more important, because the new administrative elite understood that the transformation of their lives would in fact mean the transformation of the entire Ottoman society. In line with this, the governing *İttihat ve Terakki Partisi* (Union and Progress Party) supported women to step out (İlkhan, 2018) and the period is now considered as a time when Ottoman feminist movement flourished. Previously and for a long time, Ottoman women were taken as passive captives behind "latticed windows" (Yıldız, 2018, p. 179) and that they were simply endowed with rights they were not actively demanding. In reality, however, they were organizing charities and arranging conferences and they were actively participating in the press efforts as writers and publishers. While the women's journals date back to 1860s, the Second Constitutional Period brought about a remarkable increase in variety and number of publications and as the rate of literacy increased, the female audience and the awareness towards women's problems grew. Women became prominent

actors for the print media both in creative capacity and as a reader population. *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) in this context, is especially remarkable for being a women- only effort and their identification of themselves as "feminists".

3. METHOD

This study aims to unfold the visual discourse of *Servet-i Fünûn*, a popular and self-defined progressive journal influential on public opinion. At a time of social transformation for women, studying *Servet-i Fünûn* shows to what extent a prominent journal parallels this shift with its representation of women. To this end, a content analysis has been run, which is traditionally linked with the imagery and textual content on media (Strinati, 2004). In this study, this approach creates a foundation to draw social implications from the analysis of visibility by offering a "background map of a domain of visual representation" (Bell, 2011, p. 27). Henceforth, the emergence of frequently occurring modes on this map allows a multi-modal discourse analysis to account for the images' life and social history (Lister & Wells, 2011). In other words, this study first runs a statistical content analysis and uses the results of this analysis to determine the modes. Through a thematic analysis of these modes, it aims to draw interpretations and implications regarding the extended social discourse. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) recommend the researchers to use an adequate number of images so that the analysis could be representative of the context. For this reason, we tried to access all available issues of *Servet-i Fünûn*,³ and in total 1257 unique⁴ images from the issues published

between 1895 and 1920 (excluding the years 1909-1911), featuring at least one woman were examined. 1895 was decided to be the starting point in this study because this was when women's press gained prominence with journals like *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Newspaper for Ladies, 1895- 1908) being published for the first time. This was followed by the emergence of a female audience. Moreover, as reported by Koloğlu (1992), 1895 marks a crucial point in the use of imagery for *Servet-i Fünûn* itself, as the journal started to use locally produced engraving plates, which allowed it to become more liberated and original in using photography.

The images in concern are not limited to a particular technique. They include photography, drawing, etching and images of artwork like oil paintings. Before the analysis stage, the detailed descriptions of observable features of each image were audio recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions and the image captions were then coded on NVivo 12, and the coding categories were turned into modes. Modes are determined by categorizing the physically discernible elements in the images. Via these elements, images communicate information regarding the "environment", "activity" and the "identity" of women. Additionally, considering that the context of an image has an influence on the meaning it generates, we set the "intended use and function" of the image as another mode. A similar categorization is suggested by Bell (2011) in their own analysis of a monthly women's magazine.

The findings section will present the results of this thematic analysis before the discussion section where the emergent modes are discussed and interpreted to draw conclusions regarding the transforming social context and the perception of the roles and positions of the Ottoman women as constructed by and represented in the journal.

³ Unavailable issues are as follows: 568-573 (1902), 728 (1905), 776-781 (1906), 1085-1092 (1912), 1374-1378 (1918), and 1441-1446 (1920).

⁴ Recurring images are excluded after one occurrence.

4. FINDINGS

In this section, we present the content analysis reports for the *Servet-i Fünûn* imagery with reference to the years between 1895-1920. The findings set includes the frequency tables for the environment, activities of women, the context of the images and the physical appearance. These titles sequentially correlate with the questions “where do we observe the subject(s)”, “what are they/is she doing?”, “why is that image used?”, and “what does she/do they physically look like”? These different modes focusing on individuals, their characteristics and surroundings are necessary because perceived social and cultural implications and transformation of such aspects in imagery “contribute to the meanings” (Lister & Wells 2011, p.5).

4.1. Environment

The following section presents the identification of location, and the people women are surrounded with in each image.

4.1.1. Location

Table 1: Location	Number of images
PUBLIC SPACES	Total: 473
Rural areas and areas by the bodies of water	140
In the city	139
Studio	67
School	34
Unidentified open space	33
Workshops	24
Hospital	19
Fair and exhibition areas	9
Theater	8
PRIVATE SPACES	Total: 447
Indistinct interior	300
Garden/balcony	147
UNCLEAR LOCATIONS	Total: 337
TOTAL	1257

“Location mode” describes the “Public”, “Private” and “Unidentified” locations the women were shown in. Yıldız (2018) discusses the importance of “the public and private sphere” differentiation, inspired from Habermas’ framework on the issue. Referring to the reactions it received from the feminist circles who highlighted the necessity of redefining and restructuring of the original distinction, in her study, she interprets the activities of the Ottoman Muslim women within the print network to be happening in the public space. In our study, we limit our discussion to the physical areas because we focus on the locations as represented on images, but it is clear that the information on presence in public environments helps account for the changing lives of women.

“Unidentified open space” includes images where the clothing and accessories such as umbrellas indicated an outside environment, but it cannot be decisively determined where exactly. “Workshops” category does not match the number of women observed during the activity of “working at a workshop” (see section 2 below), because there are instances where they are simply standing or sitting still. In the “theater”, they are shown either as an actress on stage or a part of the audience. “Indistinct interior” code indicates a location within a building but impossible to discern otherwise.

From among the discernible locations, it is observed that the images are set predominantly in the city with women pictured in fair areas, studios, and workshops from around the world and Istanbul. This connects the journal’s visuality to the urban women. As discussed, Ahmed İhsan is known to bring print plates from Europe in the early periods, building a network with the press environment there, and aimed to create a journal that would match and surpass its European counterparts (Tokgöz, 2020). The journal also shared photography of Istanbulite photographers active in the city.

Although some locations cannot be spotted exactly, from among those identified, the imagery showing women out in public spaces barely outnumbers the ones in private areas. "Private areas" means domestic places and areas that are not open to everybody, like the home environments. The women on the imagery are not all Ottoman women, but the decision to show them out of home hints at the journal's recognition and attempt to communicate the transforming limits for women around the world.



Figure 2: "İpekçilik ve terakkiyat ahiresi: Lyon'da bir iplik fabrikasının dahli" (Recent developments in sericulture: Inside of a yarn factory in Lyon) (March 2, 1905; Number 723)

For instance, in the image above (Fig. 2), non-Muslim (possibly French) women are depicted to be working at a factory. The group is exclusively made up of female workers and they might be dressed in uniforms and are lined up and working in order. It is known that as of the First Industrial Revolution, women were increasingly included into the workforce in Europe (Mohajan, 2019). The visual projection of such women in environments still perceived as masculine locations for the Ottoman society was complementary to the discussion the writers in the journal was having, as well. There were differing opinions on the

possibility and capabilities of women working in the public sector alongside men, but Ahmed İhsan himself was a supporter of the cause. This explains his decision to feature such women from around the world to his Ottoman audience. Below we can see a hint into his stance on the educational and professional prospect of the Ottoman women in the long run, not only as a part of unskilled labor, but also in other sectors that require vocational training:

"Bir kız mekteb-i âlide ikmâl-i tahsil edip doktor diplomasını istihsal eyledikten sonra bu diplomanın kendisine verdiği haktan niçin mahrum kalsın?... Terakkiyat-ı nisvaniye taraftarının mesaisi hükümsüz kalmamıştır. Tahsil-i ulûm ve fûnûn eden ve az çok bidaası teslim ve tasdik olunan bir kadının müktesebatı mertebesinde ve müktesebât-ı ilmiyesini musaddık olan evrâkın kendine bahşeylediği salâhiyet dairesinde bundan istifadesi de gitgide temin olunup ... hüsn-i niyetle çalışmaya başlayacağından ümit- varız."

(Why should a girl, after completing her education in a high school and obtaining a doctor's degree, be deprived of the rights that this diploma gives her?... The work of a supporter of the women's progress has not been in vain. It is increasingly ensured that a woman who has acquired education which has been more or less accepted and approved will benefit from it within the scope of authority granted to her by the documents confirming her knowledge. We are hopeful that she will start working with good intentions.)

(Ahmed İhsan, December 16, 1897; Number 353)

4. 1.2. Surrounding People

Table 2: Companionship	Number of images
Alone	613
In a mixed gender group	308
With women	142
With men	139
With children	55
TOTAL	1257

It is interesting to observe that in around half of the images, women pose alone. The solitary images of women, like in the Western art, might mean the exhibition of the body for the masculine spectator (Berger, 1972). When they are shown beside others; however, we see that they are most frequently pictured in a mixed gender group and not with women and/or children separately. This stands in contradiction to the traditionally perceived roles of motherhood in the Ottoman society. But it aligns with the “Location” findings outlined above in that a woman of “the modern world” as represented in the journal was appearing in the professional spheres and therefore was not always at home with children.



Figure 3: “Âmâların tâlim ve terbiyesi: Âlem-i hayvanat dersi” (Education of the blind: A lesson on the animal kingdom) (September 24, 1903; Number 648)

From among those limited number of images, we see a woman in the classroom in Figure 3 as a teacher, as an example to the mentioned female workplace representation, a reflection of the reception of formal education of women in the world. This choice of presentation of a teacher with her students, as opposed to being a homebound mother with children, is noteworthy. However, it should also be remembered that the teaching profession is similar to motherhood in offering care and training to children. The image was a part of an article in the journal reporting on a 1902 convention on the blind people in Brussels. The conference was attended by Fahri Esad, an Ottoman ophthalmologist and we learn that in various European countries, blind men and women were employed in numerous sectors from teaching to handicraft (Sağlam Tekir, 2015). In the Empire, we know that the formal education of the blind and the mute was a novelty introduced by Abdul Hamid II (Demirel, 2013) but the school was later shut down by him upon perceived suspicious activity (Sağlam Tekir, 2021). It is known; however, that the foreign-based schools remained operational. The image above (Fig. 3) was signed by a foreign artist and the clothing indicates foreign origin, also. So, the teacher is a non-Muslim probably at a school abroad.

4. 2. Activity

In this category, the total number of occurrences of the activities exceeds the total number of images because some pictures feature more than one woman. In other words, the numbers indicate the count of actions, not the number of women or the images. Norris (2002) describes actions and gestures as potential “mode”s of a multimodal discourse.

analysis. This critical theme emerging from the coding could yield insight into beliefs and practices; therefore, poses as an important contribution to the analysis.

Table 3: Description of Action	Frequency of occurrence
LOW-INTENSITY ACTIVITIES/STILL IMAGES	Total: 1058
Standing up	654
Sitting down	174
Portrait	124
Reclining or lying down	27
Reading	24
Eating	18
Contemplating	12
Checking self out on the mirror and putting on make- up	8
Sleeping	6
Crying	4
Praying	3
Writing	3
Fortune telling	1

MEDIUM-INTENSITY ACTIVITIES	Total: 181
Taking care of a child	69
Making music	25
Taking care of a patient	22
Working with a machine	20
Knitting or sewing	19
Working at a workshop	11
Flying and/or around an airplane	4
Shopping	4

HIGH-INTENSITY ACTIVITIES	Total: 116
Gardening	36
Household chores	27
Taking care of animals or hunting	21
Dancing	15
Sports	10
Riding a bike	3
Riding on a horse or donkey	3
Running	1
TOTAL	1355

The wide range of activities was categorized into the physical intensity they required. For the most part, as seen from the table, images do not represent women as physically active; they are simply sitting or standing still or posed for a portrait. However, an interesting activity listed in this category is the act of reading, which does not only include the representation of an active reading task but also of women who pose to a camera but with a paper, indicating literacy. From among the images that reflect a medium level physical intensity, the most frequently depicted actions are “taking care of children”, “gardening” and “household chores”, which are linked to the homemaker role of a woman. There is also a representation of high intensity acts like doing sports, and operating transportation vehicles, an action considered to be of masculine nature by Beyaz Özbey (2022). One of the most interesting examples of this can be seen in Figure 4. As understood from the image caption, the female fashion designer flew from France to deliver the theater costumes she designed in London. The image is remarkable in that it demonstrates the woman as a person who takes an initiative by social and economic means. Despite this, it is noteworthy that she is not individually named in the caption.



Figure 4: “Fransa ve İngiltere arasında ticari ulaşım için kullanılan uçak: Parisli büyük bir moda tasarımcısı, gidip Londra'ya tiyatro kostümlerini teslim etmek için uçağı bir ulaşım aracı olarak kullanmaktan çekinmedi. Merakla beklenen kreasyonlarının teslimatını birkaç saat içinde Londra'da gerçekleştirdi.”

(The airplane flown between France and England for commercial transportation: A Parisian fashion designer did not refrain from using an aircraft as transportation to deliver theater costumes in London. She delivered the much-anticipated creations within a few hours in London). (October 23, 1919; No. 1432)

In another image (Fig. 5), we see an example representation of the reading activity, taking place in a public place by an all-female group. This image is used on the same page of a story titled “The Child” by Guy de Maupassant without an apparent relation to the text. The women are identified as members of a London social club in the image captions of another photograph of theirs situated above on the page. Dressed in the European style long skirts, with one woman donning a hat, it is understood that this group of non-Muslim women have the necessary education and the privilege to enjoy reading books in a spacious library. The selection of sharing the picture of the women gathering to do a reading session and not another group activity is remarkable and coincides with the year 1908, which marks the start of a period of booming of the women’s publications and charity organizations for the Ottoman Muslim women of the land.

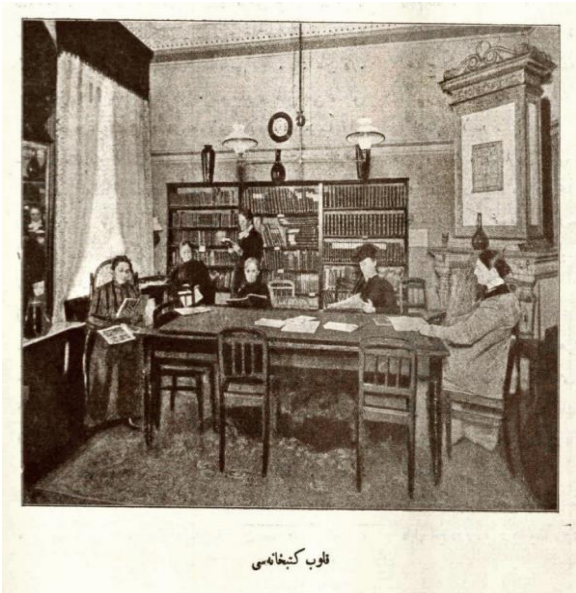


Figure 5: “Kulüp kütüphanesi” (Club library) (October 15, 1908; no. 907).

4.2. Intended use and function

This mode informs on the image context to understand its intended purpose. Answering the “why” question, this section aims to learn more about what is shown on the surface, the exploration of which is seen as a critical aspect of qualitative research (Gopaldas, 2016). Hence, in this study the image captions were read but the article or section titles in the pages were also checked where necessary. The table presents the information on each image, therefore the total number given in the table equals the total number of images.

Table 4: Context and Perceived Purpose of the Image	Number of images
To accompany an article or story	666
To represent the woman identified in the captions	252
Fashion imagery	213
Illustrations accompanying stories or poetry	74
Caricature	26
Advertisement	12
Decoration on the edges of the page or at the end of articles	11
No caption	3
TOTAL	1257

Most of the image captions simply read the name of the artwork or describe the image. It is noteworthy to observe, compared to this, considerably fewer women are identified by name in the captions. Decoration and fashion stand as important purposes of an image. Image captions of women in Western costumes featured in the journal through the years read “latest fashion”, “latest fashion from Paris” and “most trendy blouses and jackets”, etc. possibly encouraging the audience for the changing look. With reference to such images, it is understood that the journal had acknowledged women as part of the audience, as well.

As an example, to both, the first image seen on the right (Fig. 6) is the illustration of a female figure as a decoration accompanying a poem. Such figures of fantasy and imagination and their romantic and the fantastic nature aim to offer a pleasurable reading experience for the viewer. The idyllic nature she is featured in further objectifies her as something that is of a passive object of the gaze and highlights her feminine beauty. This much discussed view in Western art was a frequently debated topic for cinema and other visual arts, as well (Oliver, 2017). Such decorations in *Servet-i Fünûn* were found at the end of the pages and sections, and at times borrowed antique Greek or Egyptian aesthetics, a period associated with fantasy, mythology, and a standardized female beauty.

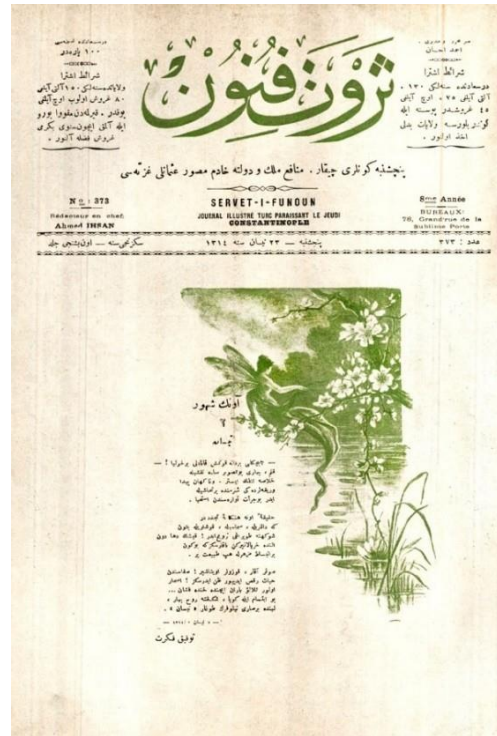


Figure 6: “*Aveng-i Şühur*” (Sequence of Months) by Tevfik Fikret (May 6, 1898; no. 373).

The image below (Fig. 7) is an example of a fashion drawing. We observe an increase in women's fashion imagery after 1901, which coincides with the temporary shutdown of the journal by Abdul Hamid II. As discussed, this incidence might have dismayed Ahmed İhsan (Tokgöz, 2020) and possibly discouraged him from publishing political content afterwards. Realizing the expansion of the female audience, and under the circumstances created by the advancing print capitalism, he might have wanted to make use of the commercial attractiveness of such imagery, as well. Odabaşı (2021) confirms that use of photography proved to be a source of profit for publishers in Istanbul.

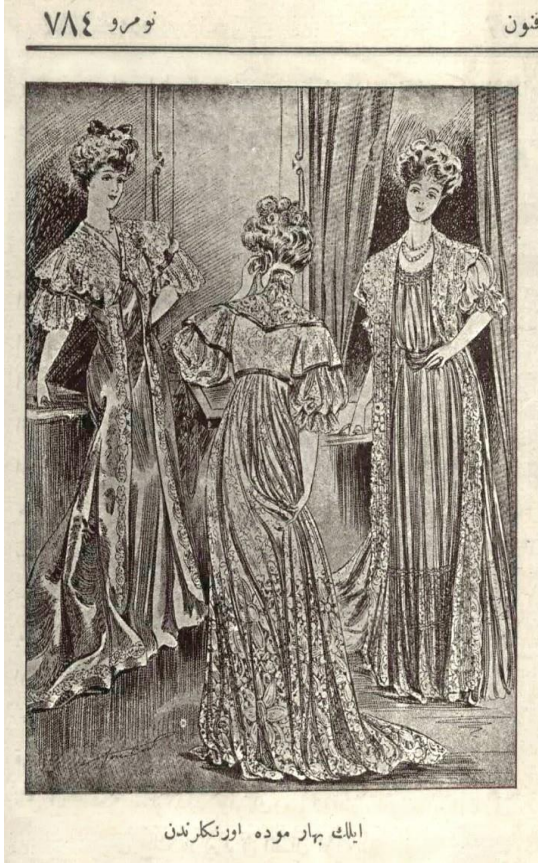


Figure 7: “İlkbahar moda örneklerinden” (Samples from the spring fashion) (May 3, 1906; no. 784).

Women in this example wear European style nightgowns. The hair is done in line with the trends of the period, curled and put up. The dresses are adorned with ruffles and lace, and the women wear jewelry and have make-up on, highlighting a modernizing feminine look.

4.4. Identity

This category aims to provide information on the identity of the depicted women wherever possible. Information on the religious and ethnic background, the profession, and physical characteristics such as clothing and accessories, hair, and makeup offers an in-depth look into the visual representation of women in the journal.

The table titled as “Who” below provides identification of individuals and their occupations. This category is especially critical to the analysis for us to see whether *Servet-i Fünûn* presents a realistic depiction of woman to its readers or promotes a foreign or imaginary character positioned in an ideal social context as perceived by the journal. In Table.5, a total of 1278 female figures are distributed according to their characteristics. As an image can include more than one woman, the number of figures do not equal to the total number of images. But there are also images where a group of women are observed to be doing one job, like nursing. In these cases, women in such groups are not individually counted and coded but the occurrence of the “nurses” is coded singularly. Therefore, the total number in this table falls shorter than, for instance, the one counted for the hairdo descriptions. Since, in the latter's case, women with covered and uncovered hair needed to be coded separately even if they form a homogenous group in terms of profession. As understood, the characteristics of each category shape the coding schemata and yield differing total number of occurrences.

4.4.1. Who

Table 5: WHO	Frequency of occurrence
MUSLIM WOMEN	Total:120
Anonymous	99
Nurses	15
Telephone company workers	3
Authors	2
Artists	1
NON-MUSLIM WOMEN	Total: 550
Anonymous	322
Royalty	125
Actors, singers, or dancers	45
Nurses	23
Feminist activists and suffragettes	9
Scientists and engineers	9
Soldiers and pilots	9
Animal trainers	1
Authors and poets	2
Lawyers	2
Teachers	2
Nuns	1
OTHER	Total: 608
Anonymous, unclear religious background	395
Fantasy figures, e.g., fairies	164
Notable women (of high society or celebrity status)	49
Total	1278

The “Anonymous” category includes women whose name is not provided but from the location, name of the photographer or artist, and the acknowledged ethnicity of the women, they are understood to be of Muslim origin. Similar approach is followed for the category for the non-Muslim women. Considering the amount of fashion imagery and artwork featured in the

journal, anonymous women of unclear background topping the list for this category is not surprising. An equally unsurprising finding is the frequent appearance of non-Muslim women, another possible indication of connection with foreign press and publications and being influenced by them. From among those non-Muslim women, the images of royal ladies (queens and

ladies of aristocracy, along with wives of high government officials) suggest the journal's role in relaying news from the world. The "notable women" category here does not include royalty, but other women with specified names and certain celebrity status. Overall, it is understood from all this that the journal's representation is of the women of an urban background and the class that is educated and privileged. Most of the prominent bureaucrats in Istanbul (and other city centers like Izmir and Thessaloniki) formed an urban upper class after the *Tanzimat* period, and the support they offered to their daughters helped with the social progress (Avci, 2007) and created a female authorship and audience. This does not mean that the images in the journal represented those per se. In fact, due to the social limitations around the representation of the Muslim woman's image (Eldem, 2015) this would not have been commonly or easily practiced. What is seen here however, is that the decision to present a

learned woman image would help the audience relate to it in time, and get the readers be accustomed to the projection of a social context with women in it.

On the other hand, non-Muslim women, especially those who have a profession or of celebrity status as mentioned, get more frequently identified. We see below on the left (Fig. 8) Ellen Key, who wrote a piece on marriage with Leon Blum, and she is pictured alone at the beginning of the column. Ellen Key was a suffrage activist and a feminist writer. On the right (Fig. 9), we see a royal princess, Princess Augusta-Victoria. Don Manuel was the last and a deposed king of Portugal and his life after the abolition of monarchy and his marriage to Augusta-Victoria of Hohenzollern continued to captivate audiences' interest across Europe.



Figure 8: "İskandinavya'nın muharrirelerinden Matmazel Elen Key" (A Scandinavian author, Ellen Key) (June 4, 1908; no. 893).



Figure 9: Don Manoel, Portekiz'in eski kralı, nişanlısı Prenses Augusta-Victoria ile (Don Manuel, former king of Portugal, with his fiancée) (May 8, 1913; no. 1144)



Figure 10: “Müslüman kadınların dünyasında sosyal bir devrim: Türk kadın telefon operatörleri ve İstanbul’da telefon operasyonları müdürü” (A social revolution in the lives of the Muslim women: Turkish female telephone operators and the operations manager in Istanbul) (April 2, 1914; no. 1191).

The variety of different jobs listed in this mode could be important to further reflect the emerging social and professional life for women around the world. In the case of the local context, the representation of the Ottoman telephone company workers is significant because their photograph showed the first Muslim women to take part in civil service in the Empire (İstanbul Kadın Müzesi, 2014). Figure 10 shows the hired telephone operators.

Their reforming clothing, visible hair under the veil line and bold gazes into the lens seems to be the look of the woman becoming a part of the economic sphere and her life, therefore, being transformed.

In the years of WWI, the women around the globe were in fact asked or forced to be a part of economic and social life with men gone to war, so more of those jobs are seen to be featured in the journal. In the case we see below (Fig. 11),

there is an American woman taking a soldier's oath, being enlisted in the Marines. The image is a part of a page of collage of other war photography, which is situated within a section where a story by Guy de Maupassant, "That Pig, Morin" is shared. She is not filling a men's vacant position at a factory, but she is actively taking part alongside them in the military context. Although activities of nurses and charity workers and volunteers are a part of the common scene around battlefields, female soldiers and pilots are naturally less frequent and therefore it is more remarkable to

present this alternative female capacity and responsibility to the audience. Although Ottoman women were not involved in such efforts or contexts understood to be limited to men yet, the feminists of the period, including Ottoman women, started to voice this potential extensively in press. *Kadınlar Dünyası*, for instance, published an article titled: "*Kadınlar da Gemici Olabilir*" ("Women can be Sailors, too") in 1913 along with many others, proclaiming "women can do anything".



Figure 11: Kadınların ABD donanmasının hizmetine alınması (Women enlisting in the American marines) (March 21, 1918; no. 1385)

4.4.2. Physical appearance

Physical appearance mode under the identity category outlines women's clothes and how revealing they were designed, the ornamentation and jewelry, and hairdo and makeup. As seen in the "Who" section, the women were not all Ottoman

or this section does not aim to describe the representation of the Ottoman woman. Appearance and specifically clothing research have been a key area within anthropological and media studies (Hansen, 2014) as it grants information regarding the larger culture and sociopolitical situation.

4.4.2.1. Hair & Makeup

Table 6: Hair	Frequency of occurrence
Partially or Fully Uncovered	1102
Hair is not visible and covered with veil or bonnet.	166
Make-up	113
Total	1381

In this category, we visit the representation of hair which has long been a domain of the social and religious rules governing the society for a Muslim-dominant country. Women cannot go without a headscarf when in company of men outside of blood or marriage. Therefore, the images of the women depicted on the street must have been characterizing the non-Muslim citizens of the Empire or the women whose images were taken from foreign sources. However, the covered hair does not mean the women were exclusively of Muslim origin, either, because there are ladies of other ethnicities such as the Russian, covering their heads in a similar way. Despite the mentioned strict rules around such representation, and the support from the Sultan, the caliphate of Islam, the journal features an overwhelming number of women with uncovered hair. Regarding the style of the hair, we observe the trend of a bun, as mentioned before, adorned with flowers, feathers, hairpins, and other accessories. The hats also were present as a major accessory, reflecting the European tradition. *Servet-i Fünûn's* frequent representation the European fashion offered an inside look for its audience that could not visit abroad to see the clothing for themselves, and the visuals attracted women's attention as a novelty. Although the perception of the imagery would be linked with the viewer's background, outlook on life and other social factors, it would be safe to assume that one interpretation of this image would no doubt lead some to connect and empathize

with the women in the images, and to be as "charming", "beautiful", "modern", they would want to dress similarly.



Figure 12: *Huri Korseleri (Huri Corsets)* (October 9, 1913; no. 1166)

In the fashion advertisement above, we see the drawing prepared to promote the shop of Madam Ferdinand, a Paris-educated corsetiere. The look of the lady exemplifies the trendy hairdo, ornamentation on clothing and the most common way of exposition of the skin. *Huri Corsets* are also advertised in women's journals like *Kadınlar Dünyası*, as well, the popularity of which would be relevant to the European style clothing gaining prominence amongst certain groups of Muslim women as early as 1890s, despite a clear discouragement against the use of corsets by female authors from the very beginning:

“... fakat korseler ile vücudumuzu sıkıp da bir hal-i za'f ve hüzâl düşmektense tahsil-i ma'lûmât ile dimağlarımızın neşvünemasına hizmet edelim... Moda şimdi Avrupa'da aldığı tarz itibariyle hoş değildir...”

(... but instead of squeezing our bodies with corsets and becoming weaker, let's serve towards the improvement of our minds with education Fashion, as is in Europe, is not nice...)

(Zeyneb Sünbül *binti* (daughter of) Sedad *bin* (son of) Ahmed Cevdet *Paşa* (Pasha), September 30, 1895; no. 9).

Clearly, however, the interest continued to grow, as the inspiration into modern clothing continued to flood in from Europe.

4.4.2.2. Clothing, Accessories & Showing Skin

This category does not count the number of women in clothing listed in the table, nor does it count the pieces of clothing. These are the number of instances as they are observed.

Table 7: Clothing	Frequency of occurrence
Embroidery, ornaments, and decoration on clothing and accessories	802
Jewels	270
<i>Çarşaf</i>	47
<i>Şalvar</i>	22
Masculine style clothing	21
Total	1162

Fashion and clothing may be indicative of social roles, context, rules of conduct, and the perception of people regarding all above. “Embroidery and ornaments” in this category include details on clothes that aim to make them more attractive or in line with the fashion trends of the time. The decoration includes ribbons, lace, ruffles, flowers, patterns of flowers, polka dots, stripes, tassels, sequins and beads, fur, and feathers. Gormally (2017) reminds that lace and elaborate ornamentation on clothes, due to costly nature of the handiwork, used to be found in aristocratic fashion in Europe, but by the 1800s, it had become an industrial product, which, according to the author, allowed the “democratization” of it (p. 464). It was thus brought to the new rich urban class as observed in the journal. Apart from indicating a social class, the nature and frequency of the displaying of embroidery and ornaments also communicate a certain feminine sense to fashion. Jewelry includes tiaras and hair pieces, necklaces and chokers, bracelets, rings, earrings, and brooches.

For the clothing type, it is interesting to observe that there are instances where women were pictured in pants and clothing with military design and decoration, a social domain commonly limited to men but as discussed above, started to be penetrated also by women during the extended periods of war. The most frequently occurring clothing style, however, is more feminine again, as expected, and was very “European”: Long skirts and dresses, blouses paired with jackets and overcoats. The shoulders are puffed up and the collars are high whenever there is no cleavage. Because this is the common look through the years, listing *çarşaf* and *şalvar* specifically became important, as they were the typical Muslim female clothing (Koç & Koca, 2007) for the rural population at the time or the “lower class” city dwellers. Although there are differing versions, *çarşaf* is taken here as the Turkish version of the all- covering Islamic dress, like niqab, and *şalvar* as the traditional baggy pants, worn in rural Anatolia.



Figure 13: “Konya’daki Aziziye Camii” Aziziye Mosque in Konya (October 16, 1896; no. 292).

Despite the urban landscape being the main setting for imagery, Servet-i Fünûn benefited from traveling photographers’ input that reflected the age of transformations in the Ottoman vilayets (provinces) far from Istanbul. In Figure 13, we see the Aziziye Mosque square in Konya, where people shopped, gathered for prayer, and socialized. Women in the image and their attire is a classical representation of the conservative provincial Ottoman Muslim tradition. The clothing, even without the captions would inform us of the women’s religious background. This is also an example for the “Anonymous Muslim” coding category where the women are not individually identified but the location or clothing would let the audience know of their characteristics.

Table 8: Skin Showing	Frequency of occurrence
Arms	252
Neck & Chest	199
Shoulders	35
Full nudity & transparent clothing	30
Back	24
Legs	17
Total	557

As seen from the table, most images do not feature discernible exposed skin, except for face, hands, and feet. However, the fact that the journal does feature images of women with exposed body areas can help us understand and interpret the limits of the representation of the female body in a mainstream publication at the time. The idea that the female image is commercialized and presented to the public for consumption was functional in modifying the general perception. When photographed in the studio in revealing clothing, the women did not look like a typical Muslim woman on the street. They might be perceived, therefore, as non-Muslim or a Muslim within the intimacy of her home. It can be claimed that the multicultural and multi-ethnic Ottoman society might have grown tolerant of such imagery if the women are not of Muslim background for the world of the non-Muslim was of their own. In other words, they might have dissociated this female image from their own reality.

The style of clothing also matters, “bare arms” in this research are not observable only in fancy and revealing nightgowns, but they might belong to a woman working at the kitchen with her sleeves rolled up. The cleavage and nudity almost always are limited to artwork as seen in Figure 14, like examples taken from the Western nude paintings. There are occasional exceptions of non-Muslim stage performers photographed with their chests exposed.



Figure 14: *Sanâyi-i Nefîse'den bir tablo.* (A view of Fine Arts) (August 6, 1903; no. 641)

4. DISCUSSION

Having taken up a mediator role between the state and the public, *Servet-i Fünûn* assumed the responsibility to promote an image of modernizing and advancing Ottoman land, especially through its successful use of visuality (Eldem, 2015; Uğuş, 2020). Imagery, supported with new technologies, introduced the fragments of the “modern world” to the audience, informing us of the journal’s points of view and visual policy. Although Ahmed İhsan stands more on an explorer’s ground rather than a political one, we get clues of his journal’s intentions to inspire social change, highlight, and praise a particular concept of living and looking through the material culture reflected in the images. The representation of the ideal women in this modern world, is a mixture reflecting the traditional values that governed that governed women’s commonly agreed roles in the society” and the inevitable transformation in lifestyle in the modernizing society.

First of all, *Servet-i Fünûn* presented images of women positioned out of the household and we learn their names, to an extent. However, we understand that most women shown in the journal were non-Muslim and of foreign origin. While the existence of the female representation in the magazine is itself remarkable and an indication of journal’s position on the place of women in the modern life, this shows that the image of the Muslim Ottoman women was still not be totally bared to the eyes of the world. Photographing a Muslim woman and publishing her image, without a news-worthy cause, would not have been seen as the morally right thing to do at the time. This is one example of the binding patriarchal norms that was effective in regulating the representation of women and *Servet-i Fünûn*’s creative decisions.

Another is reflected in the way the women were shown that still very much pictured them a “thing of beauty” for the spectator, despite their growing role in the modern life. This is observed in the depicted activities in the journal through the years:

An overwhelming majority of the women are simply posing and there are female figures of fantasy like fairies, used as decorations on the page. Going even further, the journal, despite a close relationship with Sultan for a long time, (Tokgöz, 2020), featured nudity even on the cover page. Zorlu (2017) argues that this could be about commercializing the female body. The authors in the journal also acknowledge this perceived “risk” coming with being a woman. Although Ahmed Hikmet, for instance, does not address the issue of the commercialization of the image in the media in isolation, his perspective reflected a common view on women’s body and visuality:

“Bu derece, aciz, zayıf, mazlum olan kadınlar bu yamyamlara yalnız leziz, hazmı kolay bir gıda olmak tecellisiyle yaşarlar. Evet, biz tabiatın gözü bağılı kurbanlarıyız!”

“Oppressed women of such weakness live only by the idea to become a delicious and easy to digest food for these cannibals. Yes, we are blindfolded victims of nature”!

(Ahmed Hikmet, November 17, 1899; Number 453)

However, the data ask us to avoid hasty generalizations: Nude girls do appear but are far fewer in number than the women with the rolled-up sleeves as they work at home or out in the garden. Indeed, it is observed in the study that when the women don’t just stand still and “look beautiful”, they are predominantly shown in the realm of domestic life, doing house chores. One example can be seen in Figure 15, below.

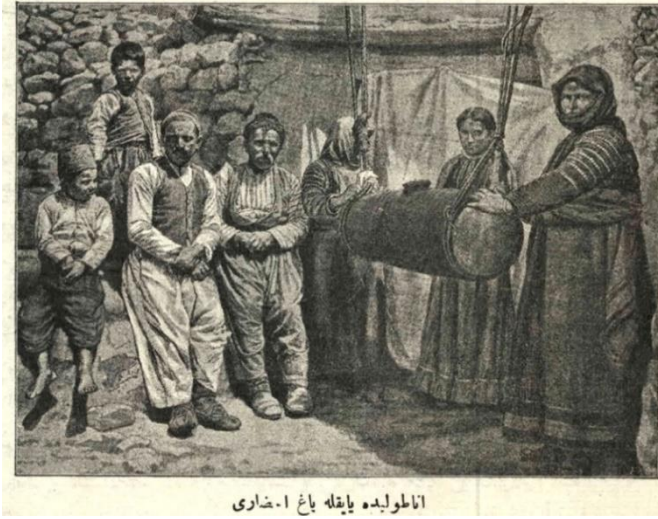


Figure 15: Anadolu'da yayıkla yağ ihzarı (Preparation of butter with a churn in Anatolia) (December 17, 1908, no. 916)

Şeyda (2006) suggests this is probably because such an outside working life could have been perceived to be discouraging or delaying the sacred role of motherhood. Supporting this, Dominguez Andersen and Wendt (2015) believe that the rising nationalism also fed this discourse, by turning women into the symbolic “mothers of the nation”. Ahmed Recep (October 14, 1897; Number 344) confirms with what he wrote the following in *Servet-i Fünûn* itself:

“Vatanperver olan nisvan, muhibbe-i evlat olanlardır. Erkekler yaşamaya alışır, kadınlar ise yaşamaya ve yaşatmaya çalışırlar.” (p. 96).

“The women who love their motherland are the ones who love their children. Men are accustomed to living; women strive for living and making others live”.

So, the journal was showing a woman that is not just a beautiful object; she also knows her *raison d'être*. In line with this sacred responsibility bestowed upon them, pursuing a work life outside of home continued to be frowned upon. But the perception of the capabilities of women was also inevitably transforming, and it had been promoted from early in the media (Öztürk, 2019) in journals like *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. *Servet-i Fünûn*'s

displaying the image of an educated woman such as the ones in the act of reading, therefore, could be seen as a reporting of the intensification of these efforts. The choice of sharing such developments consistently could also mean a subtle but purposeful encouragement of education for women for the future because that was the picture of the modern world.

The fact that the Ottoman Empire started to go through a devastating period of wars ultimately led the society to welcome women into the workforce. Having the control of the choice and design of the imagery, *Servet-i Fünûn* fostered this process mostly through photographs of nurses, taking care of patients. Nurses were most prominently associated with Red Cross and Red Crescent organizations and were photographed in hospitals. Despite this progressivity, it becomes apparent one more time that it is not easy to simply disregard long-standing traditions. It is not coincidental but reflective of the conventional notion of femininity in the period that the working women are mostly nurses: A woman is supposed to be caring, sensitive and compassionate (Tan et al. 2013, Kızıl, 2021). The journal's image employment, one more time, reflects a patriarchal acknowledgement of the modernization, with women occupying socially acceptable spheres.

Although patient care was among the most prevalent activities in the analysis, and a soldier's or a pilot's job is remarkably but rarely observed as we have shared before, we do see images of women working in factories and workshops. A consistent representation of this in the journal can again be interpreted as a purposeful mediatization of modern life. Tekinsoy (2016), analyzing photography of nurses and workshop workers during the Balkan

Wars, viewed such representation as an effort to strengthen the ideology that women and men both owed much to the motherland and had to do what was necessary to save it. Ahmed İhsan must have agreed and believed in the capacity of women to share the extending borders of what they could achieve and the mentioned proper spheres through such images. Moreover, in our data set, the images of women working in factories increase after 1907. Similarly, the images of nurses around the battlefields increased in number after 1912. Other than the commencing wars, this heightened activity and representation also relied on *İttihat ve Terakki* putting special importance to women's social role and their attempt to include women in different spheres of life as they might have viewed it an economic and cultural issue (Özkiraz & Arslanel, 2011).

With women starting to contribute to social life and show interest in political causes, the discussion of "feminism" inevitably intensified. However, along with this, also came a trend of antagonization of it. Certain groups started to complain about the seemingly growing indifference to the Islamic rules and regulations (Akagündüz, 2013). That's why Günay-Erkol (2011) advises against hasty generalizations one more time, suggesting that if a woman is directed by the society to become nurses and teachers, and still is comparably less active and welcome in traditionally "masculine" spheres, the visibility alone may not mean the overcoming of the passivity and a quick victory for feminism. It is true that even when women were represented in masculine spheres, defying their feminine traits, like Halide Edip's characters in literature, the honorable nationalist actions they showed are not perceived to be feminized in quality, but such women are considered to bear a female masculinity. In the case of *Servet-i Fünûn*, the ideal woman was shown as courageous to step in a men's position when needed and is intellectually capable of holding jobs and contributing to the economy progressively. It

should be noted that this is significant when represented in the mainstream media to communicate new characteristics to the masses in a period of transformations. But there is still a substantial promotion of a woman's main responsibilities of being a mother and a homemaker, which are "feminine" in the mentioned sense.

As can be seen, regarding the characteristics and activities of the women, the clearest outcome of this study is an in-betweenness and a set of contradictions resulting from the struggle to adapt to the changing world. We observe, however, a motivated effort on the side of the journal in purposefully choosing what to represent and how to alleviate the issue. This supports the view that *Servet-i Fünûn* assumed the role of disseminating modernization to the society (Eldem, 2015). The journal was instrumental in communicating not only new roles and actions to achieve that, but also supporting this discourse with changing clothing and appearance. Regardless of the social identities of pictured women, making the very choice of which images to feature showcased the two-way relationship the dominant ideology and the media has in a society (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001). *Servet-i Fünûn* was both instrumental in driving the change and it was being shaped by the evolving social viewpoint. According to Zorlu (2017), the journal might have been contributory in transitioning to a more European way of everyday life and fashion. And the more normalized this look got, the more it was represented in the journal, reflecting the real-life social change.

In line with this, we find in our study that the journal featured women repeatedly in European garments as opposed to the typical outfit of Muslim-Ottoman women. For women with unidentified religious background in the analysis, one might argue that some could in fact be Muslim but pictured simply at the "home" environment. Therefore, the journal may not have been purposefully misrepresenting Muslim Ottoman women or leaving

them out but offering a glimpse into their preferred home attire that was evolving. Consistent in this, the journal could have been actively trying to inspire the idea of a modernized woman who could choose what to wear in the long term. If this was the case, *Servet-i Fünûn* was not alone in this mission. Along with women's journals, similar mainstream publications also had undertaken that responsibility. Ümüt Akagündüz (2013) brings an example from *İçtihad* (The Viewpoint) where the modernization of women's clothing was being discussed to be one of the two major social issues as the Ottoman state transformed, with literacy.

In short, this study's look into imagery reveals the *Servet-i Fünûn* and Ahmed İhsan's take on modernization and the mainstream discourse on it. Women were pictured to be a part of the modern life. She was out there and had a new look. However, this "matter of women" was a matter of a larger social structure and development (Mardin, 2021). Therefore, although it cannot be claimed that Ahmed İhsan definitively assumed the role to construct a new woman image, he indeed promoted a new female identity for a society which still held a patriarchal outlook. There is a clear message that Ottoman women had the capacity to contribute to society like their European counterparts in many aspects of life. The fact that non-Muslim women are pictured more than Ottoman women in this study therefore could be understood not as simply insufficient visibility on the side of the Muslim women but as an effort to use Europe as a reference point and European women as role models.

5. CONCLUSION

Servet-i Fünûn's visuality shows that the life and the perception of roles and position of women, and the notion of femininity underwent a series of social contradictions in the late Ottoman period. The patriarchal structure that dominated the society also shaped the mass media, but the latter communicated a direction of changes in this structure at the same time. Our visual discourse analysis and the modes emerging from the data offer a comprehensive account of the representation of women and how this non-deterministic relationship between media and ideology worked out in the case of this impactful journal.

Action and context modes revealed that, being one of the most significant agents of the press at the time, the journal represented the contemporary woman as someone who reads, writes, socializes, and lives as a part of the modern city life. The range of professions they held was extending but still concentrated more on jobs like being a nurse in line with the feminine and caring nature she is expected to have. In addition, the role of motherhood is not discarded, with "taking care of children" a highlight from the observed activities list, although women are not just shown alongside children but in mixed- gender groups, also.

Despite the accepted norms of clothing and limits of showcasing the feminine beauty of a Muslim woman in the society, as understood from the results of the appearance mode, journal's choice of heavily presenting European fashion and uncovered hair indicated the perceived and desired direction of change in attire. In other words, the journal did not only create a new space for visibility, but also encouraged a new face and new roles of the modern woman. These, in time, must have been normalized for the mainstream Ottoman male audience and the growing women audience who were at the time was increasingly enrolled in schooling and becoming a part of professional life and authorship themselves. It possibly even inspired them to participate in press efforts in the long term.

With their progressive inclusion into the context of press, further research on the nature of self-representation of women through comparative studies can be conducted. This could help us understand both mainstream press' design of visuality and self-perception of women, and to see if they offered an original contribution to the construction of their own image representation.

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